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THE LIFE
OF
THE HONOURABLE
COLONEL JAMES GARDINER,

WHO WAS SLAIN AT THE BATTLE OF PRESTON-PANS,
SEPTEMBER 21ST, 1745.

BY THE REV. PHILIP DODDRIDGE, D. D.

SLIGHTLY ABRIDGED.

THE LIFE
OF
COLONEL JAMES GARDINER.

CHAPTER I.

COLONEL JAMES GARDINER, of whom we write, was the son of Captain Patrick Gardiner, of the family of Torwood-Head, by Mrs. Mary Hodge, of the family of Gladsmuir. The Captain, who was master of a handsome estate, served many years in the army of King William and Queen Anne; and died abroad with the British forces in Germany, quickly after the battle of Hochstet, through the fatigues he underwent in the duties of that celebrated campaign. He had a company in the regiment of foot once commanded by Colonel Hodge, his valiant brother-in-law, who was slain at the head of that regiment, my memorial from Scotland says, at the battle of Steenkirk, which was fought in the year 1692.

Mrs. Gardiner, our Colonel's mother, was a

lady of a very valuable character ; but it pleased God to exercise her with very uncommon trials ; for she not only lost her husband and her brother in the service of their country, as before related, but also her eldest son, Mr. Robert Gardiner, on the day which completed the sixteenth year of his age, at the siege of Namur, in 1695. But there is great reason to believe God blessed these various and heavy afflictions, as the means of forming her to that eminent degree of piety, which will render her memory honourable as long as it continues.

Her second son, the worthy person of whom I am now to give a more particular account, was born at Carriden, in Linlithgowshire, on the 10th of January, A. D. 1687-8 ; the memorable year of that glorious Revolution which he justly esteemed among the happiest of all events. So that when he was slain in the defence of those liberties which God then by so gracious a providence rescued from utter destruction, that is, on the 21st of September, 1745, he was aged fifty-seven years, eight months, and eleven days.

The annual return of his birthday was observed by him, in the latter and better years of his life, in a manner very different from what is commonly practised : for, instead of making it a day of festivity, I am told, he rather distinguished it as a season of more than ordinary humiliation before God ; both in commemoration of those mercies

which he received in the first opening of life, and under an affectionate sense, as well of his long alienation from the great Author and Support of his being, as of the many imperfections which he lamented in the best of his days and services.

I have not met with many things remarkable concerning the early years of his life, only that his mother took care to instruct him with great tenderness and affection in the principles of true Christianity. He was also trained up in human literature at the school at Linlithgow, where he made a very considerable progress in the languages. I remember to have heard him quote some passages of the Latin classics very pertinently; though his employment in life, and the various turns which his mind took under different impulses in succeeding years, prevented him from cultivating such studies.

The good effects of his mother's prudent and exemplary care were not so conspicuous as she wished and hoped, in the younger part of her son's life; yet there is great reason to believe they were not entirely lost. As they were probably the occasion of many convictions, which in his younger years were overborne; so I doubt not, that when religious impressions took that strong hold of his heart which they afterwards did, that stock of knowledge which had been so early laid up in his mind was found of considerable service. And I have heard them make the observation, as

an encouragement to parents, and other pious friends, to do their duty, and to hope for those good consequences of it which may not immediately appear.

Could his mother, or a very religious aunt, (of whose good instructions and exhortations I have often heard him speak with pleasure,) have prevailed, he would not have thought of a military life; from which it is no wonder these ladies endeavoured to dissuade him, considering the mournful experience they had of the dangers attending it, and the dear relatives they had lost already by it. But it suited his taste; and the ardour of his spirit, animated by the persuasions of a friend who greatly urged it,* was not to be restrained. Nor will the reader wonder that, thus excited and supported, it easily overbore their tender remonstrances, when he knows that this lively youth fought three duels before he attained to the stature of a man; in one of which, when he was but eight years old, he received from a boy much older than himself, a wound in his right cheek, the scar of which was always very apparent. The false sense of honour which instigated him to it might seem indeed something excusable in those unripened years, and considering the profession of his father, brother, and uncle; but I have often heard him mention this

* I suppose this to have been Brigadier General Rue, who had from his childhood a peculiar affection for him.

rashness with that regret which the reflection would naturally give to so wise and good a man in the maturity of life. And I have been informed, that after his remarkable conversion, he declined accepting a challenge, with this calm and truly great reply, which in a man of his experienced bravery was exceeding graceful: "I fear sinning, though you know I do not fear fighting."

He served first as a Cadet, which must have been very early; and then, at fourteen years old, he bore an Ensign's commission in a Scotch regiment in the Dutch service; in which he continued till the year 1702, when, if my information be right, he received an Ensign's commission from Queen Anne, which he bore in the battle of Ramillies, being then in the nineteenth year of his age. In this ever-memorable action he received a wound in his mouth by a musket-ball, which hath often been reported to be the occasion of his conversion. That report was a mistaken one; but as some very remarkable circumstances attended this affair, which I have had the pleasure of hearing more than once from his own mouth, I hope my reader will excuse me, if I give him so uncommon a story at large.

Our young officer was of a party in the forlorn hope, and was commanded on what seemed almost a desperate service, to dispossess the French of the churchyard at Ramillies, where

a considerable number of them were posted to remarkable advantage. They succeeded much better than was expected; and it may well be supposed that Mr. Gardiner, who had before been in several encounters, and had the view of making his fortune to animate the natural intrepidity of his spirit, was glad of such an opportunity of signalizing himself. Accordingly, he had planted his colours on an advanced ground; and while he was calling to his men, (probably in that horrid language which is so peculiar a disgrace to our soldiery, and so absurdly common in such articles of extreme danger,) he received a shot into his mouth; which, without beating out any of his teeth, or touching the fore-part of his tongue, went through his neck, and came out about an inch and half on the left side of the vertebræ. Not feeling at first the pain of the stroke, he wondered what was become of the ball, and in the wildness of his surprise began to suspect he had swallowed it; but dropping soon after, he traced the passage of it by his finger, when he could discover it no other way: which I mention as one circumstance, among many which occur, to make it probable that the greater part of those who fall in battle by these instruments of death, feel very little anguish from the most mortal wounds.

This accident happened about five or six in the evening, on the 23d day of May, in the year 1706;

and the army pursuing its advantages against the French, without ever regarding the wounded, (which was, it seems, the Duke of Marlborough's constant method,) our young officer lay all night in the field, agitated, as may well be supposed, with a great variety of thoughts. He assured me, that when he reflected upon the circumstances of his wound, that a ball should, as he then conceived it, go through his head without killing him, he thought God had preserved him by miracle; and therefore assuredly concluded, that he should live, abandoned and desperate as his state then seemed to be. Yet (which to me appeared very astonishing) he had little thoughts of humbling himself before God, and returning to him after the wanderings of a life so licentiously begun. But expecting to recover, his mind was taken up with contrivances to secure his gold, of which he had a pretty deal about him; and he had recourse to a very odd expedient, which proved successful. Expecting to be stripped, he first took out a handful of that clotted gore, of which he was frequently obliged to clear his mouth, or he would have been choked; and putting it into his left-hand, he took out his money, (which, I think, was about nineteen pistoles, and shutting his hand, and besmearing the back part of it with blood, he kept it in this position till the blood dried in such a manner, that his hand could not easily fall open, though any sudden surprise should happen, in which he

might lose the presence of mind which that concealment otherwise would have required.

In the morning the French, who were masters of that spot, though their forces were defeated at some distance, came to plunder the slain; and seeing him to appearance almost expiring, one of them was just applying a sword to his breast, to destroy the little remainder of life; when, in the critical moment upon which all the extraordinary events of such a life as his afterwards proved were suspended, a Cordelier, who attended the plunderers, interposed, taking him by his dress for a Frenchman; and said, "Do not kill that poor child." Our young soldier heard all that passed, though he was not able to speak one word; and opening his eyes, made a sign for something to drink. They gave him a sup of some spirituous liquor, which happened to be at hand; by which he said he found a more sensible refreshment than he could remember from any thing he had tasted either before or since. Then signifying to the Friar to lean down his ear to his mouth, he employed the first efforts of his feeble breath in telling him, (what, alas! was a contrived falsehood,) that he was nephew to the Governor of Huy, a neutral town in the neighbourhood; and that, if he could take any method of conveying him thither, he did not doubt but his uncle would liberally reward him. He had indeed a friend at Huy, (who I think was Governor, and, if I mis-

take not, had been acquainted with the Captain, his father,) from whom he expected a kind reception: but the relation was only pretended. On hearing this, they laid him on a sort of hand-barrow, and sent him by a file of musketeers towards the place; but the men lost their way, and got into a wood towards the evening, in which they were obliged to continue all night. The poor patient's wound being still undressed, it is not to be wondered that by this time it raged violently. The anguish of it engaged him earnestly to beg, that they would either kill him outright, or leave him there to die, without the torture of any farther motion; and indeed they were obliged to rest for a considerable time, on account of their own weariness. Thus he spent the second night in the open air, without any thing more than a common bandage to stanch the blood. He hath often mentioned it as a most astonishing providence, that he did not bleed to death; which, under God, he ascribed to the remarkable coldness of these two nights.

Judging it quite unsafe to attempt carrying him to Huy, from whence they were now several miles distant, his convoy took him early in the morning to a convent in the neighbourhood; where he was hospitably received, and treated with great kindness and tenderness. But the cure of his wound was committed to an ignorant barber-surgeon, who lived near the house; the best shift that could

then be made, at a time when it may easily be supposed persons of ability in their profession had their hands full of employment. The tent which this artist applied was almost like a peg driven into the wound; and gentlemen of skill and experience, when they came to hear of the manner in which he was treated, wondered how he could possibly survive such management. But by the blessing of God on these applications, rough as they were, he recovered in a few months. The Lady Abbess, who called him her son, treated him with the affection and care of a mother; and he always declared, that every thing which he saw within these walls was conducted with the strictest decency and decorum. He received a great many devout admonitions from the ladies there; and they would fain have persuaded him to acknowledge what they thought so miraculous a deliverance, by embracing the Catholic faith, as they were pleased to call it. But they could not succeed: for though no religion lay near his heart, yet he had too much of the spirit of a gentleman lightly to change that form of religion which he wore as it were loose about him, as well as too much good sense to swallow those monstrous absurdities of Popery which immediately presented themselves to him, unacquainted as he was with the niceties of the controversy.

When his liberty was regained by an exchange of prisoners, and his health thoroughly esta-

blished, he was far from rendering unto the Lord according to that wonderful display of divine mercy which he had experienced. I know very little of the particulars of those wild, thoughtless, and wretched years, which lay between the nineteenth and the thirtieth of his life; except it be, that he frequently experienced the divine goodness in renewed instances, particularly in preserving him in several hot military actions, in all which he never received so much as a wound after this, forward as he was in tempting danger; and yet, that all these years were spent in an entire alienation from God, and an eager pursuit of animal pleasure, as his supreme good. The series of criminal amours in which he was almost incessantly engaged during this time, must probably have afforded some remarkable adventures and occurrences; but the memory of them is perished. Nor do I think it unworthy notice here, that, amidst all the intimacy of our friendship, and the many hours of cheerful as well as serious converse which we spent together, I never remember to have heard him speak of any of these intrigues, otherwise than in the general with deep and solemn abhorrence. This I the rather mention, as it seemed a most genuine proof of his unfeigned repentance; which, I think, there is great reason to suspect, when people seem to take a pleasure in relating and describing scenes of vicious indulgence, which yet

they profess to have disapproved and forsaken.

Amidst all these pernicious wanderings from the paths of religion, virtue, and happiness, he approved himself so well in his military character, that he was made a Lieutenant in that year, namely, 1706: and I am told he was very quickly after promoted to a Cornet's commission in Lord Stair's regiment of the Scotch Greys; and on the 31st of January, in the year 1714-15, was made Captain-Lieutenant in Colonel Ker's regiment of dragoons. He had the honour of being known to the Earl of Stair some time before, and was made his Aid-de-camp; and when, upon his Lordship's being appointed Ambassador from His late Majesty to the court of France, he made so splendid an entrance into Paris, Captain Gardner was his Master of the Horse; and I have been told, that a great deal of the care of that admirably well-adjusted ceremony fell upon him; so that he gained great credit by the manner in which he conducted it. Under the benign influences of his Lordship's favour, (which to the last day of his life he retained,) a Captain's commission was procured for him, dated July 22d, in the year 1715, in the regiment of dragoons commanded by Colonel Stanhope, now Earl of Harrington; and in the year 1717 he was advanced to the Majority of that regiment; in which office he continued till it was reduced, on November

10th, 1718; when he was put out of commission. But then His Majesty King George I. was so thoroughly apprized of his faithful and important services, that he gave him his sign manual, entitling him to the first Majority that should become vacant, in any regiment of horse or dragoons; which happened, about five years after, to be in Croft's regiment of dragoons, in which he received a commission, dated June 1st, 1724; and on the 20th of July the same year, he was made Major of an older regiment, commanded by the Earl of Stair.

As I am now speaking of so many of his military preferments, I will dispatch the account of them by observing, that on the 24th of January, 1729-30, he was advanced to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in the same regiment, long under the command of Lord Cadogan; with whose friendship this brave and vigilant officer was also honoured for many years. And he continued in this rank and regiment till the 19th of April, 1743, when he received a Colonel's commission over a regiment of dragoons, lately commanded by Brigadier Bland; at the head of which he valiantly fell, in the defence of his Sovereign and his country, about two years and a half after he received it.

We will now return to that period of his life which passed at Paris, the scene of such remarkable and important events. He continued, if I remember right, several years under the roof of

the brave and generous Earl of Stair; to whom he endeavoured to approve himself by every instance of diligent and faithful service. And his Lordship gave no inconsiderable proof of the dependence which he had upon him, when, in the beginning of the year 1715, he entrusted him with the important dispatches relating to a discovery, which by a series of admirable policy he had made, of a design which the French King was then forming for invading Great Britain in favour of the Pretender; in which the French apprehended they were so sure of success, that it seemed a point of friendship, in one of the chief Counsellors of that court, to dissuade a dependent of his from accepting some employment under His Britannic Majesty, when proposed by his Envoy there; because it was said, that in less than six weeks there would be a revolution, in favour of what they called the family of the Stuarts. The Captain dispatched his journey with the utmost speed; a variety of circumstances happily concurred to accelerate it; and they who remember how soon the regiments which that emergency required were raised and armed, will, I doubt not, esteem it a memorable instance, both of the most cordial zeal in the friends of the Government, and of the gracious care of divine Providence over the house of Hanover, and the British liberties so incomparably connected with its interests.

CHAPTER II.

WHILE Captain Gardiner was at London, in one of the journeys he made upon this occasion, he, with that frankness which was natural to him, and which in those days was not always under the most prudent restraint, ventured to predict, from what he knew of the bad state of the French King's health, that he would not live six weeks. This was made known by some spies who were at St. James's, and came to be reported at the court of Versailles; for he received letters from some friends at Paris, advising him not to return thither, unless he could reconcile himself to a lodging in the Bastile. But he was soon free from that apprehension; for, if I mistake not, before half that time was accomplished, Louis XIV. died;* and, it is generally thought, his death was hastened by a very accidental circumstance, which had some reference to the Captain's prophecy. For the last time he ever dined in public, which was a very little while after the report of it had been made there, he happened to discover our British Envoy among the spectators. The penetration of this illustrious person was too great, and his attachment to the interests of his royal master too well known, not to render him very disagreeable to

* Sept. 1st, 1715.

that crafty and tyrannical Prince, whom God had so long suffered to be the disgrace of monarchy, and the scourge of Europe. He at first appeared very languid, as indeed he was; but on casting his eye upon the Earl of Stair, he affected to appear before him in a much better state of health than he really was; and therefore, as if he had been awakened on a sudden from some deep reverie, he immediately put himself into an erect posture, called up a laboured vivacity into his countenance, and ate much more heartily than was by any means advisable, repeating it two or three times to a nobleman (I think the Duke of Bourbon) then in waiting, "Methinks I eat very well, for a man who is to die so soon." But this inroad upon that regularity of living which he had for some time observed, agreed so ill with him, that he never recovered this meal, but died in less than a fortnight. This gave occasion for some humorous people to say, that old Louis, after all, was killed by a Briton. But if this story be true, (which I think there can be no room to doubt, as the Colonel, from whom I have often heard it, though absent, could scarce be misinformed,) it might more properly be said, that he fell by his own vanity; in which view I thought it so remarkable, as not to be unworthy a place in these memoirs.

The Captain quickly returned, and continued with small interruptions at Paris, at least till the

year 1720, and how much longer I do not certainly know. The Earl's favour and generosity made him easy in his affairs, though he was, as has been observed above, part of the time out of commission, by breaking the regiment to which he belonged, of which before he was Major. This was, in all probability, the gayest part of his life, and the most criminal. Whatever wise and good examples he might find in the family where he had the honour to reside, it is certain that the French court, during the regency of the Duke of Orleans, was one of the most dissolute under heaven. What, by a wretched abuse of language, have been called intrigues of love and gallantry, were so entirely to the Major's then degenerate taste, that if not the whole business, at least the whole happiness, of his life consisted in them; and he had now too much leisure for one who was so prone to abuse it. His fine constitution, than which perhaps there was hardly ever a better, gave him great opportunities of indulging himself in these excesses; and his good spirits enabled him to pursue his pleasures of every kind, in so alert and sprightly a manner, that multitudes envied him, and called him, by a dreadful kind of compliment, "the happy rake."

Yet still the checks of conscience, and some remaining principles of so good an education, would break in upon his most licentious hours; and I particularly remember he told me, that

when some of his dissolute companions were once congratulating him on his distinguished felicity, a dog happening at that time to come into the room, he could not forbear groaning inwardly, and saying to himself, "O that I were that dog!" Such was then his happiness; and such perhaps is that of hundreds more, who bear themselves highest in the contempt of religion, and glory in that infamous servitude which they affect to call liberty. But these remonstrances of reason and conscience were in vain; and, in short, he carried things so far in this wretched part of his life, that I am well assured, some sober English gentlemen, who made no great pretences to religion, how agreeable soever he might have been to them on other accounts, rather declined than sought his company, as fearing they might have been ensnared and corrupted by it.

Yet I cannot find, that in these most abandoned days he was fond of drinking. Indeed he never had any natural relish for that kind of intemperance, from which he used to think a manly pride might be sufficient to preserve persons of sense and spirit; as by it they give up every thing that distinguishes them from the meanest of their species, or indeed from animals the most below it. So that, if he ever fell into any excesses of this kind, it was merely out of complaisance to his company, and that he might not appear stiff and singular. His frank, obliging,

and generous temper procured him many friends ; and these principles, which rendered him amiable to others, not being under the direction of true wisdom and piety, sometimes made him, in the ways of living he pursued, more uneasy to himself than he might perhaps have been if he could entirely have outgrown them ; especially as he was never a sceptic in his principles, but still retained a secret apprehension, that natural and revealed religion, though he did not much care to think of either, were founded in truth. And with this conviction, his notorious violations of the most essential precepts of both, could not but occasion some secret misgivings of heart. His continual neglect of the great Author of his being, of whose perfections he could not doubt, and to whom he knew himself to be under daily and perpetual obligations, gave him, in some moments of involuntary reflection, inexpressible remorse ; and this, at times, wrought upon him to such a degree, that he resolved he would attempt to pay him some acknowledgments. Accordingly, for a few mornings he did it ; repeating in retirement some passages out of the Psalms, and perhaps other Scriptures, which he still retained in his memory ; and owning, in a few strong words, the many mercies and deliverances he had received, and the ill returns he had made for them.

I find, among the other papers transmitted to me, the following verses, which I have heard him

repeat, as what had impressed him a good deal in his unconverted state ; and as I suppose they did something towards setting him on this effort towards devotion, and might probably furnish out a part of these orisons, I hope I need make no apology to my reader for inserting them, especially as I do not recollect that I have seen them any where else.

“ Attend, my soul ! The early birds inspire
My grov'ling thought with pure celestial fire :
They from their temp'rate sleep awake, and pay
Their thankful anthems for the new-born day.
See, how the tuneful lark is mounted high,
And, poet-like, salutes the eastern sky !
He warbles through the fragrant air his lays,
And seems the beauties of the morn to praise.
But man, more void of gratitude, awakes,
And gives no thanks for the sweet rest he takes ;
Looks on the glorious sun's new-kindled flame,
Without one thought of Him from whom it came.
The wretch unballow'd does the day begin ;
Shakes off his sleep, but shakes not off his sin.”

But these strains were too devout to continue long in a heart as yet quite unsanctified : for how readily soever he could repeat such acknowledgments of the divine power, presence, and goodness, and own his own follies and faults ; he was stopped short by the remonstrances of his conscience, as to the flagrant absurdity of confessing sins he did not desire to forsake, and of pretending to praise God for his mercies, when

he did not endeavour to live to his service, and to behave in such a manner as gratitude, if sincere, would plainly dictate. A model of devotion, where such sentiments made no part, his good sense could not digest; and the use of such language before the heart-searching God, merely as an hypocritical form, while the sentiments of his soul were contrary to it, justly appeared to him such daring profaneness, that, irregular as the state of his mind was, the thought of it struck him with horror. He therefore determined to make no more attempts of this sort; and was perhaps one of the first that deliberately laid aside prayer, from some sense of God's omniscience, and some natural principle of honour and conscience.

These secret debates with himself, and ineffectual efforts, would sometimes return: but they were overborne, again and again, by the force of temptation; and it is no wonder, that in consequence of them his heart grew yet harder. Nor was it softened, or awakened, by some very memorable deliverances which at this time he received. He was in extreme danger by a fall from his horse: as he was riding post, (I think, in the streets of Calais,) when going down a hill, the horse threw him over his head, and pitched over him; so that when he arose, the beast lay beyond him, and almost dead. Yet though he received not the least harm, it made no serious impression

on his mind. In his return from England in the packet-boat, (if I remember right, but a few weeks after the former accident,) a violent storm, that drove them up to Harwich, tossed them from thence for several hours in a dark night on the coast of Holland, and brought them into such extremity, that the Captain of the vessel urged him to go to prayers immediately, if he ever intended to do it at all; for he concluded they would in a few minutes be at the bottom of the sea. In this circumstance he did pray, and that very fervently too: and it was very remarkable, that while he was crying to God for deliverance, the wind fell, and quickly after they arrived at Calais. But the Major was so little affected with what had befallen him, that when some of his gay friends, on hearing the story, rallied him upon the efficacy of his prayers, he excused himself from the scandal of being thought much in earnest, by saying, that it was at midnight, an hour when his good mother and aunt were asleep, or else he should have left that part of the business to them: a speech which I should not have mentioned, but as it shows in so lively a view the wretched situation of his mind at that time, though his great deliverance from the power of darkness was then nearly approaching. He recounted these things to me with the greatest humility, as showing how utterly unworthy he was of that miracle of divine grace by which he

was quickly after brought to so true and so prevalent a sense of religion.

And now I am come to that astonishing part of his story, the account of his conversion ; which I cannot enter upon without assuring the reader, that I have sometimes been tempted to suppress many circumstances of it, not only as they may seem incredible to some and enthusiastical to others, but as I am very sensible they are liable to great abuses ; which was the reason that he gave me, for concealing the most extraordinary from many persons to whom he mentioned some of the rest. And I believe it was this, together with the desire of avoiding every thing that might look like ostentation on this head, that prevented his leaving a written account of it, though I have often entreated him to do it ; as I particularly remember I did, in the very last letter I ever wrote him, and pleaded the possibility of his falling amidst those dangers to which I knew his valour might in such circumstances naturally expose him. I was not so happy as to receive any answer to this letter, which reached him but a few days before his death ; nor can I certainly say, whether he had, or had not, complied with my request, as it is very possible a paper of that kind, if it were written, might be lost amidst the ravages which the rebels made when they plundered Bankton.

The story, however, was so remarkable, that I

had little reason to apprehend I should ever forget it; and yet, to guard against all contingencies of that kind, I wrote it down that very evening, as I had heard it from his own mouth; and I have now before me the memoirs of that conversation, dated August 14th, 1739, which conclude with these words, which I added, that, if we should both have died that night, the world might not have lost this edifying and affecting history, or have wanted any attestation of it I was capable of giving:—"N.B. I have written down this account with all the exactness I am capable of, and could safely take an oath of it as to the truth of every circumstance, to the best of my remembrance, as the Colonel related it to me a few hours ago." I do not know that I had reviewed this paper since I wrote it, till I set myself thus publicly to record this extraordinary fact; but I find it punctually to agree with what I have often related from my memory, which I charged carefully with so wonderful and important a fact. It is with all solemnity that I now deliver it down to posterity, as in the sight and presence of God. And I choose deliberately to expose myself to those severe censures, which the haughty, but empty, scorn of infidelity, or principles nearly approaching it, and effectually doing its pernicious work, may very probably dictate upon the occasion; rather than to smother a relation, which may, in the judgment of my con-

science, be like to conduce so much to the glory of God, the honour of the Gospel, and the good of mankind. One thing more I will only premise, that I hope none who have heard the Colonel himself speak something of this wonderful scene will be surprised if they find some new circumstances here; because he assured me, at the time he first gave me the whole narration, (which was in the very room in which I now write,) that he had never imparted it so fully to any man living before. Yet, at the same time, he gave me full liberty to communicate it to whomsoever I should in my conscience judge it might be useful to do it, whether before or after his death. Accordingly, I did, while he was alive, recount almost every circumstance I am now going to write to several pious friends; referring them at the same time to the Colonel himself, whenever they might have an opportunity of seeing or writing to him, for a farther confirmation of what I told them, if they judged it requisite. They “glorified God in him;” and I humbly hope many of my readers will also do it. They will soon perceive the reason of so much caution in my introduction to this story, for which, therefore, I shall make no further apology.*

* It is no small satisfaction to me, since I wrote this, to have received a letter from the Rev. Mr. Spears, Minister of the Gospel at Bruntisland, dated Jan. 14th, 1746-7, in which he

This memorable event happened towards the middle of July, 1719 ; but I cannot be exact as to the day. The Major had spent the evening (and, if I mistake not, it was the Sabbath) in some gay company, and had an unhappy assignation with a married woman, of what rank or quality I did not particularly inquire, whom he was to attend exactly at twelve. The company broke up about eleven ; and, not judging it convenient to anticipate the time appointed, he went into his chamber to kill the tedious hour, perhaps with some amusing book, or some other way. But it very accidentally happened that he took up a religious book, which his good mother or aunt had without his knowledge slipped into his portmanteau. It was called, if I remember the title exactly, "The Christian Soldier, or Heaven taken by Storm ;" and was written by Mr. Thomas Watson. Guessing, by the title of it,

relates to me this whole story, as he had it from the Colonel's own mouth, about four years after he gave me the narration. There is not a single circumstance in which either of our narrations disagree, and every one of the particulars in mine, which seem most astonishing, are attested by this, and sometimes in stronger words ; one only excepted, on which I shall add a short remark when I come to it. As this letter was written near Lady Frances Gardiner, at her desire, and attended with a postscript from her own hand, this is, in effect, a sufficient attestation how agreeable it was to those accounts which she must have often heard the Colonel give of this matter.

that he should find some phrases of his own profession spiritualized, in a manner which he thought might afford him some diversion, he resolved to dip into it; but he took no serious notice of any thing he read in it: and yet, while this book was in his hand, an impression was made upon his mind, (perhaps God only knows how,) which drew after it a train of the most important and happy consequences.

There is, indeed, a possibility, that, while he was sitting in this attitude, and reading in this careless and profane manner, he might suddenly fall asleep, and only dream of what he apprehended he saw. But nothing can be more certain than that, when he gave me this relation, he judged himself to have been as broad awake, during the whole time, as he ever was in any part of his life; and he mentioned it to me several times afterwards, as what undoubtedly passed, not only in his imagination, but before his eyes.*

* Mr. Spears, in the letter mentioned above, where he introduces the Colonel telling his own story, has these words: "All of a sudden there was presented, in a very lively manner, to my view or to my mind, a representation of my glorious Redeemer," &c. And this gentleman adds, in a parenthesis, "It was so lively and striking, that he could not tell whether it was to his bodily eyes, or to those of his mind." This makes me think, that what I had said to him on the phenomena of visions, apparitions, &c., (as being, when most real, supernatural impressions on the imaginations, rather

He thought he saw an unusual blaze of light fall on the book while he was reading, which he at first imagined might happen by some accident in the candle. But lifting up his eyes, he apprehended, to his extreme amazement, that there was before him, as it were suspended in the air, a visible representation of the Lord Jesus Christ upon the cross, surrounded on all sides with a glory; and was impressed, as if a voice, or something equivalent to a voice, had come to him to this effect (for he was not confident as to the very words): "O sinner, did I suffer this for thee, and are these the returns?" But whether this were an audible voice, or only a strong impression on his mind equally striking, he did not seem very confident; though, to the best of my remembrance, he rather judged it to be the former. Struck with so amazing a phenomenon as this, there remained hardly any life in him, so that he sunk down in the arm-chair in which he sat, and continued, he knew not exactly how long, insensible; (which was one circumstance, that made me several times take the liberty to suggest that he might possibly be all this while asleep;) but however that were, he quickly after opened his eyes, and saw nothing more than usual.

than attended with any external object,) had some influence upon him. Yet still it is evident he looked upon this as a vision, whether it were before the eyes or in the mind, and not as a dream.

It may easily be supposed, he was in no condition to make any observation upon the time in which he had remained in an insensible state. Nor did he, throughout all the remainder of the night, once recollect that criminal and detestable assignation which had before engrossed all his thoughts. He rose in a tumult of passions, not to be conceived; and walked to and fro in his chamber till he was ready to drop down, in unutterable astonishment and agony of heart; appearing to himself the vilest monster in the creation of God, who had all his lifetime been crucifying Christ afresh by his sins, and now saw, as he assuredly believed, by a miraculous vision, the horror of what he had done. With this was connected such a view both of the majesty and goodness of God, as caused him to loathe and abhor himself, and to repent as in dust and ashes. He immediately gave judgment against himself, that he was most justly worthy of eternal damnation. He was astonished that he had not been immediately struck dead in the midst of his wickedness; and (which I think deserves particular remark) though he assuredly believed that he should ere long be in hell, and settled it as a point with himself for several months, that the wisdom and justice of God did almost necessarily require that such an enormous sinner should be made an example of everlasting vengeance, and a spectacle as such both to angels

and men, so that he hardly durst presume to pray for pardon ; yet what he then suffered was not so much from the fear of hell, though he concluded it would soon be his portion, as from a sense of that horrible ingratitude he had shown to the God of his life, and to that blessed Redeemer who had been in so affecting a manner set forth as crucified before him.

To this he refers in a letter, dated from Douglas, April 1st, 1725, communicated to me by his lady, but I know not to whom it was addressed. His words are these :—“ One thing relating to my conversion, and a remarkable instance of the goodness of God to me, the chief of sinners, I do not remember that I ever told to any other person. It was this ; that after the astonishing sight I had of my blessed Lord, the terrible condition in which I was, proceeded not so much from the terrors of the law, as from a sense of having been so ungrateful a monster to him whom I thought I saw pierced for my transgressions.” I the rather insert these words, as they evidently attest the circumstance which may seem most amazing in this affair, and contain so express a declaration of his own apprehension concerning it.

In this view it may naturally be supposed, that he passed the remainder of the night waking ; and he could get but little rest in several that followed. His mind was continually taken up in reflecting on the divine purity and goodness ; the

grace which had been proposed to him in the Gospel, and which he had rejected; the singular advantages he had enjoyed and abused; and the many favours of Providence which he had received, particularly in rescuing him from so many imminent dangers of death, which he now saw must have been attended with such dreadful and hopeless destruction. The privileges of his education, which he had so much despised, now lay with an almost insupportable weight on his mind; and the folly of that career of sinful pleasure which he had so many years been running with desperate eagerness and unworthy delight, now filled him with indignation against himself, and against the great deceiver, by whom (to use his own phrase) he had been "so wretchedly and scandalously befooled." This he used often to express in the strongest terms; which I shall not repeat so particularly as I can recollect some of them. But on the whole, it is certain, that by what passed before he left his chamber the next day, the whole frame and disposition of his soul was new-modelled and changed; so that he became, and continued to the last day of his exemplary and truly Christian life, the very reverse of what he had been before. A variety of particulars, which I am afterwards to mention, will illustrate this in the most convincing manner. But I cannot proceed to them, without pausing a while to adore so illustrious an instance of the power and freedom of divine grace,

and entreating my reader seriously to reflect upon it, that his own heart may be suitably affected: for surely, if the truth of the fact be admitted, in the lowest views in which it can be placed, (that is, supposing the first impression to have passed in a dream,) it must be allowed to have been little, if any thing, less than miraculous. It cannot in the course of nature be imagined, how such a dream should arise in a mind full of the most impure ideas and affections, and (as he himself often pleaded) more alienated from the thoughts of a crucified Saviour, than from any other object that can be conceived: nor can we surely suppose it should, without a mighty energy of the divine power, be effectual to produce not only some transient flow of passion, but so entire and so permanent a change in character and conduct.

On the whole, therefore, I must beg leave to express my own sentiments of the matter, by repeating on this occasion what I wrote several years ago, in my eighth sermon on regeneration, in a passage dictated chiefly by the circumstantial knowledge which I had of this amazing story, and methinks sufficiently vindicated by it, if it stood entirely alone; which yet, I must take the liberty to say, it does not; for I hope the world will be particularly informed, that there is at least a second, that very nearly approaches it, whenever the established Church of England shall lose one of its brightest living ornaments, and one of

the most useful members which that or perhaps any other Christian communion can boast: in the mean time, may his exemplary life be long continued, and his zealous ministry abundantly prospered! I beg my reader's pardon for this digression. The passage I referred to above is remarkably, though not equally, applicable to both the cases, as it stands in page 263 of the first edition, and page 160 of the second; under that head, where I am showing, that God sometimes accomplishes the great work of which we speak by secret and immediate impressions on the mind. After preceding illustrations, there are the following words, on which the Colonel's conversion will throw the justest light:—"Yea, I have known those of distinguished genius, polite manners, and great experience in human affairs, who, after having outgrown all the impressions of a religious education; after having been hardened rather than subdued by the most singular mercies, even various, repeated, and astonishing deliverances, which have appeared to themselves no less than miraculous; after having lived for years without God in the world, notoriously corrupt themselves, and labouring to the utmost to corrupt others, have been stopped on a sudden in the full career of their sin, and have felt such rays of the divine presence and of redeeming love darting in upon their minds, almost like lightning from heaven, as have at once roused,

overpowered, and transformed them : so that they have come out of their secret chambers with an irreconcilable enmity to those vices to which, when they entered them, they were the tamest and most abandoned slaves ; and have appeared from that very hour the votaries, the patrons, the champions, of religion ; and after a course of the most resolute attachment to it, in spite of all the reasonings or all the railleries, the importunities or the reproaches, of its enemies, they have continued to this day some of its brightest ornaments ; a change which I behold with equal wonder and delight, and which, if a nation should join in deriding it, I would adore as the finger of God."

The mind of Major Gardiner continued from this remarkable time till towards the end of October, (that is, rather more than three months, but especially the two first of them,) in as extraordinary a situation as one can well imagine. He knew nothing of the joys arising from a sense of pardon ; but, on the contrary, for the greater part of that time, and with very short intervals of hope towards the end of it, took it for granted that he must in all probability quickly perish. Nevertheless, he had such a sense of the evil of sin, of the goodness of the divine Being, and of the admirable tendency of the Christian revelation, that he resolved to spend the remainder of his life, while God continued him out of hell, in

as rational and as useful a manner as he could ; and to continue casting himself at the feet of divine mercy every day, and often in a day, if peradventure there might be hope of pardon, of which all that he could say was, that he did not absolutely despair. He had at that time such a sense of the degeneracy of his own heart, that he hardly durst form any determinate resolution against sin, or pretend to engage himself by any vow in the presence of God ; but he was continually crying to him, that he would deliver him from the bondage of corruption. He perceived in himself a most surprising alteration with regard to the dispositions of his heart ; so that, though he felt little of the delight of religious duties, he extremely desired opportunities of being engaged in them ; and those licentious pleasures, which had before been his heaven, were now absolutely his aversion. And indeed, when I consider how habitual all those criminal indulgences were grown to him, and that he was now in the prime of life, and all this while in high health too, I cannot but be astonished to reflect upon it, that he should be so wonderfully sanctified in body, as well as in soul and spirit, as that, for all the future years of his life, he from that hour should find so constant a disinclination to, and abhorrence of, those criminal sensualities to which he fancied he was before so invincibly impelled by

his very constitution, that he was used strangely to think, and to say, that Omnipotence itself could not reform him, without destroying that body and giving him another.*

* Mr. Spears expresses this wonderful circumstance in these remarkable words: "I was," said the Colonel to me, "effectually cured of all inclination to that sin I was so strongly addicted to, that I thought nothing but shooting me through the head could have cured me of it; and all desire and inclination to it was removed, as entirely as if I had been a sucking child; nor did the temptation return to this day." Mr. Webster's words on the same subject are these: "One thing I have heard the Colonel frequently say, that he was much addicted to impurity before his acquaintance with religion; but that, so soon as he was enlightened from above, he felt the power of the Holy Ghost, changing his nature so wonderfully, that his sanctification in this respect seemed more remarkable than in any other." On which that worthy person makes this very reasonable reflection: "So thorough a change of such a polluted nature, evidenced by the most unblemished walk and conversation for a long course of years, demonstrates indeed the power of the Highest, and leaves no room to doubt of its reality." Mr. Spears says, this happened in three days' time; but from what I can recollect, all that the Colonel could mean by that expression, if he used it, (as I concluded he did,) was, that he began to make the observation in the space of three days; whereas, during that time, his thoughts were so taken up with the wonderful views presented to his mind, that he did not immediately attend to it. If he had within the first three days any temptation to seek some ease from the anguish of his mind, in returning to former sensualities, it is a circumstance he did not mention to me; and by what I can recollect of the strain of his discourse, he intimated, if he did not express, the contrary.

Nor was he only delivered from that bondage of corruption, which had been habitual to him for so many years, but felt in his breast so contrary a disposition, that he was grieved to see human nature, in those to whom he was most entirely a stranger, prostituted to such low and contemptible pursuits. He therefore exerted his natural courage in a very new kind of combat, and became an open advocate for religion in all its principles, so far as he was acquainted with them, and all its precepts, relating to sobriety, righteousness, and godliness. Yet he was very desirous and cautious, that he might not run into an extreme, and made it one of his first petitions to God, the very day after these amazing impressions had been wrought in his mind, that he might not be suffered to behave with such an affected strictness and preciseness, as would lead others about him into mistaken notions of religion, and expose it to reproach or suspicion, as if it were an unlovely or uncomfortable thing. For this reason he endeavoured to appear as cheerful in conversation as he conscientiously could; though, in spite of all his precautions, some traces of that deep inward sense which he had of his guilt and misery would at times appear. He made no secret of it, however, that his views were entirely changed, though he concealed the particular circumstances attending that change. He told his most intimate companions freely, that he had

reflected on the course of life in which he had so long joined them, and found it to be folly and madness, unworthy a rational creature, and much more unworthy persons calling themselves Christians. And he set up his standard, upon all occasions, against principles of infidelity, and practices of vice, as determinately, and as boldly, as ever he displayed or planted his colours, when he bore them with so much honour in the field.

