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GOLDWIN SMITH.

PHILIP HENRY



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DIARIES AND LETTERS

OF

PHILIP HENRY, M.A.

OF BROAD OAK, FLINTSHIRE

A.D. 1631-1696

EDITED BY

MATTHEW HENRY LEE, M.A.

VICAR OF HANMER

“ Bene vixit qui bene latuit ”

THOMAS À KEMPIS

115-075
8, 6, 11

LONDON

KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH & CO., 1, PATERNOSTER SQUARE

1882

1911

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P R E F A C E.



IT is now nearly sixty years since the Life of Philip Henry—founded upon the account given by his son, Matthew Henry—was written by Sir John Bickerton Williams, F.S.A. It is hoped that the great interest which that volume excited will be extended to the Diaries and Letters, which are now for the first time printed, almost as they stand in the originals. The present phase of public taste is rather to hear what men of note say for themselves, than what others say of them. Philip Henry's motto from Thomas à Kempis, *Bene vixit qui bene latuit*, will explain why Anthony à Wood does not mention his name ; why people often describe him now as Matthew Henry's father ; why the late Dr. Wordsworth should, with a wise instinct, have included his life in the first edition of the "Ecclesiastical Biographies," and why Churchmen generally should have called for its removal from that series.

It cannot be expected that the charm of the little manuscript volumes—of which a friend wrote that he "felt a wish to devour them"—should be transferred to print. The

interest of diaries is unequal, especially where the same phrases are often repeated. Giraldus de Barri mentions how William de Braose, in the reign of Henry II., "loaded, or rather honoured, his letters with words expressive of the divine indulgence to a degree not only tiresome to his scribe, but even to his auditors; for as a reward to each of his scribes for concluding his letters with the words 'by divine assistance,' he gave annually a piece of gold in addition to their stipend." To have omitted these expressions from Philip Henry's diaries would very much have altered their character; they have, therefore, been in a great measure retained.

To many persons Philip Henry appears to have been not only a man of very high intellectual ability and culture, but also of a real integrity and virtue, the antique simplicity of which can hardly be admired enough. One gentleman writes: "The name of Philip Henry is ever fragrant and refreshing to those who are acquainted with his beautiful life;" and a lady—one of the descendants—adds, "We need the devout thoughts of our forefathers to help us in these days of material improvements and material prosperity." Though he could not see his way in the matter of re-ordination, there was nothing about him of a separatist spirit. Both he and his son speak of Mr. George Herbert with reverence and affection, partly, no doubt, as of Lord Pembroke's family, but far more on account of his well-known piety.

At the time that Philip Henry was at Worthenbury and Broad Oak, another remarkable person, Trevor Hanmer—afterwards Lady Warner—was living at Bettisfield, not far distant. In her inquiries after truth she was carried in the opposite direction to Philip Henry, and joined the Roman Communion. Bishop Lavington notices that in her life (which is one of painful interest) the religious fervour of the Methodist movement was anticipated by a whole century. One cannot but wish that this lady and Philip Henry had been able to exchange opinions about religious subjects, and thus been preserved—both of them—to the Church of their fathers. The extreme modesty of Philip Henry withheld him from publishing anything; but this is more than made up to his descendants by the large quantities of manuscript sermons that each branch of the family possesses. He took great pains in preparing these, even when intended for none but his own family circle, for he held strongly to the Scriptural rule that he would not offer to the Lord his God of that which cost him nothing; and having made these notes, he did not think it right to destroy them. The wide dispersion of the manuscripts applies also to the Diaries, which should extend from 1657 to 1696, but of which, at present, only twenty-two are forthcoming. Several others are known to be in existence, but no clue to their present owners has been found. Any one who has met with them, and can tell where they now are, will confer a favour by doing so. They are, most of them, written with a crowquill in Goldsmith's

pocket almanacks, which measure four inches by two inches.

I am much indebted to those ladies and gentlemen who have entrusted me with diaries and letters for the purposes of this work, and for the kind assistance that I have met with from others. For the loan of Emral manuscripts I have to thank my neighbour, Mr. Puleston.

PHILIP HENRY.

THE ancestry of such a man as Philip Henry can hardly fail to be a matter of interest, both to his numerous descendants and to that large number of English-speaking people who honour his memory.

It has been assumed, rather hastily, that he was of obscure origin, owing, perhaps, to the conversation that passed between his future father-in-law and future wife with respect to him. "I do not know where he comes from," said the old gentleman; but "I know where he is going to," said the lady, "and should like to go with him."

From a conversation of a similar kind, Fletcher of Madeley was thought by his wife to be the son of a common soldier, and it was not till many years after their marriage that she accidentally discovered her error.

In the case of Philip Henry, we find that in the year 1662 he learned, for the first time, from some papers, that his grandfather's name was Henry Williams, of Briton Ferry, in Glamorganshire, and that his son—the father of Philip Henry—had left home, with a groat in his pocket to make his way as well as he could. There is no evidence to show that any ill will was intended, and we may con-

clude that John Henry was one of a large and poor family. As the parish registers at Briton Ferry do not begin earlier than 1680, and no wills of any members of the family have been found, there is no information to be gathered from those sources. Briton Ferry itself seems to have belonged to a family, one of whose names was William or Williams, which merged eventually into that of the Earl of Jersey. Mr. G. T. Clark, of Dowlais House, has kindly given me the sketch of the family, beginning with

Evan ap Syson = Janet d. of Rees ap Llewelyn.
 7th in descent |
 from Iestyn. |

and though I do not find the name of Henry Williams in it, I think it not improbable that this was the source whence Philip Henry descended. It would be quite in accordance with the jealousy still existing between North and South Wales, and with Puritan contempt for worldly position, that Philip Henry should be thought to be of humble extraction, and that he should not take the trouble to correct the mistake. He did not either, as it would seem, take any lively interest in antiquarian subjects. Whereas his son Matthew Henry was only prevented by unceasing occupations from devoting much attention to them, we find his father living at Emral and Worthenbury nine years, and at Broad Oak for thirty-four years, without noticing once the great College of Bangor close by, from which flowed forth the Christian teachers, not of *Britain* only, but of Ireland and Caledonia, and whose last abbot, Dinoth, withstood Austin the monk, at the end of the sixth century, when he came to bring the British Church under the yoke of Rome. That such a ripe scholar as Philip Henry, with so much time upon his hands, and living in a country that teems with evidences of an early Christianity, should not have had his attention drawn to the subject seems in many

respects a misfortune. Had it been otherwise with him, many a dull hour would have been exchanged for one of keenest interest, as he gathered up information that would have been of the greatest value to us in the present day.

It has sometimes been thought that Henry Williams was parson of Briton Ferry. The arms borne subsequently by Philip Henry and by his son throw no light upon their descent. Philip seals with the chequers of the Warrenne family, with a fleur de lis for crest, which will be accounted for afterwards. Matthew Henry bears three battle-axes ppr. per fess upon a field, gules—a shield that I have looked for in vain in several collections of coat armour. The Welsh custom of taking the father's Christian name for a surname, instead of the alternative system of "John *ap* Thomas *ap* Jenkin," seems to have been generally adopted in the seventeenth century, and will account for the tribes of Evanses, Williamses, Joneses, Prices (*ap* Rys) that we now have. In the notes to "The Fortunes of Nigel," Sir Walter Scott remarks that in the seventeenth century pages ceased to be the sons of gentlemen. There were, however, many exceptions to this that will occur at once; and in the case of royal pages the old rule always held good—that they must be of good birth. The attempt now being made by a lady in South Wales to provide domestic employment for the daughters of poor gentlemen is worthy of all praise, though with the present facilities for emigration a colonial life would seem preferable and more useful. Within the last thirty years farmers' families have left off dining at the same board with their labourers, a distinction which the latter feel, and are disposed to resent. Wealth is the great destroyer of social friendship and good-will, and if we would return to the old-fashioned customs of past centuries we must return to their simple manner of living.

The records of the Chamberlain's Office do not reach back to the year 1650. Mr. J. E. Nightingale thinks "that John Henry might well have been attached to the household of Philip, Earl of Pembroke, in the same way as the elder Massinger was to Philip's elder brother, William,* the third earl, 'serving' him in the sense of being a private secretary. Philip certainly required this, for, although Chancellor of the University of Oxford, he was no scholar." John Henry was born at Briton Ferry, July 20, 1590, as his son tells us, and it is his death, no doubt, that is recorded at St. Margaret's, Westminster, in the following entry:—"Buried. 165 $\frac{1}{2}$, March 2. Mr. John Hendrick." Between these dates we have little to record.

A letter in the Cecil Papers ($\frac{188}{21}$) at Hatfield House (for permission to copy which I am indebted to the Marquis of Salisbury), written by the Earl of Shrewsbury to John

* In the picture gallery of the Bodleian Library there is a bronze figure of this earl, six feet six inches high and four feet ten inches round the hips, with this inscription:

"GULIELMUS PEMBROCHIE COMES
REGNANTIBUS JACOBO ET CAROLO PRIMIS,
HOSPITII REGII CAMERARIUS,
ET SENESCALLUS ACADEMIÆ OXONIENSIS.

HANC
PATRI SUI MAGNI EFFIGIEM
AD FORMAM QUAM FINXIT
PETRUS PAULUS RUBENS
ÆRE FUSO EXPRESSAM
ACADEMIÆ OXONIENSI

D. D.
THOMAS PEMBROCHIE ET MONTGOM. COMES
HONORUM ET VIRTUTUM. HÆRES
A. D. MDCCXXIII."

He was born 1580: made K.G. 1603; Governor of Portsmouth, 7 Jac. I.; Lord Chamberlain, 15 Jac. I.; Chancellor of Oxford University, 15 Jac. I.; Lord Steward of king's house, about 1625; Warden of Forests south of the Trent, 5 Car. I.: he died in 1630, leaving no surviving issue by his wife, Mary Talbot, eldest daughter and co-heir of Gilbert, Earl of Shrewsbury. He was author of a volume of poems published in 1660. For the position he occupied, and general character, see Clarendon's "Rebellion," lib. i.

Henry, A.D. 1606, disappoints any expectations that might be raised, for the name of the recipient turns out to be Hercy, not Henry. In 1623, June 12,* there is the burial of a Mrs. Dorothy Henrick at St. Margaret's, who may have been an unmarried sister, or his brother's wife. On December 10, 1623, he was married to Mrs. Magdalen Rochdale. At St. Margaret's Church we find the following entries:—

Baptized, 1626, M^{ch} 1. Ann, dau. of John Herrick.

Baptized, 1629, Ap^l 9. Katherine, dau. of John Kenrick.

After this there is a gap in the register from March 23, 1630, to January 1, 1633, so that Philip's baptism does not appear. He was born on Wednesday, August 24, 1631, in Whitehall.

The various spellings of the surname may arise from the scribe's efforts to Latinize the word. As the dates correspond with those given by Philip Henry for the births of his two sisters, we cannot but suppose that they refer to the same persons in each instance. "Prince Charles and the Duke of York being nearly of his age, he was in his childhood an attendant upon them in their Play: they were often with him at his Father's house, and were wont to tell him what preferment he should have at Court, as soon as he was fit for it. He kept a book to his dying day, which the Duke of York gave him, and I have heard him (says his son) bewail the loss of two curious pictures which he gave him likewise. Archbishop Laud took a particular kindness to him when he was a child, because he would be very officious to attend at the Water-gate (which was part of his father's charge in White-hall) to let the Archbishop through, when he came late from Council, to cross the water to Lambeth; and when the Archbishop was a

* Colonel J. L. Chester kindly gave me these register extracts.

prisoner in the Tower, his father took him with him to see him, and he would remember that the Archbishop gave him some new money."

From the dates of eight letters written by King Charles to foreign princes, of which copies have been preserved among the Henry manuscripts, it would seem that John Henry was in the king's service in 1625. We are told that when the king in after years was going to Westminster, to that which was called his trial, Mr. John Henry was ready to pay his respects to him, and prayed God to bless his majesty, and to deliver him out of the hands of his enemies, for which the guard had like to have been rough upon him. In 1647 his son mentions that he was in straitened circumstances, and it is probable that the following order refers to some application made by him for the payment of arrears.

Die Saturni, 13^o July, 1650.

AT THE COUNCELL OF STATE AT WHITEHALL.

Ordered,

That the Peticōn of Edmund Win-stanley, Edward Jolley, Robert Mansell, and John Henry be referred to the Consideracōn of the Comittee for Whitehall

EX^{td}. GUALTER FROST, sēr.

Whatever success attended his petition, he remained at his house in Whitehall until his death, February 28, 1652, having survived his wife nearly eight years.

The following sketch of his family, and of his own life down to the year 1657, is given by Philip Henry in a small book belonging to Joseph H. Lee, Esq., of Redbrook, near to Broad Oak, in the county of Flint, and in a more extended manuscript of the same period belonging to, and kindly lent by, J. H. Rowland, Esq., of Neath, South Wales.

My Father, Mr. John Henry, was borne July 10, 1590. He was the son of Henry Williams of Britton's-ferry, not far from

Swansey in Glamorgan-shire; hee took his father's Christen-name for his Sir-name, after the Welsh* manner; hee left his native-countray and Father's house very young and never saw it again, that I ever heard of, but his Relations divers of them came up to London to him, and were there by him provided for, particularly a brother William and three sisters, Ann, Joan and Jane, Jane by a latter wife who married one Elliot and hath issue, a son and two daughters, the rest had none unless it were a 4th sister who was the mother of cosin Michael Mitchel.

When hee left his Father hee had from him as I have heard but one groat, which God was pleas'd to multiply to a considerable income before his death, and yet when hee dy'd as hee carry'd nothing with him, so, his debts being payd, hee left little or nothing behind him for provision for his children, but God took them up and they have not wanted.

Hee was first a Servant to a Welsh Gentleman, a Courtier whose name was Palmer, there were two Brothers of them, the one James, the other Roger, I think hee serv'd † them both successively, and that they were both knights, Sir Roger a Knight of the Bath, by whom he was preferr'd to Philip, ‡ Earl of Pembrook,

* In I. O. Westwood's "Lapidarium Walliæ, or Inscribed Stones of Wales," p. 110, there is an instance of this in the Cilgerran stone, which stands on the south side of the church, within the churchyard of Cilgerran, two and a quarter miles south-south-east from Cardigan. It is formed of the hard green-stone of the neighbouring Preselen hills, and half of its length was buried in the ground and had to be excavated. It is to be read:—

*“Treneguffi fili
Macutreni hic jacet.”*

“Here lies [the body] of *Treneguffus* the son of *Macutrenus*.” If this last is a composite word, three generations would bear the name of *Trenus* in different forms. There is a farm-house called Penallt Trede in the parish.

† Compare “Antiquities of Myddle Parish, Salop,” page 46: “This Sir Vincent Corbett was a very eminent person in this county. In his time he had the sons of Esquires and worthy gentlemen to wayte on him as his servants.”

‡ The Honourable Philip Herbert was made Knight of the Bath at the coronation of King James I., and Gentleman of the King's Bed-chamber, Earl of Montgomery, and Lord Herbert of Shurland in the third year of his reign. “He pretended to no other qualifications than to understand horses and dogs very well, and to be believed honest and generous. . . . The King commended him to his son at his death, as a man to be relied on in point of honesty and fidelity; though it appeared afterwards, that he was not strongly built, nor had sufficient ballast to endure a storm” (Clarendon, “History of Rebellion,” i. 128). “About the time of the death of King James he received

whose servant hee was many years, waiting on him in his chamber; Hee being afterwards Lord Chamberlain of the Kings household, hee was preferd by him to be the King's servant, and was made Keeper of the Orchard at Whitehal, for w^{ch} he had besides a dwelling house at the Garden stairs, with the perquisites of the water-gate and lodgings of considerable yearly value, and y^e Profits of y^e Orchard, ten groats p. diem standing wages with livery payable out of the Wardrobe, — p. annum, insomuch that hee lived plentifully, and in good repute but layd by nothing. Hee was afterwards by like procurement of the sayd Earl made one of the Pages of the Back Stayres to the King's second son James Duke of York, which was of considerable advantage to him while hee enjoy'd it, but having leave granted him by y^e King to sell it, hee sold it to one Mr. Howard for 600lb. which prov'd a great mercy to him and was his mayntenance for several yeares after y^e war began, wⁿ his other incomes fayld.

My dear Mother Mrs. Magdalen Rochdale, daughter of Henry Rochdale, was baptized at the parish of Martin in the Fields, London, October 19, 1599. (I know little of what Family shee was; her Mother had a second Husband whose name was Denny) living in the Court where shee had opportunity of enjoying worldly delights extraordinary shee was dead to them, shee look'd wel to the wayes of her houshold, pray'd with them daily, catechis'd her children and brought them daily to publique ordinances.

Decemb. 10, 1623. They were married.