I cannot forbear mentioning one struggle of this kind, which he described to me with a large detail of circumstances, the first day of our acquaintance. There was at that time in Paris a certain lady, (whose name, then well known in the grand and the gay world, I must beg leave to conceal,) who had imbibed the principles of Deism, and valued herself much upon being an avowed advocate for them. The Major, with his usual frankness, (though I doubt not with that politeness of manners, which was so habitual to him, and which he retained throughout his whole life,) answered her like a man who perfectly saw through the fallacy of her arguments, and was grieved to the heart for her delusion. On this she briskly challenged him to debate the matter at large, and to fix upon a day for that purpose, when he should dine with her, attended with any Clergyman he might choose, whether of the Protestant or Catholic communion. A sense of duty would not allow him to decline this chal-

lenge ; and yet he had no sooner accepted it, but he was thrown into great perplexity and distress, lest being (as I remember he expressed it, when he told me the story,) only a Christian of six weeks old, he should prejudice so good a cause by his unskilful manner of defending it. However, he sought his refuge in earnest and repeated prayers to God, that He who can ordain strength, and perfect praise, out of the mouth of babes and sucklings, would graciously enable him, on this occasion, to vindicate his truths in a manner which might carry conviction along with it. He then endeavoured to marshal the arguments in his own mind as well as he could ; and apprehending that he could not speak with so much freedom before a number of persons, especially before such whose province he might in that case seem to invade, if he had not devolved the principal part of the discourse upon them, he easily admitted the apology of a Clergyman or two, to whom he mentioned the affair, and waited on the lady alone upon the day appointed. But his heart was so set upon the business, that he came earlier than he was expected, and time enough to have two hours' discourse before dinner ; nor did he at all decline having two young persons nearly related to the lady present during the conference.

The Major opened it with a view of such arguments for the Christian religion as he had

digested in his own mind, to prove that the Apostles were not mistaken themselves, and that they could not have intended to impose upon us in the accounts they give of the grand facts they attest ; with the truth of which facts, that of the Christian religion is most apparently connected. And it was a great encouragement to him, to find, that, unaccustomed as he was to discourses of this nature, he had an unusual command both of thought and expression ; so that he recollected and uttered everything as he could have wished. The lady heard with attention ; and though he paused between every branch of the argument, she did not interrupt the course of it, till he told her he had finished his design, and waited for her reply. She then produced some of her objections, which he took up and canvassed in such a manner, that at length she burst out into tears, allowed the force of his arguments and replies, and appeared, for some time after, so deeply impressed with the conversation, that it was observed by several of her friends : and there is reason to believe, that the impression continued, at least so far as to prevent her from ever appearing under the character of an unbeliever or a sceptic.

This is only one specimen, among many, of the battles he was almost daily called out to fight in the cause of religion and virtue ; with relation to which I find him expressing himself thus, in a letter to Mrs. Gardiner, his good mother, dated

from Paris, the 25th of January following, that is, 1719-20, in answer to one, in which she had warned him to expect such trials. "I have," says he, "already met with them, and am obliged to fight and to dispute every inch of ground: but all thanks and praise to the great Captain of my salvation, he fights for me; and then it is no wonder that I come off more than conqueror;" by which last expression I suppose he meant to insinuate, that he was strengthened and established, rather than overborne, by this opposition. Yet it was not immediately that he gained such fortitude. He has often told me, how much he felt, in those days, of the emphasis of those well-chosen words of the Apostle, in which he ranks the trial of cruel mockings, with scourgings, and bonds, and imprisonments. The continual railleries with which he was received, in almost all companies where he had been most familiar before, did often distress him beyond measure: so that he has several times declared he would much rather have marched up to a battery of the enemy's cannon, than have been obliged, so continually as he was, to face such artillery as this. But, like a brave soldier in the first action wherein he is engaged, he continued resolute, though shuddering at the terror of the assault; and quickly overcame those impressions which it is not perhaps in nature wholly to avoid: and therefore I find him, in the letter referred to

above, which was written about half a year after his conversion, quite ashamed to think of the uneasiness which these things once gave him. In a word, he went on, as every resolute Christian by divine grace may do, till he turned ridicule and opposition into respect and veneration.

But this sensible triumph over these difficulties was not till his Christian experience had been abundantly advanced, by the blessing of God on the sermons he heard, particularly in the Swiss chapel, and on the many hours which he spent in devout retirement, pouring out his whole soul before God in prayer. He began, within about two months after his first memorable change, to perceive some secret dawnings of more cheerful hope, that, vile as he saw himself to be, (and I believe no words can express how vile that was,) he might, nevertheless, obtain mercy through a Redeemer. And at length, (if I remember right, about the end of October, 1719,) he found all the burden of his mind taken off at once, by the powerful impression of that memorable scripture upon his mind: "Whom God hath set forth for a propitiation through faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness in the remission of sins, that he might be just, and the justifier of him that believeth in Jesus." Rom. iii. 25, 26. He had used to imagine, that the justice of God required the damnation of so enormous a sinner

as he saw himself to be ; but now he was made deeply sensible, that the divine justice might be, not only vindicated, but glorified, in saving him by the blood of Jesus, even that blood which cleanseth us from all sin. Then did he see, and feel, the riches of redeeming love and grace, in such a manner, as not only engaged him, with the utmost pleasure and confidence to venture his soul upon it ; but even swallowed up, as it were, his whole heart in the returns of love, which from that blessed time became the genuine and delightful principle of his obedience, and animated him, with an enlarged heart, to run the way of God's commandments. Thus God was pleased, as he himself used to speak, in an hour to turn his captivity. All the terrors of his former state were changed into unutterable joy, which kept him almost continually waking for three nights together, and yet refreshed him as the noblest of cordials. His expressions, though naturally very strong, always seemed to be swallowed up, when he would describe the series of thought through which he now passed, under the rapturous experience of that joy unspeakable, and full of glory, which then seemed to overflow his very soul ; as, indeed, there was nothing he seemed to speak of with greater relish. And though the first ecstasies of it afterwards subsided into a more calm and composed delight ; yet were the impressions so deep and so permanent, that he assured me, on the

word of a Christian and a friend, wonderful as it might seem, that for about seven years after this he enjoyed almost a heaven upon earth. His soul was so continually filled with a sense of the love of God in Christ, that it knew little interruption, but when necessary converse, and the duties of his station, called off his thoughts for a little time : and when they did so, as soon as he was alone, the torrent returned into its natural channel again ; so that, from the minute of his awakening in the morning, his heart was rising to God, and triumphing in him ; and these thoughts attended him through all the scenes of life, till he lay down on his bed again, and a short parenthesis of sleep (for it was but a very short one that he allowed himself) invigorated his animal powers, for renewing them with greater intensesness and sensibility.

I shall have an opportunity of illustrating this in the most convincing manner below, by extracts from several letters which he wrote to intimate friends during this happy period of time ; letters which breathe a spirit of such sublime and fervent piety as I have seldom met with any where else. In these circumstances it is no wonder that he was greatly delighted with Dr. Watts's imitation of Psalm cxxvi. ; since it may be questioned, whether there ever was a person to whom the following stanzas of it were more suitable :—

“ When God reveal'd his gracious name,
And changed my mournful state,
My rapture seem'd a pleasing dream ;
Thy grace appear'd so great.

“ The world beheld the glorious change,
And did thine hand confess ;
My tongue broke out in unknown strains,
And sung surprising grace.

“ ‘ Great is the work,’ my neighbours cried,
And own'd the power divine :
‘ Great is the work,’ my heart replied,
‘ And be the glory thine.’

“ The Lord can change the darkest skies,
Can give us day for night,
Make floods of sacred sorrow rise
To rivers of delight.

“ Let those that sow in sadness wait
Till the fair harvest come :
They shall confess their sheaves are great,
And shout the blessings home.”

CHAPTER III.

I HAVE been so happy as to get the sight of five original letters, which he wrote to his mother about this time ; which do, in a very lively manner, illustrate the surprising change made in the whole current of his thoughts and temper of his mind. Many of them were written in the most

hasty manner, just as the courier who brought them was, perhaps unexpectedly, setting out, and they relate chiefly to affairs in which the public is not at all concerned; yet there is not one of them in which he has not inserted some warm and genuine sentiment of religion. And indeed it is very remarkable that though he was pleased to honour me with a great many letters, and I have seen several more which he wrote to others, some of them on journeys where he could have but a few minutes at command, yet I cannot recollect that I ever saw any one in which there was not some trace of piety. And the Reverend Mr. Webster, who was employed to review great numbers of them, that he might select such extracts as he should think proper to communicate to me, has made the same observation.*

The Major with great justice tells the good lady his mother, that when she saw him again, she would find the person indeed the same, but every thing else entirely changed. And she might easily have perceived it of herself by the

* His words are these:—"I have read over a vast number of the Colonel's letters, and have not found any one of them, however short, and writ in the most passing manner, even when posting, but what is expressive of the most passionate breathings towards his God and Saviour. If the letter consists but of two sentences, religion is not forgotten; which doubtless deserves to be carefully remarked, as the most uncontested evidence of a pious mind ever under the warmest impressions of divine things."

whole tenor of those letters, which every where breathe the unaffected spirit of a true Christian. They are taken up, sometimes with giving advice and directions concerning some pious and charitable contributions ; (one of which I remember amounted to ten guineas, though, as he was then out of commission, and had not formerly been very frugal, it cannot be supposed he had much to spare ;) sometimes in speaking of the pleasure with which he attended sermons and expected sacramental opportunities ; and at other times in exhorting her, established as she was in religion, to labour after a yet more exemplary character and conduct, or in recommending her to the divine presence and blessing, as well as himself to her prayers. What satisfaction such letters as these must give to a lady of her distinguished piety, who had so long wept over this dear and amiable son as quite lost to God and on the verge of final destruction, it is not for me to describe, or indeed to conceive. But hastily as these letters were written, only for private view, I will give a few specimens from them in his own words ; which will serve to illustrate, as well as confirm, what I have hinted above.

“ I must take the liberty,” says he, in a letter dated on the first day of the new year, or, according to the old style, December 21st, 1719, “ to entreat you that you would receive no company on the Lord’s day. I know you have a great

many good acquaintance, with whose discourses one might be very well edified ; but as you cannot keep out and let in whom you please, the best way, in my humble opinion, will be to see none." In another, of January 25th : " I am happier than any one can imagine, except I could put him exactly in the same situation with myself ; which is what the world cannot give, and no man ever attained it, unless it were from above." In another, dated March 30th, which was just before a sacrament-day : " To-morrow, if it please God, I shall be happy ; my soul being to be fed with the bread of life which came down from heaven. I shall be mindful of you all there." In another of January 29th, he thus expresses that indifference for worldly possessions, which he so remarkably carried through all the remainder of his life : " I know the rich are only stewards for the poor, and must give an account of every penny : therefore the less I have, the more easy will it be to render a faithful account of it." And to add no more from these letters at present, in the conclusion of one of them he has these comprehensive and solemn words : " Now that He who is the case of the afflicted, the support of the weak, the wealth of the poor, the teacher of the ignorant, the anchor of the fearful, and the infinite reward of all faithful souls, may pour out upon you all his richest blessings, shall always be the prayer of him who is entirely yours," &c.

To this account of his correspondence with his excellent mother, I should be glad to add a large view of another to which she introduced him, with that reverend and valuable person under whose pastoral care she was placed, I mean the justly celebrated Dr. Edmund Calamy, to whom she could not but early communicate the joyful news of her son's conversion. I am not so happy as to be possessed of the letters which passed between them, which I have reason to believe would make a curious and valuable collection ; but I have had the pleasure of receiving from my worthy and amiable friend, the Reverend Mr. Edmund Calamy, one of the letters which the Doctor his father wrote to the Major on this wonderful occasion. I perceive by the contents of it that it was the first, and indeed it is dated as early as the 3d of August, 1719 ; which must be but a few days after his own account, dated August 4th, N.S., could reach England. There is so much true religion and good sense in this paper, and the counsel it suggests may be so seasonable to other persons in circumstances which bear any resemblance to his, that I make no apology to my reader for inserting a large extract from it.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ I CONCEIVE it will not much surprise you to understand that your good mother communi-

cated to me your letter to her, dated August 4th, N.S., which brought her the news you conceive would be so acceptable to her. I, who have often been a witness to her concern for you on a spiritual account, can attest with what joy this news was received by her, and imparted to me as a special friend, who she knew would bear a part with her on such an occasion. And indeed, if (as our Saviour intimates, Luke xv. 7, 10) there is in such cases joy in heaven, and among the angels of God, it may well be supposed that of a pious mother, who has spent so many prayers and tears upon you, and has, as it were, 'travailed in birth with you again till Christ was formed' in you, could not be small. You may believe me if I add, that I also, as a common friend of hers and yours, and, which is much more, of the Prince of light, whom you now declare you heartily fall in with in opposition to that of the dark kingdom, could not but be tenderly affected with an account of it under your own hand. My joy on this account was the greater, considering the importance of your capacity, interests, and prospects; which, in such an age as this, may promise most happy consequences on your heartily appearing on God's side, and embarking in the interest of our dear Redeemer. If I have hitherto at all remembered you at the throne of grace at your good mother's desire, (which you are pleased to take notice of with so much respect,) I can

assure you I shall henceforward be led to do it with more concern and particularity, both by duty and inclination. And if I were capable of giving you any little assistance in the noble design you are engaging in, by corresponding with you by letter while you are at such a distance, I should do it most cheerfully. And, perhaps, such a motion may not be altogether unacceptable; for I am inclinable to believe that when some, whom you are obliged to converse with, observe your behaviour so different from what it formerly was, and banter you upon it as mad and fanciful, it may be some little relief to correspond with one who will take a pleasure in heartening and encouraging you. And when a great many things frequently offer in which conscience may be concerned, where duty may not always be plain, nor suitable persons to advise with at hand, it may be some satisfaction to you to correspond with one, with whom you may use a friendly freedom in all such matters, and on whose fidelity you may depend. You may, therefore, command me in any of these respects, and I shall take a pleasure in serving you. One piece of advice I shall venture to give you, though your own good sense will make my enlarging upon it less needful; I mean, that you would from your first setting out carefully distinguish between the essentials of real religion, and those things which are commonly reckoned by its pro-

fessors to belong to it. The want of this distinction has had very unhappy consequences from one age to another, and perhaps in none more than the present. But your daily converse with your Bible, which you mention, may herein give you great assistance. I move also, that since infidelity so much abounds, you would, not only by close and serious consideration, endeavour to settle yourself well in the fundamental principles of religion; but also that, as opportunity offers, you would converse with those books which treat most judiciously on the divine original of Christianity, such as Grotius, Abbadie, Baxter, Bates, Du Plessis, &c., which may establish you against the cavils that occur in almost all conversations, and furnish you with arguments which, when properly offered, may be of use to make some impressions on others. But being too much straitened to enlarge at present, I can only add, that if your hearty falling in with serious religion should prove any hinderance to your advancement in the world, (which I pray God it may not, unless such advancement would be a real snare to you,) I hope you will trust our Saviour's word, that it shall be no disadvantage to you in the final issue. He has given you his word for it, Matt. xix. 29, upon which you may safely depend; and I am satisfied none that ever did so, at last repented of it. May you go on and prosper, and the God of all grace and peace be with you!"

I think it very evident from the contents of this letter, that the Major had not imparted to his mother the most singular circumstances attending his conversion : and, indeed, there was something so peculiar in them, that I do not wonder he was always cautious in speaking of them, and, especially, that he was at first much on the reserve. We may also naturally reflect, that there seems to have been something very providential in this letter, considering the debate in which our illustrious convert was so soon engaged ; for it was written but about three weeks before his conference with the lady above-mentioned, in the defence of Christianity ; or, at least, before the appointment of it. And as some of the books recommended by Dr. Calamy, particularly Abbadie and Du Plessis, were undoubtedly within his reach, if our English advocates were not, this might, by the divine blessing, contribute considerably towards arming him for that combat, in which he came off with such happy success. And, as in this instance, so in many others, they who will observe the coincidence and concurrence of things, may be engaged to adore the wise conduct of Providence in events which, when taken singly and by themselves have nothing very remarkable in them.

I think it was about this time, that this resolute and exemplary Christian entered upon that methodical manner of living, which he pursued through so

many succeeding years of life, and I believe generally, so far as the broken state of his health would allow it in his latter days, to the very end of it. He used constantly to rise at four in the morning, and to spend his time till six in the secret exercises of devotion, reading, meditation, and prayer; in which last he contracted such a fervency of spirit, as I believe few men living ever obtained. This certainly tended very much to strengthen that firm faith in God, and reverent animating sense of his presence, for which he was so eminently remarkable, and which carried him through the trials and services of life with such steadiness, and with such activity; for he indeed endured and acted as always seeing Him who is invisible. If at any time he was obliged to go out before six in the morning, he rose proportionably sooner; so that when a journey, or a march, has required him to be on horseback by four, he would be at his devotions at farthest by two. He likewise secured time for retirement in an evening; and that he might have it the more at command, and be the more fit to use it properly, as well as the better able to rise early the next morning, he generally went to bed about ten: and, during the time I was acquainted with him, he seldom ate any supper, but a mouthful of bread with one glass of wine. In consequence of this, as well as of his admirably good constitution, and the long habit he had formed, he

required less sleep than most persons I have known : and I doubt not but his uncommon progress in piety was in a great measure owing to these resolute habits of self-denial.

A life anything like this could not, to be sure, be entered upon, in the midst of such company as he had been accustomed to keep, without great opposition ; especially as he did not entirely withdraw himself from all the circle of cheerful conversation, but, on the contrary, gave several hours every day to it, lest religion should be reproached, as having made him morose. He, however, early began a practice, which to the last day of his life he retained, of reproving vice and profaneness ; and was never afraid to debate the matter with any, under the consciousness of such superiority in the goodness of his cause.

A remarkable instance of this happened, if I mistake not, about the middle of the year 1720, though I cannot be very exact as to the date of the story. It was, however, on his first return to make any considerable abode in England, after this remarkable change. He had heard, on the other side of the water, that it was currently reported among his companions at home, that he was stark mad : a report at which no reader, who knows the wisdom of the world in these matters, will be much surprised, any more than himself. He concluded, therefore, that he should have many battles to fight, and was willing to

dispatch the business as fast as he could. And therefore, being to spend a few days at the country house of a person of distinguished rank, with whom he had been very intimate, (whose name I do not remember that he told me, nor did I think it proper to inquire after it,) he begged the favour of him that he would contrive matters so, that a day or two after he came down, several of their former gay companions might meet at his Lordship's table; that he might have an opportunity of making his apology to them, and acquainting them with the nature and reasons of his change. It was accordingly agreed to; and a pretty large company met on the day appointed, with previous notice that Major Gardiner would be there. A good deal of raillery passed at dinner, to which the Major made very little answer. But when the cloth was taken away, and the servants retired, he begged their patience for a few minutes, and then plainly and seriously told them what notions he entertained of virtue and religion, and on what considerations he had absolutely determined, that by the grace of God he would make it the care and business of life, whatever he might lose by it, and whatever censure and contempt he might incur. He well knew how improper it was in such company to relate the extraordinary manner in which he was awakened; which they would probably have interpreted to a demonstration of lunacy, against

all the gravity and solidity of his discourse: but he contented himself with such a rational defence of a righteous, sober, and godly life, as he knew none of them could with any shadow of reason contest. He then challenged them to propose any thing they could urge, to prove that a life of irreligion and debauchery was preferable to the fear, love, and worship of the eternal God, and a conduct agreeable to the precepts of his Gospel. And he failed not to bear his testimony from his own experience, (to one part of which many of them had been witnesses,) that after having run the widest round of sensual pleasure, with all the advantages the best constitution and spirits could give him, he had never tasted any thing that deserved to be called happiness, till he had made religion his refuge and his delight. He testified, calmly and boldly, the habitual serenity and peace that he now felt in his own breast, (for the most elevated delights he did not think fit to plead, lest they should be esteemed enthusiasm,) and the composure and pleasure with which he looked forward to objects which the gayest sinner must acknowledge to be equally unavoidable and dreadful.

I know not what might be attempted by some of the company in answer to this; but I well remember he told me, the master of the table, a person of a very frank and candid disposition, cut short the debate, and said, "Come, let us call

another cause : we thought this man mad, and he is in good earnest proving that we are so." On the whole, this well-judged circumstance saved him a great deal of future trouble. When his former acquaintance observed, that he was still conversable and innocently cheerful, and that he was immovable in his resolutions, they desisted from farther importunity. And he has assured me, that, instead of losing any one valuable friend by this change in his character, he found himself much more esteemed and regarded by many who could not persuade themselves to imitate his example.

CHAPTER IV.

I HAVE not any memoirs of Colonel Gardiner's life, or of any other remarkable event befalling him in it, from the time of his return to England, till his marriage in the year 1726; except the extracts which have been sent me from some letters, which he wrote to his religious friends during this interval, and which I cannot pass by without a more particular notice. It may be recollected, that in consequence of the reduction of that regiment of which he was Major, he was out of commission from November 10th, 1718, till June 1st, 1724. And after he returned from

Paris, I find all his letters, during this period, dated from London, where he continued in communion with the Christian society under the pastoral care of Dr. Calamy. As his good mother also belonged to the same, it is easy to imagine, it must be an unspeakable pleasure to her to have such frequent opportunities of conversing with such a son, of observing in his daily conduct and discourses the blessed effects of that change which divine grace had made in his heart, and of sitting down with him monthly at that sacred feast, where Christians so frequently enjoy the divinest entertainments which they expect on this side heaven. I the rather mention this ordinance, because as this excellent lady had a very high esteem for it, so she had an opportunity of attending it but the very Lord's day immediately preceding her death, which happened on Thursday, October 7th, 1725, after her son had been removed from her almost a year. He had maintained her handsomely out of that very moderate income on which he subsisted since his regiment had been disbanded; and when she expressed her gratitude to him for it, he assured her, (I think, in one of the last letters she ever received from him,) that he esteemed it a great honour, that God put it into his power to make, what he called, a very small acknowledgment of all her care for him, and especially of the many prayers she had offered on his account, which had already

been remarkably answered, and the benefit of which he hoped ever to enjoy.

I apprehend that the Earl of Stair's regiment, to the Majority of which he was promoted on the 20th of July, 1724, was then quartered in Scotland; for all the letters in my hand, from that time to the 6th of February, 1726, are dated from thence, and particularly from Douglas, Stranrawen, Hamilton, and Ayr: but I have the pleasure to find, from comparing these with others of an earlier date from London and the neighbouring parts, that neither the detriment which he must suffer by being so long out of commission, nor the hurry of affairs while charged with it, could prevent or interrupt that intercourse with heaven, which was his daily feast, and his daily strength.

These were most eminently the happy years of his life: for he had learned to estimate his happiness, not by the increase of honour, or the possession of wealth, or by, what was much dearer to his generous heart than either, the converse of the dearest and worthiest human friends; but by nearness to God, and by opportunities of humble converse with him, in the lively exercise of contemplation, praise, and prayer. Now there was no period of his life, in which he was more eminently favoured with these; nor do I find any of his letters so overflowing with transports of holy joy, as those which were dated during this time. There are, indeed, in some of them such very

sublime passages, that I have been dubious whether I should communicate them to the public or not ; lest I should administer matter of profane ridicule to some, who look upon all the elevations of devotion as a contemptible enthusiasm. And it has also given me some apprehensions, lest it should discourage some pious Christians, who, after having spent several years in the service of God, and in humble obedience to the precepts of his Gospel, may not have attained to any such heights as these. But, on the whole, I cannot satisfy myself to suppress them ; not only as I number some of them, considered in a devotional view, among the most extraordinary pieces of the kind I have ever met with ; but as some of the most excellent and judicious persons I any where know, to whom I have read them, have assured me, that they felt their hearts in an unusual manner impressed, quickened, and edified by them.

I will therefore draw back the veil, and show my much honoured friend in his most secret recesses ; that the world may see what those springs were, from whence issued that clear, permanent, and living stream of wisdom, piety, and virtue, which so apparently ran through all that part of his life which was open to public observation. It is not to be imagined, that letters written in the intimacy of Christian friendship, some of them with the most apparent marks of haste,

and amidst a variety of important public cares, should be adorned with any studied elegance of expression, about which the greatness of his soul would not allow him to be at any time very solicitous; for he generally, so far as I could observe, wrote as fast as his pen could move, which, happily both for him and his many friends, was very freely. Yet here the grandeur of his subject hath sometimes clothed his ideas with a language more elevated than is ordinarily to be expected in an epistolary correspondence. The proud scorers, who may deride sentiments and enjoyments like those which this truly great man so experimentally and pathetically describes, I pity from my heart; and grieve to think how unfit they must be for the hallelujahs of heaven, who pour contempt upon the nearest approaches to them: nor shall I think it any misfortune to share with so excellent a person in their profane derision. It will be infinitely more than an equivalent for all that such ignorance and petulancy can think and say, if I may convince some who are as yet strangers to religion, how real and how noble its delights are; if I may engage my pious readers to glorify God for so illustrious an instance of his grace; and finally, if I may quicken them, and, above all, may rouse my own too indulgent spirit, to follow with less unequal steps an example, to the sublimity of which, I fear, few of us shall, after all, be able fully to attain. And that we

may not be too much discouraged under the deficiency, let it be recollected, that few have the advantage of a temper naturally so warm ; few have an equal command of retirement ; and perhaps hardly any one who thinks himself most indebted to the riches and freedom of divine grace can trace interpositions of it in all respects equally astonishing.

The first of these extraordinary letters which have fallen into my hand is dated near three years after his conversion, and addressed to a lady of quality. I believe it is the first the Major ever wrote, so immediately on the subject of his religious consolations and converse with God in devout retirement. For I well remember that he once told me, he was so much afraid that something of spiritual pride should mingle itself with the relation of such kind of experiences, that he concealed them a long time : but observing with how much freedom the sacred writers open all the most secret recesses of their hearts, especially in the Psalms, his conscience began to be burdened under an apprehension, that, for the honour of God, and in order to engage the concurrent praises of some of his people, he ought to disclose them. On this he set himself to reflect, who among all his numerous acquaintance seemed at once the most experienced Christian he knew, (to whom, therefore, such things as he had to communicate might appear solid and credible,)

and who the humblest. He quickly thought of the Lady Marchioness of Douglas in this view : and the reader may well imagine, that it struck my mind very strongly, to think that now, more than twenty-four years after it was written, Providence should bring to my hands, as it has done within these few days, what I assuredly believe to be a genuine copy of that very letter ; which I had not the least reason to expect I should ever have seen, when I learned from his own mouth, amidst the freedom of an accidental conversation, the occasion and circumstances of it.

It is dated from London, July 21st, 1722, and the very first lines of it relate to a remarkable circumstance, which from others of his letters I find to have happened several times. I mean, that when he had received from any of his Christian friends a few lines which particularly affected his heart, he could not stay till the stated return of his devotional hour, but immediately retired to pray for them, and to give vent to those religious emotions of mind which such a correspondence raised. How invaluable was such a friend ! and how great reason have those of us, who once possessed a large share in his heart, and in those retired and sacred moments, to bless God for so singular a felicity ; and to comfort ourselves in a pleasing hope, that we may yet reap future blessings, as the harvest of those petitions which he can no more repeat !

His words are these : "I was so happy as to receive yours just as I arrived ; and I had no sooner read it, but I shut my door, and sought Him whom my soul loveth. I sought him, and found him ; and would not let him go till he had blessed us all. It is impossible to find words to express what I obtained ; but I suppose it was something like that which the disciples got, as they were going to Emmaus, when they said, 'Did not our hearts burn within us?' &c. ; or, rather, like what Paul felt, when he could not tell whether he was in the body or out of it." He then mentions his dread of spiritual pride, from which he earnestly prays that God may deliver and preserve him. "This," says he, "would have hindered me from communicating these things, if I had not such an example before me as the man after God's own heart, saying, 'I will declare what God hath done for my soul ;' and elsewhere, 'The humble shall hear thereof, and be glad :' now I am well satisfied that your Ladyship is of that number." He then adds, "I had no sooner finished this exercise," that is, of prayer above-mentioned, "but I sat down to admire the goodness of my God, that he would vouchsafe to influence by his free Spirit so undeserving a wretch as I, and to make me thus to mount up with eagles' wings. And here I was lost again, and got into an ocean, where I could find neither bound nor bottom ; but was obliged

to cry out, with the Apostle, 'O the breadth, the length, the depth, the height, of the love of Christ, which passeth knowledge!' But if I give way to this strain, I shall never have done. That 'the God of hope may fill you with all joy and peace in believing,' that you may 'abound in hope through the power of the Holy Ghost,' shall always be the prayer of him, who is, with the greatest sincerity and respect, your Ladyship's," &c.

Another passage to the same purpose I find in a memorandum, which he seems to have written for his own use, dated Monday, March 11th, which I perceive from many concurrent circumstances must have been in the year 1722-3. "This day," says he, "having been to visit Mrs. G. at Hampstead, I came home about two, and read a sermon on those words, 'But there is forgiveness with thee, that thou mayest be feared,' Psalm cxxx. 4; about the latter end of which, there is a description of the miserable condition of those that are slightsers of pardoning grace. From a sense of the great obligations I lay under to the Almighty God, who hath made me to differ from such, from what I was, and from the rest of my companions, I kneeled down to praise his holy name; and I know not, that in my life time I ever lay lower in the dust, never having had a fuller view of my own unworthiness. I never pleaded more strongly the merits and inter-

cession of Him who I know is worthy; never vowed more sincerely to be the Lord's, and to accept of Christ as he is offered in the Gospel, as my King, Priest, and Prophet; never had so strong a desire to depart, that I might sin no more; but, 'My grace is sufficient,' curbed that desire. I never pleaded with greater fervency for the Comforter, which our blessed Lord hath promised shall abide with us for ever. For all which, I desire to ascribe glory, &c., to 'Him that sitteth on the throne, and to the Lamb.'"

There are several others of his papers which speak much the same language; which, had he kept a diary, would, I doubt not, have filled many sheets. I believe my devout readers would not soon be weary of reading extracts of this kind: but that I may not exceed in this part of my narrative, I shall mention only two more, each of them dated some years after; that is, one from Douglas, April 1st, 1725; and the other from Stranrawen, the 25th of May following.

The former of these relates to the frame of his spirit on a journey. On the mention of which I cannot but recollect how often I have heard him say, that some of the most delightful days of his life were days in which he travelled alone, (that is, with only a servant at a distance,) when he could, especially in roads not much frequented, indulge himself in the pleasures of prayer and praise. In the exercise of which last, he was

greatly assisted by several psalms and hymns which he had treasured up in his memory, and which he used not only to repeat aloud, but sometimes to sing. In reference to this I remember the following passage, in a letter which he wrote to me many years after, when, on mentioning my ever dear and honoured friend the Rev. Dr. Watts, he says, "How often in singing some of his psalms, hymns, or lyrics, on horseback and elsewhere, has the evil spirit been made to flee,—

'Whene'er my heart in tune was found,
Like David's harp of solemn sound!'"

Such was the 1st of April above-mentioned, in the evening of which he writes thus to an intimate friend:—"What would I have given this day, upon the road, for paper, pen, and ink, when the Spirit of the Most High rested upon me! O for the pen of a ready writer, and the tongue of an angel, to declare what God hath done this day for my soul! But, in short, it is in vain to attempt it. All that I am able to say is only this, that my soul has been for some hours joining with the blessed spirits above, in giving 'glory, and honour, and praise unto Him that sitteth upon the throne, and to the Lamb, for ever and ever.' My praises began from a renewed view of Him whom I saw pierced for my transgressions. I summoned the whole hierarchy of heaven to join with me; and I am persuaded

they all echoed back praise to the Most High. Yea, one would have thought the very larks joined me with emulation. Sure, then, I need not make use of many words to persuade you that are his saints, to join me in blessing and praising his holy name." He concludes: "May the blessing of the God of Jacob rest upon you all! Adieu. Written in great haste, late, and weary."

Scarcely can I here refrain from breaking out into more copious reflections on the exquisite pleasures of true religion, when risen to such eminent degrees; which can thus feast the soul in its solitude, and refresh it on journeys, and bring down so much of heaven to earth as this delightful letter expresses. But the remark is so obvious that I will not enlarge upon it, but proceed to the other letter above-mentioned, which was written the next month, on the Tuesday after a sacrament-day.

He mentions the pleasure with which he had attended a preparation-sermon the Saturday before; and then he adds, "I took a walk upon the mountains that are over against Ireland; and I persuade myself that, were I capable of giving you a description of what passed there, you would agree that I had much better reason to remember my God from the hills of Port-Patrick, than David from the land of Jordan and of the Hermonites, from the hill Mizar." I suppose he

means in reference to the clearer discoveries of the Gospel with which we are favoured. "In short," says he immediately afterwards, in that Scripture phrase which was become so familiar to him, "I wrestled some hours with the Angel of the Covenant, and made supplications to him with floods of tears and cries, until I had almost expired; but he strengthened me so, that, like Jacob, I had power with God and prevailed. This," adds he, "is but a very faint description: you will be more able to judge of it by what you have felt yourself upon the like occasions. After such preparatory work, I need not tell you how blessed the solemn ordinance of the Lord's supper proved to me; I hope it was so to many. You may believe I should have been exceeding glad, if my gracious Lord had ordered it so, that I might have made you a visit, as I proposed; but I am now glad it was ordered otherwise, since he hath caused so much of his goodness to pass before me. Were I to give you an account of the many favours my God hath loaded me with, since I parted from you, I must have taken up many days in nothing but writing. I hope you will join with me in praises for all the goodness he has shown to your unworthy brother in the Lord."

Such were the ardours and elevations of his soul; but while I record these memorials of them, I am very sensible there are many who

will be inclined to censure them as the flights of enthusiasm ; for which reason I must beg leave to add a remark or two on the occasion, which will be illustrated by several other extracts, which I shall introduce into the sequel of these memoirs. The one is, that he never pretends, in any of the passages cited above, or elsewhere, to have received any immediate revelations from God which should raise him above the ordinary methods of instruction, or discover any thing to him, whether of doctrines or facts. No man was farther from pretending to predict future events, except it were from the moral prognostications of causes naturally tending to produce them ; in tracing of which he had indeed an admirable sagacity, as I have seen in some very remarkable instances. Neither was he at all inclinable to govern himself by secret impulses upon his mind, leading him to things for which he could assign no reason but the impulse itself. Had he ventured, in a presumption on such secret agitations of mind, to teach or to do any thing not warranted by the dictates of sound sense and the word of God, I should readily have acknowledged him an enthusiast ; unless he could have produced some other evidence than his own persuasion to have supported the authority of them. But these ardent expressions, which some may call "enthusiasm," seem only to evidence a heart deeply affected with a sense of the divine presence and perfec-

tions, and of that love which passeth knowledge ; especially as manifested in our redemption by the Son of God, which did indeed inflame his whole soul. And he thought he might reasonably ascribe the strong impressions to which men are generally such strangers, and of which he had long been entirely destitute, to the agency or influence of the Spirit of God upon his heart ; and that, in proportion to the degree in which he felt them, he might properly say, God was present with him, and he conversed with God.* Now when we consider the scriptural phrases of “ walk-

* The ingenious and pious Mr. Grove, who I think was as little suspected of running into enthusiastical extremes as most Divines I could name, has a noble passage to this purpose, in the sixth volume of his posthumous works, pp. 40, 41, which respect to the memory of both these excellent persons inclines me to insert here :—“ How often are good thoughts suggested,” (namely, to the pure in heart,) “ heavenly affections kindled and inflamed ; how often is the Christian prompted to holy actions, drawn to his duty, restored, quickened, persuaded, in such a manner that he would be unjust to the Spirit of God to question his agency in the whole ! Yes, O my soul, there is a supreme Being, who governs the world and is present with it, who takes up his more special habitation in good men, and is nigh to all who call upon him, to sanctify and assist them ! Hast thou not felt him, O my soul, like another soul, actuating thy faculties, exalting thy views, purifying thy passions, exciting thy graces, and begetting in thee an abhorrence of sin and a love of holiness ? And is not all this an argument of his presence, as truly as if thou didst see him ? ”

ing with God," of "having communion with the Father and his Son Jesus Christ," of "Christ's coming to them that open the door of their hearts to him, and supping with them," of "God's shedding abroad his love in the heart by his Spirit," of his "coming with Jesus Christ and making his abode with any man that loves him," of his "meeting him that worketh righteousness," of his "making us glad by the light of his countenance," and a variety of other equivalent expressions; I believe we shall see reason to judge much more favourably of such expressions as those now in question, than persons who are themselves strangers to elevated devotion, and perhaps converse but little with their Bible, are inclined to do; especially if they have, as many such persons have, a temper that inclines them to cavil and find fault. And I must farther observe, that, amidst all those freedoms with which this eminent Christian opens his devout heart to the most intimate of his friends, he still speaks with profound awe and reverence of his heavenly Father and his Saviour, and maintains, after the example of the sacred writers themselves, a kind of dignity in his expressions suitable to such a subject; without any of that fond familiarity of language and degrading meanness of phrase by which it is, especially of late, grown fashionable among some (who, nevertheless, I believe, mean well) to express their love and their humility.

On the whole, if habitual love to God, firm faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, a steady dependence on the divine promises, a full persuasion of the wisdom and goodness of all the dispensations of Providence, a high esteem for the blessings of the heavenly world, and a sincere contempt for the vanities of this, can properly be called "enthusiasm;" then was Colonel Gardiner indeed one of the greatest enthusiasts our age has produced; and in proportion to the degree in which he was so, I must esteem him one of the wisest and happiest of mankind. Nor do I fear to tell the world, that it is the design of my writing these memoirs, and of every thing else that I undertake in life, to spread this glorious and blessed enthusiasm; which I know to be the anticipation of heaven, as well as the most certain way to it.

But lest any should possibly imagine, that allowing the experiences which have been described above to have been ever so solid and important, yet there may be some appearance of boasting in so free a communication of them; I must add to what I have hinted in reference to this above, that I find in many of the papers before me very genuine expressions of the deepest humility and self-abasement; which indeed such holy converse with God in prayer and praise does, above all things in the world, tend to inspire and promote. Thus in one of his letters

he says, "I am but as a beast before him." In another he calls himself "a miserable hell-deserving sinner." And in another he cries out, "O, how good a Master do I serve! but alas, how ungrateful am I! What can be so astonishing as the love of Christ to us, unless it be the coldness of our sinful hearts towards such a Saviour?" with many other clauses of the like nature, which I shall not set myself more particularly to trace through the variety of letters in which they occur.

It is a farther instance of this unfeigned humility, that when, as his Lady with her usual propriety of language expresses it, in one of her letters to me concerning him, "these divine joys and consolations were not his daily allowance," he with equal freedom, in the confidence of Christian friendship, acknowledges and laments it. Thus in the first letter I had the honour of receiving from him, dated from Leicester, July 9th, 1739, when he had been mentioning the blessing with which it had pleased God to attend my last address to him, and the influence it had upon his mind, he adds, "Much do I stand in need of every help, to awaken me out of that spiritual deadness which seizes me so often. Once, indeed, it was quite otherwise with me, and that for many years:—

' Firm was my health, my day was bright,
And I presumed 'twould ne'er be night :

Fondly I said within my heart,
Pleasure and peace shall ne'er depart.
But I forgot thine arm was strong,
Which made my mountain stand so long :
Soon as thy face began to hide,
My health was gone, my comforts died.'

And here," adds he, "lies my sin, and my folly."