Jan. 27, Thursday, 1624. My sister Cicely was borne.

Feb. 23, Thursday, 1626. My sister Anne was borne.

Mar. 28, Saturday, 1629. My sister Katharine was borne.

Aug. 24, Wednesday, 1631. I was borne, in Whitehall, near

the staff of lord chamberlain, held before by his brother" (whom he succeeded also as fourth Earl of Pembroke, A.D. 1630), but was "deprived of it by Charles I. in 1641, on account of a quarrel with Lord Mowbray in the House of Lords." "It was fear that induced him to side with the Parliament;" "he gave himself up into the hands of Lord Say." In 1643 he was one of the twenty-two peers who attended Parliament. In 1644 the Earls of Pembroke and Salisbury were so totally without credit or interest in the Parliament or country, that it was no matter which way their inclinations or affections disposed them." "In 1647, though he had taken an oath to defend the privileges of the University of Oxford (of which he was chancellor), he suffered himself to be made a property in joining with Brent and Pryn, and two or three other Presbyterian ministers, in reforming its discipline and doctrine" (Clarendon).

the Garden-stayres before mentioned. The witnesses at my baptisme were, the Earl of Pembroke, Philip, who gave mee my name and was kind to mee to the Day of his Death. James Earle of Carlile. The Countesse of Salisbury.

July 22, Tuesday, 1634. My Brother John was borne.

Aug. 1, Munday, 1636. My Brother William was borne.

June 24, Sunday, 1638. My Brother John dyed.

Aug. 24, Friday, 1638. My Brother William dyed.

June 26, Friday, 1640. My sister Mary was borne.

Mar. 28, Munday, 1642. My sister Sarah was borne.

Mar. 6, Thursday, 1643. My deare mother dy'd of a consumption, betweene y^e howres of twelve & one in the morning, & lyes interred in Margaret Church, Westminster.

Note. Shee was a woman of extraordinary piety and prudence, a loving wife, a kind neighbour, a good Mother; the memory of her virtues remaynes exceeding deare & precious with all that were acquainted with her. My head is in Heaven & my Heart is in Heaven, tis but one step more & I shal bee there too, was her saying a little before her departure.

The first latin-school I went to was at St. Martins church under the teaching of one Mr. Bonner, who was very loving to mee, and took paynes with mee.

From thence I was remov'd for one summer to Battersey where I tabled at one Mr. Heyborns by ye water side and went to school to one Mr. Wells.

Thence to Westminster in the year 1643 where I was admitted in the 4th Form, under Mr. Tho. Vincent, who was usher there, the most able diligent School-Master that I ever knew; a while after I was taken to the upper-school under Mr. Richard Busby.

There was at that time and before a daily morning lecture at the Abbey betw. 7 & 8 a clock carry'd on by 7 worthy Ministers in course, Mr. Marschal, Mr. Palmer, Mr. Herl, Dr. Stanton, Mr. Nye, Mr. Whitaker, Mr. Hil; I was their constant hearer, at the request of my dear Mother to the Master who dispens'd with my absence from school that while, and wrote their sermons as wel as I could. Shee took mee also with her every Thursday to Mr. Tho. Case his lecture at St. Martin's Church, and every monthly Fast to St. Marg^ts Westm^r which was our Parish church

where preacht the ablest men of Engl^d before the then H. of Commons.

One remarkable deliverance I remember while I was at Westm^r School, which was this, lying in the Common-chamber there wee had a custom for one or two or more to sit up y^e former p^t of the night at study, and at 11 or 12 a clock to goe to bed and call others, and they others at 2 or 3, as they were desir'd. My desire was to bee cal'd at 12, and I was so, and being awak'd I desir'd my candle might bee lighted, and I would rise presently, but having stuck the candle to the Beds-head I lay down again and fell asleep, and the candle fel and burnt part of ye bed and bolster ere I awaked, but then having help wee soon quench'd it and I received no harm. The usual severities of the school I had but smal share of. Once, being Monitor of the Chamber, and being sent forth to seek one that play'd truant (twas Nath. Bul. afterwards a Master of Pauls school) I found him out where hee had hid hims. and at his earnest request promised I would say I could not find him, which I wickedly did ; the next morning being examin'd by Mr. Busby, where hee was and whether hee saw mee, hee sayd, yes, hee did, at which I wel remember Mr. Busby turn'd his eye towards mee and sayd *καί σὺ τέκνον* and whipt mee, which was the only time I felt the weight of his hand and I deserv'd it : Hee appointed mee also a Penitential copy of Latin verses w^{ch} I made and brought him and then hee gave mee six pence and received mee again into his Favor. April 14 (or yer.abouts) 1647. The Lord was graciously pleased to bring mee home effectually to himself by y^e meanes of my Schoole-master, Mr. Richard Busby * at the time of y^e solemne preparation for y^e Communion then observ'd. The Lord recompense it a thousand fold into his bosome. I hope I shal never forget. There had been Treatyes before between my soul and Jesus, with some weak overtures towards him, but then, then I think it was that the match was made.

In May that year,† I was chosen to Oxford with 4 others,

* There is a portrait by Riley in the hall of Christ Church, Oxford, of Dr. Busby with the young Philip Henry standing beside him. A partial copy of this is among the pictures at Westminster School.

† As the only records of the seventeenth century relative to Westminster School are the names of those elected to Oxford and Cambridge, it is only at that date—May, 1647—that “Philip Henry” occurs.

John Busby nephew to Mr. Busby, John Vincent, brother to Mr. Vincent, 2^d usher, John Carrick, and George Annesley, son to the Viscount Valentia, Brother to him who was afterwards Earl of Anglesey, and Lord Privy Seal. Of these I had the second place. Five more were chosen at the same time to Cambridge, Palmer, Wickham, Stone, Stacey, Chandler. The December following I went to Oxford, lay the first night in my journey at Maidenhead, where being a yong Traveller, never so far before on Horse-back, and riding hard for Company sake, I swoon'd and was much made of though by strangers; The next day, p.ting with them at Dorchester, whence 6 or 7 miles to Oxford, I was much concern'd that I must ride so far alone, and not knowing what to doe, it pleased God so to order it for mee that at the Townes-end I overtook Mr. Annesley and his man, whom I miss'd of at my setting forth from London, and had their company which I then and often since look'd upon as a great mercy though in a small matter.

ANNO DOMINI.

1647.

The Earle of Pembroke at my coming downe gave mee 10 pound, a seasonable mercy, in regard of some straits whereinto God in His Providence had brought my deare Father.

Decem. 15. I came to Oxford.

1648.

Mar. 24. I was admitted Student of y^e Colledge by Doct. Hammond,* then Sub-Deane, Dr. Fell, Deane & Vice-Chancellor.

Shortly after, was the Visitation by Authority of Parliam^t which changed the Face of the University,† many were turn'd out, that

* Dr. Henry Hammond called Philip Henry his god-brother, the Earl of Pembroke being his godfather also, and Prince Henry the other who gave him his name. He was afterwards Bishop-elect of Worcester, and died in April, 1660, just before the king came in.

† The sole question proposed to each person in every college that had any place of profit was this: "Will you submit to the power of Parliament in this present visitation?" Philip Henry's reply was, "I submit as far as I may with a safe conscience and without perjury." This answer, by the favour of the Earl of Pembroke, the chancellor, was accepted. See Clarendon, x. 123, showing that the action of the university at that time covered it with eternal renown.

refused to submit, and others put in their places,—Dr. Samuel Fel, the Dean removed, and Dr. Edw. Reynolds put in, also Dr. George Morley, and Dr. Rich. Gardiner and Dr. Morris and Dr. Sanderson, and Dr. Payn, besides Dr. Hammond and one more that were Canons turn'd out, only Dr. Wal spar'd ; There were then put into their places Dr. Henry Wilkinson, Mr. Cornish, Mr. Langley, Mr. Rogers, Mr. Button, Dr. Mills, Mr. Pocock.

Amongst other Student Masters remov'd, my Tutor Underwood was one, which was very ill for mee, for hee was an ingenuous person and a good scholar ; but I was put, by what meanes I know not, into the hands of one Mr. Wil. Finmore, who dy'd in the year 1686, Prebend of Chester, a person able enough, but not willing to imploy his abilityes for our good, that were committed to his charge. Only it pleas'd the Lord to give mee interest in the affections of a yong man, an Undergraduate then, being about two or three yeares my senior from Westminster, Mr. Richard Bryan, who took mee to bee his Chamber-fellow, who read to mee and over-look'd my studyes, and was an instrument of much good to mee.

1648-9.

At the later end of the year 1648 I had leave given mee to goe to london to see my Father, & during my stay there at that time at Whitehal it was that I saw the Beheading of King Charles the first ; He went by our door on Foot each day that hee was carry'd by water to Westminster, for hee took Barge at Gardenstayres where wee liv'd, & once hee spake to my Father & sayd Art thou alive yet ! On the day of his execution, which was Tuesday, Jan. 30, I stood amongst the crowd in the street before Whitehal gate, where the scaffold was erected, and saw what was done, but was not so near as to hear any thing. The Blow I saw given, & can truly say with a sad heart ; at the instant whereof, I remember wel, there was such a Grone by the Thousands then present, as I never heard before & desire I may never hear again. There was according to Order one Troop immediately marching *from-wards* charing-cross to Westm^r & another *from-wards* Westm^r to charing-cross purposely to masker the people, & to disperse & scatter them, so that I had much adoe amongst the rest to escape home without hurt.

1650.

Janu. 23. Philip,* earle of Pembroke, dyed.

1651.

Feb. 7. I was presented Batchelour of Arts in y^e University, and determined the lent following.

The Lord rayseed mee up Friends that helpt mee out in the expenses, a seasonable mercy.

May 8. Mr. John Owen † succeeded Dr. Reynolds in y^e Deanery of Ch. Ch. Dr. Reynolds remov'd for not taking the engagement.

Oct. 1. Having long through wicked company beene drawne aside from y^e practise of y^e power of Godlinesse, upon w^{ch} I once had entred, it pleas'd the Lord by his good spirit to bring mee home againe from my wanderings; Which when I seriously consider, both how hainous they were & of how long continu-

* The account given of this Earl of Pembroke by Clarendon shows that the times were too difficult for such a character as his. He died in 1650, and had then become, together with the Earl of Salisbury, a political nonentity. The contrast between his facile disposition and the strong principle of his second wife, Anne Clifford, must have been very marked. On the Countess's Pillar, near Penrith, is the following inscription:—"This pillar was erected anno 1656 by y^e hono^{ble} Anne, Countess Dowager of Pembroke &c. daughter and sole heire of y^e R^t Hono^{ble} George, Earl of Cumberland &c. for a memorial of her last parting in this place with her good and pious mother, y^e R^t Hono^{ble} Margaret Countess Dowager of Cumberland, y^e 2nd of April 1616. In memory whereof she also left an annuity of four pounds to be distributed to y^e poor within this parrish of Brougham, every 2nd day of April for ever upon y^e stone table here, hard by. Laus Deo." Anne Clifford married Richard Saville, Lord Buckhurst, afterwards third Earl of Dorset, who was born in 1589, and died in 1624. Two daughters alone survived, of whom one married the Earl of Northampton, the other (Margaret, who eventually inherited the Clifford estates) John, Lord Tufton. By her marriage in 1630 with Philip, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, Anne Clifford had two sons, who died young. From 1650 she remained a widow for twenty-five years, living upon her estates in Westmorland, and repairing her five castles, Brougham, Appleby, Brough, Pendragon, and Skipton. Her message to the Mayor of Appleby, who was bringing forward a member for that borough without consulting her, is said to have been as follows:—"I have been bullied by an usurper, and neglected by a court, but I won't be dictated to by a subject: your man shan't stand." She died March 23, 1675; a good woman in a bad age.

† On July 9, 1654, Evelyn, who had heard Dr. French preach at St. Mary's, Oxford, in the morning, notes, "In the afternoone, the famous Independent, Dr. Owen, perstringing Episcopacy. He was now Cromwell's Vice-Chancellor."

ence, I am sometimes ready to doubt, whether the former work were saving yea or no this I hope was, through grace.

Oct. 5. Being at London I receiv'd the Sacrament, though amidst many distractions yet I blesse God, much to y^e establishm^t of my late-broken bonds, at Martin's in y^e Fields. Mr. Sangar, Minister.

1652.

Feb. 28. My deare Father, Mr. John Henry, dyed at his house in White-hall. A very great affliction, both to mys^e and sisters, especially y^e two little ones. The Lord provide for us.*

June 8. Being in great straits it pleased y^e Lord to move y^e heart of y^e young Earle of Pembroke,† who bestowed upon me y^e summe of 10 pounds, a seasonable mercy.

Decem. 10. I proceeded M^r of Arts.

1653.

Janu. 9. I preacht my first Sermon ‡ at South-Hincsey in Oxford-shire, the Text, *John* 8. 34. The Lord make use of mee as an instrument of His glory and His Churches good in that calling.

July 9. I supply'd the Office of Junior of y^e Act. Dr. Owen, Vice-chancelour.

* From this it might seem that he kept an occasional diary while at Oxford.

† Philip, who succeeded as fifth Earl of Pembroke in 1650, was fourth son of Philip, the fourth earl, by his first wife Susan, daughter of Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford, married in 1604. He also was married twice, and his successor, William, sixth earl, was the son by his first wife Penelope, sole daughter and heir of Sir Robert Naunton, Kt., Secretary of State to King James I., a widow. Clarendon says of the fifth earl, "This young Earl's affections were entire for His Majesty." Pepys says (May 4, 1660) that "he and Lord Salisbury were put out of the House of Lords," with other interesting notices of him. He died in 1669.

‡ "The irregularity of preaching before ordination was only tolerated by the Presbyterians so far as trial was concerned; Calvin ('Institut.,' iv. 4, 13) is express that the priest shall be elected by the people before he is ordained. The election required some acquaintance with the candidate's merits: hence the irregularities in the Bury Classis of which Walker ('Sufferings of the Clergy,' p. 39) gives so singular an account, where ten unordained ministers, being distributed to 'try their faculties,' were forgotten and preached for years" (Introduction to Newcome's Diary, p. vii.).

Mr. Ward of Ch. Ch. my Friend }
 Mr. Gorge of Saint John's } Procto^{rs}.

I received for it betweene 8 and 9th. Another seasonable mercy.

Sept. 30. By the meanes of Mr. Frances Palmer* I came to Emerall in Flint-shire, to Judge Puleston,† to teach his sons and to preach at Worthenbury. Stipend 60^{lb}. p. annu.

The lord be with mee there !

Decem^r 30,) My sister Cicely was married to Mr. John Dickins,
 or y^eabouts.) of Twitnam neere London.

1654.

June 3.—The lady Puleston ‡ and her 5 sons came to Oxford, the two eldest under my charge in the Colledge.

July. I p.form'd y^e office of Magister Replicans.

Dr. Owen vice-chancellour.

Mr. Cracroft, of Magd. }
 Mr. Charnock, of New Coll. } Procto^{rs}.

Sept. 27. I saw my sisters and Friends at london.

* In the Oxford "Ten Year Book" this name occurred, as of Christ Church in 1660, and Professor of Moral Philosophy.

† The Salop family of De Pyvelesdon received lands in Worthenbury, and especially the demesne of Emral, from King Edward I., which they resigned into his hands, A.D. 1279. He bestowed them upon Robert de Creveccœur, who held them till his death in 1317 (Kals. of Exchequer). It is probable, however, that they recovered Emral in 1309. John Puleston was made Justice of the Common Pleas after the execution of King Charles I. in 1649. In Foss's "Judges of England," his mother is said to have been Alice, daughter of David Lewis, of Bulcot, Oxon. There are references to Dugd., "Orig.," 220; to Clarendon, iii. 407; to Whitelock, 342, 405; and "State Trials," iv. 1249. Foss has some strong words about his want of justice and humanity. He was the grandson of George Puleston, of Emral, Esq., who was baptized at Hammer Church, September 30, 1572.

‡ This lady's name was Elizabeth Wolryche, of Dudmaston, Salop. Foss says she was daughter of Sir J. W., but as there is frequent reference to her "sister Grey," viz. Mary, daughter of Sir Francis Wolryche, Bart., and wife of Henry Grey of Enfield, who was grandson of Lord Grey of Groby, she was perhaps the Elizabeth who married for her first husband George Grey, third son of Henry, first Earl of Stamford. This, however, is uncertain; and since in the Wolryche pedigree to hand there is no mention of an Eleanor who was at Emral in 1644, when it was attacked by the Royalists, Lady Puleston and "sister Grey" may have been cousins.

Oct. 21. My sister Mary came to dwell wth mee at the lady Pulestons.

Nov. 22. Mr. John Puleston sickned of y^e small-poxe, his danger very great, but God in mercy restor'd him. A signall Answer of prayers. Wee were then at Oxford.