I mention this, that the whole matter may be seen just as it was, and that other Christians may not be discouraged, if they feel some abatement of that fervour, and of those holy joys, which they may have experienced during some of the first months or years of their spiritual life. But with relation to the Colonel, I have great reason to believe, that these which he laments as his days of spiritual deadness were not unanimated ; and that, quickly after the date of this letter, and especially nearer the close of his life, he had farther revivings, as the joyful anticipation of those better things in reserve, which were then nearly approaching. And thus Mr. Spears, in the letter I mentioned above, tells us he related the matter to him ; for he studies as much as possible to retain the Colonel's own words : "However," says he, "after that happy period of sensible communion, though my joys and enlargements were not so overflowing and sensible, yet I have had habitual real communion with God from that day to this ;" the latter end of the year 1743 ; "and I

know myself, and all that know me see, that, through the grace of God, to which I ascribe all, my conversation has been becoming the Gospel ; and let me die whenever it shall please God, or wherever it shall be, I am sure I shall go to the mansions of eternal glory," &c. And this is perfectly agreeable to the manner in which he used to speak to me on this head, which we have talked over frequently and largely.

In this connexion I hope my reader will forgive my inserting a little story, which I received from a very worthy Minister in Scotland, and which I shall give in his own words. "In this period," meaning that which followed the first seven years after his conversion, "when his complaint of comparative deadness and languor in religion began, he had a dream ; which, though he had no turn at all for taking notice of dreams, yet made a very strong impression upon his mind. He imagined that he saw his blessed Redeemer on earth, and that he was following him through a large field, following Him whom his soul loved, but much troubled, because he thought his blessed Lord did not speak to him ; till he came up to the gate of a burying-place, when turning about he smiled upon him, in such a manner as filled his soul with the most ravishing joy ; and on after-reflection animated his faith, in believing that whatever storms and darkness he might meet with in the way, at the

hour of death his glorious Redeemer would lift up upon him the light of his life-giving countenance." My correspondent adds a circumstance, for which he makes some apology, as what may seem whimsical, and yet made some impression on himself; "that there was a remarkable resemblance in the field in which this brave man met death, and that he had represented to him in the dream." I did not fully understand this at first; but a passage in that letter from Mr. Spears, which I have mentioned more than once, has cleared it. "Now observe, Sir, this seems to be a literal description of the place where this Christian hero ended his sorrows and conflicts, and from which he entered triumphantly into the joy of his Lord. For after he fell in the battle, fighting gloriously for his King and the cause of his God, his wounded body, while life was yet remaining, was carried from the field of battle by the east side of his own inclosure, till he came to the churchyard of Tranent, and was brought to the Minister's house; where he soon after breathed out his soul into the hands of his Lord, and was conducted to his presence, where there is fulness of joy, without any cloud or interruption for ever."

I well know that in dreams there are divers vanities; and readily acknowledge, that nothing certain could be inferred from this: yet it seems at least to show which way the imagination was

working even in sleep ; and I cannot think it unworthy of a wise and good man, sometimes to reflect with complacency on any images, which, passing through his mind even in that state, may tend either to express, or to quicken, his love to the great Saviour. Those eminently pious Divines of the Church of England, Bishop Bull and Bishop Ken, do both intimate it as their opinion, that it may be a part of the service of ministering angels to suggest devout dreams :* and I know, that the worthy person of whom I speak, was well acquainted with that midnight hymn of the latter of those excellent writers, which has these lines :—

“ Lord, lest the tempter me surprise,
 Watch over thine own sacrifice !
 All loose, all idle thoughts cast out ;
 And make my very dreams devout ! ”

Nor would it be difficult to produce other pas-

* Bishop Bull has these remarkable words : “ Although I am no doater on dreams, yet I verily believe, that some dreams are monitory, above the power of fancy, and impressed upon us by some superior influence. For of such dreams we have plain and undeniable instances in history, both sacred and profane, and in our own age and observation. Nor shall I so value the laughter of sceptics, and the scoffs of the epicureans, as to be ashamed to profess, that I myself have had some convincing experiments of such impressions.” BISHOP BULL'S *Serm. and Disc.* vol. ii., pp. 489, 490.

sages much to the same purpose,* if it would not be deemed too great a digression from our subject, and too laboured a vindication of a little incident, of very small importance, when compared with most of those which make up this narrative.

CHAPTER V.

I MEET not with any other remarkable event relating to Major Gardiner, which can properly be introduced here, till the year 1726; when, on the 11th day of July, he was married to the Right Honourable the Lady Frances Erskine, daughter to the late Earl of Buchan, by whom he had

* If I mistake not, the same Bishop Ken is the author of a midnight hymn, concluding with these words:—

“ May my ethereal guardian kindly spread
His wings, and from the tempter screen my head ;
Grant of celestial light some piercing beams,
To bless my sleep, and sanctify my dreams ! ”

As he certainly was of those exactly parallel lines:—

“ O may my guardian, while I sleep,
Close to my bed his vigils keep ;
His love angelical instil,
Stop all the avenues of ill !
May he celestial joys rehearse,
And thought to thought with me converse ! ”

thirteen children, five only of whom survived their father, two sons and three daughters ; whom I cannot mention without the most fervent prayers to God for them, that they may always behave worthy the honour of being descended from such parents ; and that the God of their father, and of their mother, may make them perpetually the care of his providence, and yet more eminently happy in the constant and abundant influences of his grace !

The Colonel assured me, when he had been happy in this intimate relation to her Ladyship more than fourteen years, that the greatest imperfection he knew in her character was, that she valued and loved him much more than he deserved. And little did he think, in the simplicity of heart with which he spoke this, how high an encomium he was making upon her, and how lasting an honour such a testimony must leave upon her name, long as the memory of it shall continue.

As I do not intend in these memoirs a laboured essay on the character of Colonel Gardiner, digested under the various virtues and graces which Christianity requires ; (which would, I think, be a little too formal for a work of this kind, and would give it such an air of panegyric as would neither suit my design, nor be at all likely to render it more useful ;) I shall now mention what I have either observed in him, or heard concerning him, with regard to those

domestic relations which commenced about this time, or quickly after. And here my reader will easily conclude, that the resolution of Joshua was from the first adopted and declared : “ As for me, and my house, we will serve the Lord.” It will naturally be supposed, that as soon as he had a house, he erected an altar in it ; that the word of God was read there, and prayers and praises were constantly offered. These were not to be omitted on account of any guest ; for he esteemed it a part of due respect to those that remained under his roof, to take it for granted, they would look upon it as a very bad compliment, to imagine they would have been obliged by neglecting the duties of religion on their account. As his family increased, he had a Minister stately resident in his house, who both discharged the office of a Tutor to his children, and of a Chaplain ; and who was always treated with a becoming kindness and respect. But in his absence, the Colonel himself led the devotions of the family ; and they were happy, who had an opportunity of knowing, with how much solemnity, fervour, and propriety he did it.

He was constant in attendance upon public worship, in which an exemplary care was taken that the children and servants might accompany the heads of the family. And how he would have resented the non-attendance of any member of it, may easily be conjectured, from a free but lively

passage in a letter to one of his intimate friends, on an occasion which it is not material to mention. "O, Sir, had a child of yours under my roof but once neglected the public worship of God, when he was able to attend it, I should have been ready to conclude he had been distracted, and should have thought of shaving his head, and confining him in a dark room."

He always treated his Lady with a manly tenderness, giving her the most natural evidences of a cordial, habitual esteem, and expressing a most affectionate sympathy with her under the infirmities of a very delicate constitution, much broken, at least towards the latter years of their marriage, in consequence of so frequent pregnancy. He had at all times a most faithful care of all her interests, and especially those relating to the state of religion in her mind. His conversation and his letters concurred to cherish those sublime ideas which Christianity suggests; to promote our submission to the will of God; to teach us to centre our happiness in the great Author of our being, and to live by faith in the invisible world. These, no doubt, were frequently the subjects of mutual discourse; and many letters, which her Ladyship has had the goodness to communicate to me, are most convincing evidences of the degree in which this noble and most friendly care filled his mind, in the days of their separation,—days which so entire a mutual affection must have rendered

exceeding painful, had they not been supported by such exalted sentiments of piety, and sweetened by daily communion with an ever-present and ever-gracious God.

The necessity of being so many months together distant from his family hindered him from many of those condescending labours in cultivating the minds of his children in early life, which to a soul so benevolent, so wise, and so zealous, would undoubtedly have afforded a very exquisite pleasure. The care of his worthy consort, who well knew that it is one of the brightest parts of a mother's character, and one of the most important views in which the sex can be considered, made him the easier under such a circumstance; but when he was with them, he failed not to instruct and admonish them; and the constant deep sense with which he spoke of divine things, and the real unaffected indifference which he always showed for what this vain world is most ready to admire, were excellent lessons of daily wisdom, which I hope they will recollect with advantage in every future scene of life. And I have seen such hints in his letters relating to them, as plainly show with how great a weight they lay on his mind, and how highly he desired, above all things, that they might be the faithful disciples of Christ, and acquainted betimes with the unequalled pleasures and blessings of religion. He thought an excess of delicacy and of indulgence one of the most

dangerous faults in education, by which he every where saw great numbers of young people undone: yet he was solicitous to guard against a severity which might terrify or discourage; and though he endeavoured to take all prudent precautions to prevent the commission of faults, yet, when they had been committed, and there seemed to be a sense of them, he was always ready to make the most candid allowances for the thoughtlessness of unripened years, and tenderly to cherish every purpose of a more proper conduct for the time to come.

It was easy to perceive, that the openings of genius in the young branches of his family gave him great delight, and that he had a secret ambition to see them excel in what they undertook. Yet he was greatly cautious over his heart, lest it should be too fondly attached to them; and as he was one of the most eminent proficient in I ever knew in the blessed science of resignation to the divine will, so there was no effect of that resignation which appeared to me more admirable, than what related to the life of his children. An experience, which no length of time will ever efface out of my memory, has so sensibly taught me how difficult it is fully to support the Christian character here, that I hope my reader will pardon me, (I am sure at least the heart of wounded parents will,) if I dwell a little longer upon so interesting a subject.

When he was in Herefordshire, in the month

of July, in the year 1734, it pleased God to visit his little family with the small-pox. Five days before the date of the letter I am just going to mention, he had received the agreeable news, that there was a prospect of the recovery of his son, then under that awful visitation; and he had been expressing his thankfulness for it, in a letter which he had sent away but a few hours before he was informed of his death; the surprise of which, in this connexion, must naturally be very great. But behold (says the reverend and worthy person from whom I received the copy) his truly filial submission to the will of his heavenly Father, in the following lines addressed to the dear partner of his affliction:—"Your resignation to the will of God under this dispensation gives me more joy than the death of the child has given me sorrow. He, to be sure, is happy; and we 'shall go to him,' though 'he shall not return to us.' O that we had our latter end always in view!—We shall soon follow; and O what reason have we to long for that glorious day when we shall get quit of this body of sin and death, under which we now groan, and which renders this life so wretched! I desire to bless God, that — [another of his children] is in so good a way: but I have resigned her. We must not choose for ourselves; and it is well we must not, for we should often make a very bad choice. And therefore it is our wisdom, as well as our duty, to leave all with a

gracious God ; who hath promised, that all things shall work together for good to those that love him : and he is faithful that hath promised, who will infallibly perform it, if our unbelief does not stand in the way."

The greatest trial of this kind that he ever bore was in the removal of his second son, who was one of the most amiable and promising children that has been known. The dear little creature was the darling of all that knew him ; and promised very fair, so far as a child could be known by its doings, to have been a great ornament to the family, and blessing to the public. The suddenness of the stroke must, no doubt, render it the more painful ; for this beloved child was snatched away by an illness which seized him but about fifteen hours before it carried him off. He died in the month of October, 1733, at near six years old. Their friends were ready to fear that his affectionate parents would be almost overwhelmed with such a loss : but the happy father had so firm a persuasion that God had received the dear little one to the felicities of the celestial world, and at the same time had so strong a sense of the divine goodness, in taking one of his children, and that, too, one who lay so near his heart, so early to himself, that the sorrows of nature were quite swallowed up in the sublime joy which these considerations administered. When he reflected, what human life is ; how many its snares

and temptations are ; and how frequently children, who once promised very well, are insensibly corrupted, and at length undone ; with Solomon, he blessed the dead already dead, more than the living who were yet alive, and felt an unspeakable pleasure in looking after the lovely infant as safely and delightfully lodged in the house of its heavenly Father. Yea, he assured me, that his heart was at this time so entirely taken up with these views, that he was afraid, they who did not thoroughly know him might suspect that he was deficient in the natural affections of a parent, while thus borne above the anguish of them by the views which faith administered to him, and which divine grace supported in his soul.

So much did he, on one of the most trying occasions of life, manifest of the temper of a glorified saint ; and to such happy purposes did he retain those lessons of submission to God, and acquiescence in him, which I remember he once inculcated in a letter he wrote to a lady of quality, under the apprehension of a breach in her family, with which Providence seemed to threaten her, which I am willing to insert here, though a little out of what might seem its most proper place, rather than entirely to omit it. It is dated from London, June 16th, 1722 : when speaking of the dangerous illness of a dear relative, he has these words : “ When my mind runs hither,” that is, to God, as its refuge and strong

defence, as the connexion plainly determines it, “ I think I can bear any thing, the loss of all, the loss of health, of relations, on whom I depend, and whom I love, all that is dear to me, without repining or murmuring. When I think that God orders, disposes, and manages all things according to the counsel of his own will ; when I think of the extent of his providence, that it reaches to the minutest things ; then, though a useful friend or dear relative be snatched away by death, I recall myself, and check my thoughts with these considerations. Is he not God from everlasting and to everlasting ? And has he not promised to be a God to me ? a God in all his attributes, a God in all his persons, a God in all his creatures and providences ? And shall I dare to say, ‘ What shall I do ? ’ Was not he the infinite cause of all I met with in the creatures ? And were they not the finite effects of his infinite love and kindness ? I have daily experienced, that the instrument was, and is, what God makes it to be ; and I know, that this God hath the hearts of all men in his hands, and ‘ the earth is the Lord’s and the fulness thereof.’ If this earth be good for me, I shall have it ; for my Father hath it all in possession. If favour in the eyes of men be good for me, I shall have it ; for the spring of every motion in the heart of man is in God’s hand. My dear — seems now to be dying ; but God is all-wise, and every thing is

done by him for the best. Shall I hold back any thing that is his own, when he requires it? No, God forbid! When I consider the excellency of his glorious attributes, I am satisfied with all his dealings." I perceive by the introduction, and by what follows, that most, if not all, of this is a quotation from something written by a lady; but whether from some manuscript, or a printed book, whether exactly transcribed, or quoted from memory, I cannot determine; and therefore, I thought proper to insert it, as the Major, for that was the office he bore then, by thus interweaving it with his letter makes it his own; and as it seems to express in a very lively manner the principles which bore him on to a conduct so truly great and heroic, in circumstances that have overwhelmed many a heart that could have faced danger and death with the greatest intrepidity.

I return now to consider his character in the domestic relation of a master, on which I shall not enlarge. It is, however, proper to remark, that as his habitual meekness, and command of his passions, prevented indecent sallies of uncontrolled anger towards those in the lowest state of subjection to him, by which some in high life do strangely debase themselves, and lose much of their authority, so the natural greatness of his mind made him solicitous to render their inferior stations as easy as he could; and so much the rather, because he considered all the children of

Adam as standing upon a level before their great Creator, and had also a deeper sense of the dignity and worth of every immortal soul, how meanly soever it might chance to be lodged, than most persons I have known. This engaged him to give his servants frequent religious exhortations and instructions, as I have been assured by several who were so happy as to live with him under that character. One of the first letters after he entered on his Christian course expresses the same disposition ; in which with great tenderness he recommends a servant, who was in a bad state of health, to his mother's care, as he was well acquainted with her condescending temper ; mentioning at the same time the endeavours he had used, to promote his preparations for a better world, under an apprehension that he would not continue long in this. And we shall have an affecting instance of the prevalency of the same disposition, in the closing scene of his life, and indeed, in the last words he ever spoke, which expressed his generous solicitude for the safety of a faithful servant, who was then near him.

As it was a few years after his marriage that he was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, in which he continued till he had a regiment of his own, I shall for the future speak of him by that title ; and may not perhaps find any more proper place in which to mention what it is proper for me to say of his behaviour and con-

duct as an officer. I shall not here enlarge on his bravery in the field, though that was very remarkable, as I have heard from others: I say, from others, for I never heard any thing of that kind from himself, nor knew, till after his death, that he was present at almost every battle that was fought in Flanders, while the illustrious Duke of Marlborough commanded the allied army there. I have also been assured from several very credible persons, some of whom were eye-witnesses, that at the skirmish with the rebels at Preston in Lancashire, (thirty years before that engagement at the other Preston, which deprived us of this gallant guardian of his country,) he signalized himself very particularly; for he headed a little body of men, I think about twelve, and set fire to the barricado of the rebels in the face of their whole army, while they were pouring in their shot, by which eight of the twelve that attended him fell. This was the last action of the kind in which he was engaged before the long peace which ensued; and who can express how happy it was for him, and indeed for his country, of which he was ever so generous, and in his latter years so important a friend, that he did not fall then? when the profaneness which mingled itself with his martial rage seemed to rend the heavens, and shocked some other military gentlemen, who were not themselves remarkable for their caution in this respect.

But I insist not on things of this nature, which the true greatness of his soul would hardly ever permit him to mention, unless when it tended to illustrate the divine care over him in these extremities of danger, and the grace of God in calling him from so abandoned a state. It is well known, that the character of an officer is not only to be approved in the day of combat. Colonel Gardiner was truly sensible, that every day brought its duties along with it; and he was constantly careful, that no pretence of amusement, friendship, or even devotion itself, might prevent their being discharged in their season.

I doubt not, but the noble persons in whose regiment he was Lieutenant-Colonel, will always be ready to bear an honourable and grateful testimony to his exemplary diligence and fidelity in all that related to the care of the troops over which he was set; whether with regard to the men, or the horses. He knew, that it is incumbent on those who have the honour of presiding over others, whether in civil, ecclesiastical, or military offices, not to content themselves with doing only so much as may preserve them from the reproach of gross and visible neglect; but seriously to consider how much they can possibly do, without going out of their proper sphere, to serve the public, by the due inspection of those committed to their care. The duties of the closet, and of the sanctuary, were so adjusted as

not to interfere with those of the parade, or any other place where the welfare of the regiment called him. On the other hand, he was solicitous not to suffer these things to interfere with religion; a due attendance to which he apprehended to be the surest method of attaining all desirable success in every other interest and concern in life. He therefore abhorred every thing that should look like a contrivance to keep his soldiers employed about their horses and their arms at the seasons of public worship; an indecency which I wish there were no room to mention: far from that, he used to have them drawn up just before it began, and from the parade they went off to the house of God. He understood the rights of conscience too well, to impose his own particular profession in religion on others, or to use those who differed from him in the choice of its modes the less kindly or respectfully on that account. But as most of his own company, and many of the rest, chose, when in England, to attend him to the Dissenting chapel, he used to march them thither, in due time, so as to be there before the worship began. And I must do them the justice to say, that so far as I could ever discern, when I have seen them in large numbers before me, they have behaved with as much reverence, gravity, and decorum, during the time of divine service, as any of their fellow-worshippers.

That his remarkable care to maintain good discipline among them, of which we shall afterwards speak, might be the more effectual, he made himself, on all proper occasions, accessible to them, and expressed a great concern for their interest; which, being so genuine and sincere, naturally discovered itself in a variety of instances. I remember, I had once occasion to visit one of his dragoons in his last illness, at Harborough, and I found the man upon the borders of eternity; a circumstance which, as he apprehended it himself, must add some peculiar weight and credibility to his discourse. And he then told me, in his Colonel's absence, that he questioned not but he should have everlasting reason to bless God on Colonel Gardiner's account, for he had been a father to him in all his interests, both temporal and spiritual. He added, that he had visited him almost every day during his illness, with religious advice and instruction, as well as taken care that he should want nothing that might conduce to the recovery of his health. And he did not speak of this, as the result of any particular attachment to him, but as the manner in which he was accustomed to treat those under his command. It is no wonder that this engaged their affection to a very great degree. And I doubt not, that if he had fought the fatal battle of Preston-Pans at the head of that gallant regiment, of which he had the care for so many

years, and which is allowed by most unexceptionable judges to be one of the finest in the British service, and consequently in the world, he had been supported in a much different manner; and had found a much greater number who would have rejoiced in an opportunity of making their own breasts a barrier in the defence of his.

It could not but greatly endear him to his soldiers, that so far as preferments lay in his power, or were under his influence, they were distributed according to merit; which he knew to be as much the dictate of prudence as of equity. I find by one of his letters before me, dated but a few months after his happy change, that he was solicited to improve his interest with the Earl of Stair, in favour of one whom he judged a very worthy person; and that it had been suggested by another who recommended him, that if he succeeded he might expect some handsome acknowledgment. But he answers, with some degree of indignation, "Do you imagine I am to be bribed to do justice?" For such it seems he esteemed it, to confer the favour which was asked from him on one so deserving. Nothing can more effectually tend to humble the enemies of a state, than that such maxims should universally prevail in it: and if they do not prevail, the worthiest men in an army or fleet may be sunk under repeated discouragements, and the basest

exalted, to the infamy of the public, and perhaps to its ruin.

In the midst of all the gentleness which Colonel Gardiner exercised towards his soldiers, he made it very apparent, that he knew how to reconcile the tenderness of a real, faithful, and condescending friend, with the authority of a commander. Perhaps hardly any thing conduced more generally to the maintaining of this authority, than the strict decorum and good manners with which he treated even the private gentlemen of his regiment; which has always a great efficacy towards keeping inferiors at a proper distance, and forbids, in the least offensive manner, familiarities, which degrade the superior, and enervate his influence. The calmness and steadiness of his behaviour, on all occasions, did also greatly tend to the same purpose. He knew how mean a man looks in the transports of passion, and would not use so much freedom with any of his men, as to fall into such transports before them; well knowing, that persons in the lowest rank of life are aware how unfit they are to govern others who cannot govern themselves. He was also sensible how necessary it is in all who preside over others, and especially in military officers, to check irregularities when they first begin to appear: and that he might be able to do it, he kept a strict inspection over his soldiers; in which view it was observed, that as he

generally chose to reside among them as much as he could, (though in circumstances which sometimes occasioned him to deny himself in some interests which were very dear to him,) so when they were around him, he seldom stayed long in a place; but was frequently walking the streets, and looking into their quarters and stables, as well as reviewing and exercising them himself. It has been often observed, that the regiment of which he was so many years Lieutenant-Colonel was one of the most regular and orderly regiments in the public service; so that perhaps none of our dragoons were more welcome than they to the towns where their character was known. Yet no such bodies of men are so blameless in their conduct, but something will be found, especially among such considerable numbers, worthy of censure, and sometimes of punishment. This, Colonel Gardiner knew how to inflict with a becoming resolution, and with all the severity which he judged necessary: a severity the more awful and impressing, as it was always attended with meekness; for he well knew, that when things are done in a passion, it seems only an accidental circumstance that they are acts of justice, and that such indecencies greatly obstruct the ends of punishment, both as it relates to reforming offenders, and to deterring others from an imitation of their faults.

One instance of his conduct, which happened

at Leicester, and was related by the person chiefly concerned, to a worthy friend from whom I had it, I cannot forbear inserting. While part of the regiment was encamped in the neighbourhood of that place, the Colonel went *incognito* to the camp in the middle of the night ; for he sometimes lodged at his quarters in the town. One of the sentinels then on duty had abandoned his post, and on being seized broke out into some oaths, and profane execrations against those that discovered him ; a crime, of which the Colonel had the greatest abhorrence, and on which he never failed to animadvert. The man afterwards appeared much ashamed, and concerned for what he had done. But the Colonel ordered him to be brought early the next morning to his own quarters, where he had prepared a piquet, on which he appointed him a private sort of penance : and while he was put upon it, he discoursed with him seriously and tenderly upon the evils and aggravations of his fault ; admonished him of the divine displeasure, which he had incurred ; and urged him to argue from the pain which he then felt, how infinitely more dreadful it must be to fall into the hands of the living God, and indeed to meet the terrors of that damnation which he had been accustomed impiously to call for on himself and his companions. The result of this proceeding was, that the offender accepted his punishment, not only with submission, but with

thankfulness. He went away with a more cordial affection for his Colonel, than he ever had before; and spoke of it some years after to my friend, in such a manner, that there seemed reason to hope it had been instrumental in producing, not only a change in his life, but in his heart.

There cannot, I think, be a more proper place for mentioning the great reverence this excellent officer always expressed for the name of the blessed God, and the zeal with which he endeavoured to suppress, and if possible to extirpate, that detestable sin of swearing and cursing, which is every where so common, and especially among our military men. He often declared his sentiments with respect to this enormity, at the head of his regiment; and urged his Captains and their subalterns to take the greatest care, that they did not give the sanction of their example to that which by their office they were obliged to punish in others. And indeed this zeal on these occasions wrought in a very active, and sometimes in a remarkably successful, manner, not only among his equals, but sometimes among his superiors too. An instance of this in Flanders I shall have an opportunity hereafter to produce; at present I shall only mention his conduct in Scotland a little before his death, as I have it from a very valuable young Minister of that country, on whose testimony I can thoroughly

depend ; and I wish it may excite many to imitation.

The Commanding Officer of the King's forces then about Edinburgh, with the other Colonels, and several other gentlemen of rank in their respective regiments, favoured him with their company at Bankton, and took a dinner with him. He too well foresaw what might happen amidst such a variety of tempers and characters : and fearing lest his conscience might have been ensnared by a sinful silence, or that, on the other hand, he might seem to pass the bounds of decency, and infringe upon the laws of hospitality, by animadverting on guests so justly entitled to his regard ; he happily determined on the following method of avoiding each of these difficulties. As soon as they were come together, he addressed them with a great deal of respect, and yet at the same time with a very frank and determined air ; and told them, that he had the honour in that district to be a Justice of the Peace, and consequently that he was sworn to put the laws in execution, and among the rest those against swearing ; that he could not execute them upon others with any confidence, or by any means approve himself as a man of impartiality and integrity to his own heart, if he suffered them to be broken in his presence by persons of any rank whatsoever ; and that, therefore, he entreated all the gentlemen who then honoured him with their

company, that they would please to be upon their guard; and that if any oath or curse should escape them, he hoped they would consider his legal animadversion upon it as a regard to the duties of his office and the dictates of his conscience, and not as owing to any want of deference to them. The Commanding Officer immediately supported him in this declaration as entirely becoming the station in which he was, assuring him, that he would be ready to pay the penalty if he inadvertently transgressed; and when Colonel Gardiner on any occasion stepped out of the room, he himself undertook to be the guardian of the law in his absence; and as one of the inferior officers offended during this time, he informed the Colonel, so that the fine was exacted, and given to the poor,* with the universal approbation of the company. The story spread in the neighbourhood, and was perhaps applauded highly by many, who wanted the courage to go and do likewise. But it may be said of the worthy person of whom I write, with the utmost propriety, that he feared the face of no

* The money which was forfeited on this account by his own officers, whom he never spared, or by any others of his soldiers, who rather chose to pay than to submit to corporal punishment, was by the Colonel's order laid by in a bank, till some of the private men fell sick; and then it was laid out in providing them with proper help and accommodations in their distress.

man living where the honour of God was concerned. In all such cases he might be justly said, in Scripture phrase, to set his face like a flint; and I assuredly believe, that had he been in the presence of a Sovereign Prince, who had been guilty of this fault, his looks at least would have testified his grief and surprise; if he had apprehended it unfit to have borne his testimony any other way.

CHAPTER VI.

LORD CADOGAN'S regiment of dragoons, during the years I have mentioned, while he was Lieutenant-Colonel of it, was quartered in a great variety of places, both in England and Scotland, from many of which I have letters before me; particularly from Hamilton, Ayr, Carlisle, Hereford, Maidenhead, Leicester, Warwick, Coventry, Stamford, Harborough, Northampton, and several other places, especially in our inland parts. The natural consequence was, that the Colonel, whose character was on many accounts so very remarkable, had a very extensive acquaintance: and I believe I may certainly say, that wherever he was known by persons of wisdom and worth, he was proportionably respected, and left behind him traces of unaffected devotion, humility, benevolence, and

zeal for the support and advancement of religion and virtue.

The equable tenor of his mind in these respects is illustrated by his letters from several of these places; and though it is but comparatively a small number of them which I have now in my hands, yet they will afford some valuable extracts; which I shall therefore here lay before my reader, that he may the better judge as to his real character, in particulars of which I have already discoursed, or which may hereafter occur.

In a letter to his Lady, dated from Carlisle, November 19th, 1733, when he was on his journey to Herefordshire, he breathes out his grateful cheerful soul in these words: "I bless God, I was never better in my life-time; and I wish I could be so happy as to hear the same of you; or rather, in other words, to hear that you had obtained an entire trust in God. That would infallibly keep you in perfect peace; for the God of truth hath promised it. O, how ought we to be longing to be with Christ! which is infinitely better than any thing we can propose here;—to be there, where all complaints shall be for ever banished; where no mountains shall separate between God and our souls: and I hope it will be some addition to our happiness, that you and I shall be separated no more; but that, as we have joined in singing the praises of our glorious

Redeemer here, we shall sing them in a much higher key through an endless eternity. O, eternity, eternity! What a wonderful thought is eternity!"

From Leicester, August 6th, 1739, he writes thus to his Lady: "Yesterday I was at the Lord's table, where you and the children were not forgotten: but how wonderfully was I assisted, when I came home, to plead for you all with many tears!" And then, speaking of some intimate friends who were impatient, as I suppose by the connexion, for his return to them, he takes occasion to observe the necessity "of endeavouring to compose our minds, and to say with the Psalmist, 'My soul, wait thou only upon God.'" Afterwards, speaking of one of his children, of whom he heard that he made a commendable progress in learning, he expresses his satisfaction in it, and adds, "But how much greater joy would it give me, to hear that he was greatly advanced in the school of Christ! O that our children may but be wise to salvation; and may grow in grace, as they do in stature!"

These letters, which to so familiar a friend evidently lay open the heart, and show the ideas and affections which were lodged deepest there, are sometimes taken up with an account of sermons he had attended, and the impression they had made upon his mind. I shall mention one only, as a specimen of many more, which was

dated from a place called Cohorn, April
“ We had here a Minister from Wales, who gave us two excellent discourses on the love of Christ to us, as an argument to engage our love to him. And indeed, next to the greatness of his love to us, methinks there is nothing so astonishing as the coldness of our love to him. O that he would shed abroad his love upon our hearts by his Holy Spirit, that ours might be kindled into a flame ! May God enable you to trust in him, and then you will be kept in perfect peace ! ”

We have met with many traces of that habitual gratitude to the blessed God, as his heavenly Father and constant Friend, which made his life probably one of the happiest that ever was spent on earth. I cannot omit one more, which appears to me the more worthy of notice as being a short turn in as hasty a letter as any I remember to have seen of his, which he wrote from Leicester, in June, 1739. “ I am now under the deepest sense of the many favours the Almighty has bestowed upon me : surely you will help me to celebrate the praises of our gracious God and kind Benefactor. ” This exuberance of grateful affection, which, while it was almost every hour pouring itself forth before God in the most genuine and emphatical language, felt itself still as it were straitened for want of a sufficient vent, and therefore called on others to help him with their concurrent praises, appears to me the most glo-

rious and happy state in which a human soul can find itself on this side heaven.

Such was the temper which this excellent man appears to have carried along with him through such a variety of places and circumstances; and the whole of his deportment was suitable to these impressions. Strangers were agreeably struck with his first appearance, there was so much of the Christian, the well-bred man, and the universal friend in it; and as they came more intimately to know him, they discovered more and more the uniformity and consistency of his whole temper and behaviour: so that whether he made only a visit for a few days to any place, or continued there for many weeks or months, he was always beloved and esteemed, and spoken of with that honourable testimony from persons of the most different denominations and parties, which nothing but true sterling worth, if I may be allowed the expression, and that in an eminent degree, can secure.

Of the justice of this testimony, which I had so often heard from a variety of persons, I myself began to be a witness about the time when the last-mentioned letter was dated. In this view I believe I shall never forget that happy day, June 13th, 1739, when I first met him at Leicester. I remember, I happened that day to preach a lecture from, "I beheld the transgressors, and was

grieved, because they kept not thy law." Psalm cxix. 158. I was large in describing that mixture of indignation and grief, strongly expressed by the original word there, with which the good man looks on the daring transgressors of the divine law; and in tracing the causes of that grief, as arising from a regard to the divine honour, and the interest of a Redeemer, and a compassionate concern for the misery such offenders bring on themselves, and for the mischief they do to the world about them. I little thought how exactly I was drawing Colonel Gardiner's character under each of those heads; and I have often reflected upon it as a happy providence, which opened a much speedier way than I could have expected, to the breast of one of the most amiable and useful friends which I ever expect to find upon earth. We afterwards sung a hymn, which brought over again some of the leading thoughts in the sermon, and struck him so strongly, that, on obtaining a copy of it, he committed it to his memory, and used to repeat it with so forcible an accent, as showed how much every line expressed of his very soul. In this view the reader will pardon my inserting it; especially as I know not when I may get time to publish a volume of these serious though artless composures, which I sent him in manuscript some years ago, and to which I have since made very large additions.

Arise, my tenderest thoughts, arise,
 To torrents melt my streaming eyes !
 And thou, my heart, with anguish feel
 Those evils which thou canst not heal !

See human nature sunk in shame !
 See scandals pour'd on Jesu's name !
 The Father wounded through the Son !
 The world abused, the soul undone !

See the short course of vain delight
 Closing in everlasting night !
 In flames, that no abatement know,
 The briny tears for ever flow.

My God, I feel the mournful scene ;
 My bowels yearn o'er dying men :
 And fain my pity would reclaim,
 And snatch the firebrands from the flame.

But feeble my compassion proves,
 And can but weep, where most it loves.
 Thine own all-saving arm employ,
 And turn these drops of grief to joy !

The Colonel, immediately after the conclusion of the service, met me in the vestry, and embraced me in the most obliging and affectionate manner, as if there had been a long friendship between us ; assured me, that he had for some years been intimately acquainted with my writings ; and desired, that we might concert measures for spending some hours together before I left the town. I was so happy, as to be able to secure an opportunity of doing it ; and I must leave it upon record, that I cannot recollect I was ever equally

edified by any conversation I remember to have enjoyed. We passed that evening and the next morning together ; and it is impossible for me to describe the impression which the interview left upon my heart. I rode alone all the remainder of the day ; and it was my unspeakable happiness that I was alone, since I could be no longer with him ; for I can hardly conceive, what other company would not then have been an incumbrance. The views which he gave me even then, (for he began to repose a most obliging confidence in me, though he concealed some of the most extraordinary circumstances of the methods by which he had been recovered to God and happiness,) with those cordial sentiments of evangelical piety and extensive goodness, which he poured out into my bosom with so endearing a freedom, fired my very soul ; and I hope I may truly say, what I wish and pray many of my readers may also adopt for themselves, that I glorified God in him. Our epistolary correspondence immediately commenced upon my return ; and though, through the multiplicity of business on both sides, it suffered many interruptions, it was in some degree the blessing of all the following years of my life, till he fell by those unreasonable and wicked men, who had it in their hearts with him to have destroyed all our glory, defence, and happiness.

The first letter I received from him was so

remarkable, that some persons of eminent piety to whom I communicated it would not be content without copying it out, or making some extracts from it. I persuade myself, that my devout reader will not be displeased that I insert the greatest part of it here ; especially as it serves to illustrate the affectionate sense which he had of the divine goodness in his conversion, though more than twenty years had passed since that memorable event happened. Having mentioned my ever dear and honoured friend, Dr. Isaac Watts, on an occasion which I hinted at above, (page 77,) he adds, "I have been in pain these several years, lest that excellent person, that sweet singer in our Israel, should have been called to heaven before I had an opportunity of letting him know how much his works have been blessed to me, and of course, of returning him my hearty thanks : for though it is owing to the operation of the blessed Spirit that any thing works effectually upon our hearts, yet if we are not thankful to the instrument which God is pleased to make use of, whom we do see, how shall we be thankful to the Almighty, whom we have not seen ? I desire to bless God for the good news of his recovery, and entreat you to tell him, that although I cannot keep pace with him here in celebrating the high praises of our glorious Redeemer, which is the greatest grief of my heart, yet I am persuaded that when I join

the glorious company above, where there will be no drawbacks, none will out-sing me there; because I shall not find any that will be more indebted to the wonderful riches of divine grace than I.

‘ Give me a place at thy saints’ feet,
Or some fallen angel’s vacant seat;
I ’ll strive to sing as loud as they,
Who sit above in brighter day.’

I know it is natural for every one who has felt the almighty power which raised our glorious Redeemer from the grave, to believe his case singular; but I have made every one in this respect submit, as soon as he has heard my story. And if you seemed so surprised at the account which I gave you, what will you be when you hear it all?

‘ O, if I had an angel’s voice,
And could be heard from pole to pole,
I would to all the list’ning world
Proclaim thy goodness to my soul.’”

He then concludes, after some expressions of endearment, which, with whatever pleasure I review them, I must not here insert: “If you knew what a natural aversion I have to writing, you would be astonished at the length of this letter; which is, I believe, the longest I ever wrote. But my heart warms when I write to you, which makes my pen move the easier. I

hope it will please our gracious God long to preserve you, a blessed instrument in his hand of doing great good in the church of Christ; and that you may always enjoy a thriving soul in a healthful body, shall be the continual prayer of," &c.

As our intimacy grew, our mutual affection increased; and "My dearest friend," was the form of address with which most of his epistles of the last years were begun and ended. Many of them are filled up with his sentiments of those writings which I published during these years; which he read with great attention, and of which he speaks in terms which it becomes me to suppress, and to impute in a considerable degree to the kind prejudices of so endeared a friendship. He gives me repeated assurances that he was daily mindful of me in his prayers, a circumstance which I cannot recollect without the greatest thankfulness; the loss of which I should more deeply lament, did I not hope that the happy effect of these prayers might still continue, and might run into all my remaining days.

It might be a pleasure to me to make several extracts from many others of his letters; but it is a pleasure which I ought to suppress, and rather to reflect with unfeigned humility how unworthy I was of such regards from such a person, and of that divine goodness which gave me such a friend in him. I shall therefore only add two

general remarks which offer themselves from several of his letters. The one is, that there is in some of them, as our freedom increased, an agreeable vein of humour and pleasantry; which shows how easy religion sate upon him, and how far he was from placing any part of it in a gloomy melancholy or stiff formality. The other is, that he frequently refers to domestic circumstances, such as the illness or recovery of my children, &c., which I am surprised how a man of his extensive and important business could so distinctly bear upon his mind. But his memory was good, and his heart was yet better; and his friendship was such, that nothing which sensibly affected the heart of one whom he honoured with it, left his own but slightly touched. I have all imaginable reason to believe, that in many instances his prayers were not only offered for us in general terms, but varied as our particular situation required. Many quotations might verify this; but I decline troubling the reader with an enumeration of passages in which it was only the abundance of friendly sympathy that gave this truly great as well as good man so cordial a concern.

After this correspondence, carried on for the space of about three years, and some interviews which we had enjoyed at different places, he came to spend some time with us at Northampton, and brought with him his Lady and his two

eldest children. I had here an opportunity of taking a much nearer view of his character, and surveying it in a much greater variety of lights, than before ; and my esteem for him increased in proportion to these opportunities. What I have wrote above with respect to his conduct in relative life was in a great measure drawn from what I now saw ; and I shall mention here some other points in his behaviour which particularly struck my mind, and likewise shall touch on his sentiments on some topics of importance which he freely communicated to me, and which I remarked on account of that wisdom and propriety which I apprehended in them.

There was nothing more openly observable in Colonel Gardiner than the exemplary gravity, composure, and reverence, with which he attended public worship. Copious as he was in his secret devotions before he engaged in it, he always began them so early as not to be retarded by them when he should resort to the house of God. He, and all his soldiers who chose to worship with him, were generally there, as I have already hinted, before the service began ; that the entrance of so many of them at once might not disturb the congregation already engaged in devotion, and that there might be the better opportunity for bringing the mind to a becoming attention, and preparing it for converse with the divine Being. While acts of worship were going on,

whether of prayer or singing, he always stood up ; and whatever regard he might have for persons who passed by him at that time, though it were to come into the same pew, he never paid any compliment to them : and often has he expressed his wonder at the indecorum of breaking off our address to God to bow to a fellow-creature, which he thought a much greater indecency than it would be, on a little occasion and circumstance, to interrupt an address to our Prince. During the time of preaching, his eye was commonly fixed upon the Minister, though sometimes turned round upon the auditory, where if he observed any to trifle, it filled him with just indignation. And I have known instances, in which, upon making the remark, he has communicated it to some friend of the persons who were guilty of it, that proper application might be made to prevent it for the time to come.

A more devout communicant at the table of the Lord has perhaps seldom been any where known. Often have I had the pleasure to see that manly countenance softened to all the marks of humiliation and contrition on this occasion ; and to discern, in spite of all his efforts to conceal them, streams of tears flowing down from his eyes, while he has been directing them to those memorials of his Redeemer's love. And some, who have conversed intimately with him after he

came from that ordinance, have observed a visible abstraction from surrounding objects ; by which there seemed reason to imagine that his soul was wrapped up in holy contemplation. And I particularly remember, that when we had once spent great part of the following Monday in riding together, he made an apology to me for being so absent as he seemed, by telling me that his heart was flown upwards, before he was aware, to Him whom not having seen he loved ;* and that he was rejoicing in Him with such unspeakable joy, that he could not hold it down to creature converse.

In all the offices of friendship he was remarkably ready, and had a most sweet and engaging manner of performing them, which greatly heightened the obligations he conferred. He seemed not to set any high value upon any benefit he bestowed ; but did it without the least parade, as a thing which in those circumstances came of course, where he had professed love and respect ; which he was not over forward to do, though he treated strangers, and those who were most his inferiors, very courteously, and always seemed, because he in truth always was, glad of any opportunity of doing them good.

He was particularly zealous in vindicating the reputation of his friends in their absence : and

* This alluded to the subject of the sermon the day before, which was 1 Peter i. 8.

though I cannot recollect that I had ever an opportunity of observing this immediately, as I do not know that I ever was present with him when any ill was spoken of others at all; yet by what I have heard him say, with relation to attempts to injure the character of worthy and useful men, I have reason to believe, that no man living was more sensible of the baseness and infamy, as well as the cruelty, of such a conduct. He knew and despised the low principles of resentment for unreasonable expectations disappointed, of personal attachment to men of some crossing interests, of envy, and of party zeal, from whence such a conduct often proceeds; and was particularly offended, when he found it, as he frequently did, in persons that set up for the greatest patrons of liberty, virtue, and candour. He looked upon the murderers of reputation and usefulness, as some of the vilest pests of society; and plainly showed on every proper occasion, that he thought it the part of a generous, benevolent, and courageous man, to exert himself in tracing and hunting down the slander, that the authors or abettors of it might be less capable of doing mischief for the future.

The most plausible objection that I ever heard to Colonel Gariner's character is, that he was too much attached to some religious principles, established, indeed, in the Churches both of England and Scotland, but which have of late years

been much disputed, and from which, it is at least generally supposed, not a few in both have thought proper to depart; whatever expedients they may have found to quiet their consciences, in subscribing those formularies in which they are plainly taught. His zeal was especially apparent in opposition to those doctrines which seemed to derogate from the divine honours of the Son and Spirit of God, and from the freedom of divine grace, or the reality and necessity of its operations, in the conversion and salvation of sinners.

With relation to these I must observe, that it was his most steadfast persuasion, that all those notions which represent our blessed Redeemer and the Holy Spirit as mere creatures, or which set aside the atonement of the former, or the influences of the latter, do sap the very foundation of Christianity, by rejecting the most glorious doctrines peculiar to it. He had attentively observed, what indeed is too obvious, the unhappy influence which the denial of these principles often has on the character of Ministers, and on their success; and was persuaded, that an attempt to substitute that mutilated form of Christianity which remains when these essentials of it are taken away, has proved one of the most successful methods which the great enemy of souls has ever taken in these latter days, to lead men by insensible degrees into Deism, vice, and perdition. He also sagaciously observed the

artful manner in which obnoxious tenets are often maintained or insinuated, with all that mixture of zeal and address with which they are propagated in the world, even by those who had most solemnly professed to believe, and engaged to teach, the contrary: and as he really apprehended, that the glory of God and the salvation of souls was concerned, his piety and charity made him eager and strenuous in opposing what he judged to be errors of so pernicious a nature. Yet I must declare, that, according to what I have known of him, and I believe he opened his heart on these topics to me with as much freedom as to any man living, he was not ready upon light suspicions to charge tenets which he thought so pernicious on any, especially where he saw the appearances of a good temper and life, which he always revered and loved in persons of all sentiments and professions. He severely condemned causeless jealousies, and evil surmisings of every kind; and extended that charity in this respect both to Clergy and laity, which good Bishop Burnet was so ready, according to his own account, to limit to the latter, of believing every man good till he knew him to be bad, and his notions right till he knew them wrong. He could not but be very sensible of the unhappy consequences which may follow on attacking the characters of men, especially of those who are Ministers of the Gospel: and if, through a mixture of human frailty, from which

the best of men in the best of their meanings and intentions are not entirely free, he has ever, in the warmth of his heart, dropped a word which might be injurious to any on that account, which I believe very seldom happened, he would gladly retract it on better information ; which was perfectly agreeable to that honest and generous frankness of temper, in which I never knew any man who exceeded him.

On the whole, it was indeed his deliberate judgment, that the Arian, Socinian, and Pelagian doctrines were highly dishonourable to God, and dangerous to the souls of men ; and that it was the duty of private Christians, to be greatly on their guard against those Ministers by whom they are entertained, lest their minds should be corrupted from the simplicity that is in Christ. Yet he sincerely abhorred the thought of persecution for conscience' sake ; of the absurdity and iniquity of which, in all its kinds and degrees, he had as deep and rational a conviction as any man I could name. And indeed the generosity of his heroic heart could hardly bear to think, that those glorious truths which he so cordially loved and which he assuredly believed to be capable of such fair support, both from reason and the word of God, should be disgraced by methods of defence and propagation common to the most impious and ridiculous falsehoods. Nor did he by any means approve of passionate and furious ways

of vindicating the most vital and important doctrines of the Gospel: for he knew, that to maintain the most benevolent religion in the world, by such malevolent and infernal methods, was destroying the end to accomplish the means; and that it was as impossible that true Christianity shall be supported thus, as it is that a man should long be nourished by eating his own flesh. To display the genuine fruits of Christianity in a good life, to be ready to plead with meekness and sweetness for the doctrines it teaches, and to labour by every office of humanity and goodness to gain upon them that oppose it, were the weapons with which this good soldier of Jesus Christ faithfully fought the battles of the Lord. These weapons will always be victorious in his cause; and they who have recourse to others of a different temper, how strong soever they may seem, and how sharp soever they may really be, will find they break in their hands when they exert them most furiously, and are much more likely to wound themselves, than to conquer the enemies they oppose.

But while I am speaking of Colonel Gardiner's charity in this respect, I must not omit that of another kind, which has, indeed, engrossed the name of charity much more than it ought, excellent as it is; I mean almsgiving; for which he was very remarkable. I have often wondered, how he was able to do so many generous things

this way : but his frugality fed the spring. He made no pleasurable expense on himself, and was contented with a very decent appearance in his family, without affecting such an air of grandeur as could not have been supported without sacrificing to it satisfactions far nobler, and, to a temper like his, far more delightful. The lively and tender feelings of his heart, in favour of the distressed and afflicted, made it a self-indulgence to him to relieve them ; and the deep conviction he had of the vain and transitory nature of the enjoyments of this world, together with the sublime view he had of another, engaged him to dispense his bounties with a very liberal hand, and even to seek out proper objects of them : and, above all, his sincere and ardent love to the Lord Jesus Christ engaged him to feel, with a true sympathy, the concerns of his poor members. In consequence of this, he honoured several of his friends with commissions for the relief of the poor ; and, particularly, with relation to some under my pastoral care, he referred it to my discretion to supply them with what I should judge expedient, and frequently pressed me in his letters to be sure not to let them want. And where persons standing in need of his charity happened, as they often did, to be persons of remarkably religious dispositions, it was easy to perceive, that he not only loved but honoured them ; and really esteemed it an honour which Providence

conferred upon him, that he should be made, as it were, the almoner of God for the relief of such.

I cannot forbear relating a little story here, which, when the Colonel himself heard it, gave him such exquisite pleasure, that I hope it will be acceptable to several of my readers. There was in a village about three miles from Northampton, and in a family which of all others near me was afterwards most indebted to him, though he had then never seen any member of it, an aged and poor but eminently good woman, who had, with great difficulty, in the exercise of much faith and patience, diligence and humility, made shift to educate a large family of children, after the death of her husband, without being chargeable to the parish ; which, as it was quite beyond her hope, she often spoke of with great delight. At length, when, worn out with age and infirmities, she lay upon her dying bed, she did in a most lively and affecting manner express her hope and joy in the views of approaching glory. Yet amidst all the triumph of such a prospect, there was one remaining care and distress which lay heavy on her mind ; which was, that as her journey and her stock of provisions were both ended together, she feared that she must either be buried at the parish expense, or leave her most dutiful and affectionate daughters the house stripped of some of the few movables which

remained in it, to perform the last office of duty to her, which she had reason to believe they would do. While she was combating with this only remaining anxiety, I happened, though I knew not the extremity of her illness, to come in, and to bring with me a guinea, which the generous Colonel had sent by a special messenger, on hearing the character of the family, for its relief. A present like this, probably the most considerable they had ever received in their lives, coming in this manner from an entire stranger, at such a crisis of time, threw my dying friend (for such, amidst all her poverty, I rejoiced to call her) into a perfect transport of joy. She esteemed it a singular favour of Providence, sent to her in her last moments as a token of good, and greeted it as a special mark of that lovingkindness of God which should attend her for ever. She would therefore be raised up in her bed, that she might bless God for it upon her knees, and with her last breath pray for her kind and generous benefactor, and for him who had been the instrument of directing his bounty into this channel. After which, she soon expired, with such tranquillity and sweetness as could not but most sensibly delight all who beheld her, and occasioned many who knew the circumstances to glorify God on her behalf.

CHAPTER VII.

THE Colonel's last residence at Northampton was in June and July, 1742, when Lord Cadogan's regiment of dragoons was quartered here : and I cannot but observe, that wherever that regiment came, it was remarkable, not only for the fine appearance it made, and for the exactness with which it performed its various exercises, of which it had about this time the honour to receive the most illustrious testimonials ; but also for the great sobriety and regularity of the soldiers. Many of the officers copied after the excellent pattern which they had daily before their eyes ; and a considerable number of the private men seemed to be persons, not only of strict virtue, but of serious piety. And I doubt not but they found their abundant account in it ; not only in the serenity and happiness of their own minds, which is beyond comparison the most important consideration, but also, in some degree, in the obliging and respectful treatment which they generally met with in their quarters. And I mention this, because I am persuaded, that if gentlemen of their profession knew, and would reflect, how much more comfortable they make their own quarters by a sober, orderly, and oblig-

ing conduct, they would be regular out of mere self-love; if they were not influenced, as I heartily wish they may always be, by a nobler principle.

Towards the latter end of this year he embarked for Flanders, and spent some considerable time with the regiment at Ghent, where he much regretted the want of those religious ordinances and opportunities which had made his other abodes delightful. But as he had made so eminent a progress in that divine life which they are all intended to promote, he could not be unactive in the cause of God. I have now before me a letter dated from thence, October 16th, 1742, in which he writes: "As for me, I am indeed in a dry and barren land, where no water is. Rivers of waters run down mine eyes because nothing is to be heard in our Sodom but blaspheming the name of my God; and I am not honoured as the instrument of doing any great service. It is true I have reformed six or seven field officers of swearing. I dine every day with them, and have entered them into a voluntary contract to pay a shilling to the poor for every oath; and it is wonderful to observe the effect it has had already. One of them told me this day at dinner that it had really such an influence upon him, that, being at cards last night when another officer fell a swearing, he was not able to bear it, but rose up and left the company. So you see, restraints at first

arising from a low principle may improve into something better."

During his abode here he had a great deal of business upon his hands ; and had also, in some marches, the care of more regiments than his own. And it has been very delightful to me to observe what a degree of converse with heaven, and the God of it, he maintained amidst these scenes of hurry and fatigue ; of which the reader may find a remarkable specimen in the following letter, dated from Lichwick, in the beginning of April, 1743, which was one of the last I received from him while abroad, and begins with these words :—

"Yesterday, being the Lord's day, at six in the morning I had the pleasure of receiving yours at Nortonick ; and it proved a Sabbath-day's blessing to me. Some time before it reached me," (from whence, by the way, it may be observed that his former custom of rising so early to his devotions was still retained,) "I had been wrestling with God with many tears ; and when I had read it, I returned to my knees again, to give hearty thanks to Him for all his goodness to you and yours, and also to myself, in that He hath been pleased to stir up so many who are dear to Him to be mindful of me at the throne of grace." And then, after the mention of some other particulars, he adds : "Blessed and adored for ever be the holy name of my heavenly Father, who

holds my soul in life, and my body in perfect health! Were I to recount his mercy and goodness to me even in the midst of all these hurries, I should never have done. I hope your Master will still encourage you in his work, and make you a blessing to many. My dearest friend, I am much more yours than I can express, and shall remain so while I am

“ J. G.”

In this correspondence I had a farther opportunity of discovering that humble resignation to the will of God, which made so amiable a part of his character, and of which before I had seen so many instances. He speaks, in the letter from which I have just been giving an extract, of the hope he had expressed in a former, of seeing us again that winter; and he adds, “To be sure it would have been a great pleasure to me; but we poor mortals form projects, and the almighty Ruler of the universe disposes of all as he pleases. A great many of us were getting ready for our return to England when we received an order to march towards Frankfort, to the great surprise of the whole army, neither can any of us comprehend what we are to do there; for there is no enemy in that country, the French army being marched into Bavaria, where I am sure we cannot follow them. But it is the will of the Lord; and his will be done! I desire to bless and praise my heavenly Father, that I am entirely

resigned to it. It is no matter where I go, or what becomes of me, so that God may be glorified in my life or my death. I should rejoice much to hear that all my friends were equally resigned."

The mention of this article reminds me of another, relating to the views which he had of obtaining a regiment for himself. He endeavoured to deserve it by the most faithful services; some of them, indeed, beyond what the strength of his constitution would well bear: for the weather in some of these marches proved exceeding bad, and yet he would be always at the head of his people, that he might look to every thing that concerned them with the exactest care. This obliged him to neglect the beginnings of a feverish illness; the natural consequence of which was, that it grew very formidable, forced a long confinement upon him, and gave animal nature a shock which it never recovered.

In the mean time, as he had the promise of a regiment before he quitted England, his friends were continually expecting an occasion of congratulating him on having received the command of one. But still they were disappointed; and on some of them the disappointment seemed to sit heavy. As for the Colonel himself, he seemed quite easy about it, and appeared much greater in that easy situation of mind than the highest military honours and preferments could have

made him. With great pleasure do I at this moment recollect the unaffected serenity, and even indifference, with which he expresses himself upon this occasion in a letter to me, dated about the beginning of April, 1743: "The disappointment of a regiment is nothing to me; for I am satisfied, that had it been for God's glory, I should have had it; and I should have been sorry to have had it on any other terms. My heavenly Father has bestowed upon me infinitely more than if he had made me Emperor of the whole world."

I find several parallel expressions in other letters; and those to his Lady about the same time were just in the same strain. In an extract from one, which was written from Aix la Chapelle, April 21st, the same year, I meet with these words: "People here imagine I must be sadly troubled that I have not got a regiment, for six out of seven vacant are now disposed of: but they are strangely mistaken; for it has given me no sort of trouble. My heavenly Father knows what is best for me; and, blessed and for ever adored be his name, he has given me an entire resignation to his will. Besides, I do not know that ever I met with any disappointment since I was a Christian, but it pleased God to discover to me that it was plainly for my advantage, by bestowing something better upon me afterwards: many instances of which I am able

to produce ; and therefore I should be the greatest of monsters if I did not trust in him."

I should be guilty of a great omission, if I were not to add how remarkably the event corresponded with his faith on this occasion. For whereas he had no intimation or expectation of any thing more than a regiment of foot, His Majesty was pleased, out of his great goodness, to give him a regiment of dragoons, which was then quartered just in his own neighbourhood. And it is properly remarked by the reverend and worthy person through whose hand this letter was transmitted to me, that when the Colonel thus expressed himself, he could have no prospect of what he afterwards so soon obtained ; as General Bland's regiment, to which he was advanced, was only vacant on the 19th of April, that is, two days before the date of this letter, when it was impossible he should have any notice of that vacancy. And it also deserves observation, that some few days after the Colonel was thus unexpectedly promoted to the command of these dragoons, Brigadier Cornwallis's regiment of foot, then in Flanders, became vacant. Now had this happened before his promotion to General Bland's, Colonel Gardiner in all probability would only have had that regiment of foot, and so have continued in Flanders. When the affair was issued, he informs Lady Frances of it in a letter, dated from a village near Frankfort,

May 3d, in which he refers to his former of the 21st of April, observing how remarkably it was verified "in God's having given him," for so he expresses it, agreeably to the views he continually maintained of the universal agency of divine providence, "what he had no expectation of, and what was so much better than that which he had missed, a regiment of dragoons quartered at his own door."

It appeared to him, that by this remarkable event Providence called him home. Accordingly, though he had other preferments offered him in the army, he chose to return; and I believe, the more willingly, as he did not expect there would have been any action. Just at this time it pleased God to give him an awful instance of the uncertainty of human prospects and enjoyments, by that violent fever which seized him at Ghent in his way to England; and perhaps the more severely, for the efforts he made to push on his journey, though he had for some days been much indisposed. It was, I think, one of the first fits of severe illness he had ever met with; and he was ready to look upon it as a sudden call into eternity: but it gave him no painful alarm in that view. He committed himself to the God of his life; and in a few weeks he was so well recovered, as to be capable of pursuing his journey, though not without difficulty: and I cannot but think, it might have conduced much to a

more perfect recovery than he ever attained, to have allowed himself a longer repose, in order to recruit his exhausted strength and spirits. But there was an activity in his temper, not easy to be restrained; and it was now stimulated, not only by a desire of seeing his friends, but of being with his regiment; that he might omit nothing in his power to regulate their morals and their discipline, and to form them for public service. Accordingly, he passed through London about the middle of June, 1743, where he had the honour of waiting on their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales, and of receiving from both the most obliging tokens of favour and esteem. He arrived at Northampton on Monday, the 20th of June, and spent part of three days here. But the great pleasure which his return and preferment gave us was much abated by observing his countenance so sadly altered, and the many marks of languor and remaining disorder, which evidently appeared; so that he really looked ten years older than he had done ten months before. I had, however, a satisfaction sufficient to counterbalance much of the concern which this alteration gave me, in a renewed opportunity of observing, indeed, more sensibly than ever, in how remarkable a degree he was dead to the enjoyments and views of this mortal life. When I congratulated him on the favourable appearances of Providence for him in the late event, he

briefly told me the remarkable circumstances that attended it, with the most genuine impressions of gratitude to God for them ; but added, that as his account was increased with his income, power, and influence, and his cares were proportionably increased too, it was, as to his own personal concern, much the same to him, whether he had remained in his former station, or been elevated to this ; but that if God should by this means honour him as an instrument of doing more good than he could otherwise have done, he should rejoice in it.

I perceived that the near views he had taken of eternity, in the illness from which he was then so imperfectly recovered, had not in the least alarmed him ; but that he would have been entirely willing, had such been the determination of God, to have been cut short in a foreign land, without any earthly friend near him, and in the midst of a journey, undertaken with hopes and prospects so pleasing to nature ; which appeared to me no inconsiderable evidence of the strength of his faith. But we shall wonder the less at this extraordinary resignation, if we consider the joyful and assured prospect which he had of a happiness infinitely superior beyond the grave ; of which that worthy Minister of the Church of Scotland, who had an opportunity of conversing with him quickly after his return, and having the memorable story of his conversion from his own

mouth, as I have hinted above, writes thus in his letter to me, dated January 14th, 1746-7: "When he came to review his regiment at Linlithgow, in the summer 1743, after having given me the wonderful story as above, he concluded in words to this purpose: 'Let me die whenever it shall please God, or wherever it shall be, I am sure I shall go to the mansions of eternal glory, and enjoy my God and my Redeemer in heaven for ever.'"

While he was with us at this time, he appeared deeply affected with the sad state of things as to religion and morals; and seemed to apprehend, that the rod of God was hanging over so sinful a nation. He observed a great deal of disaffection, which the enemies of the Government had, by a variety of artifices, been raising in Scotland for some years; and the number of Jacobites there, together with the defenceless state in which our island then was, with respect to the number of its forces at home, of which he spoke at once with great concern and astonishment, led him to expect an invasion from France, and an attempt in favour of the Pretender, much sooner than it happened. I have heard him say, many years before it came so near being accomplished, that a few thousands might have a fair chance for marching from Edinburgh to London uncontrolled, and throw the whole kingdom into an astonishment. And I have great reason to believe, that this was one main consideration, which

engaged him to make such haste to his regiment, then quartered in those parts; as he imagined there was not a spot of ground where he might be more likely to have a call to expose his life in the service of his country; and perhaps, by appearing on a proper call early in its defence, be instrumental in suppressing the beginnings of most formidable mischief. How rightly he judged in these things, the event did too evidently show.

The evening before our last separation, as I knew I could not entertain the invaluable friend who was then my guest more agreeably, I preached a sermon in my own house, with some peculiar reference to his case and circumstances, from those ever-memorable words, than which I have never felt any more powerful and more comfortable: "Because he hath set his love upon me, therefore will I deliver him; I will set him on high, because he hath known my name: he shall call upon me, and I will answer him; I will be with him in trouble, I will deliver him, and honour him: with long life," or length of days, "will I satisfy him, and show him my salvation." Psalm xci. 14—16. This scripture could not but lead our meditations to survey the character of the good man, as one who so knows the name of the blessed God, has such a deep apprehension of the glories and perfections of his nature, as determinately to set his love upon him, to make him the

supreme object of his most ardent and constant affection. And it suggested the most sublime and animating hopes to persons of such a character, that their prayers shall be always acceptable to God; that though they may and must be called out to their share in the troubles and calamities of life, yet they may assure themselves of the divine presence in all; which shall issue in their deliverance, in their exaltation, sometimes to distinguished honour and esteem among men, and, it may be, in a long course of useful and happy years on earth; at least, which shall undoubtedly end in seeing, to their perpetual delight, the complete salvation of God, in a world where they shall enjoy length of days for ever and ever, and employ them all in adoring the great Author of their salvation and felicity. It is evident, that these natural thoughts on such a scripture were matters of universal concern. Yet had I known, that this was the last time I should ever address Colonel Gardiner, as a Minister of the Gospel, and had I foreseen the scenes through which God was about to lead him, I hardly know what considerations I could have suggested with more peculiar propriety. The attention, elevation, and delight with which he heard them, were very apparent; and the pleasure which the observation of it gave me continues to this moment. And let me be permitted to digress so far as to add, that this is indeed the great support of a Christian

Minister, under the many discouragements and disappointments which he meets with, in his attempts to fix upon the profligate or the thoughtless part of mankind a deep sense of religious truth ; that there is another important part of his work, in which he may hope to be more generally successful ; as by plain, artless, but serious discourses, the great principles of Christian duty and hope may be nourished and invigorated in good men, their graces watered as at the root, and their souls animated both to persevere and improve in holiness. And when we are effectually performing such benevolent offices, so well suiting our immortal natures, to persons whose hearts are cemented with ours in the bonds of the most endearing and sacred friendship, it is too little to say, it overpays the fatigue of our labours : it even swallows up all sense of it, in the most rational and sublime pleasure.

An incident occurs to my mind, which happened that evening, which at least for the oddness of it may deserve a place in these memoirs. I had then with me one Thomas Porter, a poor, but very honest and religious man, (now living at Hatfield Broadoak in Essex,) who is quite unacquainted with letters, so as not to be able to distinguish one from another ; yet is master of the contents of the Bible in so extraordinary a degree, that he has not only fixed an immense number of texts in his memory, but merely by hearing them

quoted in sermons has registered there the chapter and verse in which these passages are to be found : this is attended with a marvellous facility in directing those that can read to turn to them, and a most unaccountable talent of fixing on such as suit almost every imaginable variety of circumstances in common life. There are two considerations in his case which make it the more wonderful : the one, that he is a person of a very low genius, having, beside a stammering which makes his speech almost unintelligible to strangers, so wild and awkward a manner of behaviour, that he is frequently taken for an idiot, and seems in many things to be indeed so : the other, that he grew up to manhood in a very licentious course of living, and an entire ignorance of divine things, so that all these exact impressions on his memory have been made in his riper years. I thought it would not be disagreeable to the Colonel to introduce to him this odd phenomenon, which many hundreds of people have had a curiosity to examine : and among all the strange things I have seen in him, I never remember any which equalled what passed on this occasion. On hearing the Colonel's profession, and receiving some hints of his religious character, he ran through a vast variety of scriptures, beginning at the Pentateuch and going on to the Revelation, relating either to the dependence to be fixed on God for the success of military preparations, or to the instances and

promises occurring there of his care of good men in the most imminent dangers, or to the encouragement to despise perils and death, while engaged in a good cause, and supported by the views of a happy immortality. I believe he quoted more than twenty of these passages; and I must freely own, that I know not who could have chosen them with greater propriety. If my memory do not deceive me, the last of this catalogue was that from which I afterwards preached on the lamented occasion of this great man's fall: "Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life." We were all astonished at so remarkable a fact; and I question not, but that many of my readers will think the memory of it worthy of being thus preserved.

CHAPTER VIII.

BUT to return to my main subject: the next day after the sermon and conversation of which I have been speaking, I took my last leave of my inestimable friend, after attending him some part of his way northward. The first stage of our journey was to the cottage of that poor, but very religious family, which I had occasion to mention above, as relieved, and indeed in a great measure subsisted, by his charity. And nothing could be

more delightful, than to observe the condescension with which he conversed with these his humble pensioners. We there put up our last united prayers together; and he afterwards expressed, in the strongest terms I ever heard him use on such an occasion, the singular pleasure with which he had joined in them. Indeed it was no small satisfaction to me to have an opportunity of recommending such a valuable friend to the divine protection and blessing, with that particular freedom, and enlargement on what was peculiar in his circumstances, which hardly any other situation, unless we had been quite alone, could so conveniently have admitted. We went from thence to the table of a person of distinction in the neighbourhood; where he had an opportunity of showing, in how decent and graceful a manner he could unite the Christian and the gentleman, and give conversation an improving and religious turn, without violating any of the rules of polite behaviour, or saying or doing any thing which looked at all constrained or affected. Here we took our last embrace, committed each other to the care of the God of heaven; and the Colonel pursued his journey to the north, where he spent all the remainder of his days.

The more I reflect upon this appointment of Providence, the more I discern of the beauty and wisdom of it; not only as it led directly to that glorious period of life, with which God had deter-

mined to honour him, and in which, I think, it becomes all his friends to rejoice; but also, as the retirement on which he entered could not but have a happy tendency to favour his more immediate and complete preparation for so speedy a remove. To which we may add, that it must probably have a very powerful influence to promote the interests of religion (incomparably the greatest of all interests) among the members of his own family; who must surely edify much by such daily lessons as they received from his lips, when they saw them illustrated and enforced by so admirable an example, and this for two complete years. It is the more remarkable, as I cannot find from the memoirs of his life in my hands, that he had ever been so long at home since he had a family, or, indeed, from his childhood ever so long at a time in any one place.

With how clear a lustre his lamp shone, and with what holy vigour his loins were girded up in the service of his God, in these his latter days, I learn in part from the letters of several excellent persons, in the ministry, or in secular life, with whom I have since conversed or corresponded. And in his many letters, dated from Bankton during this period, I have still farther evidence how happy he was, amidst those infirmities of body, which his tenderness for me would seldom allow him to mention; for it appears from them, what a daily intercourse he kept up with heaven,

and what delightful communion with God crowned his attendance on public ordinances, and his sweet hours of devout retirement. He mentions his sacramental opportunities with peculiar relish, crying out, as in a holy rapture, in reference to one and another of them, "O how gracious a Master do we serve! How pleasant is his service! How rich the entertainments of his love! Yet, O how poor and cold are our services!"—But I will not multiply quotations of this sort, after those I have given above, which may be a sufficient specimen of many more in the same strain. This hint may suffice to show, that the same ardour of soul held out in a great measure to the last; and indeed it seems, that towards the close of life, like the flame of a lamp almost expiring, it sometimes exerted an unusual blaze.

He spent much of his time at Bankton in religious solitude; and one most intimately conversant with him assures me, that the traces of that delightful converse with God which he enjoyed in it, might easily be discerned in that solemn yet cheerful countenance with which he often came out of his closet. Yet his exercises there must sometimes have been very mournful, considering the melancholy views which he had of the state of our public affairs. "I should be glad," says he, in a letter which he sent me, about the close of the year 1743, "to hear what wise and good people among you think of the present circum-

stances of things. For my own part, though I thank God I fear nothing for myself, my apprehensions for the public are very gloomy, considering the deplorable prevalency of almost all kinds of wickedness amongst us; the natural consequence of the contempt of the Gospel. I am daily offering my prayers to God for this sinful land of ours, over which his judgments seem to be gathering; and my strength is sometimes so exhausted with those strong cries and tears which I pour out before God on this occasion, that I am hardly able to stand when I arise from my knees." If we have many remaining to stand in the breach with equal fervency, I hope, crying as our provocations are, God will still be entreated for us, and save us.

Most of the other letters I had the pleasure of receiving from him after our last separation are either filled, like those of former years, with tender expressions of affectionate solicitude for my domestic comfort and public usefulness, or relate to the writings I published during this time, or to the affairs of his eldest son then under my care. But these are things which are by no means of a nature to be communicated here. It is enough to remark in the general, that the Christian was still mingled with all the care of the friend and the parent.

But I think it incumbent upon me to observe, that during this time and some preceding years,

his attention, ever wakeful to such concerns, was much engaged by some religious appearances, which happened about this time, both in England and Scotland; with regard to which some may be curious to know his sentiments. He communicated them to me with the most unreserved freedom; and I cannot apprehend myself under any engagements to conceal them, as I am persuaded that it will be no prejudice to his memory that they should be publicly known.

It was from Colonel Gardiner's pen that I received the first notice of that ever-memorable scene which was opened at Kilsyth, under the ministry of the Rev. Mr. M'Culloch, in the month of February, 1741-2. He communicated to me the copy of two letters from that eminently favoured servant of God, giving an account of that extraordinary success which had within a few days accompanied his preaching; when, as I remember, in a little more than a fortnight a hundred and thirty souls, who had before continued in long insensibility under the faithful preaching of the Gospel, were awakened on a sudden to attend it, as if it had been a new revelation brought down from heaven, and attested by as astonishing miracles as ever were wrought by Peter or Paul; though they heard it only from a person under whose ministry they have sat for several years. Struck with a power and majesty in the word of God which they had

never felt before, they crowded his house night and day, making their applications to him for spiritual direction and assistance, with an earnestness and solicitude which floods of tears and cries, that swallowed up their own words and his, could not sufficiently express. The Colonel mentioned this at first to me as matter of eternal praise, which he knew would rejoice my very soul: and when he saw it spread in the neighbouring parts, and observed the glorious reformation which it produced in the lives of great multitudes, and the abiding fruits of it for succeeding months and years, it increased and confirmed his joy. But the facts relating to this matter have been laid before the world in so authentic a manner, and the agency of divine grace in them has been so rationally vindicated, and so pathetically represented, in what the reverend and judicious Mr. Webster has written upon that subject, that it is altogether superfluous for me to add any thing farther than my hearty prayers, that the work may be as extensive as it was apparently glorious and divine.

It was with great pleasure that he received any intelligence of a like kind from England; whether the Clergy of the established Church or Dissenting Ministers, whether our own countrymen or foreigners, were the instruments of it. And whatever weaknesses or errors might mingle themselves with valuable qualities in such as

were active in such a work, he appeared to love and honour them, in proportion to the degree he saw reason to believe their hearts were devoted to the service of Christ, and their attempts owned and succeeded by him. I remember that mentioning one of these gentlemen, who had been remarkably successful in his ministry, and seemed to have met with some very unkind usage, he says, "I had rather be that despised, persecuted man, to be an instrument in the hand of the Spirit, in converting so many souls, and building up so many in their holy faith, than I would be Emperor of the whole world." Yet this steady and judicious Christian, (for such he most assuredly was,) at the same time that he esteemed a man for his good intention and his worthy qualities, did not suffer himself to be hurried away into all the singularity of his sentiments, or to admire his imprudences or excesses. On the contrary, he saw and lamented that artifice which the great father of fraud has so long and so successfully been practising; who, like the enemies of Israel, when he cannot entirely prevent the building of God's temple, does as it were offer his assistance to carry on the work, that he may thereby get the most effectual opportunities of obstructing it. The Colonel often expressed his astonishment at the wide extremes into which some, whom on the whole he thought very worthy men, were permitted to run in many

doctrinal and speculative points; and discerned how evidently it appeared from hence, that we cannot argue the truth of any doctrine from the success of the Preacher, since this would be a kind of demonstration (if I may be allowed the expression) which might equally prove both parts of a contradiction. Yet when he observed that a high regard to the atonement and righteousness of Christ, and to the free grace of God in him, exerted by the operation of the divine Spirit, was generally common to all who had been peculiarly successful in the conversion and reformation of men, how widely soever their judgments might differ in other points, and how warmly soever they might oppose each other in consequence of that diversity; it tended greatly to confirm his faith in these principles, as well as to open his heart in love to all of every denomination who maintained an affectionate regard to them. And though what he remarked as to the conduct and success of Ministers of the most opposite strains of preaching confirmed him in these sentiments; yet he always esteemed and loved virtuous and benevolent men, even where he thought them most mistaken in the notions they formed of religion, or in the methods by which they attempted to serve it.

While I thus represent what all who knew him must soon have observed of Colonel Gardiner's affectionate regard to these peculiar doc-

trines of our holy religion, it is necessary that I should also inform my reader that it was not his judgment that the attention of Ministers or their hearers should be wholly engrossed by these, excellent as they are; but that all the parts of the scheme of truth and duty should be regarded in their due connexion and proportion. Far from that distempered taste which can bear nothing but cordials, it was his deliberate judgment that the law should be preached as well as the Gospel; and hardly any thing gave him greater offence than the irreverent manner in which some, who have been ignorantly extolled as the most zealous evangelical Preachers, have sometimes been tempted to speak of the former; much, indeed, to the scandal of all consistent and judicious Christians. He delighted to be instructed in his duty, and to hear much of the inward exercises of the spiritual and divine life. And he always wished, so far as I could observe, to have these topics treated in a rational as well as a spiritual manner, with solidity and order of thought, with perspicuity and weight of expression; as well knowing that religion is a most reasonable service; that God has not chosen idiots or lunatics as the instruments, or nonsense as the means, of building up his church; and that, though the charge of enthusiasm is often fixed on Christianity and its Ministers, in a wild, undeserved, and indeed on the whole

astical, manner by some of the loudest or most solemn pretenders to reason ; yet there is really such a thing as enthusiasm, against which it becomes the true friends of Revelation to be diligently on their guard, lest Christianity, instead of being exalted, should be greatly corrupted and debased ; and all manner of absurdity, both in doctrine and practice, introduced by methods which, like persecution, throw truth and falsehood on a level, and render the grossest errors at once more plausible and more incurable. He had too much candour and equity to fix general charges of this nature ; but he was really, and I think not vainly, apprehensive that the emissaries and agents of the most corrupt Church that ever dishonoured the Christian name, by which, it will easily be understood, I mean that of Rome, might very possibly insinuate themselves into societies to which they could not otherwise have access, and make their advantage of that total resignation of the understanding, and contempt of reason and learning, which nothing but ignorance, delirium, or knavery can dictate, to lead men blindfold whither it pleased, till it set them down at the foot of an altar where transubstantiation itself is consecrated.

I know not where I can more properly introduce another part of the Colonel's character, which, obvious as it was, I have not yet touched upon ; I mean, his tenderness to those who were under any spiritual distress ; wherein he was

indeed an example to Ministers, in a duty more peculiarly theirs. I have seen many amiable instances of this myself, and I have been informed of many others; one of which happened about the time of that awakening in the western parts of Scotland, which I touched upon above; when the Rev. Mr. M'Laurin of Glasgow found occasion to witness to the great propriety, judgment, and felicity of manner with which he addressed spiritual consolation to an afflicted soul who applied to the Professor, at a time when he had not an opportunity immediately to give audience to the case. And indeed as long ago as the year 1726, I find him writing to a friend in a strain of tenderness in this regard, which might well have become the most affectionate and experienced Pastor. He there congratulates him on some religious enjoyments lately received, (in part, it seems, by his means,) when among others he has this modest expression: "If I have been made any way the means of doing you good, give the whole glory to God; for he has been willing to show, that the power was entirely of himself, since he has been pleased to make use of so very weak an instrument." In the same letter he admonishes his friend, that he should not be too much surprised, if, after having been, as he expresses it, upon the mount, he should be brought into the valley again; and reminds him that "we live by faith."

An endeared friend who was most intimately conversant with the Colonel during the last two years of his life, has favoured me with an account of some little circumstances relating to him; which I esteem as precious fragments, by which the consistent tenor of his character may be farther illustrated. I shall therefore insert them here, without being very solicitous as to the order in which they are introduced.