1655.

Jan. 1. Sister Mary came first to live at Emeral.

In this month, Thomas Perkins, was (I hope) savingly brought home to God. The Lord make mee faithful and succesfull! however faithful. This Thomas Perkins hath since Apostatiz'd. the lord knows them that are his.

Feb. 21. I preacht at Wrexham. T. I Cor. vi. 11.

Mar. 25. Being surpris'd with a Distemper, a violent cold, long breeding and supposing it a Pleurisy, I was let bloud, the first time I lost three ounces, 12 hours after I swoon'd.

Apr. 22. I went abroad and preacht twice, blessed bee God.

June 25. I went towards Oxford, after three weeks I returned, The lord was with mee.

I left Mr. John Puleston under y^e Tuition of Mr. Esay Ward. O y^t God would blesse him indeed!

Sept. 11. Deare Mr. Ambrose Lewis and myselfe made entrance upon a monthly exercise at Worthenbury, The Lord owne it.

Wee were evill spoken of by some, as if by-ends were in it in ref. to Mr. Fogg, but the Searcher of Hearts knowes there were none. About this time the Brick barn at Emeral was finisht.

Oct. 6. The Judge made a Settlement of £100 p. Ann. during my stay at Worthenbury. Lord, I seek not their's but them—give mee the soules, let who'se will take the Goods to themselves.

O that God would adde some Seales to my Ministry, that I may know I am sent of God!

Oct. 23. The lady Puleston set forward towards London for advice concern. a sore Breast. At her returne shee brought my sister Sarah along with her.

Nov. 6. The Judge, the lady, & their son Roger being all gone to london, I was left alone at Emeral.

Nov. 14. I began a monthly exercise at Elsmere, they & Holt* are both destitute of a faithful Pastor.

Nov. 27.—A day of secret Fasting and humbling my Soule for Sin, my God accept mee in Christ.

Many special requests were put up in behalfe of Sundry deare Relations. The lord from heaven give in an Answer of Peace.

Decemb. About this time hopes were given of a saving change wrought in Mr. Tho. Puleston the Judge's fourth son.

The Lord perfect the work in mercy!

Hee hath since wofully miscarry'd and is become the saddest instance of Apostacy, that ever I knew, wee judge according to appearance but y^e lord judges righteous Judgem^t.

1656.

Jan. 1. I mett in communion with the Lord's people in Holt. The day was mostly spent in prayr many requests put up, the lord give in an answer of peace.

Jan. 6. One Edward Robert Ralph, a Tenant of Judge Puleston's fell off Bangor-Bridge, and was drown'd; He was drunk and 'twas the lord's day. ô! shall men heare and feare?

Feb. 5. About this time I began Communion with the lord's people at Hanmer in monthly conference and monthly humiliation. I dreamt I was condemn'd to bee crucify'd & in order thereunto had a crosse upon my shoulder in my way to execution with a bible tyed to the end of it. lord fit for tryals.

Feb. In our Parish of Worthenbury, there was this observable Providence. At y^e Beginning of the month, Mr. John Broughton † dyed, aged 70 y. About the middle, a son of Randle Meredith's aged about 30. Towards the end a child of Mr. Lloyd † of Halghton, aged 14 months. I see no age secures from the stroke of Death; hee comes sometimes at midnight; sometimes at noon, sometimes at Cock-Crowing. Lord, fit us for our change.

* There is a letter, without date, upon this subject, addressed by Philip Henry to a friend in Oxford, supposed to be Dr. Owen.

† Broughton of Broughton in Worthenbury, and Lloyd of Halghton in Hanmer, were two ancient families, descended from Tudor Trevor, a chieftain who owned the whole of English Maelor in 930.

Roger Puleston, son of Roger Puleston, of Worthenbury was admitted Student of Ch. Ch. Oxon. The Judge and his lady writt to Dr. Owen in his behalfe, but I desire to look through Instum^{ts} up to God, who *proides* for those that feare his name, as I hope hee doth.

March. I went to Enfield in Stafford-shire, where the lady and my two sisters were. Shortly after my returne, Ap^r 11, I fell sick of a Burning Ague, which held mee severall dayes in great extremity, but the lord had mercy, to him be Prayse!—A letter lost, an afflicting providence.

Apr. 22. Richard Puleston, the Judges third son dyed at Emeral of the small Pockes, his mother being then absent at Enfield, lord sanctify the stroke to her and the whole family! 27. the lady came from Enfield, shee brought with her my sister Sarah.

May. I bought a study of Bookes of Mrs. Lewis of Estlas in Denbigh-shire, it cost £10.

June. Great Breaches between Mr. Roger Puleston and his mother, Lord heale them! for because thereof the Family shakes.

Wee began a Day of Conference to bee kept up for edification, lord, set in with thy blessing.

July. Uncleanesse discovered between two of the servants of the Family, the one turn'd away before, the other still in the house, lord bring the offenders to repentance, that their soules may bee sav'd in the day of the lord Jesus, and through the Blood of Christ, let Guilt bee wip't off from the Family. Amen! so be it, good lord!

Mr. John Puleston left the Colledge and came home to his Friends, Our God season his heart with Grace.

Sept. 16. R. P. assaulted mee in wrath, wherby my unruly passions being stir'd I strook againe and hurt his face, against the command of our lord Jesus, w^{ch} requires the turning of the other cheek, the occasion was, zeale for God, though in circumstances ill manag'd lord, lay no sin to either of o^r charge. The day following I preacht at Wrexham.

Oct. My chamber took fire, the Hearth of y^e chimney* being

* The front of Emral seems of the date of Queen Anne; the side next the

ill layd, but the lord in mercy prevented the danger. Blessed bee God !

Nov. 24. Mr. Fogg* said to mee, that hee was Minister of Worthenbury, lord, what shall I doe? cleare to mee what the way is wherein thou would'st have mee to walk & cause mee to walk in it !

As to the state of my Soule, this yeare now ending, and the yeare before, my sins and failings have been many, even against Convictions and Covenants, wherby my conscience hath been much wounded, and my Peace often broken and my Christ and the spirit griev'd, and my Ministry hindred, but the lord hath recover'd mee by Repentance, and I trust, through the blood of Christ they are all pardon'd, and shall never bee remembered more, Amen, lord ! for sweet Jesus sake ! I think never did poore creature passe through such a mixture of Hope and feare, Joy and Sadness, Assurance and Doubting, downe and up, as I have done for these two last yeares, and still I wayt, that I may see, what the lord may doe with mee. My Foot is taken in a snare, lord save mee for thy mercy sake.

As to my labours in the Ministry, I have had much assistance, to him that gave it I returne Prayse, Not unto mee lord !—and for successe, the lord hath given mee a willing people, and I hope there is more seed under the clods then yet appears, the Harvest will come, whether I live to bee the Reaper or not, The will of the lord be done !

moat, where the principal rooms are, is Elizabethan. At Sundorne Castle, Salop, there is a picture of a house, supposed to be Emral, with a west frontage considerably longer than that of the present house.

* The arms of Fogg are given in the Salesbury manuscripts at Wynnstay. See "Annals of Windsor," vol. ii. pp. 169, 170, by Tighe and Davis (London, 1858, 8vo): "On the 23rd of October, 1642, according to Ashmole, Sir John Seyton having that day seized on Windsor Castle for the Parliament, one Captain Fog came immediately to the College and demanded the keys of the Treasury, but not finding the 3 Key-Keepers, he caused a smith to make strong bars of iron, who with them brake down the stone jambs, forced open 2 doors, and carried thence all the rich chased and other plate made sacred and set apart for the service of God: except two double gilt chalices weighing 62 ounces, and two double gilt Flagons weighing 98 ounces one half." Ashmole ("Order of Garter") also states (p. 149) that "Edward IV.'s coat of mail, richly gilt, covered over with crimson velvet &c. was carried away by Captain Fogg one of the officers of the Parliamentary forces, on Oct. 23, 1642."

A volume published by the University of Oxford upon the peace concluded with Holland in 1654, contains the following verses by Philip Henry. The title of the volume referred to is thus expressed: "Musarum Oxoniensium Ἐλαιοφορία, sive, ob fœdera auspiciis Serenissimi Oliveri Reipub. Aug. Scot. et Hiber. Domini Protectoris inter Rempub. Britannicam et Ordines Fœderatos Belgii feliciter stabilita, Gentis togatæ ad vada Isidis Celeusma Metricum. Oxoniæ excudebat Leonardus Lichfield, Academiae Typographus: 1654."

"Noli timere Musa! quid trepido pede
 Seazontis instar claudicas?
 I, pende ventis carbasa et totos sinus;
 Tranquilla jam sunt omnia,
 Nulli tumultus, nullus hostium furor,
 Pax undique, et mare liberum est:
 Mercator avidus, dum silentium videt
 Serenioris Æquoris,
 Se somniare putat, et haud credit sibi,
 Sollicitus et plenus metu
 Ne forte fallax error aut evanidæ
 Felicitatis umbra sit;
 Gemmas, Smaragdos, orbis alterius opes,
 Nunc ultro securus petit,
 Et post tot annorum otia, laboris sui
 Majora sperat præmia,
 Sperat, coloni more Messem duplicem
 Post sic peractas ferias.
 Toto Britannos orbe divisos adhuc
 Tandem coire vidimus
 Terrasque pelago separatas arctior
 Compensat animorum unis;
 Et quam negant Terra, juncturam facit
 Melior Amoris Copula,
 Bellique lites nuperi (bono omine)
 Pacis redintegratio est.

PHILIP HENRY, A.M. ex Æde Christi."

At this point it will be necessary to insert some other documents in order to show the ecclesiastical position of

Worthenbury at that time, and thus to explain how the benevolent designs of Judge Puleston towards Philip Henry were eventually frustrated. The small piece of Flintshire which lies to the east of the Dee was made part of that county, A.D. 1284. During Saxon times it had been divided between Salop and Cheshire, as Domesday Book shows. But the name by which it was known to the Welsh was Maelor Saesneg, or English Maelor. That name it retains to the present day. The word Maclawr means a place of traffic, and there was a district of undefined extent upon the west side of Dee that was called Maelor Cymraeg (Welsh). Upon an island in the river Dee, but with some principal buildings also upon the right bank of the river, lay the ancient Bancornbury, as St. Bede calls it, known generally as Bangor-is-y-coed (the high choir under the trees) or Bangor Monachorum. This was the British Oxford, and from thence Christianity flowed forth far and near. We are told in Domesday Book that in the reign of Edward the Confessor, and before then, it formed part of the see of Lichfield. It is probable that this eastward inclination of Maelor Saesneg is in accordance with historic precedent, for although critics will not allow us to speak any longer of Britannia Secunda, yet from the fact that the "Cornavii of Ptolemy possessed that detached region which adjoins the village of Banchor, all Cheshire, all Shropshire, etc.," we may see that its being made a part of the county of Flint in 1284, and added—with the exception of two districts—to St. Asaph diocese in 1849, was not historically justifiable. It is true that the bulk of the people were of British origin, and spoke Welsh, perhaps, till the reign of Henry VIII., but that would not prove them to be of the same descent as those on the west side of the Dee; and from Wales being much of a *noverca* to Maelor Saesneg, and the inhabitants of the latter indignantly repudiating any Welsh ancestry, it may at least

be surmised that they came of a different strain. In the year 1288 Pope Nicholas V. granted the tenths to King Edward I. for six years, towards defraying the expenses of an expedition to the Holy Land. Within the deanery of Wyc Mauban and Brexins occur the churches of Malus Passus, Tilleston, Codynton, Totenhale, Aldeforde, Hamēme, Bankeburn-cum-capella. Whether the capella was Worthenbury or Overton does not appear. At the Reformation Maelor Saesneg became part of the new diocese of Chester. In the valuation of benefices, A.D. 1600, there are only two parishes in Bangor deanery, Bangor and Hanmer; and in 1635 Bishop John Bridgeman of Chester gives George Snell, Archdeacon of Chester, authority over the rural deans of Frodsham, Bangor, Malpas, Middle-wich, and Wich Malban. With respect to the advowson of the rectory of Bangor, it belonged generally to the superior lord of the soil. In 1270 this was Gruffudd Maelor, Prince of Powys, and a sum of money was allowed out of the revenues of the living towards the education of the youngest son, Owain, who was about to take Holy Orders, and to be inducted into the living. He died, however, and the Powys estates being alienated by King Edward I., we find the same process repeated with respect to a son of the Lord St. John. In the diocesan registers at Lichfield, under date 20 April, 29 Edward I., there is "a sequestration of the profits of Bangor Parsonage, that of the same the cure might be discharged, and mayntenance given to William, son of John Lord St. John, to bring him up in study, who could not yet be fully admitted to that church, because of his non-age." Upon the death of William St. John, 18 Edward II., the king presents to the living. In 3 Edward III. there is also a vacancy, but it does not appear this time who it was that nominated. From that date, however, till 1653, or soon after, the presentation was in the hands of the

Lestranges, or their successors, the Stanleys. It was then made over, with the manorial rights of the western parts of the English Maclor, to the ancient family of Lloyd of Halghton. At the same time Sir Thomas Hanmer purchased from the Countess of Derby the lordship of the parish of Hanmer, and it is probably owing to this circumstance that the Commissioners were uncertain whether or not he had a share in the patronage of the living of Bangor. From the following papers it will be seen that there had been a long-standing feud between the Emral family and the rectors of Bangor, which was in no way diminished when the incumbent was a Presbyterian. Judge Puleston having secured the consent of Mr. Lloyd, the patron of Bangor, to his exercising the right of nomination to the chapelry of Worthenbury, and finding his hands much strengthened by the report of the Commission, which had been issued doubtless at his instance, thereupon built a house for the Incumbent of Worthenbury, and settled £100 per annum upon him. The way in which his claims were met at an earlier date, when Bishop John Bridgeman of Chester held also the rectory of Bangor, will show the difficulties of the case. We shall find Philip Henry afterwards expressing great doubt as to his own legal position at Worthenbury.

Puleston.

This Ondenture made the foureteenth day of March in the yeare of our Lord one thousand six hundred fifty & eight Betweene Thomas Loyde of Halghton in the County of fflynt Esq^e of the one part and John Puleston of Emrall in the said County of fflynt Serjeant att Law of the other part. Witnesseth that the said Thomas Lloyd for divors good consideracons him thereunto moveing hath granted released and confirmed, and by these presents doth grant release and confirme unto the said

John Puleston All the Adwowson and right of patronage of the Parish Church of Worthenbury in the said County of fflynt To have and to hold the said Adwowson and right of patronage of the said Church of Worthenbury to the said John Puleston his heires and assignes forever To the onely use & behoofe of the said John Puleston his heires & assignes for ever, In Witnesse whereof the parties above named have to these presents interchangably put their hands and seales the day and yeare first above written.

Sealed and Delived

in the presence of

GRIFFITH JONES

THOMAS BECKETT

JOHN HOLLIMAN.

To the Sheriffs of the County of fflint.

Whereas wee, and others are appoynted and Authorized by a Comi^{co}n out of the High Courte of Chancery dated the 18th of february 1657, To enquire by the Oathes of good, and lawfull men of the County of fflint (amongst other things) how many chappells are belonging to the Parish Church of Bangor and wh^{ch} are fitt to bee united or divided from the saide Parish Church of Bangor and how the said Church and Chappells are supplied with preachinge Ministers, that course may bee taken both for preachinge and mainten^{nce} where it shall bee needefull. Wee therefore intendinge to execute the said comi^{co}n accordinge to the tenor thereof doe appoynt Monday the Nineteenth day of Aprill next at the dwellinge house of Robert ap Prichard in Bangor in the County of fflint to meete and pceede in th' execu^{co}n of the said Comi^{co}n. Wee therefore by virtue of the said Comi^{co}n require & comand you the Sheriffe of the County of fflint that upon the said 19th day of Aprill next by eight of the Clocke in the morninge at the dwellinge house of Robert ap Prichard aforesaid you cause to come before us such and as many honest and able men of yo^r Bayliewick (as well within liberties as without) by whom the truth in the p^rmisses may be

knowne and enquired of. In wittnes whereof we have hereunto put our hands and Seales.

JOHN BROUGHTON



OWEN BARTON



RICHARD BASNET



ROGER PULESTON



OW. LLOYD



The execution of this precept appears in a certain Schedule to this writ annexed.

RA: HUGHES Esq^r,
Sherriffe.

THE NAMES OF THE JURY TO INQUIRE FOR HIS HIGHNESS THE
LORD P.TECTOR TOUCHING ECCLESIASTICALL P.MOTIONS.