He perceived himself evidently in a very declining state from his first arrival in Britain, and seemed to entertain a fixed apprehension, that he should continue but a little while longer in life. "He expected death," says my good correspondent, "and was delighted with the prospect," which did not grow less amiable by a nearer approach. The word of God, with which he had as intimate an acquaintance as most men I ever knew, and on which, especially on the New Testament, I have heard him make many very judicious and accurate remarks, was still his daily study; and it furnished him with matter of frequent conversation, much to the edification and comfort of those that were about him. It was recollected, that among other passages he had lately spoken of the following, as having made a deep impression on his mind: "My soul, wait thou only upon God!" He would repeat it again and again, "Only, only, only!" So plainly did he see, and so deeply did he feel, the vanity of creature confidences and expectations. With the

strongest attestation would he often mention those words in Isaiah, as verified by long experience : "Thou wilt keep him in perfect peace, whose mind is stayed on thee ; because he trusteth in thee." And with peculiar satisfaction would he utter those heroic words in Habakkuk, which he found armour of proof against every fear and every contingency : "Though the fig-tree shall not blossom, neither shall fruit be in the vines ; the labour of the olive shall fail, and the fields shall yield no meat ; the flocks shall be cut off from the fold, and there shall be no herd in the stalls : yet I will rejoice in the Lord, I will joy in the God of my salvation." The 114th Psalm was also spoken of by him with great delight, and Dr. Watts's version of it ; as well as several other of that excellent person's poetical composesures. My friend who transmits to me this account, adds the following words ; which I desire to insert with the deepest sentiments of unfeigned humility and self-abasement before God, as most unworthy the honour of contributing in the least degree to the joys and graces of one so much my superior in every part of the Christian character. "As the joy with which good men see the happy fruits of their labours, makes a part of the present reward of the servants of God, and the friends of Jesus, it must not be omitted, even in a letter to you, that your spiritual hymns were among his most delightful and soul-improving repasts ; particularly those, on

‘Beholding transgressions with grief,’ and ‘Christ’s message.’” What is added concerning my book of “The Rise and Progress of Religion,” and the terms in which he expressed his esteem of it, I cannot suffer to pass my pen; only desire most sincerely to bless God, that, especially by the last chapters of that treatise, I had an opportunity at so great a distance of exhibiting some offices of Christian friendship to this excellent person, in the closing scenes of life: which it would have been my greatest joy to have performed in person, had Providence permitted me then to have been near him.

The former of those hymns my correspondent mentions, as having been so agreeable to Colonel Gardiner, I have given the reader above, page 111. The latter, which is called “Christ’s Message,” took its rise from Luke iv. 18, &c., and is as follows:—

“Hark! the glad sound! The Saviour comes,
The Saviour promised long!
Let every heart prepare a throne,
And every voice a song.

“On him the Spirit, largely pour’d
Exerts its sacred fire:
Wisdom, and might, and zeal, and love
His holy breast inspire.

“He comes, the prisoners to release
In Satan’s bondage held:
The gates of brass before him burst,
The iron fetters yield.

“ He comes, from thickest films of vice
To clear the mental ray ;
And on the eye-balls of the blind
To pour celestial day.*

“ He comes, the broken heart to bind,
The bleeding soul to cure ;
And with the treasures of his grace
To’ enrich the humble poor.

“ His silver trumpets publish loud
The jubilee of the Lord ;
Our debts are all remitted now,
Our heritage restored.

“ Our glad hosannas, Prince of Peace,
Thy welcome shall proclaim ;
And heaven’s eternal arches ring
With thy beloved name.”

There is one hymn more I shall beg leave to add, plain as it is, which Colonel Gardiner has been heard to mention with particular regard, as expressing the inmost sentiments of his soul ; and they were undoubtedly so, in the last rational moments of his expiring life. It is called “ Christ precious to the Believer ; ” and was composed to be sung after a sermon on 1 Peter ii. 7.

“ Jesus ! I love thy charming name,
’Tis music to my ear :
Fain would I sound it out so loud,
That earth and heaven should hear.

* This stanza is mostly borrowed from Mr. Pope.

- “ Yes, thou art precious to my soul,
My transport, and my trust :
Jewels to thee are gaudy toys,
And gold is sordid dust.
- “ All my capacious powers can wish,
In thee most richly meet :
Nor to my eyes is life so dear,
Nor friendship half so sweet.
- “ Thy grace still dwells upon my heart,
And sheds its fragrance there ;
The noblest balm of all its wounds,
The cordial of its care.
- “ I’ll speak the honours of thy name
With my last labouring breath ;
Then speechless clasp thee in my arms,
The antidote of death.”

CHAPTER IX.

THOSE who were intimate with Colonel Gardiner must have observed how ready he was to give a devotional turn to any subject that occurred. And, in particular, the spiritual and heavenly disposition of his soul discovered itself in the reflections and improvements which he made when reading history ; in which he took a great deal of pleasure, as persons remarkable for their knowledge of mankind, and observation of Providence, generally do. I have an instance of this before

me, which, though too natural to be at all surprising, will I dare say be pleasing to the devout mind. He had just been reading in Rollin's extract from Xenophon, the answer which the Lady of Tigranes made, when all the company were extolling Cyrus, and expressing the admiration with which his appearance and behaviour struck them: the question being asked her, what she thought of him, she answered, "I do not know; I did not observe him." "On what then," said one of the company, "did you fix your attention?" "On him," replied she, referring to the generous speech which her husband had just made, "who said he would give a thousand lives to ransom my liberty." "O," cried the Colonel, when reading it, "how ought we to fix our eyes and hearts on Him who not in offer, but in reality, gave his own precious life to ransom us from the most dreadful slavery, and from eternal destruction!" But this is only one instance among a thousand. His heart was so habitually set upon divine things, and he had such a permanent and overflowing sense of the love of Christ, that he could not forbear connecting such reflections with a multitude of more distant occasions occurring in daily life, where less advanced Christians would not have thought of them: and thus, like our great Master, he made every little incident a source of devotion, and an instrument of holy zeal.

Enfeebled as his constitution was, he was still intent on improving his time to some valuable purposes; and when his friends expostulated with him, that he gave his body so little rest, he used to answer, "It will rest long enough in the grave."

The July before his death, he was persuaded to take a journey to Scarborough for the recovery of his health; from which he was at least encouraged to expect some little revival. After this, he had thoughts of going to London, and designed to have spent part of September at Northampton. The expectation of this was mutually agreeable; but Providence saw fit to disconcert the scheme. His love for his friends in these parts occasioned him to express some regret on his being commanded back: and I am pretty confident, from the manner in which he expressed himself in one of his last letters to me, that he had some more important reasons for wishing an opportunity of making a London journey just at that crisis; which, the reader will remember, was before the rebellion broke out. But as Providence determined it otherwise, he acquiesced; and I am well satisfied, that could he have distinctly foreseen the approaching event, so far as it concerned his own person, he would have esteemed it the happiest summons he ever received. While he was at Scarborough, I find by a letter dated from thence, July 26th, 1745, that he had been

informed of the gaiety which so unseasonably prevailed at Edinburgh, where great multitudes were then spending their time in balls, assemblies, and other gay amusements, little mindful of the rod of God which was then hanging over them; on which occasion he hath this expression: "I am greatly surprised, that the people of Edinburgh should be employed in such foolish diversions, when our situation is at present more melancholy than ever I saw it in my life. But there is one thing which I am very sure of, that comforts me, namely, that it shall go well with the righteous, come what will."

Quickly after his return home, the flame burst out, and his regiment was ordered to Stirling. It was in the castle there, that his Lady and eldest daughter enjoyed the last happy hours of his company; and I think it was about eight or ten days before his death, that he parted from them there. A remarkable circumstance attended that parting, which hath been touched upon by surviving friends in more than one of their letters to me. His Lady was so affected when she took her last leave of him, that she could not forbear bursting out into a flood of tears, with other marks of unusual emotion. And when he asked her the reason, she urged the apprehension she had of losing such an invaluable friend, amidst the dangers to which he was then called out, as a very sufficient apology. Upon which she took parti-

cular notice, that, whereas, he had generally comforted her on such occasions, by pleading with her that remarkable hand of Providence which had so frequently, in former instances, been exerted for his preservation, and that in the greatest extremity, he said nothing of it now ; but only replied, in his sententious manner, “ We have an eternity to spend together.”

That heroic contempt of death, which had often discovered itself in the midst of former dangers, was manifested now in his discourse with several of his most intimate friends. I have reserved for this place one genuine expression of it many years before, which I thought might be mentioned with some advantage here. In July, 1725, he had been sent to some place, not far from Hamilton, to quell a mutiny among some of our troops. I know not the particular occasion ; but I remember to have heard him mention it as so fierce a one, that he scarce ever apprehended himself in a more hazardous circumstance. Yet he quelled it by his presence alone, and the expostulations he used ; evidently putting his life into his hand to do it. The particulars of the story struck me much ; but I do not so exactly remember them, as to venture to relate them here. I only observe, that in a letter dated July 16th, that year, which I have now before me, and which evidently refers to this event, he writes thus :—“ I have been very busy, hurried about

from place to place ; but, blessed be God ! all is over without bloodshed. And pray let me ask, what made you show so much concern for me in your last ? Were you afraid I should get to heaven before you ? Or can any evil befall those who are followers of that which is good ? ”

And as these were his sentiments in the vigour of his days, so neither did declining years and the infirmities of a broken constitution, on the one hand, nor any desires of enjoying the honours and profits of so high a station, or, what was much more to him, the converse of the most affectionate of wives and so many amiable children and friends, on the other, enervate his spirits in the least : but as he had in former years often expressed it, to me and several others, as his desire, that, if it were the will of God, he might have some honourable call to sacrifice his life in defence of religion and the liberties of his country ; so when it appeared to him most probable that he might be called to it immediately, he met the summons with the greatest readiness. This appears in part from a letter which he wrote to the Rev. Mr. Adams of Falkirk, just as he was on marching from Stirling, which was only eight days before his death : “ The rebels,” says he, “ are advancing to cross the Firth ; but I trust in the Almighty God, who doeth whatsoever he pleases in the armies of heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth.” And the same gentle-

man tells me, that a few days after the date of this, he marched through Falkirk with his regiment; and though he was then in so languishing a state, that he needed his assistance as a Secretary to write for some reinforcement, which might put it in his power to make a stand, as he was very desirous to have done, he expressed a most genuine and noble contempt of life, when to be exposed in the defence of a worthy cause.

These sentiments wrought in him to the last, in the most effectual manner; and he seemed for a while to have infused them into the regiment which he commanded: for they expressed such a spirit in their march from Stirling, that I am assured the Colonel was obliged to exert all his authority to prevent their making incursions on the rebel army, which then lay very near them; and had it been thought proper to send him the reinforcement he requested, none can say what the consequence might have been. But he was ordered to march as fast as possible, to meet Sir John Cope's forces at Dunbar; which he did: and that hasty retreat, in concurrence with the news which they soon after received of the surrender of Edinburgh to the rebels, (either by the treachery or weakness of a few, in opposition to the judgment of by far the greater and better part of the inhabitants,) struck a panic into both the regiments of dragoons, which became visible in some very apparent and remarkable circumstances in

their behaviour, which I forbear to relate. This affected Colonel Gardiner so much, that on the Thursday before the fatal action at Preston-Pans, he intimated to an officer of considerable rank and note, from whom I had it by a very sure channel of conveyance, that he expected the event would be as in fact it was. In this view, there is all imaginable reason to believe he had formed his resolution as to his own personal conduct, which was, that he would not, in case of the flight of those under his command retreat with them; by which, as it seemed, he was reasonably apprehensive, he might have stained the honour of his former services, and have given some occasion for the enemy to have spoken reproachfully. He much rather chose, if Providence gave him the call, to leave in his death an example of fidelity and bravery, which might very probably be, as in fact it seems indeed to have been, of much greater importance to his country, than any other service which in the few days of remaining life he could expect to render it. I conclude these to have been his views, not only from what I knew of his general character and temper, but likewise from some intimations which he gave to a very worthy person from Edinburgh, who visited him the day before the action; to whom he said, "I cannot influence the conduct of others as I could wish, but I have one life to sacrifice to my country's

safety, and I shall not spare it ;" or words to that effect.

I have heard such a multitude of inconsistent reports of the circumstances of Colonel Gardiner's death, that I had almost despaired of being able to give my reader any particular satisfaction concerning so interesting a scene. But by a happy accident I have very lately had an opportunity of being exactly informed of the whole, by that brave man, Mr. John Foster, his faithful servant, and worthy of the honour of serving such a master, whom I had seen with him at my house some years before. He attended him in his last hours, and gave me the narration at large ; which he would be ready, if it were requisite, to attest upon oath. From his mouth I wrote it down with the utmost exactness, and could easily believe from the genuine and affectionate manner in which he related the particulars, that, according to his own striking expression, his eye and his heart were always upon his honoured master during the whole time.

On Friday, September 20th, (the day before the battle which transmitted him to his immortal crown,) when the whole army was drawn up, I think about noon, the Colonel rode through all the ranks of his own regiment ; addressing them at once in the most respectful and animating manner, both as soldiers and as Christians, to engage them to exert themselves courageously in the

service of their country, and to neglect nothing that might have a tendency to prepare them for whatever event might happen. They seemed much affected with the address, and expressed a very ardent desire of attacking the enemy immediately: a desire, in which he and another very gallant officer of distinguished rank, dignity, and character both for bravery and conduct, would gladly have gratified them, if it had been in the power of either. He earnestly pressed it on the Commanding Officer, both as the soldiers were then in better spirits than it could be supposed they would be after having passed the night under arms; and also as the circumstance of making an attack would be some encouragement to them, and probably some terror to the enemy, who would have had the disadvantage of standing on the defence: a disadvantage, with which those wild barbarians (for such most of them were) perhaps would have been more struck than better disciplined troops; especially, when they fought against the laws of their country too. He also apprehended, that by marching to meet them, some advantage might have been secured with regard to the ground; with which, it is natural to imagine, he must have been perfectly acquainted; as it lay just at his own door, and he had rode over it so many hundred times. When I mention these things, I do not pretend to be capable of judging, how far this advice was on the whole

right. A variety of circumstances, to me unknown, might make it otherwise. It is certain, however, that it was brave. But it was overruled in this respect, as it also was in the disposition of the cannon, which he would have had planted in the centre of our small army, rather than just before his regiment, which was in the right wing; where he was apprehensive, that the horses, which had not been in any engagement before, might be thrown into some disorder by the discharge so very near them. He urged this the more, as he thought the attack of the rebels might probably be made on the centre of the foot; where he knew there were some brave men, on whose standing he thought, under God, the success of the day depended. When he found, that he could not carry either of these points, nor some others, which, out of regard to the common safety, he insisted upon with some unusual earnestness, he dropped some intimations of the consequences which he apprehended, and which did in fact follow; and, submitting to Providence, spent the remainder of the day in making as good a disposition as circumstances would allow.

He continued all night under arms, wrapped up in his cloak, and generally sheltered under a rick of barley which happened to be in the field. About three in the morning he called his domestic servants to him, of which there were four in waiting. He dismissed three of them, with

most affectionate Christian advice, and such solemn charges relating to the performance of their duty, and the care of their souls, as seemed plainly to intimate that he apprehended it at least very probable he was taking his last farewell of them. There is great reason to believe that he spent the little remainder of the time, which could not be much above an hour, in those devout exercises of soul which had so long been habitual to him, and to which so many circumstances did then concur to call him. The army was alarmed by break of day, by the noise of the rebels' approach, and the attack was made before sun-rise, yet when it was light enough to discern what passed. As soon as the enemy came within gun-shot they made a furious fire; and it is said, that the dragoons which constituted the left wing immediately fled. The Colonel at the beginning of the onset, which in the whole lasted but a few minutes, received a wound by a bullet in his left breast, which made him give a sudden spring in his saddle; upon which his servant, who had led the horse, would have persuaded him to retreat: but he said, it was only a wound in the flesh; and fought on, though he presently after received a shot in his right thigh. In the mean time it was discerned, that some of the enemies fell by him; and particularly one man, who had made him a treacherous visit but a few days before, with great professions of zeal for the present establishment.

Events of this kind pass in less time than the description of them can be written, or than it can be read. The Colonel was for a few moments supported by his men, and particularly by that worthy person Lieutenant-Colonel Whitney, who was shot through the arm here, and a few months after fell nobly in the battle of Falkirk; and by Lieutenant West, a man of distinguished bravery; as also by about fifteen dragoons, who stood by him to the last. But after a faint fire, the regiment in general was seized with a panic; and though their Colonel, and some other gallant officers, did what they could to rally them once or twice, they at last took a precipitate flight. And just in the moment when Colonel Gardiner seemed to be making a pause, to deliberate what duty required him to do in such a circumstance, an accident happened, which must, I think, in the judgment of every worthy and generous man, be allowed a sufficient apology for exposing his life to so great hazard, when his regiment had left him. He saw a party of the foot, who were then bravely fighting near him, and whom he was ordered to support, had no officer to head them; upon which he said eagerly, in the hearing of the person from whom I had this account, "Those brave fellows will be cut to pieces for want of a Commander;" or words to that effect: which while he was speaking, he rode up to them, and cried out aloud, "Fire on, my lads, and fear nothing." But just as the

words were out of his mouth, a Highlander advanced towards him with a scythe fastened to a long pole, with which he gave him such a deep wound on his right arm, that his sword dropped out of his hand; and at the same time several others coming about him, while he was thus dreadfully entangled with that cruel weapon, he was dragged off from his horse. The moment he fell, another Highlander, who, if the King's evidence at Carlisle may be credited, (as I know not why they should not, though the unhappy creature died denying it,) was one Macnought, who was executed about a year after, gave him a stroke, either with a broad-sword or a Lochabar axe, (for my informant could not exactly distinguish,) on the hinder part of his head, which was the mortal blow. All that his faithful attendant saw farther at this time was, that as his hat was fallen off, he took it in his left hand, and waved it as a signal to him to retreat; and added, what were the last words he ever heard him speak, "Take care of yourself:" upon which the servant retired.

It was reported at Edinburgh on the day of the battle, by what seemed a considerable authority, that as the Colonel lay in his wounds, he said to a Chief of the opposite side, "You are fighting for an earthly crown, I am going to receive a heavenly one;" or something to that purpose. When I preached the sermon, long since printed, on occasion of his death, I had great reason to

believe this report was true ; though before the publication of it I began to be in doubt : and on the whole, after the most accurate inquiry I could possibly make at this distance, I cannot get any convincing evidence of it. Yet I must here observe, that it does not appear impossible, that something of this kind might indeed be uttered by him ; as his servant testifies, that he spoke to him after receiving that fatal blow, which would seem most likely to have taken away the power of speech ; and as it is certain he lived several hours after he fell. If, therefore, any thing of this kind did happen, it must have been just about this instant. But as to the story of his being taken prisoner, and carried to the pretended Prince, (who, by the way, afterwards rode his horse, and entered upon it into Derby,) with several other circumstances which were grafted upon that interview, there is the most undoubted evidence of its falsehood ; for his attendant mentioned above assures me, that he himself immediately fled to a mill, at the distance of about two miles from the spot of ground on which the Colonel fell ; where he changed his dress, and, disguised like a miller's servant, returned with a cart as soon as possible ; which yet was not till near two hours after the engagement. The hurry of the action was then pretty well over, and he found his much-honoured master, not only plundered of his watch and other things of value, but

also stripped of his upper garments and boots; yet still breathing: and adds, that though he were not capable of speech, yet on taking him up he opened his eyes; which makes it something questionable, whether he were altogether insensible. In this condition, and in this manner, he conveyed him to the church of Tranent, from whence he was immediately taken into the Minister's house, and laid in bed; where he continued breathing and frequently groaning, till about eleven in the forenoon; when he took his final leave of pain and sorrow, and undoubtedly rose to those distinguished glories which are reserved for those who have been so eminently and remarkably faithful unto death.

From the moment in which he fell, it was no longer a battle, but a rout and carnage. The cruelties which the rebels (as it is generally said, under the command of Lord Elcho) inflicted on some of the King's troops after they had asked quarter, are dreadfully legible on the countenances of many who survived it. They entered Colonel Gardiner's house before he was carried off from the field; and, notwithstanding the strict orders which the unhappy Duke of Perth, whose conduct is said to have been very humane in many instances, gave to the contrary, every thing of value was plundered, to the very curtains of the beds, and hangings of the rooms. His papers were all thrown into the wildest disorder, and his

house made a hospital, for the reception of those who were wounded in the action.

Such was the close of a life which had been so zealously devoted to God, and filled up with so many honourable services. This was the death of him who had been so highly favoured by God, in the method by which he was brought back to him after so long and so great an estrangement, and in the progress of so many years, during which, in the expressive phrase of the most ancient writers, "he had walked with him;" to fall, as God threatened the people of his wrath that they should do, "with tumult, with shouting, and with the sound of the trumpet." (Amos ii. 2.) Several other very worthy, and some of them very eminent, persons shared the same fate; either now in the battle of Preston-Pans, or quickly after in that of Falkirk: Providence, no doubt, permitting it, to establish our faith in the rewards of an invisible world; as well as to teach us to cease from man, and fix our dependence on an almighty arm.

The remains of this Christian hero, as I believe every reader is now convinced he may justly be called, were interred the Tuesday following, September 24th, at the parish church at Tranent; where he had usually attended divine service with great solemnity. His obsequies were honoured with the presence of some persons of distinction, who were not afraid of paying that last piece of

respect to his memory, though the country was then in the hands of the enemy. But, indeed, there was no great hazard in this; for his character was so well known, that even they themselves spoke honourably of him, and seemed to join with his friends in lamenting the fall of so brave and so worthy a man.

The remotest posterity will remember, for whom the honour of subduing this unnatural and pernicious rebellion was reserved; and it will endear the person of the illustrious Duke of Cumberland to all but the open or secret abettors of it in the present age, and consecrate his name to immortal honours among all the friends of religion and liberty who shall arise after us. And I dare say, it will not be imagined, that I at all derogate from his glory, in suggesting that the memory of that valiant and excellent person whose memoirs I am now concluding, may in some measure have contributed to that signal and complete victory with which God was pleased to crown the arms of his Royal Highness: for the force of such an example is very animating; and a painful consciousness of having deserted such a Commander in such extremity must at least awaken, where there was any spark of generosity, an earnest desire to avenge his death on those who had sacrificed his blood, and that of so many other excellent persons, to the views of their ambition, rapine, or bigotry.

The reflections I have made in my funeral sermon on my honoured friend, and in the dedication of it to his worthy and most afflicted Lady, supersede many things which might otherwise have properly been added here. I conclude, therefore, with humbly acknowledging the wisdom and goodness of that awful Providence, which drew so thick a gloom around him in the last hours of his life, that the lustre of his virtues might dart through it with a more vivid and observable ray. It is abundant matter of thankfulness, that so signal a monument of grace, and ornament of the Christian profession, was raised in our age and country, and spared for so many honourable and useful years. Nor can all the tenderness of the most affectionate friendship, while its sorrows bleed afresh in the view of so tragical a scene, prevent my adoring the gracious appointment of the great Lord of all events, that when the day in which he must have expired without an enemy appeared so very near, the last ebb of his generous blood should be poured out as a kind of sacred libation to the liberties of his country, and the honour of his God! that all the other virtues of his character, embalmed as it were by that precious stream, might diffuse around a more extensive fragrancy, and be transmitted to the most remote posterity with that peculiar charm which they cannot but derive from their connexion with so gallant a

fall: an event, as that blessed Apostle, of whose spirit he so deeply drank, has expressed it, according to his earnest expectation, and his hope, that in him Christ might be glorified in all things, whether by his life, or by his death.

APPENDIX.

RELATING TO THE COLONEL'S PERSON.

IN the midst of so many more important articles, I had really forgot to say any thing of the person of Colonel Gardiner, of which, nevertheless, it may be proper here to add a word or two. It was, as I am informed, in younger life remarkably graceful and amiable: and I can easily believe it, from what I knew him to be, when our acquaintance began; though he was then turned of fifty, and had gone through so many fatigues as well as dangers, which could not but leave some traces on his countenance. He was tall, I suppose something more than six feet, well proportioned, and strongly built; his eyes of a dark grey, and not very large; his forehead pretty high; his nose of a length and height no way remarkable, but very well suited to his other features; his cheeks not very prominent, his mouth moderately large, and his chin rather a little

inclining, when I knew him, to be peaked. He had a strong voice, and lively accent; with an air very intrepid, yet attempered with much gentleness: and there was something in his manner of address more perfectly easy and obliging, which was in a great measure the result of the great candour and benevolence of his natural temper; and which, no doubt, was much improved by the deep humility which divine grace had wrought into his heart, as well as his having been accustomed from his early youth to the company of persons of distinguished rank and polite behaviour.

Perhaps he would have appeared to the greatest advantage of all, could he have been exactly drawn on horseback; as many very good judges, and among the rest the celebrated Monsieur Faubert himself, have spoken of him as one of the completest horsemen that has ever been known: and there was indeed something so singularly graceful in his appearance in that attitude, that it was sufficient, as what is very eminent in its kind generally is, to strike an eye not formed on any critical rules.

THE ANCIENT FAMILY OF THE MUNROES
OF FOWLIS.

WHILE I was endeavouring to do justice to the memory of that excellent man, and most beloved friend, whose memoirs I have now concluded; and was mentioning in the course of my narration, the tragical consequences which the unnatural rebellion by which he fell had drawn along with it, and the many other valuable persons of which it had also deprived us; I could not but particularly reflect on the awful catastrophe of Sir Robert Munro, and his two brothers, the Captain and the Doctor; who all within the compass of eight months, and in less than twelve after the death of Colonel Gardiner, with whom they were well acquainted, and to whom they were allied in the bonds of a virtuous and honourable friendship, fell a sacrifice to the rage and cruelty of the same savage destroyers. I was desirous of interweaving so remarkable a piece of history with a subject to which it was, alas! so nearly connected; and therefore I applied myself to a person of high rank most nearly related to them, on whose information I was sure I might entirely depend; entreating the favour of such an account of these three excellent brothers, and of the circumstances of their death, as I might safely and properly offer to the view of the public.

This honourable person referred me to a gentleman well acquainted with the history of the family of the Munroes of Fowlis, and possessed of a distinct historical account of it, taken from the annals which have been kept of that family for many ages past, and from the old writs, charters, and other authentic deeds belonging to it, which are the vouchers of these annals.

This gentleman was pleased to favour me with a pretty large historical account of this family, beginning it much higher, and carrying it through a much wider extent, than I could have expected from the particular view with which I first requested information. I next obtained instructions on the same subject from a gentleman at London. I was then furnished with a particular relation from another gentleman, a pious Minister of the Church of Scotland, with whom I have the happiness of being well acquainted. And as all these are persons of such a character, that none who know them can question the veracity and testimony of each, so they were each of them happy in a most intimate acquaintance with all the three deceased brothers after whom I inquired. And last of all, I received from a fourth gentleman an historical account of this family from the most early times; which, by the date it bears, was compiled a great many years ago, and which, it seems, was intended to have been published in an historical account of some of the ancient fami-

lies of Scotland ; which work became abortive through the death of the author.

When I compared these several accounts, as I received them from time to time, it gave me great satisfaction to find them all agree, and tally so exactly, in their accounts of this family, and of the three excellent brothers last deceased. On an attentive perusal of these informations, I found they contained what was too curious and important to be lost, and yet too long to be inserted in the memoirs of Colonel Gardiner, without breaking the unity of design in a manner that would have proved inconvenient. I concluded, therefore, that (especially as those memoirs were finished before some of those papers came to my hands, it would be best to present it to the world in a distinct piece, connected by way of appendix to the former. And I feel a most sensible pleasure in the addition I am hereby making to the work, as it is paying some little debt of gratitude to the illustrious dead ; and at the same time doing a just honour to the surviving branches of a family, from whence so many heroes have sprung, and of which there are still, though after much sad desolation made in it, most worthy remains. And I hope that it may not only entertain my readers with some remarkable facts worthy of commemoration, but excite in their breasts something of the same generous spirit, to which nothing can more powerfully

instigate the mind than the view of such glorious examples.

The family of the Munroes of Fowlis is among the most ancient and honourable families in the north of Scotland, and has generally been remarkable for a brave, martial, and heroic spirit. It is mentioned by Buchanan with a memorable testimony,* when, after speaking of the difficulties in which Mary, Queen of Scots, was involved at Inverness, he adds, "that as soon as they heard of their Sovereign's danger, a great number of the ancient Scots poured in around her, especially the Frasers and Munroes, which," says he, "were esteemed among the most valiant of the clans inhabiting those countries." And how well the latter have ever since continued to deserve that character, the following memoirs, brief as they are, may in some degree show.

The Munroes of Fowlis have, in every one of their generations, been intermarried with many of the best families of nobility and gentry in the north of Scotland. And it is yet more for their honour that they were among the first in those parts that embraced the Reformation, and have ever since been zealous assertors of it. And many of them have not only given great counte-

* *Audito principis periculo, magna priscorum Scotorum multitudo affuit, imprimis Fraserii et Munroii, hominum fortissimorum in illis gentibus familiae.*—BUCHAN. *Hist.*, lib. xvii., p. 618.

nance and encouragement to the Ministers of the Gospel in the parishes under their influence, in consequence of which a great harvest of most eminent Christians hath been produced there ; but also have themselves been signal examples of true piety, and a behaviour in all its branches most ornamental to a Christian profession. I fear there have been few families to which such a character can be universally applied ; but it is certain, that so far as it is the case, it is the most illustrious of all hereditary honours, and therefore seems to have been mentioned with the utmost propriety by my several correspondents in this connexion.

According to Buchanan, it was in the beginning of the eleventh century, and about the time of the Conquest in England, when Malcolm, the second of that name, King of Scots, first distributed, or, as it is expressed, "feu-ed out," or "fee-ed," the lands of Scotland to the great families thereof, on account of their eminent services in his many battles with the Danes, until he forced them quite out of his kingdom. And according to tradition, it was on that occasion that the country betwixt the borough of Dingwall and the water of Alness, in the shire of Ross, was given to Donald Munro ; and which is therefore to this day called Ferrindonald, that is, "Donald's Land." And part of these lands were afterwards by the King

erected into a barony, called "the barony of Fowlis."

I shall not follow the annals of this family so far as to entertain the public with a detail of the Barons of Fowlis in their several generations through these early ages; but shall begin my particular narration of them only from the time they became Protestants, when their brave behaviour and example will afford us more instruction, and the facts concerning them may be depended on with more certainty. And therefore I shall only before that time observe,—

That George, ninth Baron* of Fowlis, (in a direct lineal descent from the above Donald, the

* It is to be observed, first, that "Baron" in Scotland does not import nobility, as it does now in England; for at the time the lands of Scotland were divided as above, there were then no nobility in that nation, but the great families had their estates erected into baronies, with a jurisdiction over all the vassals, tenants, and possessors thereof; which was the origin and support of the clans in Scotland, these being the only military force in that kingdom, until, upon the union of the two crowns in the person of King James VI. of Scotland, regular troops were introduced into that kingdom. To this I would add, secondly, that the annals of this family contain a genealogical account of all the Barons of Fowlis, from the above Donald Munro to this present time. Several of these can only be transmitted to us by tradition; but as to those whom I have mentioned, there is full evidence of the facts concerning them from the old writs, charters, and deeds in the family of Fowlis; and even several others of them whom I have not mentioned, are taken notice of in these old writs,

first Baron,) was slain at the memorable battle of Bannockburn, fought by King Robert Bruce of Scotland against King Edward II. of England, in the year 1314.

George, tenth Baron of Fowlis, and son of the former, was also slain with a great many of his name at the battle of Halydon-hill, near Berwick; in which battle the Scots were defeated by the English, and a great number of them killed, on the 22d of July, A. D. 1333.

Robert Munro, seventeenth Baron of Fowlis was slain at the battle of Pinkie near Edinburgh, with many of his name; where the Scots were again defeated by the English, and a great number of them killed, A. D. 1547.

I mention the fall of these three gentlemen with their friends and followers, fighting valiantly in the cause of their country, as illustrating the valour and bravery of this family in their different generations, and showing how justly they merited the character which Buchanan gives them in the place before cited. How long this brave spirit has continued, as it were, hereditary to them, will appear from what follows.

The first Protestant of this family was Robert Munro, the eighteenth Baron of Fowlis, son to Robert last mentioned, and the same who came to the assistance of Mary Queen of Scots, upon the occasion before cited, A. D. 1562. He embraced the Protestant religion quickly after;

and being a wise and a good man, he left an opulent estate to the family, and died A. D. 1588.

He was succeeded by his son Robert Munro, nineteenth Baron of Fowlis, who died the same year with his father.

The next to him was his brother, Hector Munro, twentieth Baron of Fowlis, who died A. D. 1603.

Robert Munro, his son, succeeded him, the twenty-first Baron of Fowlis, who flourished when Gustavus Adolphus, that justly celebrated King of Sweden, (whose religion and valour were so distinguished among his many religious and valiant contemporaries,) was engaged in a Protestant war against the Emperor Ferdinand II., in defence of the civil as well as sacred liberties of Germany. The generous heart of this worthy gentleman was so struck with a regard to the common cause, in which he himself had no concern but what piety and virtue gave him, that he joined Gustavus with a very great number of his friends, who bore his own name. Many of them gained great reputation in this war; and that of Robert their leader was so eminent, that he was made Colonel of two regiments at the same time, the one of horse, and the other of foot, in that service; in which he acquitted himself with so much fidelity and zeal, that he died of the wounds which he received in crossing the

Danube, and was buried at Ulme, in the month of March, 1633.

He was succeeded by Sir Henry Munro, twenty-second Baron of Fowlis, the next male heir of the family,* who was also Colonel of a regiment in the same service; and upon his coming over to Britain, was created a Baronet, in June, 1633. Returning afterwards to Germany, he died at Hamburgh, in April, 1635.

His son, Sir Hector Munro, was twenty-third Baron of Fowlis, who died without issue in the year 1651, at seventeen years of age.

Sir Robert Munro, twenty-fourth Baron of Fowlis, succeeded as the nearest male heir, being grandson to George Munro of Obsdale, who was third son to Robert Munro, the eighteenth Baron of Fowlis.

My information imports, that in the before-mentioned annals of this family, there is a well-attested list of officers, of which I have a copy in the memorial last sent me, wherein there are three Generals, eight Colonels, five Lieutenant-Colonels, eleven Majors, and above thirty Captains, all of the name of Munro; besides a great number of subalterns. Most of these were in

* It was formerly the custom in Scotland, and is so still among ancient families, to entail the succession of their family estate to the nearest male relation of the deceased, passing by the females, thereby to preserve their estates in their own name and family.

that religious war under the great Gustavus Adolphus ; and some of the descendants of this family are at this day in possession of considerable military commands in Sweden, and various parts of Germany.

General Robert Munro, who was uncle to Sir Robert, the twenty-fourth Baron of Fowlis, published in the year 1644 an account of this religious war under Gustavus Adolphus, in a folio volume, entitled, "Military Discipline learned from the valiant Swede ;" a book of which (though I never happened to see it) I have heard a high character. I am informed that it contains an exact journal of that expedition into Germany for the relief of the distressed Protestants ; and it is said to be filled with most excellent observations on military affairs, delivered in a strain of piety which seems to breathe the spirit of its brave and worthy author. And indeed, by what I have heard of that instructive history, it is hard to say when there has been, even in the Christian world, so religious and so well-disciplined an army as this ; at the head of which, a mysterious Providence permitted that royal hero and martyr, the great Gustavus, to fall. Would to God the time might at length come when our Commanders shall take their lessons from it ; at least, so far as to learn from the example of some of the bravest and greatest of men to maintain, in the military bodies under their command, the authority of the

Lord of Hosts ; and, particularly, that reverence for his name, and for his day, which was there so beautifully and gloriously conspicuous !

This worthy General, in the year 1641, was appointed by King Charles I. Major General of the Scotch forces, that were sent to Ireland to suppress the infamous and destructive rebellion there. It is not my business here to insist on those unhappy circumstances which so long retarded their march, and so greatly obstructed their success. I find, however, that he had at length the honour to be in the number of those, by whom God gave blood to drink to those miscreants, who had rendered themselves so eminently worthy of it by a series of outrages which the most sanguinary and detestable faction on earth, I mean that of Popery, has seldom been able to exceed. For in the year 1644, this illustrious Commander, at the head of fourteen thousand of the Scotch and English Protestants, fought and defeated twenty-two thousand of the Irish in Ulster, killed and took many thousands of them, and seized on a great quantity of cattle and other provisions, of which the Protestants were then in great want.

The General was a great favourer of the Presbyterian interest, and among the first who established it in Ireland. He sat in their Presbyteries and Synods, and adhered to the interest of the Parliament till he apprehended they were carry

ing matters to an excessive height against the King; on which he accepted of a commission from him, and acted under the Duke of Ormond; to which he was persuaded by his nephew, Sir George Munro, (of whom afterwards,) who had always adhered to the interest of Charles I., as he afterwards did to that of Charles II.

In the year 1645 the General was surprised by Colonel Monk, before he could draw out his men from their quarters; and he and they were by that means taken prisoners: but he continued not long in their hands; for death came and set him at liberty soon after.

It is worthy of our notice, by the way, that in the year 1644 we find Monk imprisoned by the Parliament, for having accepted a commission from the King, and acted in consequence of it, though before that, he had acted by commission from the Parliament: and again, in the year 1648, we find him fighting for the Parliament against the King: and his surprising and taking General Munro was the first thing that brought him into favour with the Parliament. For in that reeling time we find men of a much better character than Monk changing sides again and again, as they apprehended the one party or the other to be in the right, from the many different demands, refusals, and concessions which then happened between them.

The General was succeeded in his command by

Sir George Munro, brother to the last-mentioned Sir Robert, and both of them nephews to General Robert by his brother Colonel John Munro, of Obsdale, in the Swedish service: Sir George was also bred in that service with his uncle, and afterwards served with him in Ireland; where he arrived to the rank of a Colonel. He was made Major-General by King Charles II., and had a body of forces under his command at Kendal, when James, Duke of Hamilton, was defeated by Cromwell at Lancaster, A. D. 1648. Upon this defeat, Sir George returned to Scotland, and defeated the Earl of Argyle: and afterwards, his forces being disbanded by order of the States of Scotland, he went to Holland, and joined King Charles II.; after whose restoration he was made Lieutenant-General and Commander-in-Chief in Scotland.

Sir John Munro, twenty-fifth Baron of Fowlis, succeeded his father Sir Robert, A. D. 1668. He was a member of the Convention of the estates of Scotland at the Revolution, and a very zealous promoter of that happy event. He was no less strenuous in asserting Presbytery; and on that account, being also remarkable for a large and corpulent stature, he was nick-named the Presbyterian mortar-piece. His eminent piety and zeal had exposed him to great sufferings in the cause of religion, in those unhappy and infamous days, when the best friends to their country were

treated as the worst enemies to the Government ; and when to be conscientiously solicitous to "depart from evil," made so many thousands a prey. Sir John suffered greatly, among many others, "of whom the world was not worthy:" his person was doomed to long imprisonment, for no pretended cause but what was found against him in the matters of his God ; and his estate, which was before considerable, was harassed by severe fines and confiscations ; which reduced it to a diminution, much more honourable indeed than any augmentation could have been, but from which it has not recovered even to this day. He died A. D. 1696, and was succeeded by his son.

Sir Robert Munro, twenty-sixth Baron of Fowlis, who succeeded his father, was also a pious and benevolent man, and for some time a Captain : but it pleased God early to deprive him of his sight, and to continue him in that condition during the remainder of his life. Under this calamity, he calmly submitted himself to that God who can shed abroad a far more cheering light on the soul than these bodily eyes can admit. Providence was pleased to bless him with children, in whom he could not but find the highest satisfaction ; and whose amiable characters in general leave no room to doubt of the tenderness and respect with which they would treat so worthy a parent, under a distressing calamity, which would

naturally move compassion even in strangers. There were four of them, who all reached maturity of age, and were the heirs of many blessings; though Providence suffered three of them to fall almost at once, by most unjust and barbarous hands,—Sir Robert, Captain George Munro, and the Doctor, whose Christian name was Duncan. Their only sister, married to Mr. Gordon of Ardoch, still survives; an example of profound submission and fortitude, mingled with the most tender sensibility of temper.