Andrew Ellise of Hanmer gent
Thomas ap John of Beachfield g
Edward Kinaston of the same g
Thomas Young of Croxon g fn:
John Aldersey of Bronington g fn:
Thomas Jackson of the same g
Randle Edowe of Iscoed gen
Edward Palyn of Haulghton g fn:
Randle Key of Willington g
John Mathewes of the same g fn:
Randle Moyle of Worthenbury g fn:
Edward Tona of Bangor g
John Lewis of the same g fn:
John ap Wm ap Edd of the same g
John Price of Overton fforren g fn:
Humfrey Shone of the same g fn:
Humfrey Rob^{te} of the same g fn:

They further find that in the said Parish of Worthembury there is, and by all the tyme whereof the memory of man is not to the contrary hath beene an Ancient Chappell annexed to the pish church of Bangor, and that the said John Puleston and all those whose Estate hee hath in the said Mefsuage of Emerall and p^rmisses have had and enjoyed the tyeth corne groweing within the said pish of Worthembury payeing yearly for the same 20^{li} to the Parsons of Bangor, for the tyme beinge as in right of the said Chappell The said Tyeths being ordinaryly worth 60^{li} by the year.

“This is drawn through
and the following written
{ ‘That Rob^t flogg is y^e
minister of Bangor by
the sequestraçõ of Mr.
H. B. & preaches &
officiates there.’”

“They likewise find that Mr. Henry Bridgman is p^rson of Bangor, and that Robert flogg Clerke doth serve the Cure and take the Tyeths of Bangour to his own use by seques- traçõ for the delinquencie of Mr. Henry Bridgman.”

They find that the Tyeths of the p^rsonage of Bangor are worth 150^{li} by the year.*

They find that the church of Worthembury and the chappell in Worthembury are distant two myles from the church of Bangor. And that the chappell of Worthembury is distant from the pish Church of Worthembury about a myle.

They likewise say that the Chappell in Worthembury hath cure of soules : and that the p^rsons of Bangor for ought they can find have not p^rformed any divine service there.

They also find That Thomas LLoyde Esq^r (*sic*) is Patron of the Church of Bangor and the Chappell in Worthemburye thereunto annexed. And that John Puleston Sergeant at Law is Patron of the Donative Church of Worthembury. And the Jurors further say that they hold it fitt that the said Chappell in Worthembury, and the said pençõ of 20^{li} by the year should bee se^v.ed, and taken from the said Parsonage of Bangor, and bee settled to the Parish Church of Worthembury in the same manner as they were settled and annexed to Bangor.

And the said Jurors say that they doe not know of any

* *Vide infra*, where they are said to be worth £200 per annum exclusive of Overton, which was of the value of £120.

spirituall or ecclesiasticall benefices, liveings, and Donatives with or without the Cure of Soules within the said Parish of Bangor, or the Limits thereof. Neyther have they any Evidence given them of any other Ecclesiasticall benefices.

The case concerning the Parish Church of Worthenbury and the Chapellry of Emerall truly stated.

John Puleston, Sergeant at law is seised of an ancient Mansion House called Emerall, within the Parish of Worthenbury, and that hee and all those whose Estate hee hath in the said Mansion House have, for all the tyme whereof the memory of man is not to the contrary, collated a fitt Parson to the said church and that the Parsons soe collated have, for all the tyme aforesaid, received and enjoyed all the tyeth hay, and all the small tyeths yearly growing within the bounds and precincts of the said parish, the value whereof is not much more than 20£ per annum. There is likewise within the said Parish an auncient Chappell belonging to the said Mansion house of Emerall, which Chappell is anexed to the Parson of Bangor and that for tyme out of mynde, the said Parson hath received 20£ per annum from the said John Puleston and his Predecessors for the tyeth corne of the Parish of Worthenbury, and for the performeing of Divine service in the said Chappell—which service the Incumbent never performed. The Parsonage of Bangor is worth 200£ per annum and hath anexed to it the Parish Church of Owton, worth 120£ per annum. The desire of the said Mr. Puleston is that the said Chapellry might be reunited to the Parish Church of Worthenbury out of which it was taken, and that the Tyeths worth 40£ [?] may be granted and united to the Parson of the Parish Church of Worthenbury and his successors, and that 200£ formerly paid to the Parish of Bangor may be extinguished, and that a certayne close called the Coate or . . . in Worthenbury being the Inheritance of the said John Puleston may likewise be settled to the Parson of the said Parish Church of Worthenbury, and his successors for ever, upon which the said John Puleston intends to build all necessary houses for the accomodacon of the said Parson and his successors.

JOHN PULESTON.

An exemplification of a verdict dated the 16th of January in the 16th (or 10th) year of King James for John Puleston Esq. against Prichard Minister of Bangor.

Another exemplification of a verdict dated the 16th of January in the 15th year of King James betwixt the same partys for takeing the tyeths of Corne in Worthenbury.

The other papers contain the answers to John Puleston, Wm. Phillips, Thos. Phillips, Edward ap David, John Allarte to a bill of complainte apparently filed by John Bishop of Chester or by Thomas Prichard, Curate of Bangor in his own court respecting the tithes of hay in the Pitties, the two Llanvarreds, and the Tallarne Pasture, and the Bishop's replication to the same. The Bishop's reply maintains that the statements in his bill of complaint are true, *denies that there is a Manor of Emerall, except in name*, denies the custom alleged, saying that the Tythe was sometimes paid in kind, sometimes sold for different sums of money.

A copy of an instrument dated 1683 from John Bishop of Chester and Thos. Lloyd patron of the Rectory of Bangor for the annexing the House, Gleab land tithes lying and arising in the Parish and Township of Worthenbury to the Rector there.

19th Sept. 1653.

COSIN PALMER,

Ye Messeng^r w^{ch} brought mee a lett^r fro y^m brought y^e judg one also fro his Nephew, Mr. Hamlet Puleston. But no motio of a Schoolm^r. However I rely so much on y^r choice of y^e gent^{lm} pposed, y^t thers' no need to trouble Mr. H. Puleston. I am content to abate one of y^e sermons, hoping hee will pray in y^e family, instead thereof, w^{ch} is so easy to a Christian y^t hee 's rather lead than drawn therto, and if y^e expositions of Chapters or Psalmes bee easier to him then preaching, I shal like it (as ever I have done) bett^r than y^e other. Im' confident wee shall not differ heerin ffor I shall eyther wait ffor y^e guifts and calling of God in him, (w^{ch} are wthout repentance) or wholly indulg him ffor y^e fformalities of preaching, praying, &c.—as some use y^m. please to send him away ffor y^e half year ffor y^e time hee comes till 26 weekes be

compleat : his allowance shall be half y^e revenue pposd, and other accomodations mentiond formerly. This time of probatio will conclude us eyther on a ffarther time, or repaying to Oxford at Spring. . . . Please to keep y^e letter . . . as an evidence of our bargain. I have delivered y^e Bearer 5*£* ffor y^e Gentleman in part of y^e first quarteridg. What y^e charge of y^e journey takes out of it I will supply at y^e quarters end when I pay y^e rest to make out 15*£*. I have sent a horse and a ffootman to wait on him hither. Mr. Roberts is grown a worthy Christian and I greatly value him. if y^u have a mind to see what works God hath done in him, y^u shall finde him at one Mr. Courtneys Lodging in Milbanck neer Tuttle-Fields. God can do as much ffor Mr. Henry y^u know. I pray y^u hasten him hyther. If pleas God to give success to y^{es} endeavours I shal bee glad. I wish y^e Gentlemⁿ to take his journey on Fryday, and rest at my Sister Grayes on Lord's day so hee may bee at Emral on Munday night. I desire a good-journey, ffrancis Palmer (Juni. and Tremeli.) notes upo y^e Bible I desire y^u to send mee, & y^e Bible in Greek w^{ch} y^r learned ffrinds, Septuagint, translated ffor Ptolomy.

| | |
|--|--|
| I thank y ^u ffor y ^r respect and shall ever rest | |
| To my much respected | Y ^r welwishing Cosin, |
| Kinsman Mr. Francis Palmer | ELIZABETH PULESTON. |
| a Master of Arts | If y ^u will come to see how |
| at Christ's Church in Oxford | wee thrive y ^u shal bee wel- |
| or in his absence to one Mr. Henry | come. My Roger Puleston |
| Master of Art & of y ^e same House. | love to y ^u & so y ^e rest. |

The following letter from Lady Puleston shows plainly what Philip Henry gave up by leaving Oxford, and taking up with such work as he found at Emral and Worthenbury. The reply from Dr. Owen is also given.

From Lady Puleston to Dr. Owen, Dean of Christ Church,
Oxford.

MY MUCH HONORED COSIN,

I was in hopes I should have seen you here as you purposed the last Spring, and am very sorry it fell out otherwise ;

it hath pleased the lord to lay mee low under his hand, by much payn and many months sicknesse from a Cancer in my Breast, and I am wayting every day till my change cometh, but if we meet no more on earth, I hope wee shall in the Armes of Jesus Christ. There is a Friend of mine whose name is Edward Thomas of Wrexham, who brings his son to your Colledge, and I request you to countenance him with your Favour, the youth is very hopefull both in learning and Grace, and his Father an ancient Professor of Godlinesse in these parts, and one of approv'd Integrity, and I know, Sir, that such and what concernes them lyes near your Heart upon far greater and better interests then mine, and I persuade my selfe, what your opportunityes will permitt you to doe in his behalfe, you will receive a full recompence of reward for from him, who hath promis'd to requite even a cup of cold water given in the name of a Disciple. Mr. H. is here with mee, what my Husband intends concerning him is not yet settled, but I hope shortly it will bee, in the mean time I am loth hee should leave a certainty in the Colledge for an uncertainty here, and doe therefore desire you to continue his Place to him for a while longer, that seeing the lord hath made him willing to lay out himselfe in the work of the Gospel so far remote from his Friends in this poor dark corner of the land, hee may not in any thing bee prejudic'd for our Sakes. My husband is at London or in his way home, wee and our's are much engag'd to you for your love, and I should have beene very Glad if it might have fallen within the compasse of my Abilityes to make known other then by words my sense of your many Kindnesses; but 'tis the lords will I should dye your Debtor; With my true unfayned respects and service to your lady and Selfe,

I rest

Your affectionate Cosin & Friend,

E. P.

To Lady Puleston wife of John P. one of y^e Judges of
y^e Common Pleas.

Madam.

Whilst I was in hopes to have waited upon you, and your worthy husband, at your owne house, I reservd my begginge

of your pardon, that I had not made my acknowledgements of y^r favour, in owning and minding a relation of kindred, and sundry other respects, unto that season. Being by the providence of God prevented as to those resolutions, I am bold to lay hold on this opportunity, of returning my hearty thanks for your kind remembrances of him, who is in no way able to deserve your respects, though he will at all times owne as hearty and entire an honor and regard to y^r Lad^p & your noble husband as any person living, I hope you both, with my Cousins your sons, are in health; and are resolved, (if y^e lord please) to see you at y^e beginning of the Springe, my wife presents her faithfull service and respects to your Lady^p and is glad to hear of your name, for my part, it is some contentment to me, that whilst I am in this place, I have some little opportunity to express a regard to that relation you are pleased to allow me the honor of, by taking the best care I can of him, who bears the name of your family, my young cousin Puleston & humbly begg y^r pardon of this trouble, and leave to subscribe myself

Madam,

y^r most humble servant

My most humble service

and affectionate kinsman

& respects to w^{ch} many thanks

JOHN OWEN.

for his kind invitation, to

Your worthy husband.

The following diary belongs to Miss Lewis, of Croydon, to whom my best thanks are due for the loan of it, and of other manuscripts.

1657.

This was the first yeare in which I began to keep an Account of my Time in this method. If the Lord blesse mee I meane to hold on, and I hope Use will make mee more and more perfect in it, 'tis a pleasing, profitable, heavenly Art.

ô Deus, Doce me numerare dies meos.

The Day of a Deliverance is to bee remembered, and God takes it ill when wee doe not remember it. See *Psal.* 78. 42.

If I am a Reprobate I shall bee damn'd But I am not a Reprobate ergo, negatur minor thou canst not prove it, the Book is kept secret. Though the Godly may by their calling know their Election, yet none can know in this life their Reprobation.

Mr. Ball the Preacher's sons, when y^et left the University and came forth to preach, kept a day of Humiliation with their godly freinds in the Country, to implore mercy for their University sins, so, lord, forgive mee my University sins!

I was told of a Godly, faithfull minister of whom the Drunkards made songs, if I doe my Duty, I must look for the same.

A Gentleman was wont to repell temptation with this word *I am Baptiz'd.*

When a fire is first kindled there's a great deale of smoke and smother that afterw. weares away. So in young Converts, much peevishnesse, frowardnesse, Darknesse. So it hath beene with my soule, and so it is yet in great measure. lord, pity! don't quench smoking flax, though as yet it doe but smoke.

A tree cut up by y^e roots yet may have the leaves green upon it a great while. So a people or person devoted by God to ruine may yet retaine many of their outward comforts for a time, but y^et are withering. Saul though rejected obtayn'd many victories.

Luther was a man of a very hot fiery spirit, suteable to the work hee was called out to.

Melancthon was more Slow and moderate and remisse, which very much temper'd luther's Zeale.

B^p Jewell a little before his Death, sang the 71st Psalm.

Dr. Willett y^e 146. hee dyed of a Fall from off his horse.

Dan. Rogers a man eminently Godly yet somet. would bee very vaine and light as if no grace at all in his heart.

Quer. A man makes a vow, upon his Daughter's marriage against his will, never to leave her any thing of his estate. His Daughter afterw. behaves hers. so as to recover his Favour, is hee or may hee bee releas't of his Vow?

Quer. A Gentlewoman having strong affections towards one, and earnestly desiring him for her husband, suffers y^e fire to burne inward and conceales her love. Shortly after, being sick, shee makes a Vow, never to entertayne such thoughts any more; it pleases God, shee recovers and notwithstanding all endeavours

wth hers. to the contrary, her affections stir againe, being made knowne to y^e Party, hee inclines to have her, *quærie*, may they marry without Breach of vow.

the Gentlewoman is under y^e Government of her Mother, being alive.

Quær. whether it bee lawfull in triviall matters to cast lots.

Quær. what am I to doe, if I receive brasse money and know not of whom, may I put it off if I can to others, or must I suffer losse by it?—Suffer.

Quær. Concerning Private Baptism.

Quær. Concerning Preaching on Christmas-day.

Three things, which if X^{tians} doe, they may prove mistaken—

1. if they look for that in thems. which is to bee had in another. *viz. Rightousnes.*
2. if they look for that in the law w^{ch} is to be had only in y^e Gospel. *viz. Mercy.*
3. if they look for that on earth w^{ch} is to bee only in Heaven. *viz. Perfection.*

Carnall Gospellers are Gospel-Spillers.—*Bolton.*

Non videtur Adam pecâsse in Bonaventurâ.

A Speech of Mr. Sam. Hieron's a little before his Death ; I confesse in publike I have been somewhat full in reproof, in admonition, in instruction, but in private my backwardnesse, my bashfulnes, my dastardlinesse hath been intolerable, and I may say that if any th. lyes as a burthen upon my conscience, this is it, but I praise my God, I know upon whose shoulders to cast it with the rest of my Transgressions.

A Speech of Mr. Dod's, *I would to God I were the worst Minister in England.*

It was a saying of one of the Kings of France, viewing his Stately buildings, pleasant Gardens &c. *These are the things that make men unwilling to dye.*

July 6. I made addresses to the Presbytery in Shrop-shire for Ordination.

They mett at *Prees*, there were present *Mr. Porter*,* *President*, *Mr. Houghton*, *Mr. Parsons*, *Mr. Binney*, *Mr. Steel*.†

* Mr. Porter was "bred at Cambridge ;" presented to the living of Hanmer by Sir Thomas Hanmer, Bart., in 1625 ; " was forced to withdraw during

Inquiry was made. 1. concerning the work of grace upon my Heart.

Whereunto I reply'd, The Spirit has been dealing with mee while I was very young, not only in the publique Ministry, but by y^e private Instructions of a Godly mother also, & I hop'd had convinc't mee of my sin, & discovered to mee my need of X^t and bow'd my will in some measure to close with him upon his owne Termes, in sincerity, unfaynedly, and that having taken him to bee mine, I had also resign'd mys. up to him to bee his, to bee guided & governed by him, and resolved by his grace to continue in his wayes unto y^e Death.

2. Concerning my skill in the Originall languages of the Scripture.

for the Hebrew, I read & construed. *Ps.* 2. 1. 2.

for the Greek, I read & construed. *luk* 16. 1. 2.

3. for logique, I was askt, *quotuplex est Syllogismus?* I answer'd, *vel Categoricalis vel Hypotheticus.* Item, *Probabilis vel Demonstrativus.* *quæ sunt leges legitimi Syllogismi.* *Resp.* nihil concluditur nisi altera propositio sit universalis—&c.