Sir Robert Munro, twenty-seventh Baron of Fowlis, succeeded his father, A. D. 1729. He went early from the University to the camp, where he served seven years in Flanders; being some time Captain in the Royal Scots, before that fatal cessation of arms, A. D. 1712; as His late Majesty with so much propriety publicly called it, to which therefore I shall not presume to give either a milder or a severer name. It was here that Sir Robert contracted that acquaintance and strict friendship with good Colonel Gardiner, which ran through the remainder of their lives, and of which each was so worthy. On Sir Robert's return from Flanders, he was reduced, on account of his inflexible opposition in Parliament, (of which he was then a Member,) to the measures which the Ministry were then taking to subvert the succession in the present Royal Family, and with it, no doubt, the Protestant religion, of which

that family was and is, under God, the firmest barrier.

My correspondent observes, concerning Sir Robert, "that he was noted for the countenance he gave to divine worship, both in public and his family, and for the regard which he always expressed to the word of God, and its Ministers;" and then adds, "that he was sincere in his friendship, and full of compassion even to the meanest of those around him; and that he was remarkable, above most, for his activity in the discharge of any office of friendship, where he had professed it, and for his great exactness in the performance of his promises."

His military services are particularly worthy of being mentioned here. In the year 1715 he, with his clan, in conjunction with the Earl of Sutherland, kept the Earl of Seaforth, with three thousand men under his command, from joining the rebel camp at Perth, for near two months; and thereby prevented the Earl of Marr from crossing the Forth, till the Duke of Argyle had gathered strength sufficient to oppose him. In consequence of this, Sir Robert exposed his own country to the fiercest resentments of the rebels, by whom it was plundered and destroyed; while others, who yet pretended to be friends to the Government, saved themselves and their lands by capitulations with the enemy. Being then made Governor of Inverness, Sir Robert kept four hundred of his name

there, during the rest of that rebellion, regularly paid and regimented; and these, together with some other clans, well-affected to the interest of the present Royal Family, kept possession of that important pass, whereby the rebels were hindered from making a stand there, when they were dislodged from Perth by the Duke of Argyle.

He was, in the year 1716, made a Commissioner of Inquiry into the forfeited estates of the rebels; in which he strenuously exerted himself in procuring a number of parishes to be erected through the rebel countries, and provided with suitable stipends out of the confiscated lands; whereby the Gospel was preached in places where it had not been preached since the Reformation: so that some new Presbyteries were formed, in countries where the discipline and worship of Protestant churches had before no footing. And such was the compassion and humanity which attempered his high courage, that by his interest with the Government he did eminent service to the unfortunate widows and children of such as had to the ruin of their families been engaged in the rebellion.

Sir Robert was thirty years a Member of Parliament by his family interest; during which time he always maintained the firmest attachment to the service of His Majesty and his royal father, and to the religion and liberties of his country. His fidelity and zeal for these did not need to be

purchased, solicited, or quickened, by personal favours: it continued through all this period unshaken and active, though from the ending of his Commission of Inquiry in 1724, till the year 1740, he had no post under the Government. He then found the nation was to be involved in a foreign war, the necessity of which was generally apprehended and acknowledged; and therefore, though his friends thought his merit and experience might have pretended to something more, as he had been in the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel twenty-five years, his heart was too generous and too warm, not to accept of the same commission, which was then given him in the Highland regiment. This regiment, when first formed out of independent Highland companies, was under the command of the Earl of Crawford, as its Colonel, who all the while he stood in that relation to it, was abroad, confined by the wounds he had received as a volunteer against the Turks. During this time, Sir Robert Munro was his Lordship's Lieutenant-Colonel. Before it went to Flanders, Lord Sempe was its Colonel; but he also being generally absent, and Sir Robert an old experienced officer, the regiment during the war was left under his care; and the manner in which he modelled and conducted it, will remain in many respects an immortal honour to his name.

It is indeed surprising, that a regiment, com-

posed of Highlanders, who are generally used to so rapacious a life at home, should yet by discipline have been brought to so good a behaviour, as that they should be judged the most trusty guards of property; and that, when the people in Flanders were allowed a protection for their goods, they should choose to have some of this regiment, among others of the British soldiers, appointed to protect them. This may, indeed, seem hardly credible:* yet my informer assures me, that he had it from an officer of their own of unquestionable credit; who added further, that it was but seldom he had observed a man among them drunk, and as seldom heard any of them swear. This is very agreeable to the high character which I heard of this regiment, from an English gentleman then in Flanders, whose veracity is undoubted, and who cannot, I am sure, be suspected of any prejudice here. And among Sir Robert's papers, there is still existing a copy of a

* A very worthy person, to whose inspection this appendix has been committed since it was finished, observes here, that "though the Highlanders are much addicted to depredations on their neighbours, yet the very actors even in them are generally as faithful to their trust as any set of people whatever; and that if his officer shows but any degree of civility and kindness to one of these people, the fear of disobliging him has a greater influence than that of stripes generally has on others of the common people." This remark I thought proper to insert here, that the representation of this affair might be as impartial as possible.

letter from the Elector Palatine to his Envoy at London, desiring him to thank the King of Great Britain, in his name, for the excellent behaviour of the Highland regiment, while they were in his territories, "which," as he says expressly, "was owing to the care of Sir Robert Munro, their Lieutenant-Colonel; for whose sake," he adds, "he should always pay a regard to a Scotchman for the future."

I the rather mention these particulars, not only as they do an honour to Sir Robert, and his worthy brother, through whose interest, and that of the other officers, with the private men, this great reformation was effected; but likewise as they seem to show, in a very convincing manner, of how great importance it is, that some methods be seriously thought of, for breaking the other uncultivated inhabitants of these countries into useful men, by bringing them at once under the protection and discipline of the laws, and enforcing their obedience to them, by teaching them the principles of religion, and the arts of peace and commerce. This is a happy effect, which, methinks, we may naturally hope for from the late rebellion, pernicious as it has in many respects been; considering how much it has reduced them to the power of the Government, and how justly obnoxious it has made the Chiefs of many fierce and barbarous clans.

According to my best information, from per-

sons who are most thoroughly acquainted with affairs in the north, the two great springs of rebellion amongst the inhabitants of these Highland countries are, their idleness and their ignorance. The former subjects them to a slavish dependence on their masters, and is also the cause of their being so addicted to stealing; and the latter makes them a prey to Popish Priests and Missionaries from Rome, who are constantly, and in great numbers, trafficking among them. It has been justly remarked, that the success they have in seducing these poor ignorant people is occasioned, in a great measure, by the vast extent of parishes in those Highland countries; some of them being betwixt thirty and forty miles in length, and twenty and thirty in breadth, full of great mountains, rapid rivers, and arms of the sea; and those parishes which are more moderate in their extent, are about twenty miles in length, and ten or twelve in breadth: and it is every where to be observed through these parishes, that around the place of the Minister's residence, the inhabitants are almost all Protestants; but in the corners which are remote from his residence, they are generally all Papists.

Now it is evident that these poor people can only be cured of idleness, by teaching them manufactures, to which they are wholly strangers; and it is hard to imagine, how they can be rescued from Popish ignorance, until there are

several new parishes erected in those extensive countries. It would ill become me to pretend to direct the Government of Britain on such an occasion ; but I know it to be the opinion of many persons in those parts, of distinguished wisdom and experience, that if it should be thought fit to employ the produce of the estates confiscated by the late rebellion, for these valuable purposes, this, with the thousand pounds of His Majesty's royal bounty annually bestowed, would go a good way towards remedying these two great evils, with their train of miserable consequences, which we have of late so deeply felt. And who would not rejoice to see all these poor people sharing with us fully in all the privileges and advantages of Christians and of Britons ? I pray God to guide and prosper every scheme for this purpose ! And in this connexion, I cannot but mention, and recommend, the Society for propagating the Knowledge of Religion, and with it the principles of loyalty, in these Highland countries ; a design in which so many worthy persons, both in the northern and southern parts of our island, are incorporated : but their stock is by no means equal to the purposes here mentioned ; and by their constitution, they are confined to the support of schools, which are indeed going on with great success, as far as the revenue will allow them.

But to return from this natural, and therefore, I

hope, very pardonable, digression : the behaviour of Sir Robert Munro, and this regiment, at the battle of Fontenoy, was heard through all Britain. He had obtained leave of his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, to allow them their own way of fighting. They were early in the field, and were ordered to attack the main battery of the French, at the village from which the battle derives its name ; which they did, and drove the enemy from it : but finding the body of the French forces deeply entrenched behind the battery, they did not give over the charge, but bravely drew up to attack them. Sir Robert, according to the usage of his countrymen, ordered the whole regiment to clap to the ground on receiving the French fire ; and instantly, as soon as it was discharged, they sprung up, and coming close to the enemy, poured in their shot upon them, to the certain destruction of multitudes, and drove them precipitately through their own lines : then retreating, they drew up again, and attacked them a second time after the same manner. These attacks they repeated several times that day, to the surprise of the whole army.

Sir Robert was every where with his regiment, notwithstanding his great corpulency ; and when in the trenches, he was hauled out again by the legs and arms by his own men. And it is observable, that when he commanded the whole

regiment to clap to the ground, he himself alone with the colours behind him stood upright, receiving the whole fire of the enemy : and this, because, as he said, though he could easily lie down, his great bulk would not suffer him to rise so quickly.

His preservation that day was the surprise and astonishment, not only of the whole army, but of all that heard the particulars of the action : and my information relates, that a most eminent person in the army was heard to say upon the occasion, "that it was enough to convince one of the truth of the doctrine of a particular providence, and to justify what King William, of glorious memory, had been used to say, 'that every bullet has its billet,' or its particular direction and commission where it should lodge." It is added, that on the retreat of our army, the Highland regiment was in the rear ; and a great body of the French horse being ordered to pursue, Sir Robert made his regiment face about, and gave them a general fire, so full and effectual, that a great number of them being brought to the ground, the rest wheeled about and rode off.

But to close what relates to Sir Robert Munro : as an acknowledgment for his brave services at Fontenoy, as well as on former occasions, His Majesty was pleased to appoint him to succeed General Ponsonby, who was slain there, in the command of his regiment ; which was

among the troops that arrived at Newcastle during the rebellion, and made a part of General Wade's army. They were afterwards ordered to Scotland; and being upon the left wing at the battle of Falkirk, on that fatal day, the 17th of January, 1745-6, they shamefully left their brave Colonel and Lieutenant-Colonel with five or six more of their officers, to be cut in pieces.

By the account which the rebels themselves give of Sir Robert, he defended himself against six of them with his half-pike, and killed two of their number; upon which a seventh came up, and, as they expressed it, poured a shot into his belly, which brought him immediately to the ground. In this dreadful moment, in the midst of all this extremity, his brother, Doctor Munro, whom the warmest instances of his friends could not divert from exposing his person in defence of his country, and who was near at hand, ran to him to support him, attended by his servant and the Surgeon of the regiment; but they were all murdered on the spot, in the most barbarous manner, by those cruel men.

Sir Robert's body was the next day sought out; and his face was so cut and mangled by these savages, after he fell, that it could scarcely be known. He was found, and buried honourably in the churchyard of Falkirk, by the M'Donalds, who, though engaged in rebellion against their

lawful Sovereign, could not but pay some public regard to the memory of so valiant a man ; the principal persons among the rebels attending him all the way to the grave.

And thus fell those two brave brothers ; for the Doctor undoubtedly deserves that title with Sir Robert, who, though professing the peaceful art of medicine, adventured himself amidst the most visible danger, fired with love to his illustrious brother ; and attempting in vain to bring him some aid in his last extremities, amidst armed enemies, expired with him, no less lamented than he by all that intimately knew him. How just that lamentation was, will appear from the accounts which I have had of the Doctor's character from his most intimate friends, which I here subjoin.

He was a gentleman of an excellent understanding, and had a brightness and solidity in his genius, which are not often united ; but which, when they concur, do greatly illustrate each other. He had been bred up to the study of medicine and surgery, which in Scotland are frequently joined, as they have so great an affinity. " He had a large stock of knowledge, not only in his own profession, but in most parts of polite literature. But these," adds my correspondent, " I hold cheap, when compared to the goodness of his heart. His greatest study was to know himself ; and I verily believe, that, since the early

ages of Christianity, there has not appeared a more upright person."

He spent a great many years in the East Indies, and had most accurately and diligently inquired into the manners, customs, arts, and manufactures of the natives, and into the produce and commodities of the country : so that he was much more capable of giving entertainment to persons of curiosity in such things, than travellers commonly are ; and his veracity was such, that all who knew him could entirely depend upon whatever he reported as on his own knowledge. To all these advantages was added, a memory remarkably tenacious of every circumstance with which he charged it : but perhaps it was a loss to the world that it was so, as it hindered him from committing many extraordinary things to writing, which might have afforded improvement, as well as delight, to the public.

The want of such memoirs from so able a hand is the more to be regretted, as his remarkable modesty did not permit him to talk much in company. One might spend a good deal of time with him without perceiving, by any hints from him, that he had ever been out of Britain : but when his friends seemed desirous of information on any of these topics, as they fell in his way, he communicated his observations upon them with the utmost freedom, and gave them the greatest satisfaction imaginable ; of which some remark-

able instances happened at the houses of persons of very considerable rank, who paid him that respect which he so well deserved.

It was the more to be desired, that he should have left behind him some written memoirs of his own remarks and adventures, as he was a most attentive observer of divine providence, and had experienced many singular instances of it. One is so remarkable, that it claims a place here, brief as these hints must necessarily be. After he had continued eight or ten years in the East Indies, he was shipwrecked on the Malabarian coast, as he was on his passage home: he saved his life on a plank, but lost all his effects, except a small parcel of diamonds. This ruinous calamity, as it seemed to be, obliged him to return to Fort St. George, where he experienced, far beyond what he could have expected, the extraordinary friendship of several English gentlemen of that settlement; and felt the solid effects of it, as by their assistance he acquired much more in six or seven years following, (for his whole stay in that country was about sixteen years,) than he had lost by shipwreck: and when he left the settlement, he had all sorts of encouragement offered him to induce him to stay; but his health and other circumstances obliged him to return home.

This return (which happened, if I mistake not, about the year 1726) was a happy providence to

many: for as he was remarkably successful in both the branches of the peculiar profession, he took great pains in both: and as he did this without fee or reward, when he was satisfied the circumstances of the afflicted needed such assistance, he was an instrument of saving many limbs and many lives, which must otherwise in all probability have been lost.

To this account I must beg leave to add what another of my correspondents writes to me concerning the Doctor, in the following words:—"As we were often by ourselves, I still found him inclined to turn our discourse to spiritual subjects, concerning God and religion, the offices of the great Redeemer, and the power of God's Spirit in converting and sanctifying the souls of men, and the hope of eternal life through Christ." I transcribe the passage thus particularly concerning this pious Physician, as I esteem it, in one view, a peculiar honour to him, and permit me to say, in another, to the profession itself: blessed be God, that, though it is so rare a case, yet there are those of that learned body, who are not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ; but who, knowing it to be true on incontestable evidence, and having felt (what one would imagine every rational creature who believes it to be true must immediately see) its infinite importance, have steadily determined to submit to its influence, and to maintain its honours in the midst of all the

scorn and derision of their infidel brethren : a determination which perhaps requires no less courage, especially in some tempers, than that generous instance of fraternal love which will entail such lasting glory on the memory of Doctor Munro.

There yet remained one valiant brother of this family, whom Providence reserved for a few months, before he shared the fate of the other two. The person I mean was Captain George Munro, of Culcairn, Esq. ; of whom I have conceived such an idea from the account of him which has been put into my hands, that I cannot forbear wishing the world were blessed with a much larger narrative of his life and character, than my instructions will furnish out, or than I should have room to insert in such an appendix as this. Much do I regret, that Providence never favoured me with an opportunity of being personally acquainted with him, especially as I have reason to believe, from what my friends in the north write, that he had the like disposition towards forming a friendship with me, as produced so quick a growth of it in the breast of Colonel Gardiner ; whom, on the whole, Captain Munro seems to have resembled almost in every part of his character, taking it as it was since that happy change which I have so largely described in the foregoing memoirs : but what was wanting in my personal knowledge, is sup-

plied by a large and animated account from my correspondents, who had the best opportunity of knowing him, and upon whose information I can safely depend.

Captain George Munro was the second brother of the family, the Doctor being the youngest son. He, like the other gentlemen, had the advantage of a very liberal education, and soon discovered marks of a good genius, which might have qualified him for making a figure under any character in the learned world. Besides the other branches of literature, common to all the professions, he acquired a stock of theological knowledge; and before he was seventeen years old, he was well acquainted with ecclesiastical history, so as to be able to give a good account of the advance and decline of the Christian interest in various ages and countries; and the degrees and manner by which the corruption and reformation of the church had been introduced, established, or obstructed. I rather mention this, as it seems to be an accomplishment of great importance; on which account, I much wonder that the generality of young gentlemen should think it so little worth attending to: and I wish I could say, that all who are intended for the ministry were so careful in pursuing it, as its usefulness and its absolute necessity to them might demand.

But his taste and talents particularly lay for a

military life ; and in the year 1715 he behaved himself with great courage and activity during the whole course of that rebellion ; and after the dispersion of the rebels, he was employed in reducing the inhabitants of those Highland countries, and the adjacent isles, to a submission to the Government.

In the year 1719, when, on occasion of the invasion from Spain, General Wightman, with the troops under his command, had waited long at Inverness for a body of Highland men to conduct the troops through the mountains to Glenshiel, where the Spaniards and rebels were encamped ; and when many promises of such assistance made to the General had failed, Sir Robert Munro being then out of the country, his brother the Captain, of whom we now speak, assembled, in a most expeditious manner, a body of the Munro clan, and marched with the regular troops to Glenshiel ; where they distinguished themselves by the gallantry of their behaviour, driving the enemy before them in a sharp action, in which many of them were killed, and more wounded ; and among the rest the Captain himself in a very dangerous manner. He had, however, the satisfaction to see these foreign invaders, and their rebel abettors, totally routed and dispersed on the Pretender's birth-day, June 10th : and though his constitution suffered much by the loss of his blood on this occasion, yet it pleased

God to recover him for further service to his country.

As he still continued vigorous and active in the service of the Government, he obtained the command of one of the independent companies then in the national pay; and when they were afterwards regimented and sent to Flanders, he attended them thither, and continued in the public service till the year 1744; when he became so exceedingly asthmatic that he could not breathe in the Flanders' air. On which, General Wade not only allowed him to sell his commission, but, out of compassion to his distress, joined his brother Sir Robert in obliging him to do it and to return home; to which at length he submitted, though not without regret; and thereupon returned to his domestic seat at Newtown in Ross-shire, in the views of spending his days with his family and friends in a peaceful retreat. But Providence determined otherwise, and had reserved for him some farther labours of a military life, in which it had appointed him gloriously to toil and fall, after services which might have done an honour to his most vigorous and active days.

The late wicked and unnatural rebellion broke out soon after his arrival; and the danger of his country and its religious and civil constitution gave him at once a new stock of life and spirits.

When General Cope came to Inverness, and

had been assured of being joined by a number of Highlanders to conduct him and his small army through the rebel countries between that town and Aberdeen, Captain Munro with two hundred of his brother's clan were indeed the only persons that were found willing to perform the promises that were made by several others. He marched with the General directly to Aberdeen, from whence he was ordered to return home : in which return he was under a necessity of marching through a great number of the rebels under the command of Gordon of Glenbucket, who lay on the road to attack the Captain and his party ; but Glenbucket, finding that the Captain was determined to dispute every inch of ground with him, retired, and allowed him to proceed without disturbance to Inverness.

Not long after that, the Earl of Loudoun sent Captain Munro, in conjunction with the Laird of Macleod, with a body of men, to relieve the city of Aberdeen and the neighbouring country, then greatly oppressed by the outrages committed upon them by Lord Lewis Gordon and the rebels under his command. Accordingly the Captain and Macleod proceeded as far as Inverary, a small town a few miles west of Aberdeen, where they halted to receive intelligence ; and from the narrowness of the place, they were obliged to quarter a great number of their men in distant places through the adjacent country. In the

mean time, a considerable reinforcement from the main body of the rebel army, which then lay at Perth, was sent under the command of a French officer, supported by their picquets and Irish brigades; by the assistance of which Lord Lewis attempted to surprise and cut off the Captain and his whole party. In this view they were moving towards Inverary in the dusk of the evening, after Captain Munro and Macleod had sent their men through the country to their quarters. But though there was not such good intelligence provided as might have been wished, they were providentially discovered at such a distance, that Captain Munro and the Laird of Macleod had time to draw up the men they had in the town of Inverary in so regular a manner, that, in consequence of it, they gave the enemy such a warm reception, attacking them at once in front and flank, that many of them were left dead in the field. The brave Captain and his associate continued very sedate, intrepid, and active, during the heat of the skirmish, till at last being overpowered by far superior numbers, they thought it advisable to retire; and brought off their party safe and in good order, excepting some few who had been killed or taken prisoners. Among the latter was Mr. Adam Gordon of Ardoch, nephew to Captain Munro, who was seized by the rebels, and treated with a deal of rigour and severity for a considerable time while detained in

their power. But they did not presume to pursue the rest: and the young gentleman at length made his escape, to the great joy of the family; being, I hope, reserved by Providence to tread in the steps of his heroic uncles, and to bless his country with some considerable future services.

Upon the retreat of the rebels northward before his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, the Earl of Loudoun had not sufficient strength to maintain his possession of Inverness against them. Whereupon he, with the Lord President and Captain Munro, retreated to the shire of Sutherland, proposing to defend themselves there, until the season allowed his Royal Highness to march the troops to Inverness. But in this interval, the rebels having spread themselves through the shires of Inverness, Murray, and Ross, they got possession of a great many boats; by the help of which they transported a great part of their body to the Sutherland coast, under the covert of a very thick fog. Upon which, the Earl of Loudoun, with the Lord President and the Captain, were obliged to retreat, through the western parts of Ross, into the Isle of Sky, where they continued until the rebel army was broken and dispersed at the battle of Culloden.

I have been the more particular in this narrative of the Captain's conduct during the rebellion, as it gives some light into the situation and

transactions of the friends of our constitution in those parts at that time: and my information assures me that the facts are taken from persons of undoubted veracity, who were present with the Captain in his march to Aberdeen with General Cope, and in his return from it; and who were with him in the skirmish at Inverary, and were afterwards witnesses of his death.

Upon his return from the Isle of Sky, he was constantly employed in expeditions through the rebel countries of great extent, to reduce them to a submission to the Government; which he performed with diligence and zeal, but still with the greatest humanity. This the rebels themselves must acknowledge; as he never did the least injury to any man, and in all that vast circuit which he made through these distant countries, he neither himself seized, nor allowed those under his command to seize, any thing but arms. And yet, notwithstanding all this humanity, his diligence and zeal had been such in the whole of this rebellion, as rendered him obnoxious to the rage and revenge of the rebels, who had vowed his destruction upon the first opportunity; and, because they had not courage to face him, they had recourse to the base method of assassination, which was effected on the Lord's-day, the 31st of August, 1746. He was then on a long and necessary march at the head of five hundred men, on the side of Locharkey, amongst the wild rocks

of Lochabar; where, as he was passing by the side of a wood, between the advanced guard and the main body of his men, he was shot dead by a villain, who concealed himself behind the trees and the rocks in the wood, and who, by the advantages of that situation, got off without being discovered, and has never since been found out. An event, to the Captain, no doubt most happy, and a blessed kind of instantaneous translation to the regions of endless peace and triumphant joy; but to all who loved the public, not to be mentioned without the tenderest sensibility and deepest regret.

One of my correspondents, on this occasion concludes his account of the deaths of Sir Robert, the Doctor, and the Captain, in these words:—
“Thus died these three worthy men, to the irreparable loss of the country in which they lived; all of them remarkable for a brave spirit, full of love to their native land, and of disinterested zeal for religion and liberty; faithful in their promises, steadfast in their friendship, abundant in their charity to the poor and distressed; moderate in their resentments, and easy to be reconciled; and especially remarkable for their great and entire love to each other, so that one soul seemed, as it were, to actuate all the three.”*

* The intimacy of their friendship, though chiefly founded on a similarity of character, might perhaps be further promoted by their being so nearly of the same age: for Sir

To which it might have been added,—blessed with a sister not unworthy to make the fourth person in such a friendship.

My other correspondent, in his character of the Captain, speaks in this manner:—“The great foundation of all his other virtues was laid in a most sincere and steadfast regard to the Supreme Being. He carefully studied the great doctrines of our holy religion, which he courageously professed, and as it was requisite defended, in whatever company he might be cast. He did this with the greater freedom, as his practice was always agreeable to it; and in particular his regard both to the book, and to the day, of God. He had from his infancy been trained up in an acquaintance with the Scripture; and he daily perused it with pleasure, and doubtless with advantage. And though the natural cheerfulness of his temper inclined him on other days to facetious turns in conversation, yet on the Sabbath he was not only grave and devout, but carefully attentive that all his speech might tend to edification, and as far as possible minister grace to the hearers. He was exemplary in the social virtues, temperate in the use of food and sleep, and rose early for devotion; wherein, as in many

Robert was born August 24th, 1684; the Captain, September 18th, 1685; and the Doctor, September 19th, 1687. Sir Robert therefore was slain in his sixty-second year; the Captain, in his sixty-first; and the Doctor, in his fifty-ninth.

other respects, he remarkably resembled his beloved friend Colonel Gardiner. He was also thoroughly sensible, how much a faithful discharge of relative duties is essential to the character of a Christian. He approved himself, therefore, as a brave and vigilant officer, a most active and faithful servant of the Crown, and a true patriot to his country in the worst of times; and in domestic life was exemplary as a husband, a father, and a master. He was a most affectionate brother, a faithful friend, a constant benefactor, and a sure patron of the oppressed; and, to crown all, was at last in effect a martyr in the cause of that religion he had so eminently adorned, and of those liberties he had so long and so bravely defended."

It must give a sensible pleasure to every reader, who enters into these things with a becoming spirit, to reflect, that notwithstanding these unparalleled and irreparable losses, this family, which has been long celebrated for so many worthy branches, is not yet extinct; but that both Sir Robert Munro, and the Captain, have left those behind them, who may not only bear up the name, but, if they answer the hopes which in the opening of life they give to their country, may add new honours to it.

I hope the reader will not lay down this narrative, which is now brought to a close, without deriving some useful lessons from the remarkable

train of providence which this appendix, as well as the preceding memoirs, offer to his observation. And the more he enters into these lessons, the more will he be disposed to lift up his wishes and prayers to God for those valuable remains, both of Sir Robert Munro's and of Colonel Gardiner's family, which may yet be within the reach of such addresses ; that God may graciously support them in their sorrows, and that all the virtues and graces of the illustrious dead may live in them, and in their remotest posterity !
Amen.

THE LIFE
OF
MONSIEUR DE RENTY,

A NOBLEMAN OF FRANCE.

ABRIDGED BY JOHN WESLEY, M.A.

IN Jesus Christ neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision, but faith which worketh by love. Gal. v. 6.

Seest thou, how faith wrought together with his works, and by works was faith made perfect? James ii. 22.

THE LIFE
OF
MONSIEUR DE RENTY.

CHAPTER I.

M. DE RENTY descended from one of the most noble houses of Artois. He was the only son of Charles de Renty, and was born in the year 1611, at Beny in Low Normandy. There he was brought up till six or seven years of age, and then by his mother carried to Paris, where he lived with her about two years, till he was put into the College of Navarre; whence he was sent to Caen, till at seventeen he was removed to an academy, or school of genteel exercises, at Paris. He was soon accomplished in all the exercises there taught: but what then pleased him most was the mathematics. For these he slighted all sorts of diversions, till he understood them perfectly, and composed some books therein.

About this time a stationer whom he used presented him with Kempis "Of the Imitation of Christ," and some time after pressed him to read it; which he had no sooner done, than he

felt new thoughts and affections, and resolved seriously to pursue the one thing needful, the working out his salvation. And ever after he so esteemed that book, that he always carried it about him, and made use of it on all occasions.

At the age of twenty-two, he married Elizabeth de Balsac, daughter of the Count of Greville, by whom he had five children, four of which, two sons and two daughters, survived him.

Having lived to the age of twenty-seven years, it pleased God to touch his heart more closely ; and this time he marked as the beginning of his entire change, and perfect consecration to God's service : in order whereto, he was well convinced of the necessity of a good guide ; and God provided him one, such as his need required, a person of deep learning, of great piety, and well-experienced in the direction of souls, who had the conduct of him for twelve years. By his advice he withdrew altogether from court, he renounced all visits of pure compliment, and all unnecessary employments, to give himself up to those which might glorify God, and help his neighbour.

Every day before dinner, and again in the evening, he made an exact search into his smallest faults. He communicated three or four times a week, having ever an incredible esteem for the holy eucharist, blessing and praising God for its institution, and exciting all men to do the same. He

was used to say, that "the great design of God in the incarnation, life, death, and resurrection of his Son, was to convey unto us his Spirit, to be unto us life eternal ; and in order to cause us to die to ourselves, and live thereby, he gave him to us in this holy sacrament, and with him all the blessings of grace, to dispose us for those of glory."

One day in a week he visited the poor sick people of the great hospital "De Dieu ;" another, those of his own parish ; a third, the prisoners ; and in the rest he used to meet at assemblies of piety. He assembled his own family every evening to prayers, and discoursed to them every Saturday on the Gospel for the next day. And of his children he took more especial care, to engrave deeply in them the fear of God, and to convince them that the customs and maxims of the world were utterly irreconcilable to the Gospel of Christ.

The order he kept in his journeys was this : in the morning, before setting out, they joined in prayer ; after setting out, the first thing done was, the saying the *Itinerarium* ; next was, the singing the litanies of our Lord ; then followed some meditation, and after that a part of the divine office. This being done, he entertained the company with some good discourse. Beholding the spacious extent of the country, he would speak of the immensity of God. Upon the presenting of

any beautiful object, he would discourse of the beauty of God, and in so lively a manner as to touch the very heart. Approaching near the place where they were to dine, he began his self-examination : and being come thither, as soon as out of his coach, he went to the church, and next, if there were any in the place, to the hospital. Being at his inn, the first thing he did in his chamber was, to cast himself on his knees, and to pray with great affection for all persons that entered that place, and for pardon of all disorders that had been there committed. If he saw any thing offensive written on the walls or chimneys, he defaced it, and in the place wrote something of instruction. And always before his departure he endeavoured to give some good advice to the servants of the house, or to such poor as he could meet with, that so he might not pass through any place without doing some good there. After dinner, when in his coach again, he took a little time for recollection, then sung the vespers ; which done, he wished the company to use some useful conversation. About four they sung the evening Psalms ; afterwards he applied himself to mental prayer ; and being come to his inn, his exercises were the same with those of the morning.

A fuller account of his general way of life he wrote to his second director as follows :—

“I have delayed some days after the command I had, to set down the employing of my time, for

the better discovering of some things therein ; but I find nothing there of strict order, because all consists in following the order of God, which causes in a manner continually different things, though all upon the same foundation.

“ For my outward behaviour, I usually rise at five, that is, after part of the night spent in prayer. At my awakening, I consider myself as nothing before the majesty of God. I unite me to his Son and Spirit. Being risen, I cast myself down, and adore the blessing of the incarnation, which gives us access to God ; and deliver up myself to the holy Jesus, to be entered into his Spirit.

“ Being clothed, I go into the chapel, where I cast myself down, and adore God, abasing me before him, and making me the most little, most naked, most empty of myself that I can ; and I hold me there by faith, having recourse to his Son and to his Holy Spirit, that whatsoever is his pleasure may be done by me.

“ Between six and seven I read two chapters of the New Testament, bare-headed, and on my knees. I then give place to my affairs ; but if there be no business urgent, I prostrate myself before God till I go to church. There I stay till half an hour past eleven, except when we dine some poor people, then I return at eleven. Before dinner I examine myself, and use some prayers for the Church, and for the propagation of the faith. I dine at twelve, and in the while

have something read. Half an hour past twelve I spend an hour with them that have business with me. Then I go out whither the order of God shall direct. Some days are assigned for certain exercises ; others are not. But be it as it will, I endeavour to spend about evening an hour in devotion. About seven, after I have used some prayers, we go to supper. After supper, I instruct my children. At nine, are family prayers, after which I meditate till ten ; and then going to my chamber, and recommending myself to my God, after some short prayers, I endeavour to repose.

“As to the order of my interior, I have not, as I may say, any : for since I left my breviary all my forms have left me ; and now instead of serving me as means to go to God, they would only be hinderances. I bear in me ordinarily an experimental verity, and a plenitude of the presence of the most holy Trinity, which elevates me by a simple view to God ; and with that I do all that his providence enjoins me, not regarding any things for their greatness or littleness, but only the order of God, and the glory they may render him.

“For the things done in community, I often cannot rest there : I perform, indeed, the exterior for the keeping of order ; but follow always my interior, because when a man hath God, there is no need to search for him elsewhere. And when

he holds us in one manner, it is not for us to take hold of him in another ; and the soul knows well what unites it, and what multiplies and distracts it.

“ For the interior, therefore, I follow this attractive ; and for the exterior, I see the divine will, which I follow, with the discernment of his Spirit, in all simplicity ; and so I possess, by his grace, in all things, silence of spirit, a profound reverence, and solid peace. I communicate almost every day, perceiving myself strongly drawn thereto. I continually give up myself to God through Jesus Christ, worshipping him in spirit and in truth, loving him with all my heart, with all my soul, with all my mind, and with all my strength, and seeing in all things the conduct of God, and adoring and following it. And this only abiding in my soul, all things else are defaced and blotted out. I have nothing of sensible in me, unless now and then some transitory touches : but, if I may dare to say it, when I sound my will, I find it so quick and flaming, that it would devour me, if the same Lord who animates it, though unworthy, did not restrain it. I enter into a heat and into a fire ; and, even to my fingers’ ends, feel that all within me speaks for its God, and stretcheth itself forth in length and breadth in his immensity, that it may there dissolve and there lose itself, to glorify him.”

CHAPTER II.

ST. AUSTIN well observes that "poverty of spirit is nothing else but humility:" the truly humble knowing themselves to be nothing of themselves but sin and misery; to have nothing, as being at best but manifold receivers of the grace of God; to be able to do nothing, having no power of themselves even to think a good thought, and to deserve nothing but shame and contempt, but misery and punishment. And they are willing, yea, desirous, that all others should think of them as they do of themselves.

M. de Renty being well convinced that this is the foundation of all virtue, and that it was the proper virtue of Jesus Christ, whom he had proposed to himself as his pattern in all things, embraced it with his whole affection, gave himself up to it with all his force, and practised it in its utmost latitude.

He had so low an opinion of himself, as it would be a difficult thing to express. The greatness of God, whenever he considered it, humbled him to an immeasurable depth: "A mote," said he, "in the sun is very little; but I am far less in the presence of God, I am nothing." But correcting himself, he added, "Alas! I am too much; I am a sinner, an anathema through my crimes." To the same person he wrote, "Me-

thinks I break myself in pieces before God : that I am spoken of, that I have so much as a name, is a strange thing." " I have seen him very often," says one that knew him well, " humble himself, as it were to the centre of the earth, while he spoke to me of God ; saying, it was not for such a one as him to speak of him, but that he ought rather to contain himself in silence."

This exceeding low opinion he had of himself made him more than once say, with tears in his eyes, that he was much astonished at the goodness of men in suffering of him ; and that he could not enough wonder, why everywhere they threw not dirt at him, and that all the creatures did not band against him. And he was persuaded, it was much boldness in him to speak, and that men showed great patience in enduring his conversation.

Nor was there any thing which did not serve to increase his humility. He abased himself much in the consideration of the weakness of our nature, of which, as he expressed it, " it is important that a man have experience, that he may neither forget himself, nor the place he ought to hold ; that no flesh may glory in his sight ; that being abased, and rendered as a thing that is not at all, Jesus Christ may be in him the life of grace and holiness, waiting for the time of our redemption."

But much more was he humbled by the con-

sideration of his past sins. In one of his letters to his director he writes thus: "My faults are as one great heap, which I feel in myself, obstructing the light from God. I am strangely remiss and ungrateful. I find much in myself to confound and humble me." In another: "I am sensible of my fault, in mentioning that I had placed a servant in such a family. I had a motion within me, not to have spoken it; and yet it escaped from me: of which I am exceeding sensible. I should have been more faithful to the Spirit of God." And in another: "I am as blind, or rather more, in seeing my faults as in other things. Only in general, I have a deep sense of my misery: and I can say, I am not ignorant of my unworthiness, and the deplorable corruption sin hath wrought in me. But lately I mentioned the faults of a certain person to another that knew of them before, to make him understand that he was in a better condition. But my conscience reproached me, that I might have done this without; and I confess I meddled too much in that affair. In sum, I am a straggler from God, and a ground overrun with thorns."

He drew yet further matter of humiliation from his rank and condition, and the secular advantages which it gave him. He not only despised, but was ashamed of, them; often groaning before the majesty of God, and saying, he was in

the lowest condition, according to the Spirit of Jesus Christ, and that he had great confusion to see himself in that estate. Hence it was, that he solemnly renounced his nobility, and gave it into the hands of our Lord; that he did not love even for any one to call him Monsieur; and that he wholly declined the title of Marquis, which was proper to his house, and suffered only that of Baron of Renty.

Even the gifts and graces of God made him more humble; thus producing their true effect, which is, to abase and elevate the soul both together, to raise it to God, and abase it to itself. In whatever good was done by him, he assumed no share at all, but referred all to God, the true source. And so in the management of all those talents, he had always his hands clean, without touching what appertained to God. Nor would he, therefore, that any one should consider him in what he said or did, but regard God alone therein. And to one who much desired a visit from him, he wrote thus: "I cannot bear the account you make of my visits and society. Let us look much upon God; let us bind ourselves strictly to Jesus Christ, that we may learn of him fully to renounce ourselves. O my God, when will it be that we shall eye ourselves no more, when we shall speak no more of ourselves, and when all vanity shall be destroyed!"

He likewise esteemed himself most unworthy

of any of the graces or favours of God. Of which he says to a friend, "The gifts of God are sometimes so great, that they put us beyond ourselves. As among men, if a poor man receive a gift from a Prince, according to the grandeur of his own power, he is utterly overwhelmed, and can find no words to express his acknowledgment: so God gives blessings that go beyond our expectations or capacities, and which make us see how unworthy we are, without daring to lift up our eyes; so doth their brightness dazzle, and their greatness astonish us."

The same opinion which he had of himself, he was willing, yea, desirous, that others likewise should have of him. "If I were to wish any thing," said he, "it should be, to be much humbled, and to be treated as an offscouring by men." And hence he received contempt, when it came, not with patience only, but with joy: of which he gave an evident proof in his first journey to Dijon, whence he thus wrote to his director:—

"The reports here spread concerning me are, that I have nothing but artifice and shows of devotion; and that I kept private, out of fear by coming abroad of discovering what I was. Most, I find, even of those from whom I expected quite the contrary, have solicited against me. And hereby God hath shown me many favours. I have been with them, and received humiliation

with great joy. I have been very wary of opening myself in any thing that might recommend me to them. I have only done in my business what truth required ; and for any thing else, have made it matter of confusion, as I ought. I shall be here, I believe, as one excommunicate, as the scape-goat of the old law, driven out into the wilderness for my enormous sins. I desire only to love God, and condemn myself."