A. For Philosophy. *Quid est elementum?* *Resp.* est substantia pura (potiùs; est corpus simplex) ex quâ omnia fiunt (I should have added, et in quam ultimo resolvuntur). An sit eadem materia cœli et Terræ? *Resp.* non. *Materia cœli est incorruptib.*—Err.

An detur elementum ignis? Imo! ubi? sub concavo lunæ. Ut probas? quia e. elem. levissim &c. &c. &c.

the heat of the wars," and—according to tradition—appointed to Whitechurch by the Protector in 1650. In 1656 he had a public dispute in Ellesmere Church with one Haggar, an Anabaptist, concerning infant baptism, occasioned by a sermon Mr. Porter had preached on that subject. In "1653, feeb. 11. Jebes, s. of Tho. Porter, pastor heare," is buried at Whitechurch. In "1657, Sep. 5. Mary wife of Tho. Porter Min^r" is buried; and in "1660, Mar. 26. Thomas Porter, the elder, of this par. and Susan Clive of the par. of Baschurch" are married.

† Richard Steel of Barthomley, Cheshire, took his M.A. degree at St. John's College, Cambridge, and an "ad eundem" at Oxford, July 5, 1656 (Anthony à Wood). In "Collections for Walker's Suff. of Clergy," Bodleian, vol. i. No. 203, we are told that Mr. Porter placed him at Hanmer, but the date is not given. Newcome visits him there, June 10, 1654, and wishes to imitate his "kindness." He assisted at the ordination of Philip Henry in 1657, and of Matthew Henry in 1687.

5. What Authors in Divinity I had read. A. Somet. in Wollebius, Amesius, Calvin.

Qu. what are the parts of X^t's Mediatorship. A. three, his priestly, kingly, prophetic office.

Q. w^t doth X^t doe as prophet?

A. teaches his Church. Q. immediately? A. no. by his Spirit in his word. what are the parts of his Priestly office. A. two. his Death & his Intercession.

6. What was my Judgem^t in ref. to Infant-Baptisme, ought any children to bee baptiz'd.

A. I believe they ought & I am clear in it.

7. what in refer. to y^e controversy betw. Presbyterian and Independant.

Answ^r was made for mee, if I had not approved of the Presbyt. way, I would not have come thither.

I reply'd, in most things according to my present light I did, but I had not had opportunity to search into y^e bottom of y^e contro.

8. the place of Script propos'd was 1 Cor. 10. 26. 28. Qu. how come y^e same words of the Psalmist to bee a reason why y^ei should eat & why y^ei should not.

A. in a different sense. 1. you may eat, for *the earth is y^e lords* q.d. every creature of God is good if receiv'd with Thanksgiving by y^em y^t know y^e truth. 2. if your brother bee offended, you may forbear, *for y^e earth*. q.d. there are other th. enough which you may eat freely of without offence.

9. This case of Conscience was propounded. Suppose one should come to you & make complaint of his condition, ô Sir, I am undone, 'tis to no purp. for mee to wayt upon y^e meanes of Grace, I am a Reprobate, & if a Reprobate, no salvation.

A. I would deny his minor, & endeavour to shew him, that though a man may know his own election yet hee cannot his Reprobation.

Ob. Suppose hee should reply, I have y^e mark of a reprobate, much guilt, a hard heart, a seared Conscience.

A. I would endeavour to convince him, there is nothing which befalls a reprobate but may befall one that is elect before Conversion except the Guilt of y^e sin agt y^e holy Gh.

10. Concerning church-history I was only askt whether I had read Eusebius &c.

I answered, I had, some of him, but not all over.

These were the Occurrences of that day's meeting.

They gave mee a Qu. to provide a Thesis upon against the next meeting.

Qu. an Providentia divina extendat se ad omnia. *Aff.*

There were examin'd the same day *Mr. Hall* of New-castle in Staffordshire and *Mr. Jones* of llanarmon in Denbigh-shire.

The lord prosper all my undertakings that are accor. to His will !

Aug. 3. I exhibited my Theses upon the aforesaid Question, *An Providentia divina extendat se ad omnia*, concerning which, Disputation was held for about the space of halfe an houre or more, there oppos'd *Mr. Parsons*, *Mr. Binney*, *Mr. Houghton*. and *Mr. Porter* moderated ; The maine thing insisted on was If God concur by his Providence to every action, how is hee not then the Author of Sin, to which Answer was given, the materiality of y^e Action is from God, but the formality w^{ch} is y^e sinfulness of it, is from the sinner himselfe.

lord, I desire thou mayest have the glory of all my abilities, naturall, morall, spirituall ; if they were more, thou shouldst have more glory ; and I beg of thee to overlook my failings, especially the Pride and selfishnesse that is often stirring its. in my poor soule for Christ his sake.

I left two Certificates, wth *Mr. Bevan*, the Register to the classis, One from Oxford, subscrib'd by *Dr. Wilkinson*, *Dr. langley*, *Mr. Cornish*, *Mr. Button*, the other subscrib'd by *Mr. Steel*, *Mr. Orl. Fogg*, *Mr. Jenkyn*,

both testifying of my conversation &c. the lord forgive mee that it hath not been more exemplary, as it ought, for piety and Industry. Amen, lord ! in Christ.

The day for Ordination was appointed to bee, Wednesday. *Sept. 16.* the place, Prees.

I would very faine have been ordain'd at Worthenbury, the place where God hath cast my lott, which I beleeve comes nearest the Institution but it might not bee, rebus publicis sic stantibus —Hopes thereof was one mayn motive to mee to defer being ordayn'd so long.—The lord prosper mee in his works.

Sept. 14. Upon Publication of my intentions to bee ordayn'd Mr. Fogg put in a Caveat against mee, not in reference to the thing its. but in reference to the Place, hee conceiv'd it an intrenchm^t upon his right to Worthenbury and a præjudice to his proceedings for y^e recovery of it, in a course of law.—Much was said before the Classis, *pro* and *con.*, the result whereof was this, that if I would desire his consent hee would freely give it, I condescended for peace sake and it was done in Scriptis in this forme,

Whereas the Inhabitants of Worthenbury in the County of Flint, have desired mee Philip Henry to bee their Minister I doe desire the consent of Mr. Fogg rector of Bangor, that I may bee ordayn'd thereunto.—*P. H.*

I am contented that Mr. Phil. Henry doe officiate in the Chappel of Worthenbury, and doe humbly beg a blessing from the lord upon his labours and endeavours there.—*R. F.*

the Original remaynes in the Custody of Mr. Bevan, Scribe to y^e Classis.

I expect, hee should talk big of my submission to him herein, but I value it not.

Sept. 16. I was ordayn'd Minister, being solemnly set apart thereunto by Imposition of Hands. Mr. Porter began the day in Prayer; Mr. Parsons preacht. Text. 1 *Tim.* i. 12. *I thank Christ Jesus our lord who hath enabled mee, for that hee counted mee faithfull, putting mee into the Ministry.* After Sermon they proceeded to Ordination, I was ordayn'd first, Mr. Parsons (according to the Forme) requir'd of mee a Confession of my Faith which I made, and propounded severall Questions to meet to which I gave Answer; thereupon hee prayed, and in Prayer Hee, and Mr. Porter and Mr. Houghton and Mr. Malden and Mr. Steel layd their hands on me; and so successively on five more, Mr. Jones of llanarmon, Mr. Dickens of Mortonsay, Mr. Bradley of Nesse, Mr. Hall of Newcastle, Mr. Hanmer* of Whit-

* In his "Antiquities of Myddle," p. 160, Richard Gough says, "John Ellice because he came hither from Hanmer was called Ellice of Hanmer, and then Ellice, alias Hanmer. His second son Thomas was brought up to be a good English scholar. Thomas Hanmer had a son [Joseph] who was sent to Oxford, and was at last made Doctor of Divinity, and married a wife [at Whitchurch, March 27, 1659] whose maiden name was [Martha] Eddowes, of a good family in Cheshire. Hee was parson of Maurwheale near Wrexham, a good

well chappell—thereup. Mr. Malden clos'd the day with an exhortation, directed specially to us, and so dismiss the Congregation.—They gave us Instrum^{ts} of this in Parchment subscribd with their severall Hands.

Mee thoughts I saw much of God in the carrying on of the work of this day, ô how Good is the lord, hee is Good and hee doth Good, the Remembrance of it I shall never lose, to him bee Glory.

I made many promises of Diligence, Industry, faithfulness, zeale, in some things concerning my selfe, in some concerning my family (when God shall call mee to it) in some concerning my people, but I lay no stresse at all on them, but on the lord's promise to mee, that hee will bee with his Ministers alwayes to the end of the world.

Amen, lord, so bee it.

make good thy word unto thy servant wherein thou hast caused mee to put my trust.

Qui non valet in ære, solvet in corpore.

Britannia.*—*Brit* or *Birth*, in the old British language signifies blew-coloured, & *tania* is added for y^e Signification of such a region or Country—as *lusitania*, *Mauritania*, *Aquitania*, So that Britannia is as much as the country of Blew people; bec. the inhabitants instead of clothes were wont to besmear their bodyes with woad, a thing that dyes blew. *Burr. on Hos.* 1 pt. p. 175.

January 8. Dr. Roger Puleston dyed suddenly at Chester, lord teach us to number our Dayes!

Jan. 17. I heard two sermons at Bangor, the one from *Act.* 17. 31. *Hee hath appointed a day wherein hee will judge the world.* my heart was very dead in hearing, (the lord in mercy forgive it).

but the truth made up to mys. is this, I would faine bee certified, Am I ready for that day?

'twill bee terrible to sinners,

benefitt, and hee was a good preacher, but lived a troublesome life being always in the law with his parishoners, especially with the Broughtons. Hee dyed att Maurwheale." There is a curious letter of his in Harl. manuscript 1971, p. 131.

* British traditions say that it was called by one Brutus "Ynys Brut," i.e. Brut Ynys = Brutus' island, and hence Britannia.

'twill bee comfortable to the Godly,
tis not long to it,

where shall I then appeare? ô lord, let mee bee found in Christ! at his right, not at his left hand! among the sheep, not among the Goats!

Ay mee, I have beene a wandring sheep (if yet a sheep) ô save mee for thy mercyes sake!

The other from *Act. 24. 25. Felix trembled.* much was spoken that reacht my heart and present condition, as if the lord had sent y^e Minist^r to preach purposely to mee, blessed bee God!

Tis a dreadful thing to sin against Conviction, and that I have done many a time; Father, forgive mee! though I can't say, I knew not what I did! A convinced person finds a great deale lesse pleasure in sin, then others doe; I can set my seale to that Truth, and acknowl. mys. therof. so much the more a foole to Transgresse without a cause, sure my sin is the greater.

Sins against Conviction border upon y^e sin against the Holy Ghost; ô how neare then have I beene to ruine; there hath beene but a step between mee & Death, but God hath had mercy.

Saving Convictions melt the Heart, set the soule a-praying, subdue the will to live accor. to y^{em}—mine this day produc't the two former effects wth hearty unfayned Resolutions touching y^e later, lord, undertake for mee!

I was told, I must not stay till some remarkable time from w^{ch} to Date my Conversion to God, as many doe, but I must make this day remarkable by doing it now! After dangerous backslidings, loe! I come to y^{ee} for thou art y^e lord my God! my GOD in Christ!

Jan. 13. I heard *Mr. lewis* preach at *Worthenbury*, being the day of our monthly lecture.

The lesson from *Esa. 48. 17* was this, *It is the lord that teacheth his People to Profit.*

Hee teacheth by his Spirit in the use of meanes, for though Paul may plant and Apollos water yet tis God alone that gives the increase.

lord, I look up to thee in all my endeavours for the Good of those I preach to, praying thee to concur with thy Blessing, that the work may prosper.

A good Guid doth not only tell y^e way, but goes along in the way. the nurse doth not only tell y^e child how to goe, but takes it by the Hand.

lord, lead mee in thy way. *Psal.* 27. 11.

26. Min^{rs} mett at Hanmer. y^e Question wee disputed of was, *An Decretum Dei tollat libertatem nostram.* Neg.

27. wee mett at our monthly Conference. *Qu.* what are the Priviledges that Beleevers have right to by J. X^t.

30. I was ill, I thought unto death, but the lord had mercy : it was the occasion through inordinate fear & grief of Sist. Mary's fitts of y^e Mother, in y^e first whereof shee continued near 8 houres, without sign of life.

Jan. 4. I preacht at Penley.

10. I preacht at Gresford at the Buryall of Dr. Puleston.

21. I visited John Griffith of Worthenbury being sick & pray'd with him, if the lord restore him, I am to put him in mind of promises of new obedience, lord, help him to performe. lord, restore him.

27. Note. It pleas'd the lord hee did Recover, ô that hee might remember.

February. These following sins were in this month sett home with power upon my Conscience.

1. Omissions innumerable, I fall short of Duty in every relation.

2. much frowardnesse upon every occasion which fills my way with thorns & snares,

3. Pride, a veine of it runs throughout my whole Conversation,

4. Selfe-seeking, corrupt ends in all I doe applause with men more regarded then the Glory of God, oftentimes.

5. My owne Iniquity, many Bubbings up of Heart—Corruption, and Breakings forth too,

ô lord, Shame hath covered my face,
Pardon and Purge for sweet Jesus' sake.

The lord in this month shook his Rod over me, 1. in a violent Distemper upon mys. 2. in much danger of life to Sister Mary, and I have heard. someth. of y^e Voice of it, so that I know partly what it saith,

Lord, help mee to yeeld obedience.

I have beene in the Furnace, if I come out againe and leave no drosse behind, it will bee sad,

Tis a great losse to lose an Affliction.

Feb. 10. I heard Mr. lewis preach at Worthenb. it being the day of our monthly lecture.

The lesson from *Zech. 7. 13.* where God is said to cry upon men, was this, the lord is very affectionately importunate for y^e good of poor soules.

ô how often have I heard him cry upon mee in his word and by his Rod,

blessed bee his name, hee hath not yet left mee alone.

February 1. Another violent Fit, it was the Lord's day, towards Evening some Godly Freinds being present, I prayed with them ; lord, hear in heaven.

2. I began to mend, having some ease, but Sister Mary continued ill.

—much peevishnesse, it becomes mee not, and which is worse it greives, and vexes the good Spirit of God, lord, pardon and subdue.

—20. Sister Mary very weak and in much danger, the lord bee her support.

I doe verily beleive shee is in Christ and therefore best for her to bee with Christ.

—her Distemper turned about this time from the ffitts of the mother to a violent Ague.

—My sister Kath. wrote to mee, that having overlov'd there was danger lest I should overgreive for usually much Affection brings much Affliction : Twas a seasonable word then when it was written, and may bee of use hereafter.

26. I wrote to Mr. lewis to intreat Mr. Moston to Baptize a child of Robert Bycklys but hee refus'd ; his grounds I know not.

February 1. I being ill my Freind Mr. lewis having ingagd to spend the Sabb. at Bangor, the peopl of Worthenb. mett early & hee preacht to them before hee went to Bangor and againe in the Evening at the Chappell, after his returne, about which time sister Mary fell ill.

· 10. Having kept my chamber since friday Jan. 30. this day

being our monthly lecture I went forth & preacht. Text. *Ps.* 23. 1.—blessed bee God—

15. wee began the Duty of reading the word in the Family. long omitted, lord Pardon.

17. Sister Mary lett bloud.

20. A day of publike Thanksgiving for the Deliverance of Oliver lord Protector from a Plot to take away his life.

March 1. Having intermitted Repetition upon the Evening of the Sabbath bec. of winter, this day wee reviv'd it. lord, owne us with Strength and a blessing.

3. A child of *Robert Byckly's* was baptiz'd by Mr. *Manwaring* of *Malpas*, the name *Philip*. I was present & exhorted & pray'd—ô lord, let this child live in thy sight!—The more publicly that Ordinance is administred, the better.

17. A child of *Joseph Ridgeway's* was baptiz'd by Mr. *Keeeling* of *Cockshut** the name *Hannah*. I was present & preacht, it was at *Shoeklach*.* Lord, let this child also live in thy sight! Our Baptisme is then made effectually to us, when wee are baptized with the holy Ghost.

19. a Day of Prayer at *Hanmer*, I was much straitened, no life at all in the Duty, many wandrings; if my Prayers were written downe in a Paper, and then, my vaine distracting Thoughts in time of Duty interlin'd, ô what incoherent non-sence would there bee! I am asham'd, lord, I am asham'd! ô pity and pardon!

Towards the close of the same day, I mett wth a Friendly seasonable Admonition, blessed bee God! my heart was then in somewhat a better frame then Ordinary for y^e receiving of it and I hope it hath done mee Good.

The lord is very gracious, in that hee followes mee thus from time to time, sure hee is not willing I should perish.