Nor was it only in his words, but in his actions also, that the humility of his heart appeared. Since his entire dedication of himself to God, he would not suffer a cushion to be carried to church for him ; but to be there hid and disregarded, he often mingled himself among mechanics and mean persons. He kept himself always as much as he could at the lower end of the church ; and frequently, if the door was shut, said his prayers on the outside of it, that he might not, as he said, put any to the trouble of opening it to a poor sinner.

During the war at Paris, he went himself to buy bread for the poor, and carried through the streets as much as his strength would permit. At the same time offering to take into his care the church plate of a monastery, he pressed them to let him carry to his lodging, which was two miles thence, and on foot as he was, a very large and weighty piece. And being desired that when he did them the favour to visit them again,

he would come in his coach, by reason of the distance ; he answered, he did not love to make use of a coach, he must endeavour to make himself in every thing very little. He went, therefore, thither on foot, and returned at five or six, in the shortest days, sometimes in thawing weather. And being told of the pains he took, he replied, " Our Lord took pains in a far different manner."

When he was assisting with his own hand in the repairing one of his houses, he thus expressed himself :—

" Blessed for ever be our great God, by Jesus Christ ! I believe I ought to labour in the lowest employments ; and the time I spend therein, I count very dear, regarding it as ordered by God. What makes me the more to know it is his order, is this ; that from time to time I feel more of retribution from him in one instant, than the patience and humiliation of a sinner could merit in all his life. He so opens himself to me, that I am quite mollified, and melted into tears. My eyes are so full of them, that often I have much ado to keep them in, pierced as I am with love, with reverence, and with acknowledgment of his goodness manifested by his enlightening presence, and of his inexplicable conduct. I see we are not, by a spirit of pride, under pretence of the glory of God, to dispense with ourselves from labouring in things mean and painful. It was a work very gross and mean, for Jesus Christ to

converse with men, who had more of rudeness than these stones I deal with. O that I may obtain a part in his obedience, and submission to the orders of God his Father."

Being one day to go to a person of great quality, in a business that much concerned the glory of God, he would not use his coach, though he was to traverse in a manner all Paris, and it poured down with rain. One moved, that at least his footman might carry a cloak, which he might take when he came thither. But he yielded not. Only he consented to throw that cloak over him: and in the nobleman's house, he laid aside the wet cloak, and appeared in the other ordinary one of his own.

Behold another effect of his humility, of which he wrote to his director, December 20th, 1646:—

"The other day my Lord Chancellor's Lady sent me a packet of letters, in which were some from the King, wherein I was made Counsellor of State. I sent her word, that I received what had the mark of the King with all respect. But I most humbly begged she would be pleased to take in good part, if I did not accept those letters, but desired that the business might sleep without noise. My disposition towards affairs of this nature is, to have nothing at all to do with them. If they come upon me perforce, without my seeking, our Lord will give me strength to bear them."

To the same person, on another occasion, he wrote as follows:—

“Walking one day through the streets of Paris, in a mean dress, I deeply reflected on that saying of the Apostle, ‘We are become as the filth and offscouring of the world.’ I considered how much neatness and new things, even in the most trifling instances, do hurt, if one take not good heed, the simplicity and lowliness of a Christian spirit. And I saw it was a great temptation for any, to think to preserve his outward grandeur, in hopes thereby to have more weight and authority for the service of God. This is a pretence, indeed, that the infirmity of most Christians makes use of in the beginning: but experience draws them at last to Jesus Christ, who was made the lowest of men.”

A further proof of his humility, was his carriage to his director. He did nothing that concerned himself, without his conduct: to him he proposed whatever he designed, either by speaking or writing, clearly and punctually, desiring “his advice, his pleasure, and blessing upon it,” and that with the utmost respect and submission: and without reply or disputing, he simply and exactly followed his order. His director having written to him, he answered in these terms: “I beseech you to believe, that although I am most imperfect and a great sinner, yet if you do me the favour to send me a word of what you know to

be necessary for me, I hope with God's help to profit thereby. I pant not after any thing but to find God and Jesus Christ, in simplicity and truth. I pretend to nothing in the world but this ; and beside this I desire nothing."

The last effect of his humility we shall mention, was his extreme contempt of the world. He despised all which it could give or promise ; all its goods, pleasures, honours, dignities ; counted all its allurements as dung and dross, trampled under foot all its glories. He beheld for this end our Lord for his pattern, who, from his very first entrance into it, made an open profession of an absolute contempt of it, because he "was not of the world."

To animate a lady with the same spirit, he wrote to her thus : "I wonder how a thing so little as man, drawn out of nothing in his original, infected with his first parent's sin, and the addition of his own ; when he is raised to so high a degree of honour, as to be one with Christ the Son of God ; can continue to esteem the world, or make any account of its vanities ! Shall the things of earth waste the little time we have to secure the treasures of heaven ? things that will all pass away like a dream ; as we see our fathers are gone already, and there is no more remembrance of them : their joys and griefs, their pleasures and pains, are they not all vanished away ? And are we not sure they were out

of their senses, if they considered any thing but God in their ways? The same will befall us: every thing else will pass away, and God alone will abide."

The same lady, in another letter, he encourages thus: "Courage, all is well! We must die to the world, and search out the hinderances it brings to our perfection. We must live in the world as not living there; possess it, as not possessing it. Let us drive out of our minds the affection to our fine houses; let us ruin the delights of our gardens; let us burn our groves; let us banish these vain images which we have of our children; approving in them what we condemn in ourselves, the show and glitter of the world.

"I know there is a difference of conditions, but all ought to reject those entailments on noble blood, as men account them, those principles of aspiring to the highest, and of bearing nothing. Let us take from them this vanity of mind, this stateliness of behaviour. Let us arm them against the pernicious examples of those grandees in story, whose punishments are as eminent in hell, as their presumption was upon earth.

"My design is not, that you should demolish your walks, or let your gardens run into a wilderness. The ruins I speak of must be made in our own minds, not executed on things insensible. When I say, we must set all on fire, my thoughts were to follow that admirable spirit of the Apos-

tle, who would that we have poverty amidst our riches, and divestment in the midst of our possessions: he means, that our spirit be thoroughly purified and separated from all creatures; because a Christian does himself great wrong, if he entertains in his heart any other inclinations than those of Jesus Christ, who saw all the world without destroying it, but withal without cleaving to it."

It is to bring us to this spirit, that God permits us to meet so many pains and troubles in the world; as when a man sets thorns in a way, to make men take another. "God has his ends," says M. de Renty, "in all these contrarities; namely, that those who are his, should be yet more his, and despise more and more all that is in the world. By these the confusion and vanity of the world are made known to them that are not of it; who, being in the spirit of death, wait for nothing more there but death; bringing forth, in the mean while, the fruits of life eternal."

CHAPTER III.

As it is absolutely necessary for every soldier of Christ, who would not so fight as one that beateh the air, to keep the body under, and bring it into subjection; M. de Renty vigorously applied

himself to this work. He made but one meal a day for several years ; till he was enjoined to take more nourishment, to be the better able to undergo the great labours he undertook for his neighbour. He nevertheless ate but little, and always of the worst. A person who observed him at dinner one day, took notice, all he ate was some pears only, and that with so great seriousness and recollection, that it was easy to discern his mind was on God, and not upon his meat.

When one of his friends entertained him one day at Caen, he was much grieved, as he afterwards declared, that Christians should be feasters ; adding, it was a torment to him to be where there was so much superfluity. Hereon, his friends took no more thought about his diet, knowing his best entertainment was the meanest fare, and that they could not oblige him more than by leaving him to his liberty. And often at Paris, when he was so far from home, that he could not return to dinner, he would step into a baker's shop, and after a piece of bread and a draught of water, cheerfully go on with his business.

Nor did he deny himself only with regard to his taste, but to all his other senses also. When he went into the country, and came in the evening to his inn, after having dismissed his servants, he either passed the night in a chair, or

lay down in his clothes and boots, which was his custom till death. And when, at Amiens, a lady, in honour of his virtue and quality, had prepared him a rich bed in a stately chamber, he made no use of it, but laid him down upon a bench, and there slept till morning.

Being come to Pontois in winter, and lodging at the Carmelite nuns, he told them not to make a fire, or prepare a bed. He then went to visit the prisoners, which he never forgot; and at his return, about nine in the evening, finding them going to prayers, without taking any thing to eat, he went into the church with them, where he continued till eleven. And indeed at every time and every place, on every occasion, even in the slightest and meanest things, he kept a watchful eye over himself, that he might in no instance fulfil the desires of the flesh, but daily inure himself to endure hardship.

A short description of his mortification, or deadness to the world, we have in his own words:—
“Since the time I gave up my liberty to God, I was given to understand, to what a state the soul is brought, which is capable of union with him. I saw my soul reduced into a small point, contracted and shrunk up to nothing. At the same time I beheld myself as encompassed with whatsoever the world loves, and, as it were, a hand removing all this far from me, and plunging it into the ocean. First, I saw removed all out-

ward things, kingdoms, great offices, stately buildings, rich and elegant furniture, gold and silver, recreations, pleasures : all which hinder the soul in her way to God ; of which, therefore, it is his pleasure she be divested, that she may arrive at that death which will bring her into the possession of real life. Secondly, all inward things, which are of a more delicate and precious nature, as learning, reason, strength of memory and understanding ; to which, likewise, we are in a manner dead, if we are alive to God. And I perceived that we must come like little infants, simple and innocent, separated not only from evil, but even from our ordinary manner of doing what is good. We are to undertake what things the divine Providence presents to us, by making our way by God to them, rather than by them to God. A truly mortified soul sees nothing but God : not so much, if I may so speak, as the things she does, of which nothing stays in her, neither choice, nor joy, nor sorrow, for their greatness, or for their littleness, for good or bad success ; but only the good pleasure and order of God, which ruleth in all things, and which in all things contents the soul that adheres to him, and not to the vicissitude of affairs, and is therefore constantly even, and always the same in the midst of all changes."

As to the particulars of Mr. de Renty's mortification, in the first place, he was dead to riches.

“I acknowledge before God,” says he in a letter to his director, “his great mercy to me through his Son, in freeing me from the things of this world ; and my constant thoughts are, that if his order did not oblige me to do otherwise, I would quit all that I have.” And to another : “All that can be imagined in this world is of small concern, though it were the losing of all our goods. This poor ant-hill is not worth a serious thought. Had we but a little faith and a little love, how happy should we esteem ourselves in giving away all, to attend on God only !”

Thus entirely, even in the possession of riches, was his heart disengaged from them. And when the better part of his estate was in danger of being lost, he said, without the least emotion, “Since God hath committed this estate to me, I will do what shall behove me to preserve it, and then it is all one to me what follows.” Yea, he often expressed a kind of holy envy toward the poor, and a high esteem of their condition, both as most advantageous for Christian perfection, and because Christ himself had lived and died therein. “I avow to you,” says he to a friend, “the more of riches come to me, the more do I discover of the malignity affixed to them. My heart is strongly inclined to follow Him who was the most poor and depressed among all his followers. But that I know that I may not put myself into that estate, I should pant after it very

much. What I infer from hence is this, that not knowing the counsels of God, I cannot tell how he will dispose of me for the future : but I offer myself up to whatsoever shall please him, knowing that with him I can do all things."

This his inward temper appeared in a thousand outward effects. He parted with several books, because richly bound ; used no gloves in any season ; wore no clothes, but plain and close-made ; carried no silver about him, but for works of charity. I have seen him at first in his coach, with a page and footman ; afterward, in his coach with a footman, without a page ; then with his footman only, without his coach ; and in fine, without either.

And as he was dead to riches, and to all the things of the world, so he was, secondly, to the persons in it ; having no affection for any, but what was grounded upon, and subordinate to, the love of God. This was particularly observable with regard to those who were engaged to him by one of the tenderest ties, who depended upon him, and used his counsel for the conduct of their souls. To one of these he wrote : " I cannot hear without trouble the great matter you make of my conversation : let us breathe after God, and learn from Jesus Christ an entire renunciation of our own affections." And in another letter thus : " Jesus Christ is ever the same, and his grace is continually advancing ; and as long

as I am his, I shall be yours for his sake. He is not wont to part souls by the separation of bodies: since his custom is, only to take away what might be a hinderance to the perfect life of the spirit."

To a friend who had lost his director, he wrote thus: "His remove would doubtless be a great loss to you and all the country, if the providence of God did not rather sanctify and establish, than destroy; but by removing these visible supports, he often settles us more firmly in our adherence to him through Christ, where we find all power, and who is so near that he is even in the midst of us; and when our dependence upon creatures is cut off by his providence, we experimentally find, that we are not left destitute, but that supply is made either by his Spirit which dwelleth in us, or by his Ministers that remain, who, the fewer they are, the more is the grace we receive by them multiplied. Nor should we be further engaged to those who assist us in our spiritual conduct, than as to God's instruments, whose help it is his will we should make use of, but no longer than he pleaseth; and when it is his will to take them from us by death, or otherwise, we ought not to lose our courage, but with submission and gratitude resign all to Him, who will again provide for us as seemeth him best."

He was, thirdly, dead to all desire of every kind. Being one day asked, how he could be so

quiet in such circumstances, he answered, that through God's mercy, he was indifferent to all things, and that he no longer felt either fear or desire of any thing. And writing to his director, he says, "For the future I could wish, if there be any thing left for me to wish, that I had nothing left me but my God: this is the rich treasure of the heart, the sure replenishment of the soul."

Sometimes he would write with his finger upon the ground, "I am content with every thing that proceeds from the will of God: I ask nothing else but what he appoints for me; I will never trouble myself to procure consolations, or to be freed from dryness; my resolution is, to bless God at all times."

Lastly, he was dead to his own will, which he had perfectly resigned in conformity to the will of God. "Far be it from me," saith he in one of his letters, "to act in this by my own spirit: I would have it wholly annihilated, that it might know no other language but nothing, and continually nothing; to follow in all the footsteps of the divine will, according to its measure and manner." In another thus: "My Saviour hath graciously brought me to such a state of indifference for every thing, that I could be well content all my life to be fixed to my bed, a paralytic, not able to stir, without making any reflection on any service I might render to my neighbour, or that I could render him no more: all things, according

to the will of God, being equal to me." And in a third: "Of late I have been busied in such employments as were sufficient to have overwhelmed so weak a spirit as mine, had it not been absolutely resigned to the will of God. It is on him alone I rest, having renounced myself. I adore the decrees of his sacred will, who holdeth all things in his own hands, to keep us subject unto him by his justice, and to sanctify us by his love: happy, if we have the hearts of children, the Spirit of Christ Jesus, to sigh after him, and cry continually, Abba, Father!"

CHAPTER IV.

QUESTIONLESS the humble man is patient, because he knows he deserves far more than he suffers: and whoever will search into the true cause of his own impatience will find it to be no other than pride. On the contrary, M. de Renty, being most humble, was by consequence most patient.

Persons who had lived a very long time with him, and carefully studied all his actions, never heard him complain for any thing whatever, neither for sickness, or loss, or on any other occasion; but they always observed in him a constancy immovable, continually lifting up his heart

to God, and offering all to him, without otherwise dwelling on what was grievous ; being glad that the work of God went on, and receiving all in the spirit of sacrifice.

In his second journey to Dijon, with his Lady and the Countess of Chatres, he was seized with a violent rheumatism, which put him into pain all over his body ; and when he was obliged to take his bed, he went thither quite stooping, supported by a staff, and by a person that led him. But, notwithstanding the extremity of the pain, he made no complaint, nor uttered one word. The ladies seeing him first quite pale and wan, and in a moment all on fire, told him surely he was very ill. He answered only by a discourse on the pain endured by Jesus Christ, and the favour it was for a soul to suffer for God's will ; but in terms so full of sweetness, and with so much of love and zeal, that the company were affected with great devotion in hearing him.

When he was again asked whether he was not in much pain, he at length answered plainly, " My pains are great, even to swooning ; but though I feel them in their extremity, yet, through the grace of God, I yield not up myself to them, but to Him." He said farther, that, being led into his chapel of Citry, and set down upon a bench by reason of his illness, the bench broke without any visible cause, and that he

believed the evil spirit had broken it, in order to provoke him to impatience, making him fall untowardly; "but, by the mercy of God," said he, "though the pain that surprised me was sharp, I was no more moved than you see me now."

Nor was it only in sickness, but in all occurrences of life, that he carefully practised this virtue; so that whatsoever befell him, though it shocked his whole nature, his body, spirit, judgment, will, inclinations, desires, designs, and those of the best sort, he possessed his soul in patience and tranquillity, receiving all without any alteration, without being either exalted or dejected by it.

"Praying to God," says he, in one of his papers, "before the holy sacrament, a poor man came to me to beg an alms. In this instant it was given me to understand, that, if we were well enlightened, we should never imagine ourselves to be hindered by any person or thing; because we should in all things regard the order of God, conducting all to our advantage. We should see that both inward and outward distractions are to be received with the same spirit, and that the uneasiness these little accidents give us springs purely from our want of mortification.

"We ought indeed, as far as we can, to shun the occasions. But when they come we must

look upon them as ordered by God, and receive and bear them with all sweetness, humility, and reverence; and then, though they interrupt us, the order of God is not interrupted in us. And this indeed is the great secret of the spiritual life; this is paradise upon earth.

“In truth, nothing troubles us but through our own fault; all the vexation which we inwardly feel, or outwardly show, when any one crosses or hinders us from doing any thing, flows from the disorder of our too much engaged spirit. For the removing of which, and keeping our hearts in peace, we must mark this well,—whoever hinders us from doing one good work, thereby gives us the means of practising another. A man, suppose, interrupts your reading and prayer; but he gives you an occasion of exercising patience, which at this time will please God, and perfect you, more than all those other employments. In them there was something of your own will; but in this you wholly renounce yourself. And the fulness of God is not but in the emptiness of the creature.”

One great source of M. de Renty's patience was, the high esteem he had of sufferings, which sometimes made him ready to cry out with that holy woman “either to die or to suffer!” “I see,” says he, “that in a manner every thing is unprofitable in this life but to suffer. Every pleasure is a too hasty seizure of that recompence

which is not due to criminals, who sojourn in this world only to be purged. Some pleasures indeed may be sometimes necessary, in regard of our weakness ; but even they are apt to hinder the soul from attaining so high a degree of perfection."

"Though I dare not choose or bring sufferings upon myself," says he in a letter to his director, "yet having always before my eyes how little I render to God for his favours, I am inflamed to suffer with our Lord. In every other thing we are receivers from God ; but in this, though we receive the grace to suffer, yet the suffering is that which we can in a manner give to God, and is the best gauge and proof of our love." But he very wisely adds, "Although I know this, yet I cease not to know what I am. And amidst all my inclinations and desires, I take care not to beg to suffer the least thing ; or, if I happen to do so, I revoke it afterwards, as having done foolishly. I have too much experience of my weakness. I give myself only to my God for every thing he pleases. By his order I *will* all ; with him I can *do* all ; and that which is ordered by him is always accompanied by his grace."

The same spirit he earnestly recommended to all who were studious of Christian perfection. To one of whom he said, "It is a great favour to suffer ; that is, if you suffer in the spirit of Jesus Christ. But there are very few that do so ; very

few that suffer with a perfect resignation to what God ordains concerning them ; very few without some inquietude, and dwelling in their thoughts upon their pressures ; few that give up all events to the conduct of God, to employ themselves entirely in his praise, and to give way by their acquiescence and submission for him to exercise all his rights and power over them."

One that was in great pain he encouraged thus : —“ Many are called Christians, but few have a Christian spirit. Many look up to heaven in their prayers, but in their lives they are children of nature, looking only upon the earth. If they do lift up their eyes to heaven, it is only to complain, to pray God to condescend to their desires, not to show their acceptance of his. Or, perhaps, they will give some small things to God, but not those on which they have fixed their affection. If he separates them from them, it is a dismembering which he must make, and to which they cannot consent. As though the life of Christians were not a life of sacrifice, a continual imitation of a crucified Saviour.

“ God, who knows our wretchedness, takes from us for our good the cause of our evil,—a parent, a child, a husband,—that he may by another evil—affliction—draw us to himself, and make us see that all these ties to whatsoever it be that separates us from him, are so many obstacles to our real happiness ; and such ob-

stacles that we shall one day own in the face of all the creation, the greatest mercy he ever did us was to free us from them. But we must beware not to count this mercy a chance or misfortune; for this would be to turn the remedy into poison.

“Let us enter into the holy disposition which was in Christ, to suffer willingly for the glory of God and our salvation. Is it not strange, that though the way he passed through to glory was ignominy, pain, and the cross, yet they that call themselves his followers desire and expect another way for themselves to walk in? It is a shame for a Christian to pass his days more at ease than Jesus Christ did. Let us therefore go after him, and suffer with him. Blessed be sickness, the loss of honour, riches, goods, of the nearest things, and the separation from all creatures which hold us bowed toward the earth, if it set us straight, and make us lift up our eyes to heaven and enter into the designs of God over us. Blessed be the plague, the war, the famine, all the scourges of God, which produce in us these effects of grace and salvation.”

The greatest exercise of patience he ever had, was that which was given him by his mother: she claimed a large share of what his father had bequeathed to him; who, with great submission and respect, gave her all that he believed her due, and over and above. But she demanded still

more, which, her son, who was advised by counsel, could not give without wrong to his children : yet he referred the whole business to arbitrators, and agreed that his mother should choose them all. The day being come for their giving sentence, his mother was in one chamber of the house, and her son with his lady and a friend in another, where his employment was, to pray to God for such an issue as might be for his glory, and the procurement of peace. When the award was brought, although it was not advantageous to him, and there was a large penalty on whomsoever did not stand to it, he heard it with perfect calmness, and immediately signed it, without objection or dispute.

Believing now that his mother was fully satisfied, he was no sooner returned home, than he caused *Te Deum* to be sung, beginning it himself, in thanksgiving for this happy conclusion. But God, to refine and purify him the more, permitted the cross to continue upon him. For his mother, not satisfied yet, found means to appeal from the award, without incurring the penalty. Her son did all that was possible for him to alter her design : after earnest prayer, and extraordinary fasting, he went to her, cast himself on his knees before her, and with the utmost reverence, humility, and submission, begged of her over and over, with abundance of tears, that she would please to take him and his family to

herself; and after that she might dispose as she pleased of all the goods his father had left him. But neither would she consent to this, but persisted in her resolution, of suing him at the Parliament of Dijon. This he might have prevented, and never stirred out of Paris; but in respect to her he declined it, and determined to go to Dijon.

Being come thither, he found all men's minds fully prejudiced against him, which he gladly endured, that he might be partaker of the reproach, and honour the abasement, of the Son of God. And when a person of piety acquainted him with the strange reports which were there spread abroad concerning him, he with admirable calmness raised his heart to God, and humbled himself before him. She asked, whether it was true that injurious papers had been put in against his mother. He answered, no; he had seen all the writings, and found them drawn with the respect due to a parent. She asked further, if he was not much afflicted at her harsh manner of proceeding against him. He said, "No; because I so much adore the order of God over me, that I cannot be afflicted at that which he permits to befall me. I am a great sinner; and, therefore, not only my mother, but all the world have just cause to take part against me."

She adds, in a memorial, that many ways were proposed for adjusting the difference, but

that it was the greatest difficulty in the world to bring his mother to join in any; that in the midst of these delays, she said to M. de Renty, "Sir, I shall willingly say the *Te Deum*, when once your business is ended;" and that one day when they believed it would be wholly concluded, he came to her with a cheerful countenance, and said, "It is now time to say the *Te Deum*, since you had the goodness to promise it. And may I be so bold as to desire to say it with you? O, what a great and a wise God have we! who knows well how to do all things as they ought, and when they ought, not according to our precipitation, but his order, which is our sanctification!" Hereupon he said the *Te Deum*, with a spirit so elevated to God, as gave sufficient evidence of his being wholly filled with him. And when afterwards all was broken off, without hopes of making up again, he said, "It is well: though nothing be done, it was very fit to return thanks to God for doing his own will, and not that of a sinner, unworthy to be heard or regarded."

CHAPTER V.

M. DE RENTY studied with a particular care a solid foundation in faith, knowing how all

other virtues depend upon it, as on their root, their rule, and measure. And he possessed it in so high a degree, that he was more assured of the presence of God, and the truth of the mysteries of Christianity, than of the shining of the sun. He truly lived by faith: this was the path wherein he walked, working all by the spirit thereof. He beheld things not with his bodily eyes, but with those that pierced deeper. Considering them not according to their present condition, or the order of nature; but according to their future and eternal, their relation to grace and glory; regarding nothing but as it was or might be a means of his own or others' salvation.

Animated by this spirit, he relied not on any thing that came to him in an extraordinary way; resting neither on visions, miracles, revelations, nor inward motions, but solely on a pure and naked faith, to carry him to God.

He knew our perfection consists in nothing else but the renewal of our soul in faith, hope, and charity; in performing to God the sacrifices of a lively faith, a perfect hope, and fervent charity. To cultivate and adorn his soul with these, was therefore his constant care; to unite it more and more intimately with God, through faith working by love, and to give himself up with all his strength to this hidden and divine life.

Some years before his death, he was peculiarly

employed in the contemplation of the blessed Trinity. Whereof he gave this account to his spiritual guide : “ I carry about with me ordinarily an experimental verity, and a plenitude of the presence of the holy Trinity.” And again : “ I possess the sacred Trinity with a plenitude of truth and clearness ; and this in so pure and vigorous a manner, that my outward employment creates me no diversion at all.” And another time he wrote thus : “ Jesus Christ worketh the experience of his kingdom in my heart, and I find him there my Lord and Master, and myself wholly his. I discover now a greater enlargement of my heart, but such as I am not able to express ; only thus, it is a simple but most real sight of the Trinity, continually accompanied with praising, blessing, and offering all homage thereto.”

CHAPTER VI.

A STRONG faith cannot but produce a firm hope and charity. A true belief in God, what he is in himself, and what he is to us, will work a strong affiance in him, and ardent charity towards him ; as appeared in M. de Renty, who, being grounded in faith, had also an undaunted hope, and inflamed affections.

The experience of the power and mercy of God, and faith in the infinite merits of our Redeemer, were the two pillars on which he built his hope; and resting on these, he hoped all things. He used to say, that when he looked at himself, there was nothing so little wherein he apprehended not difficulty. But when he looked upon God, he could think nothing difficult, much less impossible.

Accordingly, in all affairs he relied not upon his own prudence, conduct, care, or any human strength or wisdom, but on God alone, saying, "When we have done our duty with great diffidence in ourselves, we ought to attend wholly on God, and wait his time." And thus he wrote to a friend: "As for my children, I leave them in the hands of the holy Jesus, without determining any thing concerning them, not knowing what would befall to-morrow. He giveth me great confidence in his protection, which renders me altogether blind, without wishing any thing, but being ready for his will in every thing."

Guarded with this perfect confidence, he feared nothing, but remained firm and resolute against all encounters. He walked securely in all places, at all times, in the streets, in the fields, by day and by night; travelling through woods and forests, reputed dangerous, and frequented by robbers, without any other defence than his trust in God. A friend told him one day, he was

afraid to walk in the evening in the streets of Paris, without a sword, and desired his advice ; who told him he had left off wearing a sword a long time, and advised him, after he had commended the business to God by prayer, to trust in his protection ; assuring himself, that his protection over us is according to our reliance upon him.

One day a scaffold on which he stood with his workmen fell down, and hurt several of them : but it moved not him ; his spirit remained in the same evenness as if nothing had happened ; being settled on Him in whom is no variableness, neither shadow of turning.

Those words were found in one of his letters to his director : “ My soul, being armed with confidence and love, fears neither the devil nor hell, nor all the stratagems of man. Neither think I at all on heaven or earth, but only how to fulfil the will of God in every thing.”

CHAPTER VII.

THE sentiments M. de Renty had of the love of God, he thus expressed in a letter to his director : “ In all I read in the Scripture, I neither understand nor find anything but this love. The very end of the commandment is love, out of

a sincere heart. And this is acquired by faith in Christ Jesus, as the Apostle observes in the following words: faith uniteth us to him, whereby we sacrifice our souls and bodies, through his Spirit; which conducteth us to the complete end of the law, to deliver us up to God, and bring him down to us in charity, and a gracious inexplicable union, to whom be praise for ever! Amen."

Writing to another, he says, "I thank our Lord, who hath disposed you to a perfect self-denial. This is the way to love; and our love of God is shown, not so much in receiving gifts and graces from him, as in forgetting ourselves, in renouncing all things, and suffering constantly and courageously for him."

So inflamed was M. de Renty with this love, that all his thoughts, words, and works were the fruits of it. All his virtues drew their original from this: it was the beginning, and motive, and end of all. "I cannot conceal from you," said he to a friend, "that I have a fire in my heart, which burns and consumes without ceasing." And this divine fire was so ardent in his soul, that the flames thereof often burst forth into his exterior; and he hath owned, that whenever he pronounced the name of God, he tasted such a sweetness as could not be expressed.

One of his friends assures us, he has often seen him so inflamed with love, that he appeared like

one beside himself; and that he has told him, when these transports were upon him, he was ready to cast himself into the fire, to testify his love of God. And one of his letters he concludes thus: "I must now hold my peace; yet when I cease to speak, the fire within that consumes me will not let me rest. Let us burn then, and burn wholly and in every part, for God. Since we have no being but by him, why do we not live to him? I speak it aloud, and it would be my crown of glory to seal it with my blood."

To another he writes thus: "I know not what your intent was in writing those words, 'My God and my all!' Only you incite me thereby to return the same to you and to all creatures, 'My God and my all, my God and my all, my God and my all!' Is your heart full of it, and think you it possible I should be silent on such an invitation? Be it known to you, that he is 'my God and my all;' and if you doubt of it, I shall speak it a hundred times over. I shall add no more; for any thing else is superfluous to him that is truly penetrated with 'my God and my all.'"

This love of God wrought in him an incredible zeal for his honour, which he thus expresses to his director: "One day being transported with an earnest desire to be all to God, and all consumed for him, I offered up to him all I could, yea, and all I could not. I would willingly, if

they had been mine, have made a deed of gift to Him of heaven and earth; and, in another way, I would gladly have been the lowest of all mankind. Yea, and if supported by his grace, I could have been content to advance his glory, to have suffered the pains of the damned. In this disposition of a calm zeal, there is no sort of martyrdom, no degree of greatness or littleness, honour or dishonour, that passed not through my soul, and that I would not readily have embraced for the advancement of his glory. It is impossible to express one circumstance of what I felt. All I could do was, to give up my liberty to God, writing the deed in paper, and signing it with my blood."

See here the zeal of a man all on fire with the love of God! and the surest proof of love, conformity to his will. This intimate union of his will with God's, the object and end of all his actions, was indeed one of his singular graces, as it is the sum of all perfection. He wrote thus to one concerning the Countess of Chartres, with whom he had the strictest friendship: "I must own, that during my absence from her, my heart was tenderly sensible of her pain. But my desire submits to the will of God, and when that is signified, he gives me grace to obey. I was not at Paris, but at Citry, when she departed; I was sent for post, but came two hours too late. Entering the town, I soon heard the news of her

death. Presently I fixed myself to the will of God; whereupon, I found no more alteration in my soul, than if she had been alive. I see His order in this, that I assisted her not at her death, and doubt not but he permitted it for her advantage."

Another time he wrote thus: "I have these three weeks had a fever, with a defluxion, and an extreme weakness. My frame of mind, during this condition, has been a simple adherence to the will of God. I have a heart willing and ready to receive any afflictions that can befall me. I desire whatever is decreed from above, and beg it with all my heart."

In the year 1641 one of his children, whom he tenderly loved, died. When the news was brought to him, he spoke not one word, nor showed the least sign of disturbance; his affection to the child yielding to his absolute conformity to the will of God.

At the end of the year 1643 his Lady fell desperately sick, so that she was given over by her Physicians, and left speechless and without sense. This affected him in the most sensible part; and he broke out into these words: "I cannot deny but my nature is deeply affected with a sense of so great a loss; yet my spirit is filled with so wonderful a joy, to see myself in such a state, as to give up, and sacrifice to my God, a thing so near and dear to me, that if

decency did not forbid it, I would give some open testimony of my readiness thereto." Hereby he evidenced the will of God to be so absolutely his, that he not only willed whatever God willed, but also willed it as God doth, with pleasure and satisfaction. But it pleased God to restore his Lady to her health, with respect, as we may believe, to the carriage of his faithful servant.

From this perfect subordination to the will of God, sprung his admirable tranquillity; from this fountain flowed those rivers of peace which he possessed in so great perfection, that on the most sudden surprisals his spirit was not altered, nor put into any disorder. So that he could say from the abundance of his heart, "I comprehend not that thing you call mortification. He who finds no resistance in his spirit to any thing, is not capable of it. Whoso willeth whatsoever God willeth, is pleased, whatsoever happens."

With this love of God was joined so deep a reverence of him, as often cast him into trembling. And this unspeakable respect unto God's greatness, caused him often to walk in the fields barcheaded, even in rain, or the heat of the sun: and being asked by a friend, what it was that kept him in that constant awe, and how he attained that wonderful reverence he bore to God at all times, in all places, in all employments, he answered, "The sight of his glorious Majesty,

which continually seems present by me, keeps me in exceeding awe, with a deep sense of his greatness and my own vileness. A mote in the sun is little, but I am far less in the presence of God."

And sure it is, that this deep sense of his own vileness, before the majesty of God, well becomes not only the greatest of sinners, but the holiest man upon earth. He that from a valley beholds the sun when it rises, and appears on the point of a high mountain, may think him that stands above to be near it, and almost able to reach it with his hand. But the same man, notwithstanding, beholds it at a vast distance above his head. And though, in reality, he is nearer than the other that stands in the valley, yet the proportion is so small as scarce deserves to be named in respect to the total distance.

This reverence of God occasioned in him a great reverence likewise to whatsoever was devoted to him: as, first, to all holy places. At his entrance into a church, his demeanour was highly modest and serious. He never sat down there. He would remain in it as long as possibly he could; sometimes seven or eight hours together. If any person spoke to him in a church, his answer was short; if a longer was required, he went out and gave it.

He had great respect, secondly, to holy persons, especially to Priests, whom he highly hon-

oured for their work's sake. Whenever he met them, he saluted them with profound humility, and in his travel would alight off his horse to do it. When they visited him, he entertained them with great respect; at their going, waiting on them to the gate: and if any dined at his table, he gave them the upper hand, which civility he observed to his own Chaplain.

And as he had this reverence for them, so had he an earnest desire, that they might live according to the dignity of their calling. When he saw any who did not, he professed his heart melted into sorrow for them, and that he prostrated himself before our Saviour, and begged with tears some apostolical spirits. He often said, "Give us, O Lord, our poor fishermen: men simple in appearance, and vile in the eyes of men; but great and holy within, and fit to convert souls by their sanctity, prayers, and restless labours! And herein I discover a great mistake ordinary in the world,—that outward greatness and pomp is the way to keep up men's credit, and make them more capable of doing good to their neighbours. O, no! It is grace that hath power upon souls, and an holy and humble life that gaineth hearts!"

CHAPTER VIII.

THE grand exercise of M. de Renty was to apply and unite himself to our Saviour, and from that union and example to derive all his virtues and good works. To mould himself after him was his general course, both in his inward tempers and outward behaviour. He never took his eye off this divine copy, but endeavoured to draw every line exactly, to pencil his true likeness, and make him his native and perfect original.

This was the scope of all his designs and cares, and particularly that of his charity to his neighbour; for which he propounded our Saviour as his grand Exemplar, weighing the affection he showed for men; marking what he had done, and what he had suffered for them, how he sought after and conversed with them; how he instructed, comforted, and encouraged them; sometimes reproving, sometimes bearing with their infirmities; at all times carrying them in his bosom, yea, in the most intimate enclosure of his heart.

He well weighed what Christ had delivered concerning this virtue: that he had established it as the perfection of his law; that he had termed this command peculiarly his own; that he had expressly and solemnly bequeathed it to his

followers, and enforced the execution of it upon them by all the strongest and most endearing ties ; that he had made this virtue the distinctive character of those who were in reality his disciples ; and that he had charged us to love our neighbour, according to the model, measure, and fashion that he had loved us. And accordingly he determined, as far as he could, to love his neighbour, with the bent and spirit of his Master. "I sigh," said he, "after my Saviour Jesus, desiring to imitate and follow him whither he pleaseth. I beseech you, by your prayers, obtain for me his Spirit, to be my life, my whole life. Sigh and groan for me after my God, that I may be wholly for him in his Son, that I may follow him, and not live but by his Spirit."

Agreeably to this he endeavoured, in all the commerce he had with men, to unite himself most intimately to our Saviour, giving himself up as an instrument to be guided by his hand in the helping of others, beseeching him to breathe upon him his Spirit of love, recommended so much in his word, but more in his actions, and to inflame him with this sacred fire which he hath kindled in his church, that he might be wholly consumed with it. He consulted him in all his doubts concerning it, begging him to inspire what, and how, and when, he should speak and act for the good of his neighbour ; and that in him and by him it might all be done.

He looked upon men not according to their natural qualities, their beauty, nobility, riches, or worldly distinctions, but according to their more noble relations, and those common to all; namely, as creatures divine, the lively images of God, formed to praise and love him to all eternity; as purpled in the blood of Jesus, brothers and co-heirs with him, his inheritance bought with the price of his life and a thousand pangs, and who, therefore, must be infinitely dear unto him, and most tenderly beloved of him.

In this capacity it was that he beheld men, and applied to their necessities. And hereby as he was highly useful to his neighbour, so he did not prejudice but greatly advantage himself. He looked upon God and Christ in every man. He considered it was they that demanded succour of him; and while he was performing with all his might whatever was necessary for the soul or body of the least of his brethren, believed verily it was God and Christ to whom he rendered that assistance. And the same thought should all make use of who would benefit their neighbour, without prejudice to themselves. Otherwise, a man shall sooner lose his own soul, than lead another to God.

The charity of this man of God, built on these foundations, was so enlarged, that it seemed to have no bounds; in that he loved not only all Christians, but all men, without excepting any.

“Thy commandment,” says David, “is exceeding broad ;” the same dimensions had his charity ; embracing the present and absent, domestics and strangers, friends and enemies, good and bad ; esteeming all according to their degree, speaking, as he could, well of all, doing good to all, and ill to none.

There was not any considerable good work of a public nature, done at Paris, or within a great distance of it, wherein he had not a great share. There was no undertaking there, tending to the honour of God, or good of men, of which he was not either the author, or promoter, or finisher, and very often all these together. He was one at all the meetings of piety ; and of many the very soul. He kept correspondence throughout the whole kingdom, concerning works of charity, receiving letters from all parts, desiring his advice in all difficulties that occurred, in the erecting or perfecting hospitals, seminaries of religion, and fraternities of virtuous persons, associating together for the better applying themselves to their own and others’ salvation, and the managing all sorts of good works.

From Caen one writes of him thus : “ M. de Renty was our support and refuge in the execution of all our designs, relating to the service of God, the saving of souls, and the relief of the poor and distressed. To him we continually wrote, and from him we received counsel and

succour on all occasions. Nor have we met with any since his death to whom we could have the like recourse in the things of God." Another from Dijon writes thus: "We cannot but acknowledge the great benefit this province has received from M. de Renty. Wherever he came he hath wonderfully advanced all works of piety. We may truly say, that his days were filled with the fulness of God. Nor do we believe he lost one minute of time, in which he did not either speak or act something for his service."