The eyes of many are upon mee, some for one end, some for another, Some for good, some for Evill—I had need bee watchfull; lord, hold up my goings in thy path, that my footsteps slip not! lord, thou tellest all my wandrings, for Jesus sake, let y^{em} bee forgotten!

Mar. 4. I heard two Sermons at Bangor. The one from

* Cockshute and Shoeklach are chapeltries—the one in Salop, south-cast of Ellesmere; the other in Cheshire, north-west of Malpas.

1 *John* 3. 1. *behold, what manner of love the Father hath bestowed upon us, y^t wee should bee called the Sons of God.* 'Tis wonderfull rich mercy that such unworthy Creatures as wee are, should bee taken into so high and glorious Relation, accompanied with so many choyce and precious Priveledges. *Behold!* wee doe not enough consider it, wee can never enough admire it.

One Priveledge of sons, I was told is this, the Father will correct them, *Heb.* 12. 6. Blessed be my Father, I have not beene altogether without chastisem^t yet not the thousandth part of what I deserve, I have been very undutifull, very untoward;

All beleevers are Heires yet the Inheritance not diminished.

Heires of God, hee gives other th. to others, hims. to them.

lord, give mee thy selfe!

The other from *Rom.* 3. 24. *Being Justify'd freely by his Grace.*—Grace not Infused, but Imputed, not within us, but without us, Inhærent grace though true yet is not pfect, it shines bright when acted, like Gold, yet put it into the Refining pan and Drosse will appeare.

Whereas that upon y^e account of w^{ch} wee are Justified, is such as hath no mixture of Drosse, namely, the Righteousness of y^e lord Jesus.

We may know our Justification by our Sanctification.

Justitia mea misericordia tua, Domine.

Wee are no where said in Script. to be Justif. *διὰ τὴν πίστιν* but alwayes *τῇ πίστει.* the Spouse in the Canticles came leaning upon her beloved. lord Jesus, my soule leanes upon thee for acceptation with the Father.

Mar. 10. I heard Mr. lewis preach at Worthenb. *Text. Zech.* 7. 13. Doct. there are many men who will not heare God, though hee cry to them.

not heare, *i.e.* not obey. *Jer.* 7. 23. 24.—6. 16 &c.

Reason from the Corruption of y^e will, that refuses the feare of the lord—God sets life and death before men, they chuse Death. lord, I chuse life!

A naturall man may doe more y^{en} hee doth tow. his owne salvation, and *that* hee doth, hee may doe better, yet not well. No man ever perisht that did his utmost. God leaves every man the Casting Voice, will you or will you not.

Here's our undoing, In all worldly matters our wills are guided by our understandings; only in the th. of our soules our underst. are guided by our wills.

When wee obey the lords call, that Calling is Effectuall, and tis effectuall calling that evidences our Election. *2 Pet. 1. 10.*

Mar. 17. I heard *Mr. Keeling* preach at *Shockl.* Text. *Jam. i. 21.*—I learnt that sin is a filthy thing, it pollutes the soule, it robs us of our beauty, makes the lord to abhor us,

ô Sin, my greatest enemy, bec. God's greatest enemy.

When the glorious Angels had upon them but one Spot of it, Heaven was no longer a place for them.

Lord Jesus, wash mee in thy Blood, purge mee, cleanse mee, take away all my defilem^t I abhor mys. I loath mys. much more doth the lord loath mee! Create in mee a clean heart, ô God, this heart I have is all dirty. give mee a better. I am asham'd to come wth it into my fathers presence.

23. The Ministers mett at Hanmer. Qu. An usura sit licita? *Neg.* I answer'd. Great need of y^e Spirit of love and meeknesse amongst us, in forbearing one another.

31. wee mett in Conference at Worthenb. Qu. *w' is it that keepes men from seeking after God.* much was said in answer to it, both by my selfe and others; the lord blesse it to y^{em} that heard it. A strange Mayd that was present, weeping much, Spake these words, *wee read thus Jer. 4. 1. If thou wilt return ô Israel, saith the lord, return unto mee.* I replyed nothing to her, as I am wont to doe to others, wⁿ y^{ei} speak in Conference, not approving of her speaking bec. of that of y^e Apost. *1 Tim. 2. 11. 12. 1 Cor. 14. 34. 35.* yet by this meanes a reproach was raysd by those that watch for our haltings, that wee suffer women to speak in the church. Though *Quæro*— Shee is since turn'd Quaker.

Mar. 10. This week Mr. lewis spent wth us at Emerall.

12. We visited Mrs. Eyton newly recovered from a dangerous sicknesse.

14. Books from Oxford.

25. I began y^e Duty of Instructing the Servants in the Family Thursday morning. *help lord.*

At our return from Conference the Judge spake much against it; my Answeres were not so discreet and convincing as I could

wish they had been, it repents mee, lord, forgive mee for X^ts sake.

April. A Scripture ground for singing Psalms in families may be taken from *Ps.* 118. 15. *The voice of rejoycing is in the Tabernacle of y^e righteous.*

tis a way to hold forth Godlinesse, like the Scarlet Thread. *Josh.* 2. 18. to such as passe by our windows.

I heard concerning a very old man in the north parts of England, a minister, whose age was very strangely renew'd.

About this time, one inquiring of mee concerning the successe of my Ministry in the Place where I am, I am afraid the Pride and Haughtinesse of my Heart discover'd it selfe; lord pardon & subdue. I am more afraid of y^e breakings forth of that sin, then almost any other; for X^t his sake, lord, give mee strength against it.

Apr. 30. I preacht in Dr. langley's course in Ch. Ch. Chappel. Blessed bee the lord God of all my Enlargements, and let my faylings in every Duty bee forgiven, ô my Father, for thy mercy sake.

Apr. 1. I heard two Sermons at Bangor. The one from *Ps.* 119. 37. *quicken thou mee in thy way.*

In the Prayer before Sermon this confession was put up, which my Heart clos'd with,—*lord, wee want wisdome to carry ours. as wee ought in the world, by reason whereof the work of y^e Gosp. in our hands is much hindred,* ô, my God, bestow upon mee a wise & an understanding heart.

Doct. *God's people often want quickning in God's way.* I am sure I doe very often. ô when had I cause to complayn, my heart is dead to the world, Creatures, pleasures, sin, but to duty, praying, preaching, when almost is it otherwise. lord, thou gavest life at first, give more life—

The other from *Mal.* 4. 2. *The sun of righteousness, &c.* Tis a sign the Sun is tow. setting. 1. when wolves are abroad. 2. when workmen are weary. In both resp. tis thus with us this day in England, lord, prevent our Feares & take not away the light from us.

Apr. 11. I heard a Serm. at Shockl[ach]. *Heb.* 12. 4 *striving against Sin.* a X^{tians} life is a life of difficulty, wee have hard work

to doe, many mighty enemyes to encounter with, sin especially, y^e more a sin is twisted with o^r nature, calling—&c.—the more we are to strive wth it, bec. y^e more likely 'tis to doe us mischeif. lord, save mee from my Iniquity.

Apr. 14. From *Zech.* 7. 13. *they would not heare.* An Hypocrite may goe very far tow. Grace in underst. & affection, only y^e work stickes at his will. lord, I will, doe thou conquer my unwillingnesse!

Apr. 15. *Wrexham.* From *Gal.* 3. 10. *Cursed is every one—* I clearly saw by what was said from this Text, that I am in my selfe a poor lost undone creature, under many a Curse, lord Jesus I beleeve thou wert made a Curse for mee, help my unbelief. who shall lay anything to my charge.

From *Matt.* 25. 10. *Doct. not a man shall goe to Heaven that is not ready for Heaven.* ô my Soule! art thou ready for Heaven. what if X^t should call *this* night, is my lamp burning. lord, fit mee for thy appearance, Heaven is ready for them that are ready for it.

21. I set forward from Emral towards Oxford with Mark Loyd.

24. Wee arriv'd safe and well at Oxford, blessed bee the lord, many were the mercyes of this Journey; ô what want have I of a thankfull Heart.

Apr. 26. Oxon.—From *1 Cor.* 13. 11. *Doct. the state of beleevers in this life is a State of Childhood.* & children must bee Humble, ô that I had an Humble Heart. there's a kind of base, creeping, crouching carriage that's far from true Humility. I am much afraid lest I bee deceiv'd.

From *Jam.* 5. 13. *Doct. Singing of Psalmes a Gospel-Duty.* I am convinct of it, lord, forgive my past neglect, coldnes, slightnes, deadnesse. I purpose through grace to be more frequent and serious in that performance than ever, both alone & with others, Amen, lord, so be it, Sweet Jesus, undertake for mee.

At S^t Maryes. From *1 Pet.* 1. 8. *Doct. Joy unspeakable & full of Glory is the Fruit & effect of an active faith in Jesus X^t.* Many that feare God are oftentimes naturally timorous, & that much interrupts their Joy; The way to keep up Joy is to keep up Faith, also Gosp. Obedience. *John* 15. 9. 10. 11. Sin will

eat out Joy—lord, let mee have the Joy of thy salvation & establish mee with thy free spirit.

From *Gal.* 1. 15. *when it pleased God.* 1. *Doct.* There is a season for conversion. We cannot know it before, wee may know it after. There's our time and God's time, Our time wee may outslip, God's time wee cannot. *Psalm.* 110. 3. 2. *Doct.* the impulsive cause of Conversion is God's good pleasure. *John* 1. 13. many times when men have given us over. *allu.* *Ps.* 27. 10 ~! For ever blessed bee my good God, that hath beene pleased to reveal his Son in mee!

From *Zech.* 13. 7. No wonder if God *turne his hand upon the little ones.* when hee deales so severely with the *Shepherd: a Sword, a Sword awakened,* awakened to *Smite,* and all this by the *lord of Hosts.* If this bee done to the green Tree, ô what shall bee done to such a dry Tree as I am. lord make mee patient under every turne of thy Hand.

May. In this month I heard of Dr. Crook formerly Minister of Ammersam, neare london, who being in Ireland, was cal'd to preach there before y^e lord Deputy, his Text. *behold the day of y^e lord cometh as a Thief in the night;* After sermon before Dinner hee dyed. ô my Soule! what Preparations art thou in for Dissolution, what if my lord should come this night?

May 27. *Mr. Jenkins at Penley.* From *Math.* 11. 6. Among many other occasions of Offence at J. X^t which were spoken of this was one, from his followers, who for the most part are 1. Silly. 2. poor. 3. young. 4. women. 5. wicked formerly.

Among many other motives spoken of, not to bee offended in X^t this was one, hee is not offended in us, our poverty, beggary, filthinesse, blood, notwithst. these hee loved us.

lord, let mee never live to bee an occas. of Offence.

May 3. at *Corpus X^{ti}.* From 1 *John* 3. 8. ~. *Doct.* *Tis the mayne end of the manifestation of the Son of God to destroy the workes of the Devil.* Great encouragem^t to mee, ô my soule, bestir mys. more vigorously y^{en} ever in my conflicts with Corruption, the lord Jesus is on my side. I know hee hath already unty'd the knot betw. my sin and the Curse, and I beleeve and hope in due time hee will untye the knot betw. my sin & my nature, in the use of meanes. Amen! so bee it, lord.

From *Rom. 1. 16.* *Doct.* There is a power in the Gosp. to save men, wⁿ God concurs wth it. it convinces, searches, quickens, humbles, comforts, restraynes, renews. lord, let it doe all this work in my soule, and in the soules of those I preach to.

From *John 15. 4.* Tis the great concernem^t of the lords people to abide in J. X^t to draw strength and virtue from him in every duty, in every condition, hee hath enough for all, and hee hath it purposely to communicate. When wee have done anything in his Strength wee must bee carefull hee may have the glory, lord, thats the desire of my soule, not unto mee, not unto mee, but to thy name give the praise!

May 5. at Brainford. From *luke 17. 26. &c.* *Doct.* Reigning Sensuality in the last Age is an Infallible Signe of X^{vs} approach to Judgement; especially when it raignes amongst Professors, as in the dayes of Noah when the posterity of Seth also were Flesh. *Gen. 6. 3.* Sure tis so with us at this Day. Sensuality is when our hearts goe after our Sense, when the mayne and most of our care is to please and satisfy them; Flesh-pleasing hath been an undoing sin to my poor Soule, lord, pardon and Subdue.

May 6. At Thistleworth. From *Math. 6. 10.* *Thy will bee done*—In this Petition wee pray that the secret will of God, which is alwayes wise, may be done upon us, and that the revealed will of God, which is alwayes righteous, may bee done by us, the will of his purpose & the will of his command.—*in earth as in Heaven* a true Christian hath perfection in his eye though he cannot reach it, so Paul. *Phil. 3.* that if possible hee might attaine the Resurrection of the Dead. ô lord, when shall I bee perfect, when shall that that is in p^t bee done away.

May 9. At the Abbey Westm. from *Heb. 7. 25.* Those that come to God for Salvation must come by J. X^t through his Mediation, hee's the way, by his Assistance, hee's the life. without him no Acceptance with the Father, in him hee is well pleased. Blessed, for ever blessed bee God for J. X^t—if it were not for J. X^t I would not give one Pin for my soul.

May 10. At Thistleworth. From *Math. 12. 36.* *Doct.* Idle words must bee accounted for: words that are unprofitable, bring no glory to God, no reall good to ours. or others, very sinfull, bec. the abuse of our best member our Tongue, which is our glory;

very many, every day, in every Company. From hence was inferd, what need there is for us to reckon with ours. every night for the idle words and other failings of y^e day before, tis no wisdom to defer, if wee reflect not quickly, wee shall forget. — My heart accuses mee of much guilt in this respect. I have formerly been very talkative and in multitude of words y^{er} wants not sin. lord, cleanse my soule in y^e blood of X^t and mortify that corruption for mee by thy Spirit every day more and more.

From *Gal.* 2. 20. D. the life which Christians live is a life of faith in J. X^t—1. They live the life of Justification, 2. of sanctification, both by Faith ; A Life of Faith is a noble supernaturall life ; No living by a dead faith, lord, quicken mee in beleiving.

From 1 *Pet.* 4. 18. D. Tis no easy matter to bee sav'd. Twas difficult work to J. X^t to work redemption for us, Tis difficult work to the Spirit to work Grace in us, and to carry it on against corruptions, temptations, distractions. I was exhorted to inquire. 1. Can I chuse to undergo the greatest suffering rather than commit the least sin. 2. Can I imbrace X^t with his Crosse. 3. Can I work for God, though there were no wages. 4. Can I swim against the stream, bee good in bad times and places. 5. Can I pull out right eyes for X^t and cutt off right hands. &c.

I can doe all this and much more through X^t strengthening mee.

From *Rev.* 3. 10. The word of the Gosp. is the word of X^{ts} patience, therein is discover'd how patient hee is towards elect sinners, called saints, perishing world. This wee are to keep, hold fast, make much of as our Treasure, and if we doe so, wee shall bee kept by God, held fast, made much of in y^e houre of Temptation, the houre, i.e. greatest strength, force, efficacy, comp. *luke* 22. 53. which though violent for the time yet shall bee but of very short continuance. lord, keep mee from, if not from, lord keep mee in the houre of Temptation.

May 17. From *Math.* 12. 36. Idle words must bee accounted for. Tis a Proverb, Words are but wind, and tis truth, that's an ill wind, an ill word, that brings nobody good. Tis easy to bee

observ'd how the lord hath follow'd mee two Sabbaths together in severall places with the same truth; The lesson is profitable and hard and I am dull to learne.

May 1. I had leave for absence from the Canons till April next.

4. I set forth of Oxford tow. london.

5. I was ill at Thistleworth.

14. I came back to Oxford. Mr. Tho. Puleston with mee whom I settled at St. Mary-hall, where hee had been entred before.

19. I preacht in Ch. Ch. Mr. Bagshaw turnd.

20. I set forth of Oxford towards Emerall. I came safe to Emerall.

25. Monthly disput. at Hanmer, *Q. An lex moralis obligat Christianos.*

26. Monthly confer. at Worthen. *Q. What use a Christian is to make of God's all seeing Eye over him.*

June 2. a Day of Prayer, at *Joseph Ridgwayes* house, many petitions put up in my behalfe there, lord, give in an answer of peace, I want skill to winne soules, I want power to deale with temptations, I want an humble self-denying heart, I do not eye God & his Glory as I ought, in all I doe, lord, pardon & help & supply for thy Christ's sake.

18. a Day of Prayer at *Randle Key's* house. I was present there, though in the midst of much deadnesse and many distractions, my owne heart condemnes mee, lord, thou art greater then my heart and knowst all things. 'Tis a sad signe I am in great measure if not wholly carnall that I tast no more of sweetnesse in Dutyes—ô what should I doe if I were in heaven, to bee alwayes praying God, lord, fit mee for heaven by changing my nature, or else Heaven will bee as bad as Hell to mee.

29. This was the day of the monthly meeting of Ministers, wee mett at Gresford. the Question controverted was *an sancti sint adorandi.*

29. This was the day of our monthly conference at Worthenbury. *Qu. What are the ordinary vices of y^e Tongue w^{ch} Christians ought to beware of.* A. much speaking, foolish, filthy, flattering, false speaking, swearing, cursing &c. Set thou a watch ô lord, over the door of my lips that I offend not with my Tongue!

June 3. at Bangor. From *Phil.* 1. 27. D. *It is the great Duty of Christians to have their Conversation as becomes the Gospell.* i.e. clothed with the graces of the Gosp. Faith, love, humility, meeknesse, selfe-denyall, patience, and in these to abound & grow. tis an uncomely sight to see an Old Professor a young saint, wee discredit our keeping, lord, water mee every moment, lord, keep mee night & day, that I may thrive to thy prayse, having my conversation not only as becomes the Gosp. but which is more as becomes a Minister of y^e Gosp.

From *Ps.* 74. 19. D. *God's people are as Doves.* 1. in Innocency. 2. in Faithfulness to their mate. 3. in feeding cleane. wⁿ persecuted they mourn and flee to the rock and shelter thems. there. O lord, deliver not the soule of thy Turtledove into the will of her enemies !

June 9. at Worthenb.—From *Hcb.* 3. 7. 8. D. There is much *safety in present attendance to what God requires of us.*—Delays may breed danger—To-day is of short continuance and withall fitted for work, in regard of light and livenessse, which the night wants. Now is 1. time of Acceptation. 2. of Salvation. ô how often hath God invited mee, now, now, when I have putt him off, blessed bee his Name, hee hath not sworne concerning mee that I shall never enter into his rest.

June 10. at Elsmer. From *Math.* 5. 6. D. *Hungry thirsty soules shall be filled,* partly here, perfectly hereafter, with Grace, Comfort, Glory, such put a great value upon X^t, will part with any th. for food, goe far for it, take paines to get it. lord, evermore fill my soule with thy selfe ; Creatures will not satisfy.

From *Eph.* 4. 4. D. *The mystical body of X^t is but one Body.* X^t y^e head, beleevers the members, knitt together by y^e Spirit, increasing alwayes in number & endowm^{ts} but one church through all the world ; lord let mee bee a member of this one Body, any member, y^e lowest, y^e meanest, so I may but receive influence from the Head & bee any way usefull to my fellow-members, lord translate mee out of the Kingdom of Darkness into the Kingd. of thy dear Son.

June 17. at Wrexham. From 1 *John* 1. 8. *Doct. Selfe-Justifiers are selfe deceiv^{rs}.* There is not a just man upon earth that doth Good and sinneth not. Wee deceive ourselves, if

wee say, wee are without Original sin, or without actuall sin, in Externall Conversation, in internall Inclination. *Legendi sunt homines ut libri*, the fayrest printed Bookes have their *Errata*, lord, I am so far from thinking my selfe without sin, that all my feare is, least I have too much sin. too much I am sure for my selfe or any other to satisfy for, excepting only my deare lord Jesus—in him is all my hope.

From *Amos* 7. 14. 15. *I am no Prophet neither a Prophets son but a heardsman.* Note—the Gifts and calling of God are free, hee chuseth not as man chuseth; by the foolish things of the world hee confounds the wise, by the weak those that are mighty, by th. which are not hee brings to nought things which are, and the reason is, that no flesh may glory in his presence, lord, I have no cause to glory.

In this month I had the remembrance of much guilt set home upon my Conscience in refer. to the Sabbath day. I us'd to lye longer in bed then I ought, which hath beene caus'd by sitting up over-late the night before, and that by neglecting to make preparations for preaching sooner in the week. I am often put to it to slubber over truths, So two sermons were provided, I have not car'd how poorely, lord, I confesse it to thee with Shame and beg thy grace that it may bee so no more. Amen! blessed Lord Jesus!

June. In this month Mr. Langley of Middlewich and Mr. Beake of Tamworth dyed, two worthy Instruments in their Generation, lord, raise up more to make up y^e sad losse of y^{es}.

July 4. A company of vayne people in the parish of worthenb. mett together on y^e evening of the Sabbath to dresse the church with Flowers. I foresaw before it might bee an occasion of sin to them and an Offence to others, and theref. did someth. to prevent it, but not so much as I might, done it was, lord, lay it not to o^r charge. they were quickly taken downe, but it had beene better if y^{ci} had never bin set up; a report was rays'd y^t I had consented to it, the lord knowes I did not.

16. a strange whirl-wind and darknesse more then ordinary at Wrexham.

17. A night of much Thunder.

20. I went to preach at Welsh-poole in Montgomery-shire,

the lord was with mee and brought mee safe back againe, blessed bee his name.

23. I preacht an exercise at Penley chappell, the lord bestow a blessing.

July 1. at Bangor. From *Math.* 13. 44. ~ D. *They that have found X^t ought to hide X^t* not from others, but within thems., in y^e Safest inmost room of their hearts, to lay him up and keep him there, not to let him goe; This is done, by faith, love, humility, obedience, entertaynm^t. All the reason in the world for it, hee is a Treasure worth hiding, there are great endeavours to rob us of him, if once lost, not easily found againe, till hee bee found againe y^{er} can bee no true peace—Some lodge X^t as they doe beggars in their out-houses, by making a visible profess. but sin dwells in the heart. The lord grant I bee not one of those!

From 1 *Thess.* 2. 16. *Quer.* why is preaching there called speaking. A. to shew that ministers Speaking should bee preaching their discourses, should bee heavenly, savoury for the use of Edifying, as Christ's was. Mine hath not been such, lord, pardon. *Doct.* *Tis a greivous sin to have a hand in hindring mens Salvation*, the worst kind of murther, lord, let mee be never in any resp. so much as accessory to it, it thwarts the designe of God, X^t, the Spirit, ô that I might bee a winner of soules.

July 14. at Worthenb. From *Col.* 1. 19. *It pleased the Father that in him should all Fulnesse dwell.* There's enough in X^t for y^e Supply of the emptinesse of poor Creatures, wee are to goe to him as the Egyptians in time of Famine to Joseph, lord Jesus, I come to thee, fill mee with the knowledge of thy will, fill mee with all Joy and peace in beleiving, fill mee with thy Spirit, blessed Saviour, bee not angry; I will speak but this once more, fill mee with all the fulnesse of God.

15. at Wrexham. From *Rom.* 12. 1. *I beseech you therof. Brethren by ye mercyes of God y^e yee present*—*Note 1.* Ministeriall exhortations are somet. to bee manag'd with all gentlenesse—Somet. not alwayes, some men being like Nettles the more gently toucht, y^e more like to sting. lord, give mee Skill and wisdom that I may know when to bee gentle & when not; lord, I want this wisdom & have much fay'd for lack of it. *Note 2.* The mercyes of God ought to bee engagem^{ts} to us to obedience. ô let

mee never bee as a Dughil to stink y^e more bec. y^e sun shines upon it. I have been so, lord, pardon.

From *Eccles.* 1. 2.—*There is nothing under the sun but what is full of the vayneſt vanity*, unsatisfying, unprofitable, unsuteable, uncertaine, not worthy our Affections w^m wee have them, nor our Afflicting ours. when wee want them ; The saints have alwayes thought so, dying men will not fayle to tell us so ; ô w^t cause have wee to blesse God that hath revealed this unto us to take us off from th. here below, which otherw. wee might have ventur'd our soules for & so have perisht for ever—I blesse God tis as if a Freind had stopt mee from giving all I have for a counterfeit pearle, ô doe not venture, it is but counterfeit.

July 3. I preacht at Iscoyd-chappell.* *T. Gal.* 4. 19. Then I first saw Mr. Morgan lloyd, hee pursued what I had delivered in many profitable practicall truths, Christians ought to beware of a light Spirit, a heavy Spirit, a peevish Spirit, and a desponding Spirit. our end in coming together in Duty ought to bee, that wee may see the face of God, the face of our owne hearts & y^e faces of one another. After him Mr. Moston taught from *1 Pet.* 1. 14. *as obedient children.* True Christians ought to bee obedient to the faith of the Gosp. in both parts of it, beleef of heart & confession of mouth, & to y^e holines of the Gospel.—Many of these y^t were present were members of y^e congregated church at Wrexham, who disowne singing of Psalms in mixt Assemblies, I was much put to it, whether to offend them by giving forth a Psalm, or others that were present & my owne light & convictions by omitting it, but the lord came in with power and I hope I chose the right way, wee sang *Ps.* 90. 12. &c. and I observ'd, some of them joynd with us. lord, let mee know in every thing what thou wouldst have mee to doe, esp. in thine own worship.

11. Remember this day, as a Day of more then ordinary engagem^{ts} made & Strong resolutions taken up of closer walking & more watchfullnes. ô my God, undertake for mee, ô bee surety for thy servant for the lords sake. Amen and Amen !

16. a Day of Prayer at Hanmer. sin confessed, I hope

* This chapel is more generally called Whitewell. The name of the township preserves the Welsh pronunciation rather than the spelling, which would be "is-coed," and—like the proper name Moyle for Moel—shows what a long time must have elapsed since Welsh was spoken in that part of English Maelor.

pardoned through X^t, mercyes beg'd & I hope obtayn'd through X^t, blessed bee God for such sweet and precious Opportunityes. lord, overlook my many faylings, for Jesu's sake.

4. lady Cholmley buried.

31. I hurt my leg with an Iron mawle, it was the great mercy of God it was not much worse, blessed bee his name.

Aug. 7. having been pretty well before the sore brake out againe, y^e payne and swelling whereof disabled mee from y^e work of the Sabbath, Mr. Roan* preacht, but on Tuesday, being o^r lecture day, the lord gave strength.

25. A day of Conference at Worthenbury. Qu. what are the causes of God's hiding his face from his people!—ô lord, despise not the day of small things in this place! here's some willingnes. but much weaknesse, help, lord!

In this week was lay'd the Foundation of a dwelling house at Worthenbury, w^{ch} is intended for my use; I pray the lord, to fit mee for the mercy of a settled condition either there or somewhere else for at Emerall where I now am, though in many respects my condition is very comfortable, if I had a heart to see it and bee thankful, yet in some other respects, I lye under great Temptations, and there are many snares in my way, the lord deliver mee & in his owne time if it bee his will, open a door for mee to escape, for Jesus Sake. Amen!

Aug. 5. At Bangor. From *Psal.* 127. 1. *D. Except the lord build the House they labour in vaine that build it.—the House, i.e. y^e Family, build, i.e. constitute, mayntayn, preserve, augment.—If wee would have God to build our Houses, wee must bee carefull*
 1. to build God's house, by caring for his worship, ordinances, interests. *Hag.* 1. 9 (2 *Sam.* 7) *Hag.* 2. 18.—2. to ayme at his Glory in our Buildings, not at selfe, as Nebuchadn. *Dan.* 4. 30—
 3. to build in faith, relying upon y^e Promises. *Heb.* 11. 9. 10.
 4. in the feare of God. *Exod.* 1. 21.—5. in righteousnes & honesty. *Prov.* 10. 25. *Hab.* 2. 12. 6. wee must fetch in God by Prayer, and keep him there by family duties. *Jos.* 24. 15. *Psal.* 101.~

Memorand. There was never truth more seasonable to any,

* The Rev. John Roan, of Brasenose College, Oxford, had been presented to Hammer in 1644, but was not, though a native of the parish, accepted by the people. In 1675 he was made Bishop of Killaloe.

then this was to mee. That very week wherein this sermon was preacht, nay, the very night before, workmen came out of Shropshire, to begin the building of a House at Worthenbury, which is intended by Judge Puleston for my use. Lord, let the Foundations of it bee layd in mercy, and doe thou bring forth the Head-stone thereof, and I will cry Grace, Grace unto it. Keep my Affections loose both while 'tis doing and when tis done, that it may not at all incroach upon thy interest in my heart. Secure those y^t labour about it from bodily danger y^t none of them may receive any the least harme. Get glory to thy selfe from it, and command a speciall Blessing upon it, for the lord Jesus X^t his sake. Amen.

I doe earnestly desire, that y^e Judge may give Mr. Fogg all reasonable satisfaction, y^t y^{er} may bee no appearance of wrong to him or any in y^{is} th.

From *Jam. 5. 9. Behold the Judge stands before the Door.* i.e. is very neare, there's but a Hands-breadth of time betw. us and our Account, this wee ought to behold, with an eye of Faith, thereby to bring it near to us and make it as present; wee must not think in y^e meane time y^t Forbearance is payment, Patience doth not take away sin, only y^e Pardoning Grace of God doth that. The time to come will bee every jot as swift as that hath been that is past, and concern. that wee usually say, it was but t'other day— &c.—though it may bee twas 30 or 40 y. why so it will bee.— This should quicken us up to ply time-filling work. The lord write this truth in my Heart, and help mee to see the Judge not sitting but standing before the door, in a moving posture, that I may Study & Preach & Pray & live accordingly. Amen! for X^t his sake.

Aug. 11. At Worthenb. From John 17. 4. D. Jesus X hath finisht the work which his Father gave him to doe. This work was 1. *fulfilling* work, in ref. to Promises, Prophesyes, Types, Cæremonyes, hereby wee know him to bee the X^t. 2. *Obeying* work. 3. *suffring* work. hence wee have encouragem^t to rely upon him for Pardon, Peace, & Acceptation unto etern. life. 4. *example* worke. herein wee are to follow him, walking in his steps, doing as hee hath done before us: See an Argum^t to prove wee are not justif. eith^r from Etern. or at the Death of X^t *Rom. 3.*

30. *y^t shall justify*, tis spoken of as Future. The lord Teach me every Truth.

Aug. 24. Mr. John Lewis having left the charge of the children at Worthenbury, a brother to Mr. Joseph Hanmer entred upon it, hee is somew^t young and raw but the place will afford encouragement for no better. lord, succeed his endeavours with a blessing.

Aug. 24. This day compleats my Age of twenty sixe yeares ; I have been so long in the world & yet how little can I shew of service done for God ; ô what cause have I to bee ashamed. *Note.* The Scripture mentions but two that I know of *y^t observ'd* their Birth-day with feasting & they were both wicked men, Pharaoh, *Gen. 40. 20.* & Herod *Mat. 14. 6.* I doe not so observe it, but rather as a day of mourning, *damnatus ante quam natus.*

25. a day of Humiliation & Conference. Qu. what are the causes of God's hiding his face from his people. Father, strengthen & incourage the day of small things amongst us, they are very small.

31. Meeting of Ministers at Gresford. Q. An Aliquis possit esse perfectus in hac vita. a Petition agreed upon to be presented at the next Sessions of Parl. for setting up of Discipline.

September. About this time at Swansey in Glamorganshire (the place at or neer to which my Father was borne) fourscore children sickned together of this new disease, whereof many dyed. —It was told mee by Capt. Barbour of Wrexham, hee had it from Mr. Morgan lloyd.

16. I was ordayned Minister of *y^e* Gospel with the laying on of the Hands of the Presbytery, at Prees in Shropshire.
a Day never to bee Forgotten.

19. Mrs. Joan Evans of *Northop* sister to Judge Puleston was buried.

25. A verdict brought against the Judge at Denbigh-Assize before Justice Bradshaw, in a suit concerning lands in May betw. him and Sir Thomas Trevor. Justice Bradshaw was supposed to bee partiall.

29. I preacht a lecture at Prees (Salop).

30. A day of Publike Humiliation throughout the nation in reference to the present sicknesse, lord, hear prayers and in the

midst of wrath remember mercy! ô deliver us from the plague of a hard heart!

Memor. two buryalls at Worthenb. y^e same day, y^e lord preacht both to eares and eyes. ô that all might be for good.

Sept. 2. at Bangor. From *luke 12. 32. fear not little Flock, for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the Kingdome.* The people of God in this world are like a flock of Sheep, worried by Dogs, fleec'd by buyers, fed by Jesus X^t—yet a little little Flock, not many chosen, (some comfort to mee in the small successes which the lord hath given of my Ministry hitherto, if but two or three, if but one abundant recompense to all my poor labours). The flock of X^t need not feare the want of any th. in their way to the Kingdome, which the Father will give freely, without money, or money-worth, *qui dabit regnum non dabit etiam viaticum?* hee that spared not his owne son—&c. lord, stay up my heart in dependance upon thy selfe, against all base, carnall, sinfull feares—The lord is my Shepheard I shall not want.

The other Sermon was preacht by Mr. Glendall's son of Chester, *Text. 2 Cor. 2. 16. and who is sufficient for these things?* the words that follow (ver. 17) are these, *for wee are not as many which corrupt the word of God*—I judge not the person of the man, but it greiv'd my heart to hear y^e word corrupted with inticing expressions of humane Invention, which tickle the eare but touch not the heart. lord, pardon, and teach him & mee and all that look towards the Ministry, to divide the word aright, that wee may both save our selves and those that heare us. Amen, for Jesus sake!