He applied himself to the necessities of the English, the Irish, the captives in Barbary, and of the missions into the Levant; took great pains for the support of the hospital at Marseilles; laboured much for the relief of galley-slaves; and contributed much to the advancing the affairs of New-France in America. He had a design, likewise, to purge all trades and manufactures from the corruptions which had grown upon them, so that men might live upon them like Christians; which thing he begun and perfected in two of them.

The scripture he most studied next the life of our blessed Saviour, to qualify himself for all good works, was St. Paul's description of charity, in the thirteenth chapter of his first Epistle to the Corinthians. And whosoever is exercised in the virtues there described will not run in vain, nor labour in vain. Indeed the more any one is ani-

mated with this spirit, the more shall he advance holiness in others; yea, though his words be few and ordinary. For our words do not derive their force from the mouth that speaks, but from the disposition of the heart, and the power of the spirit that dwells there.

To qualify himself to be more extensively useful to his neighbour, M. de Renty, to the natural abilities God had given him, and to the learning he had acquired in his youth, had by his industry added several smaller parts of knowledge; and that not only for his own use, but to teach them to others, whereby to help themselves. Yea, he abased himself to learn the meanest skill, which might be any way useful to his neighbour. One day in Paris he carried a friend with him to a poor man, who got his living by making wicker-baskets. He there finished a basket which he had begun some days before, with design, as soon as he had learned it, to teach some poor people in the country to make them, to help to get their living. He then left the basket with the poor man, and a piece of money for teaching him.

Indeed he took upon him all shapes, transformed himself into all figures, condescended to all things for the good of his neighbour; all his thoughts, words, and actions being wholly cast in the mould of charity, which made him say one day, "Methinks my soul is all charity; and I am

not able to express with what ardour and strange expansion my heart is renewed in the divine life of my Saviour, burning in love to all mankind."

CHAPTER IX.

WITH regard to the poor, M. de Renty's thoughts stayed not on their habit or outward appearance; but passing further, he beheld under these, with the eye of faith, Jesus Christ present and dwelling in them. And as he burned with an ardent affection to our Lord, so he loved them tenderly, succoured them with all his might, and left nothing unattempted for their sakes. And with these eyes, not those of nature, must every one behold the poor, that will love them indeed, and have bowels of compassion for them.

From the year 1641 he invited to dinner two poor men twice a week, on Tuesdays and Fridays. But increase of business obliged him, five or six years after, to reduce it to one day, commonly Thursday; when he invited three; and willing to join spiritual alms to corporal, he sought out such as seemed most to need instruction. To this end, while at Paris, after his morning devotions, he went to St. Anthony's gate, and took such as were newly arrived, whom courteously saluting he brought home, (in winter to the fire,)

made them sit down, and with a cordial affection, which appeared in his whole behaviour, instructed them in the chief points of Christianity. While they sat at table, he served them himself, setting before them with his own hands the dishes brought in by his servants and children. After dinner he waited on them himself to the gate, and dismissed them with an alms. This he continued to his death; and when he could not do it in person, his Lady did the same to so many poor women.

Besides many other charities at his own house, he endeavoured the general relief of all the poor in Paris, and the parts adjacent; busied himself to understand their wants, studied ways of redress, and carefully pursued them. What he could not accomplish himself, he commended to others; spake for them, begged for them, bought necessaries for them; laboured to establish settled courses of living for men and children that were destitute, and when he could not at present provide for them abroad, maintained them at his own house till he could.

He was the first that motioned some relief for the poor English, driven by persecution out of their own country. He engaged persons of quality in the purchasing of lands for their subsistence. When it was done, himself undertook the charge of distributing one part of this charity. This he performed monthly, going to them a-foot,

and commonly alone. Entering their chamber, he saluted them with all tenderness and respect, and gave them their allowance wrapped up in a paper.

In all his visits to the poor, after a general survey of their wants, he examined in particular as well their spiritual as bodily necessities; and endeavoured, in the first place, to mark their inclinations, their passions, their ill habits, what vices were predominant in them, and what were their chief infirmities; that, like a prudent Physician, he might apply fit remedies, and teach them how to make the true use of their poverty.

As to their temporal necessities, he considered the capacity, industry, trade, or employment of each. For tradesmen, he considered what tools or materials were necessary to set them to work. These he provided, either redeeming their own, or buying new. He then gave them provisions for two or three days, and provided them work, not only for themselves but also for their wives and children. Afterwards, he bought some of their work, which he bestowed in alms upon others, and took order for the quick sale of the rest; coming to them from time to time to see if all went well, and encourage them to take pains.

To these we may add his charity to poor prisoners, whom he visited, comforted, and relieved; and when he found it expedient for them, (which

he always first considered,) used all means for their enlargement.

There was in Low Normandy one who had been a prisoner for several years, and, though innocent, was in great extremity. Many had endeavoured his release, but without success, because of a powerful adversary. The thing being commended to M. de Renty, after a just information of the case, he committed the prosecution of it to his own Advocate, made a report of it to the Council, and went frequently in person to solicit it.

But notwithstanding, perceiving the poor man's cause to hang long, he changed his purpose, and writ to his adversary, offering, if the business might be referred to him, to take a journey into Normandy immediately. When he came to the town, he went directly to the prison, and after an exhortation to the prisoners, seconded by his alms, he told the poor man his design, and exhorted him to pray to God for a blessing on his endeavours, and to rest in hope that by some means or other he should shortly be delivered.

He then went to the other's house ; whence he returned to the prison for information on some difficulties that occurred. Finding all the prisoners together at their usual devotions, he waited till they had done. Having then received information, he went back to the other, with whom

he came to such an agreement, that this poor man, after a world of misery, during nine years' imprisonment, was at length set at liberty. He maintained him eight days at his own house, advising and exhorting him every evening; and at his departure persuaded him to go and see his (former) adversary; whom he now found as tractable and friendly, as before he had been severe.

CHAPTER X.

IF his charity to the poor was thus great, it was still greater to such poor as were sick. He was not content to assist these in one or two ways; but they found in him, and often in one visit, a benefactor, a Physician, Apothecary, Surgeon, a Pastor, friend, and servant.

In the year 1641 he learned to let blood, and several parts of surgery. He acquainted himself, likewise, with the manner of making up most sorts of medicines; and he consulted with the Physician, by whom he was instructed in the principal parts of the art of physic. Whenever he went abroad, he had with him a Surgeon's box, and powders for the cure of most ordinary diseases; which he used with great dexterity, and with equal prudence, never advancing beyond his knowledge.

In his visits to the sick he never shunned any service necessary for them, and in his power to perform; as, making their beds, helping them to bed, making their fire, setting in order their little household stuff; hoping thereby to win upon their affections, and draw them to God with more facility.

In every family he took an opportunity to inquire whether God was served there; and whether any quarrels or differences were among them, which he took care to make up without delay. And he never left any without providing for all their necessities, which he took notice of with incredible diligence, sweetness, and respect; dispensing with other business that he might have time to hear all their complaints.

Neither did he only visit the sick, but they also sought him, and would find him out where-soever he came, if they were able to go abroad. The sick, the weak, the lame, or otherwise infirm, flocked to him from all quarters. He might often be seen encompassed with them; some requesting his medicines, some his alms, some his counsel. He treated all, as a true disciple of his great Master, with the like diffusive charity; and stood in the midst of them with the like goodness and patience, endeavouring to do good, and to minister comfort to all.

Nor did his charity decline the care of those diseases which nature cannot behold without

horror and aversion. During his stay at Dijon, he was informed of one who, having been among a company of soldiers, was left by them in so noisome a condition that none would come near her, and the house where she lodged was going to turn her out of doors. He went instantly to the house, persuaded them to keep her there, and hired a woman to attend her. Then he provided her proper physic and nourishment, which he brought her with his own hands; in the mean time reading to her every day, instructing and comforting her. By this means he at length not only retrieved her from the jaws of death, but induced her to spend the rest of her life in a virtuous and Christian manner.

CHAPTER XI.

M. DE RENTY, being continually inflamed with the love of God, incessantly sought all ways, and used all means, to make him more known and loved by all men, both here and eternally. And this his zeal had no bounds; it extended not only to all France, but to all the world; insomuch that he said to an intimate friend, "I am ready to serve all men, not excepting one, and to lay down my life for any one." He earnestly desired to enlighten with the knowledge

of God, and inflame with his love, the whole world; of which Paris being as it were an epitome, he went through all the quarters and streets of that vast city, searching out what he could remove, or bring in, for the glory of God and salvation of souls. And the same spirit which moved him hereto blessed his endeavours to rectify what was amiss, and to strengthen what was right. This he did in so many several ways as a man would think it impossible: but what cannot a man do that is zealous, disinterested, and full of God?

He performed what possibly he could in his own person, not sparing any pains, nor losing one moment. And where his power fell short, he engaged others; and in all places he laboured as much as in him lay to induce such as desired to follow Christ, to join together, and assist one another, in working out both their own and their neighbour's salvation. Many such societies he established at Caen, at Amiens, at Dijon, and in several parts of Burgundy; whose endeavours, being animated by a true zeal for God, were blessed with unexpected success.

To arm one who was thus engaged against the difficulties he met with, he wrote to him thus: —“ I am very sensible of the present storms that you endure; though there is no reason why men should alarm you thus, seeing they have no cause of reproach from your design, nor have you done

any thing against the Gospel ; yet I do not wonder at these crosses. It is sufficient to know that you desire to follow Jesus Christ, therefore you must reckon contradiction to be your portion in these days of your flesh ; only be firm in your confidence in our Lord, suffering none of these storms to trouble you, or to obscure that light which hath moved you to and guarded you in this business. God deliver you from the reasonings of flesh and blood, which at such times are apt to multiply upon us ! Be assured that, if you hearken not to them, God will manifest himself unto you ; he will comfort and fortify you in faith, and in experience of the gift of his Holy Spirit."

To another he wrote thus :—" Blessed for ever be the holy Jesus for the good beginning of those you mention. If the other had a little more courage to break her fetters, it would be a great step ; and surely there needs not so much deliberation to give up ourselves to him, although he be to the Jews a stumbling-block, and to the Greeks foolishness. Not that God hath any need of our good parts or excellent qualities, who commonly confounds the wisdom of the wise by little things which he chooseth. Blessed be that littleness which is accounted weakness, and yet overthroweth all the power and prudence of the world."

We mentioned before his endeavour to reform

trades from the abuses and corruptions which, in process of time, they had contracted, and to sanctify them, that some at least in each might live like the primitive Christians,—in common; deducting from their stock only their necessary maintenance, and bestowing the rest on the poor. And, at length, he in part effected it; so that there are now two companies in Paris, one of tailors, the other of shoemakers, and of these in several quarters of the city, (and the like there are at Toulouse,) who live in community; rising, eating, working, and praying together morning and evening; calling each other “brothers,” and living together in the strictest unity and concord.

Passing one day by the hospital of St. Gervase, and hearing it was devoted to the lodging of poor travellers, he desired leave of the Superior to instruct them in the evening, when they were met together. And this he did from that time every night, coming thither on foot, and commonly alone, summer and winter. After instructing them, he joined with them in prayer, which he concluded with his alms. And this he continued many years, till some churchmen, moved by his example, undertook that work, which they continue to this day.

His tenderness of heart to these poor people was exceeding great, joined with such humility as cannot easily be expressed. When he met any one at the hospital, he saluted him with

great respect, put him before him, and talked with him bareheaded. If any kneeled to him, he did the like to them, and continued on his knees till they rose first. One of them observing him diligently, and knowing him to be the Lord of the place where he himself lived, was deeply affected at the sight, and came and fell at his feet: M. de Renty did the like to him, and continued in that posture a long time, resolving not to rise before the poor man.

Going one day to visit the holy place of Montmartre, after his prayers said in the church, he retired into a desolate part of the mountain, near a little spring. There he kneeled down to prayer, and, that ended, dined on a piece of bread and a draught of water. After dinner he took out his Testament, and read a chapter on his knees, bareheaded, with extraordinary reverence. Just then came a poor man, saying his prayers. M. de Renty rose up to salute him, and fell into a discourse with him concerning God, and that so powerfully, that the poor man striking his breast fell down upon the ground to adore that great God. Immediately after came a poor maid to draw water at the well, whom he asked what she was. She answered, "A servant." "But do you know," said he, "you are a Christian, and to what end you was created?" Whence he took occasion so to instruct her, that, confessing she had never before thought of the end of her crea-

tion, she promised from thenceforth deeply to consider and seriously to pursue it.

In his first return from Dijon he stopped three or four times in the way to instruct the poor passengers, and once went out of the road to show some labourers in the field how to sanctify the work they were about.

A young maid in Paris, having been very cruelly used by her uncle, fell into such a disorder that in a fury she accused our Saviour as the cause of her misery, for abandoning her to such a man. In this horrible condition she received the sacrament several times in a day, on purpose to do despite to our Saviour and provoke him to finish her destruction. M. de Renty was no sooner informed of this than he hasted to find her out; as he did, after eight days' search, in the very act of communicating. He immediately conveyed her thence, and took so great care both of her soul and body that she returned to herself, and gave ample testimonies of her repentance.

As the design of advancing the salvation of men is attended with much doing and much suffering, it is necessary for him that undertakes it to fortify himself with courage and patience. And both these were most eminently in M. de Renty; being, in the first place, full of courage, resolute, and laborious; employing his body as if he had two more in reserve when that was spent; dispatching more business in one half hour than

others did in many days. Very bold he was in entering upon difficulties, and quick in extricating himself from them.

A lady who had left much to pious uses made him her executor. Being informed her friends, men of eminent power, were much displeased, he replied, "I never moved her to bestow any of her estate this way; but since her piety has prompted her to it, I shall not be dismayed with any power that shall oppose it: my care is to perform her will, and for other things I take no thought."

Seeing one day some gentlemen fighting, he threw himself between their swords, laying hold on those who seemed most outrageous. At first they quarrelled with him; but in a short time were friends, both with him and with one another.

His zeal was accompanied, secondly, with unparalleled patience: a virtue highly requisite for him that would save the souls of men; seeing he must endeavour to win their hearts, at which he is to make his first entrance; not following his own will or inclinations, but theirs; becoming all things to all men; waiting long for their conversion, and attending (without being tired and discouraged, though by all his labour he should win but little ground) the favourable moments wherein they may yield to his motives. He must, like this holy man, not only be willing to endure hunger, thirst, heat, cold, wet, weariness,

and other outward pains, inseparably attendant on employments of this nature ; but also the importunities, complaints, passions, the repulses, the contempts, and injuries that are continually to be expected in them.

While he was employed in instructing the poor travellers in the hospital of St. Gervase, a man who was settled there, looking upon it as an intrusion into his office, came to him as he was in the midst of the poor, and with many injurious and reproachful words forbade him to come any more. M. de Renty, having heard him without any emotion, replied, the poor people had much need of instruction ; and since he would not be at the pains of it himself, he prayed him not to hinder one that would. This did not satisfy him at all, but he came four days together to drive out M. de Renty, interrupting him as soon as he began ; but he still received him with the same spirit, and at length overcame evil with good.

One day he visited a person who, from a groundless suspicion, had cruelly used his wife ; who, understanding his business, entertained him very coarsely, giving him much opprobrious language, lifting up his hand to strike him, and offering to thrust him out of doors. M. de Renty replied not one word, but after some time drew near again, embraced him, and accosted him with such soft language, that he was persuaded at

length to go to Confession, which he had not done in twelve years before, and to be fully reconciled to his wife; insomuch that he lived and died a good Christian.

Another time, visiting a poor old man that was sick, he began, as usual, to speak of spiritual things. But the old man, instead of listening, fell into a passion, telling him he understood those things better than he. M. de Renty told him he would be glad to be instructed; and after a great deal of patience and attention, taking advantage from some things in that weak discourse, to convince and inform him better, he proceeded so happily, that the rest of his days he led a truly Christian life.

His patience in bearing with the faults and imperfections of others, as it was truly exemplary, so it never took away or weakened his desire to correct them, for which he only waited a proper occasion. When he intended to reprove another, he commonly first accused himself, to prepare them by his example. Having such an intention, he began a discourse of that openness with which Christians ought to tell one another the truth; for want of which we grow grey in our vices, and often carry them with us to our graves; saying, he should hold himself extremely obliged to any who would show him that kindness. His friend, finding his heart exceedingly softened, besought him to deal freely and plainly

with him, in telling him whatsoever he saw amiss in him ; which thing then he did.

But his patience did not in the least break in upon that fortitude, which is often requisite in the things of God, for the good of our neighbour, and for the worthy preserving of our just authority. He knew severity must be used sometimes, especially when we have to do with stubborn offenders ; and accordingly advised a friend, concerning a third person, "Take heed of humbling yourself before that man ; the abasing of yourself in this case would both prejudice him, and the cause of God. Reprove him severely and roundly."

And not in these instances only, but in all others, his zeal was accompanied both with freedom and prudence. For though his humility has concealed many of his inward graces and outward actions ; yet many likewise has his zeal brought to light, where he judged it necessary for the glory of God, or the good of his neighbour : concerning which he thus wrote to a virtuous lady :—

"Give me leave to speak my thoughts of that liberty we ought to use, in communicating freely the gifts of God bestowed upon us, to such persons as may reap fruit from them ; not stifling them in ourselves, whereby we obstruct a second fruit, which God expects from his graces. We should consider ourselves set in the world as a

crystal, which, placed in the middle of the universe, would give free passage to all the light which it receives from above: so ought we to impart all the talents we receive, and this without disguise, or the least claim of propriety.

“Farther: as the crystal, if several torches were set under it, would transmit the beams of them all towards heaven; so whatever honours or commendations we receive from below, should freely pass through us up to God; for God hath therefore bestowed upon us such things as are praiseworthy, not that the praise thereof should rest upon us, but that it may pass through us to him, that he may be blessed and praised in all things.”

Yet his zeal, though free, was not so indiscreet as to be its own herald upon every appearance of doing good; but was very circumspect in weighing all circumstances. Accordingly, in the same letter, he gives this wise advice, touching the order and measure which are necessary to be observed in this communication:—

“To some, we must lay open our hearts freely and exactly; to others, more reservedly; to others, altogether locked up, concealing from them what we see no disposition in them to make a good use of.”

Zeal indeed should be always attended with prudence, to consider things well, and execute them in the best manner; to prevent mischiefs, or

redress them, with as much of sweetness and as little acrimony as possible; and in desperate cases, or where the cure would prove worse than the disease, to suffer and pass them over; some souls having defects, as it were, incorrigible, which God permits to perfect them by humility; and others likewise, that have an intercourse with them, by patience and charity.

One great point of prudence requisite in a zealous man is, neither to hurt his body by too much labour, nor his mind with too much business. As to the latter of these, M. de Renty took especial care so to manage all his works of charity, that his piety might not be hindered but advanced thereby, indispensably performing all his exercises of devotion; and while he conversed most with his neighbour, reserving a considerable part, both of the day and night, for conversing with God. As to the other, he thus expressed himself to a Clergyman, who had impaired his health by extreme labour:—

“Give me leave, Sir, to tell you plainly, that you should not impose too much upon yourself, lest, for want of moderation, you render yourself altogether unserviceable. The enemy usually takes no small advantage of such free and well-disposed natures; you are not your own, but a debtor to all men. Preserve yourself, therefore, not by indulging your body, but by laying upon it no more than it is able to bear.”

Being at Citry, in the latter end of the year 1642, he had a strong impression upon his spirit, that, at his return to Paris, he should find a new employment about the poor, and be much taken up therein. Accordingly, two days after his return thither, some persons came to advise with him about a course of relieving all such poor in the city as were ashamed to beg. He undertook to visit a fourth part of them, and to assist them according to their necessities: an employment sufficient to take up the whole time of one man, which yet he performed, notwithstanding the multitude of his other occupations; so that we must say, without a special assistance he could not have done and suffered what he did; but God, who hath limited our strength of body, can increase it when and how he pleaseth.

Sometimes he received beforehand only a present impulse of something to be done, without any particular discovery. As when he was much pressed in spirit to go to Pontois, without understanding any reason for it; yet, believing it to be the call of God, he immediately undertook the journey; where unexpectedly he met with a nobleman of great quality, who was come from a province far distant, on purpose to be instructed by M. de Renty how to serve God, which he had, till then, little known, and less practised.

But though this great servant of God had an excellent faculty of assisting all, yet was he more

eminently assistant to some particular persons, for the healing their souls, and leading them on apace in the narrow way of perfection. I shall mention one only, the Countess of Chartres, who being deep in the affections of the world, as are most young ladies of her quality, it pleased God to inspire her with a desire to ask advice of M. de Renty; this he gave her with so happy success, that he himself was astonished at it. In less than a year she was so perfectly disengaged from all those little conveniencies and accommodations which our ladies persuade themselves are absolutely necessary, that one offering her something of this kind, which she was formerly fond of, she answered, "I thank God, I have quitted this, and many more things, for the love of God, and yet find no want at all."

God gave him light to discern her proper way, to teach her to renounce herself, and advance in the paths of solid virtue, and to support her in great inward afflictions; and she, on her part, resigned up herself to his guidance, and forced herself to put his advice in execution: a thing very requisite in those who would make use of the conduct of others to good purpose.

Though this happy intercourse, accompanied with such signal blessings, had contracted a strict and perfect friendship between them, yet he was very wary and reserved in his conversation with her; visiting her only when the work of God

required it, and neither speaking nor staying with her any longer than was precisely necessary. This she thought a little harsh, and complained of it to a friend, whom she knew to have some power with him, saying, "M. de Renty extremely mortifies me with his civilities and reservedness. I have great need to see him often, and yet cannot obtain it. Nay, when we are together, he will not sit down, except when I am sick, or not able to stand any longer; and always with his hat in his hand. I beg you to tell him, what out of respect I dare not, what inquietude I suffer, to see his behaviour such toward me, who ought to be continually under his feet."

The person acquainting him with this, he answered, "I proceed in this manner, because my duty to God and to the Countess of Chartres requires it. My Saviour obliges me to converse with her; but I must do no more than what is necessary, and so retire, for which this posture is most convenient. If we sat down, we should forget ourselves, and talk more than is necessary, and perhaps pass on to things unprofitable: therefore we ought both to stand upon our guard."

Those who undertake the conduct of souls ought seriously to consider this answer; and to be fully persuaded, that the business does not consist in speaking much to them, but in disposing them to speak to God, and in making them fit for God to speak to them.

In the year 1647, having visited one afflicted with great pains, he thus wrote to his director:—

“I have been with the person you know of, and have told her what I thought suitable to her condition. I acquainted her how we ought to lay this sure foundation, that we are nothing but weakness and misery itself; and that God from this insufficiency of ourselves to all good, means to extract humility and diffidence of ourselves, obliging us thereby to fly to his Son, to find strength in him, and remedy for all our miseries.

“As concerning myself I have not much to say: only I find within myself, by the mercy of God, a great tranquillity in his presence, through the Spirit of Jesus Christ, and such an inward experience of eternal life, as I am not able to express. Yet I find myself so naked and barren, that I wonder at the condition I am in, and by which I discourse. In my converse with this person I began my speech not knowing how to pursue it. After the second sentence I had not the least foresight of what should be the third; and so of the rest. Not but that I seem to have a perfect knowledge of the things I speak, in such a manner as I am capable of it. But I only utter what is given me; and in the same way as it is communicated I communicate it to others.”

CHAPTER XII.

M. DE RENTY, being sensible that even our outward behaviour is of great consequence in the service of our neighbour, being that which makes the first impression upon them, did whatever he could for the well composing his exterior, keeping his gestures, motions, looks, and all parts of his conversation in such a harmony, as he judged fittest to draw his neighbour to God.

He was very modest, always calm, and inviolably equal. "Among all the things I observed in M. de Renty," says one of his intimate friends, "what first affected me was, his rare modesty and great evenness of behaviour. There was something in his looks which carried so much reverence in it, one might easily judge he was always actually in the presence of God."

In every condition and employment whatsoever, he was the same in his looks, gestures, words, and actions; whether alone or in company, with rich or poor, strangers or friends, before his children or servants, yea, even before his footman, in the country or town, at the table, and everywhere.

And such a constant equality was the more observable because of his natural disposition, which was not slow, heavy, and phlegmatic, but

choleric, hot, and active. But the exact and perpetual care he had over himself had wholly inverted his nature, and brought him to a behaviour, as well as temper, directly opposite to those he took from his mother's womb.

Another of his friends writes of him thus:—
“That which pleased me most in him was, his great recollection and intimate union with God; attended with such a wonderful peace of mind as shone forth in his countenance, and begot a kind of devotion in his beholders. This union, methought, was ever the same, without any sign of distraction or levity, or any word not necessary; no complaisance or human regard ever forcing him to scatter his spirit. Not but he was full of civility; but still so as to look more within himself than without.”

And indeed this continual presence of God so wholly took up his spirit, that no unusual accident or object, or any thing rare or extraordinary, could divert him. I never saw him admire any thing in the world, nor fix his eyes upon any curiosity whatever. And his gait in the streets was so recollected, modest, and equal, without gazing on any thing, that a man might see Jesus Christ was his way, his employment, and his all.

In his speech he was very reserved, by choice as well as by nature. In whatever company it concerned him to speak, he did so in his course, with a composed demeanour, and words few, but

material. He was never known forward or eager to speak, or in speaking to do it with a higher tone than ordinary. If he gave an account of any business, he did it so briefly, and in words so pertinent, that it was a very hard matter to find one that spoke better, and yet less, than he.

Things that were unprofitable, or the news of the times, were never the subject of his discourse; but always something pertaining to the kingdom of God. And when the conversation was diverted to worldly things, he either took leave of the company, or stole away without.

And when he talked even of good things, it was with care and moderation; saying, there was much need of sparingness and sobriety when we speak even of the things of God, lest it turn to no good account; and that it was a great trouble to him, when among serious persons, to hear them often spend precious time in talking of virtue at large, and to find them departing from such conferences with dry, empty, and dissipated spirits.

As to conduct of business, his method was, seriously to consider things before any resolution; and if after his own sense given, he found another's to be better, he readily quitted his own. After he had resolved, he was prompt, firm, and constant, in the execution of it. But sometimes, when he had gone through the difficulties of a design, he left it to a friend to finish; not out of

inconstancy, but to gain time for undertaking more, as well as to avoid the honour of it.

In all affairs that concerned the service of God he had an immovable constancy. And beside the force of his words, there appeared in his face an extraordinary assurance, (though his ordinary deportment was always sweet and quiet,) which particularly appeared in all meetings, where he manifested such a spirit that those who beheld him felt themselves struck with an awful regard. His proposals generally carried so much light and force in them, that all were constrained to acquiesce in his determination. But if any disputed his reasons, he knew how to enforce them; and if they chanced to make another reply, which was a thing that exceeding rarely happened, he said not one word more, but his very silence, and the steadiness of his countenance, restrained any further dispute. The meeting ended, he would go to that person and ask his pardon; informing him that what he aimed at was not to make good his own opinion, but to advance the cause of God: in all other things he was ready to yield to every one.

But of all things he took care not to overcharge himself with business, to the prejudice of his piety. He knew that outward employments, even the most holy, may be hinderances to inward holiness. Wherefore he was careful not to overburden himself with them, and very vigilant that

they should not distract and dissipate him, nor secularize his soul, but serve only as means to elevate and unite him more to God.

And God so blessed him herein, that, in the multitude of business, he was still in a continual recollection. A familiar friend asking him, whether in that throng of employments he observed his usual two hours of prayer, he answered, "When I can, I keep three hours, sometimes four or five; but when occasion offers to serve my neighbour, I easily quit them, for God of his mercy hath given me the grace to be inseparably with him, even in the crowd of business."

To the same purpose he wrote to his director:—"I continue my devotion out of the time and place of prayer, even in the midst of converse and business. And I tell you sincerely, though I perform every thing so ill, yet I find little difference of times for prayer, being recollected continually."

And the same might be gathered, as was observed before, from his modesty and composed countenance; clearly evidencing that his soul was wholly and constantly in application to God, from whom he drew light and strength, for the conduct of all his business. Of which he thus wrote to his director:—"My recollection hinders no business at all, but furthers it. Without it I should have a solicitous desire of doing all myself; whereas I act now in a most calm way, in which

I have no share, for it is our Lord that doeth all."

In another letter thus :—" Finding myself one day much burdened with variety of businesses, I had a desire to draw off my mind wholly ; and, at the same instant, it was done. Since that time they create me no trouble, and I dispatch them more readily without thinking of them. This grace hath been often renewed in me, although in several manners ; which I acknowledge to be very great, because it preserves me disengaged, even in the multiplicity of business."

If after he had done his part any design miscarried, he rested well satisfied. On such an occasion he thus wrote to a friend :—" We may take up good designs, and God often inspires them ; yet when he is pleased to permit a contrary event, we must adore his secret will, which brings more of mercy in the crossing of them than if they had succeeded. We should always be jealous over our spirit, that it fix not upon any thing." And again :—" Our Lord has his designs, which he effects by such means as we would not at all make choice of : the reason is, because he would break our wills, and abate our dependencies upon earth. Therefore he often crosses our best undertakings, being more jealous of the sacrifice of our hearts than any thing else, how specious soever."

I cannot better conclude this chapter than

with a letter which he wrote to his director on this subject :—

“ For these three or four months I have been, as it were, continually employed in outward works ; as, removing from place to place, new building a church, taking care of the sick, reconciling differences, conferring with all sorts of people. Yesterday hearing those words of the Gospel read, ‘ Thou art troubled about many things,’ it was said to my heart, ‘ Thou art not troubled about many things ;’ giving me to understand, that the things we are employed upon, according to the will of God, do not create us that trouble ; and that Martha was not reproved for doing the work, but for doing it too solicitously ; our Saviour intimating to her, that no business should be done with inordinate agitation of spirit, since our great business is to hear the eternal word, and act nothing with disturbance, but all in peace by his Spirit.

“ I received hereby a great support in the performance of these petty exterior offices, and made no difficulty at all to yield myself up to this holily disordered divine order. At the same time I enjoyed such a sensible impression of God, yet excelling all sense, that if I had been thrown like a bowl, I could never have lost the sight of my God. Our Lord turns this bowl in a strange manner, even as it pleaseth him. And these several turnings are all for the soul’s advantage,

whereby she is fashioned for every occasion, that she may do nothing for or by herself, but all for God, and according to him.

“I see likewise that one whom God employs in these low affairs, if he follow them with the same fidelity, is as acceptable to God, as one that is employed in the most noble functions. Will nothing please you but to convert worlds? You shall be content to carry stones; and sometimes to sit still and do nothing. You are then to offer the sacrifice of patience. And I believe it is a thousand times more rare, to find a soul thus faithful in patience, and content to do no more than God would have him, than faithful in actions that appear abroad.

“I have one more word to tell you; which is, that I am really ashamed and confounded, that I do no more for God; which, indeed, with the sense of my unfitness for anything that is good, would work me much torment, did I not consider, He is all-sufficient, and doeth with us as he pleaseth.”

CHAPTER XIII.

ON the 11th of April, 1649, he found himself very ill, and, having concealed his sickness five

days, was then constrained to take his bed. He endured great pains all over his body, with which his mind, too, was so much affected that he professed, if God had not assisted him against the ravings of his imagination, he should have spoken more extravagancies than any madman. "There was much," he said, "in such a condition to humble him. But it was the duty of a sinner to honour God in all conditions wherein he should place him."

During these great pains and torments, and during the whole course of his sickness, his ordinary employment consisted in affectionate elevations of his soul to God, in thoughts and words of blessing, praise, and submission to whatsoever was laid upon him, and of meekness and perfect obedience to all that attended and had the care of him, with such an humble and contented spirit, that he thought all well done, though sometimes it was otherwise.

His patience never gave way to any complaint; and when his keeper, who was of the Hospital of Charity, with whom he had visited so many poor and sick, importuned him to declare his pain, "O sister," said he, "how does the love of God wipe away all pain! The servants of God suffer nothing." Another friend asking, if his pain was not great, he answered, "No." The other replied, he thought it was. "It is true," saith he, "that I am much clogged with my

disease ; but I feel it not, because I do not think of it."

Being urged to take some sweet things, he refused, saying, "These make little for life or for death." Yet he refused not physic, but took it with a cheerful countenance, though it was very bitter, and he had a great difficulty in swallowing. Indeed when one told him of another medicine which had done great cures, he answered, "Patience is a sovereign remedy," intimating his unwillingness to try it ; yet when it was brought, he took it without any reluctance.

His sickness increasing more and more, yet he never called for anything to refresh him ; and when they had forced clean sheets upon his bed, and a pillow, which he had before refused, he said, "Lo, here lies a gentleman at his ease !"

Feeling some joy arise in him, upon the sight of a person of his acquaintance, with whom he had held a strict correspondence in spiritual things, who came out of the country on purpose to visit him, he immediately repeated thrice over, with great fervour, "I desire nothing more but God."

Reflecting on the poor, the constant objects of his tenderest care, he said to his Lady, "I recommend the poor to you. Will not you have a great care of them ? You will perform it better than I. Fear nothing : what you give to them will not lessen the rest."

The greatest part of the first week of his illness, and some part of the second likewise, was spent by him in works of mercy, appointing of alms, and giving orders for letters to be writ into several provinces, about business of charity wherewith he stood charged, and whereof he gave an exact account.

Many persons of quality coming to visit him, he received them with much civility, but not without some concern, because most of those visits drew on discourse of worldly things. "They come hither," said he, "to talk philosophy; of which I have no need." And another time his expression was, "A Christian should talk little."

A lady of great piety coming to visit him, said, "Sir, I would with all my heart lay down my life to save yours." He replied with a cheerful look, and eyes lifted up to heaven, "To die is not to be lost. Our conversation and union will hereafter be more near and intimate." She said, "But, Sir, if it pleased God to restore your health, and continue you longer with us, do not you desire it? St. Martin desired to live upon these terms." He answered, "O Madam, there is no comparison between a saint and a sinner! The will of God be done."

The third day of his sickness, he desired his director might be sent for. And being asked, if he found himself worse, he answered, "No; but

in a business of this consequence, it is not safe to delay, for fear of a surprisal, the judgment and memory being both so subject to decay." The next day he made his confession, the day after he confessed again, and almost every day till his death.

The Pastor of his parish having administered to him the holy communion, and observing his deep silence, not speaking one word, but only with profound humility, "My God, my God, pardon me; I am a great sinner!" he asked him the reason why he spake so little, and did not apply himself to those who were well pleased to hear him. "It is not fitting," said he, "to speak in the presence of Him whom I have received, nor to take up any room in those hearts which ought to be filled only with God." He added, "My spirit is now applied to that joy which a creature ought to have, to see himself upon the point of being re-united to his first principle, and his last end."

The same day after dinner, one told him, it was fit to use some diversion from his serious thoughts; the Physicians judging his disease to have much of melancholy in it: to whom he replied, "I never had any joy comparable to that I have felt this day." He asked him, "For what cause?" "To think," said he, "that I am going to be united with my God." He added earnestly, "I desire to be dissolved, and to be with

Christ. 'The Spirit and the Bride say, Come; and let him that heareth say, Come: and he that thirsteth, let him come.' Behold, I come quickly. Amen. Come, Lord Jesus!"

About noon, he desired his window might be set open, that he might behold the brightness of the day: which being done, he cried out, "O bright day of eternity! How ~~this~~ sunshine cheers me! helping me to meditate on that day which shall never have night!"

The more his sickness increased, the more he strove to unite himself to God by prayer, imitating his Master, who, in the strength of his agony, prayed the more earnestly. And when the violence of his disease so oppressed him, that he had need of greater straining to keep his mind fixed upon God, he cried out, "Courage, courage! Eternity is at hand!"

Many such speeches he uttered with incredible fervour, though he could not pronounce them distinctly, by reason of the extreme dryness of his throat, occasioned by the fever. Till at last, stopping his speech, he fixed his eyes steadfastly on heaven for a quarter of an hour together, with a smiling look, and full of reverence, as if he saw some extraordinary sight. After which, gathering all his strength, he sat up in his bed, took off his cap, and holding it in his hand, said, (with words half-stifled in his throat, as well by the ardour of his spirit, as the

weakness of his body,) "I adore you, I adore you."

The Curate having used the service of the Church, to which he attended with great devotion, answering to every prayer, asked him if he would not give a blessing to his children: he answered, "How so, good Sir? shall I presume to give a blessing in your presence? I should be happy to receive one from you." But being urged thereto, and told the Church allowed it, he lifted up his hands and eyes to heaven, saying, "May it please God to bless you, and to preserve you by his grace from the malignity of the world, that you may have no part therein! And above all, my children, may you live in the fear and love of God, and yield due obedience to your mother!"

On Saturday, about half an hour past ten in the forenoon, being just recovered out of a violent convulsion, looking attentively on those that were present, he made signs with his hands, head, and eyes, with a pleasant countenance, for an intimate friend to come near him. Which being done, he said, "Sir, I have one word to say to you before I die:" (then pausing a little to recover his strength, he testified his affection to him, but in words that could not distinctly be understood. At length raising his voice, and speaking more articulately, he went on,) "The perfection of a Christian life, is to be united to

God by faith. Let us not entangle ourselves in novelties. Let us adore his conduct over us, and continue faithful to him unto the end. Let us adhere to that one God, crucified for our salvation. Let us unite all our actions, and all that is in us, to his merits; hoping that if we continue faithful to him, by his grace we shall be partakers of the glory of his Father. I hope we shall there see one another one day, which shall never have an end."

Some time after, fixing his eyes upon heaven, he said, "The holy Jesus, where is he?" Then turning himself, he presently entered into his last agony; which held about a quarter of an hour, the greatest part of which he spent in pronouncing the name of Jesus; making, as well as he could, acts of resignation, and commending his spirit to God. After which he expired sweetly, and his holy soul departed to its place of rest.

Thus lived and died M. de Renty, one of the most glorious lights God hath bestowed upon his church in our age. He died at Paris, in the thirty-seventh year of his age, the 24th of April, 1649, about noon. We have great reason to admire the secret counsels of God, in taking out of the world, in the flower of his age, a man so qualified to advance the honour of God, and the good of his neighbour. But when we say it was the hand of God, all things are therein concluded.

Hereby he is pleased to let us know, that he hath no need of us for the advancing his glory; and that when he does use us as instruments therein, we ought to behave with all humility in his presence. He hath translated him to another place, where he glorifies his majesty with greater perfection; and where he waits for us to glorify and love, together with him, God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, to all eternity! Amen.

THE life of this holy man proves in a very decisive manner, that opinion is not religion. With many erroneous opinions, there may be a high degree of that love to God and man which is the principle of all holiness. M. de Renty, as a member of the Romish Church, practised many superstitious rites, which must have been serious hinderances to the divine life; yet it will be perceived that he held the essential truths of scriptural Christianity, such as the Godhead and atonement of Christ, and the personality and gracious operation of the Holy Spirit. His history, therefore, supplies no proof that men may deny these vital doctrines, and at the same time be the subjects of Christian godliness. The practical lesson to be deduced from the character and conduct of this nobleman is, that if he, amidst the

superstitions, idolatry, and other corruptions of the Church of Rome, attained to such eminent y, much more may Protestant Christians, who simple truth as it is in Jesus, be examples of all holiness. If the men of Nineveh will rise up in the judgment against the people who remained impenitent under the preaching of the Lord Jesus, may we not fear that devout members of the Papal Church will bear witness against lukewarm and formal Protestants? "The kingdom of God is not meat and drink; but righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost."

END OF VOLUME VI.