Sept. 8. at Worthenb.—From *luke 15. 17. naturall men are besides thems. mad, frantick men, unreasonable, foolish, voyd of Spirituall understanding, unruly, inconstant, inconsiderate, at the brinke of danger & not aware of it, stupid, gracelesse,*—Blessed bee God, that hath cur'd mee in any measure of this Disease, alas, much of this madnesse still remaynes, lord, perfect the Cure for X^t his sake. If wicked men are mad men then what need wee trouble ours. with their reproches; they count Religion madnesse, the word counts their way madnesse, whether shall wee beleieve.

lord, bestow a blessing upon thy word for the Good of y^e people of this place.

Sept. 16. At *Prees*.—Upon the day of my Ordination.—*Text.*
 1 *Tim. 1. 12.* And I thank X^t Jesus, our lord, who hath enabled
 mee, for that hee counted mee faithfull putting mee into the Ministry.
Note. The putting men into the Ministry is the work of J. X^t.
 Hee is y^e lord of the Harvest, hee sends forth none but such as
 are in some measure Gifted for y^e work though not all Grac^t, two
 Gifts especially, Knowledge and Utterance, of which though some
 may have more and others lesse, yet all are to have some; Hee
 puts immediately, by men authoris^d thereunto by y^e rule of y^e
 word, and what they doe herein is as valid as if X^t hims. in person
 should lay hands. *Obs.* Our Ordination is deriv^d from Bishops
 and by y^{em} from the Pope.—A. tis not the worse for that, no more
 then our Baptism, or to find Rahab & Tamar in y^e Genealogy of
 Jesus X^t. I thank thee, ô: my lord Jesus, for putting mee into the
 Ministry.—I did this day receive as much Honor and Work as
 ever I shall be able to know what to doe with, lord, Jesus give in
 strength, enable every day more & more, proportion supplies
 accordingly, I must learn to care naturally for y^e state of my
 people, lord Jesus, teach mee. Two Scriptures were left with us
 to be well thought upon, 2 *Cor. 6. 3. 4. 5. &c.* it should seem
 as if there were no end of a Minister's Duty. Also 2 *Chron. 29. 11.*
 lord, write them by thy Spirit in my heart.

There was an Exhortation given afterwards in the close of y^e
 day, in which this word went near my heart. As the Nurse puts
 the meat first into her owne mouth & chews it & yⁿ feeds the
 child with it, so should Ministers doe by y^e word, preach it over
 before-hand to their owne hearts, it loses none of y^e virtue of it
 hereby, but rather probably gaynes. As that milk nourishes most
 which comes warm from the warm breast, so that sermon which
 comes warme from a warme Heart; lord, quicken mee to doe thy
 will in this thing.

Sept. 29. At *Prees*, lecture.—From *Heb. 12. 17.* *Doct.* The
 time of God's Grace to sinners doth many time expire before
 death & when once tis at an end all [their After-endeavours are
 to no purpose.—Fayres, Markets doe not last alwayes.—ô w^t cause
 have I to blesse God that I have knowne in any measure my
 day of visitation. lord, pity my Freinds and dear relations, the
 people which thou hast set mee over, that they may know the

th. of their peace before y^e are hid from their eyes. Amen.
lord, Jesus.

October 6. Our day of Monthly Conference, *Qu.* how may it bee provd there is a God. from *Ps.* 14. 1.

25. My Friend Mr. Ambr. lewis taught in y^e Afternoon at Worthenb. (it was y^e lords day). Text, *Psal.* 84. 11. the lord will give Glory—the soule shall bee made glorious in its compleat deliverance from all sin & sorrow, & in its likenesse to God; the Body shall bee made glorious, inasmuch as it shall become immortal, incorruptible, spirituall; further, a 3fold glory. 1. Confession to bee own'd by J. X^t before God, Angels and men. 2. Vision. 3. Fruition. And all this for ever. ô w^t encouragem^t is here to abound alwayes in y^e work of y^e lord, to bee willing to doe or suffer any th. for God, what proportion is there betw. y^e light Afflictions of y^e present life which are but for a moment and this eternall weight of Glory; lord, fit mee for Glory; I find my earthy Tabernacle tottering and when tis taken downe, I shall have a building in Heaven that shall never faile; Blessed be God the Father & my lord Jesus X^t & y^e good Spirit of Grace—even so, Amen.

Oct. 5. At Welsh-Hampton. From *Col.* 3. 8. N. It is the great Duty of all Christians to put off Anger. It unfits for Duty, a little jogging puts a clock or watch out of frame, so a little Passion the Heart. A man cannot wrestle with God & wrangle with his neighbour at the same time.—Short sins often cost us long & sad sorrowes—An Angry man is like one in a crowd that hath sore Bile, every one thrusts him & troubles him.—with the froward thou wilt shew thys. froward, a dreadfull Scripture to a peevish froward man. Those that are too merry when pleas'd are commonly too Angry when Crost.—Blessed lord, subdue this lust in my Heart, I am very weake there, lord there strengthen mee, turne the streame of my Anger āgt selfe and sin. ô how doth my Anger at men make God angry at mee, lord pardon in Christ.

From 1 *Pet.* 4. 18. The Best of men are hardly sav'd, but sav'd, & no more; it was hard work to J. X^t to work out our Salvation. tis hard combating with Satan, world, Flesh, that's gotten hardly that's gotten wth y^e Sword. This makes Salvation the

sweeter, teaches us to live every day upon free grace, our journey is up-hill, with a dead body upon our backs, the Devill doing what hee can to pull us downe.

Succurre Domine—lord Jesus supply with strength, lord Jesus lead mee in thy Hand. Carry mee through all the difficultyes that lye in my way, rid mee of every weight, and the sin that doth so easily beset mee, that I may run my race with patience and in the end obtayne the crowne.

Oct. 13. At Worthenb. From *luke 15. 17.* The Spirit's first work upon the soule in Conversion is to bring it to serious selfe-reflection. it is a duty that men are very unwilling to, lest it should help to make them out of love with themselves, ô: but that's a thing that must bee done, else never brought in love with J. X^t. the whole need not the Physician but they that are sick. ô: that I were more out of love with my selfe & more in love with my dear lord Jesus.

Oct. 21. At Wrexham. From *John 4. 34.* It is meat to a Gracious Heart to bee doing y^e will of God. His desires are towards it, his delight in it, his satisfaction from it, hee hath as good a Stomach to Family-prayer as to Family-meales. My soule breaketh for y^e longing that it hath unto thy judgem^{ts} at all times. *Ps. 119. 20.* I have esteemed the words of thy mouth more y^{en} my necessary food. *Job. 23. 12.* not only more then my after-dishes. A true Christian hath no distinct Interest of his owne from that of God's in y^e world, if Jesus X^t gaine I cannot lose; There is no duty requir'd of us but what an Angel may bee seen doing.

The lord blesses his people with all his Heart & with all his soule. *Jer. 32. 40.* reason Good y^{ei} should serve him with all their heart & with their soule. As much as a man delights more then hee should in a creature comfort, so much hee delights lesse then he should in God. When a man can say, not only, this is a sweet Promise but this is a sweet Precept, a sweet Duty, that's a good sign of grace. lord, write thy law & shed abroad thy love in my heart that I may serve thee with delight. Amen.

October 5. I preach't at Welsh Hampton in more then ordinary weaknes and distraction, lord, pardon the sin of it. 'twas

made up in those that joynd, Mr. lawrence and Mr. Macham ; in y^e whole I saw much of God. That night Mrs. Grey of Enfield came to see y^e lady her sister ill with a sore Breast. lord, spare in much mercy.

27. Our day of monthly Conference. Qu. what are the scripture markes of those that shall bee sav'd. from Ps. 15. 1.

October 4. Two children Baptiz'd at Worthenb. one a son of Rog^r Edge, named Roger, the other of Edw. y^e Thatcher, alias Edw. ap Richard, named Joseph—the first that ever I baptiz'd.

19. My good Freind Mr. Madocks, usher of Wrexham-school dyed.

November 12. John Pagett & the rest of y^e workmen having finisht the House of Worthenbury went away homewards.— I doe from my heart blesse God that no Harme or Hurt befell any of them in the Building.

At Bangor. Nov. 4. ~ From Heb. 11. 6. *God is the rewarder of those that diligently seek him*, that doe anything for him ; Great encouragem^t to bee alwayes abounding in the work of the lord, forasmuch as wee know our labour shall not bee in vayne in the lord ; It cannot bee in vayne, for the work its. if there were nothing else, is its owne Reward ; Our servants work for us, God's servants work for themselves ; *Amor mercedis, non est amor mercenarius. qui amat aliquid præter Deum quod non amat propter Deum, non amat Deum.* As the mother of Moses, though engag'd by naturall affection to nurse the child, yet wⁿ Pharoh's daughter had commanded her to doe it & promis'd to pay her for doing it, had then a further additionall engagem^t—In like manner is it with the people of God.

From Math. 9. 12. They that are whole need not a Physician but y^e^t y^e are sick. sin is the sicknesse of the soule and sin-sick soules stand in great need of a Physician, and that Physician is no other but Jesus X^t. lord Jesus, heale my soule, for I have sinned against thee.

At Worthenb. Nov. 13. From luke 15. 17. the Spirit brings to consideration not only of the State of the soule, but also the wayes of the soule, *thus saith the lord of hosts, Consider your wayes*, the way in which the prodigal walked before conversion was a

way of Pride, idlenesse, riot, wantonnesse, the way in which hee walked after Conversion was a way of Repentance, Humility, Obedience; lord, evermore let mee bee led in that way. I know I cannot be better any where then in my Father's House, lord, keepe mee at home with thy selfe.

24. Our day of monthly conference at Robert Byckley's House. *Qu.* wherein consists the Happines of Heaven! much was said concerning it, but behold the one halfe was not told us.

29. John Hughes mantayned (contrary to what was delivered in publike that day) that it is no blessing but a Curse for one that never shall bee sav'd, to bee kept by restrayning Grace from open scandalous sins, his reason was bec. such a one is more unlikely to bee convinc't then another.—I think it to bee a mercy, bec. God is lesse dishonoured, his people lesse greived, the sinner lesse punished.—lord, teach us thy will, and let mee bee cursed, if it bee a curse with thy Restraying Grace, keep in my Corruptions, but withall let mee have renewing grace too to change my nature.

2. the Judge set forth for london.

14. Dr. Rock of Hampton came to y^e lady. a Papist.

16. Mrs. Golson of Lincolnshire came to y^e lady.

18. the lady's Breast bled much; suppos'd to be a cancer.

23. About this time a child of Rich. Humphryes which was to bee baptiz'd on the Sabbath day dyed on Friday night.

28. Mr. Roger Puleston came home—from london before his Father.

December 1. A day of Prayer at Joseph Ridgway's * house in Shocklach, many sweet enlargements vouchsafed, blessed bee God. Among other mercyes beg'd for ourselves, the Church, the nation, relations, Freinds, some weak and sick, others in other troubles. this was specially insisted on that the lord would find out a way for y^e settlement of an able Faithfull Ministry in that Parish, which was desired, not out of any evil will to him that Officiates y^{er}

* This very old English name, which shows that the British ways followed for the most part the ridges, was represented at Shocklach, for many generations, by a family who were descended from the Ridgways, earls of Londonderry, and settled afterwards in the parish of Hanmer.

though very unworthy, Mr. Rob^t Thornton, but out of good will to the Peoples soules which are like to perish for want of wholesome food; lord, hear in heaven thy dwelling-place and if thou hast any lost Groats in that parish, light a Candle and seek them and find them, for thy Goodnesse sake ô: lord.

8. Our monthly lecture-day at Worthenb. the lord prosper his Gosp. to this people, they have it preacht amongst them in season and out of season, even so, Amen, lord Jesus! Mr. lewis taught from *luke 15. 17. In my Father's House there is bread enough*, Jesus X^t is the true Bread that came downe from heaven, by him wee are fed, nourished, strengthned, were men truly hungry they would part with any thing rather y^{en} want it, but here's our misery, wee are full of other things, sin, selfe, earth and no wonder if the full soule loaths the Honey-combe. lord, evermore give mee this Bread!

After Sermon was ended a child of Mr. Holliman's was to bee Baptized; I thought once to have done it in publike and in regard the father was absent in london and the mother sick in bed, I yeilded y^t some fit person (Mr. Orlando Fogg was pitcht upon) should represent y^e Parents in undertaking for the education of the child, but upon second thoughts, I altred my purpose (though I found it sutable to the Directions of y^e Assembly of Divines) fearing lest those who could not know y^e Grounds I went upon, might happily look upon it as a Presedent for y^e Use of God-fathers & God-mothers, and in that resp. it might have beene an Offence, wherefore I went to the House and there Baptiz'd it the Child's name was Edward, and the Mother undertook for the education in the nurture and Admonition of the lord. —I hold it fittest that that Ordinance bee administred publikely on the lord's day in the presence of the whole Congregation, but yet neverthesse the Rule not being Scripturall, but only Prudential, it may admitt of Variations from it. 'Tis somew^t inconvenient on y^e lord's day, unlesse the people would agree to putt off y^e feasting part of y^e Solemnity to some other time. I find Abraham feasted when hee wean'd the child—Gen. 21. 8.—lord, shew mee what thou wilt have mee to doe.

17. Sister Mary return'd from Shrewsbury, not rid of her Mother-fits which shee had before; the time of her being there

was chargeable, it cost between thirty and forty pounds ; I blesse God, I had it for her use.*

29. Our day of monthly Conference at John Hughes house upon Threapwood, *Qui*. How may wee know whether wee are of those that have their Portion in this life—The Duty was carryed on with much love and meeknes, and I hope wth some comfort and ædification to those that were present. O lord, let not the things of this life bee my portion.

Usury, Saint Dunstans, Pauls, Christ Church, Salsbury, Windsor, Worcester, Westchester, Banbury, Bangor, Asaph.

Dr. White's livings.

Qui sermonavit vivus sine Think—sine Thank : o
Mortuus in foveam jacitur sine clink sine clank : o.

Epitaph. M^{ri} L. Itineran.

Hippocrates for y^e Spleen i.e. *κράτος ἱπποκ.*

In a Feaver, if the Tongue cannot be held out steady, tis commonly mortall.

For the Spleen.

Of Sena, halfe an Ounce, of lycoris as much, a Spoonfull of Coriander-seed, enfused over night in a quart of fayre water, to bee drunk y^e next morning at three draughts, an houre between each draught. *Probatum.*

For a Cold.

Drink Peny-royall water, warm'd, with a little sugar.

For Convulsions.

Conserve of Rue, morning & evening.

For Colique.

Decoctum florum Camomeli in cerevisiâ, in dolore Colici est instar incantamenti.

I purpose this present yeare 1657 (as I did the yeare forgoing) to set by the Tenth of all the moneyes I receive for charitable uses, viz. two shillings in every pound.

My God accept it in Christ. Amen.

* What a true spirit of Christian charity is this, which knows no limit but that of actual ability ! St. Matt. xxv. 36.

| | | Anno 1657. | | Received. | Set by. |
|-----------|-------------------|------------|------|-----------|---------|
| Mar. 10. | At Oxon | 3 | 1 4 | ..... | 0 6 0 |
| Mar. 24. | at Emerall | 5 | 0 0 | ..... | 0 10 0 |
| Apr. 6. | at Emerall | 35 | 0 0 | ..... | 3 10 0 |
| Jun. 10. | at Oxon | 4 | 12 6 | ..... | 0 9 0 |
| Sept. 10. | at Oxon | 4 | 14 6 | ..... | 0 9 0 |
| Oct. 1. | at Emerall | 10 | 0 0 | ..... | 1 0 0 |
| Dec. 8. | at Emerall | 10 | 0 0 | ..... | 1 0 0 |
| | at Emerall | 5 | 0 0 | ..... | 0 10 0 |
| Dec. 12. | at Oxon | 3 | 8 7 | ..... | 0 7 0 |
| „ 14. | at Emerall | 13 | 0 0 | ..... | 1 6 0 |
| „ 15. | at Emerall | 7 | 0 0 | ..... | 0 14 0 |
| | | 100 16 11 | | 10 1 0 | |

1658. *Jan.* 25. A motion was first made to Mrs. K. M. on my behalf. Shee desir'd time to consider.

Feb. 8. Shee return'd answer shee would speak with mee hers. 15th. a book sent (Ambrose Prima) and a time appointed.

In September, 1658, the lady Puleston died. "She was," said he, "the best friend I had on earth, but my friend in heaven is still where he was, and he will never leave me nor forsake me." He preached her funeral sermon from Isaiah iii. 26. He has noted this expression of hers not long before she died, "My soul leans to Jesus Christ; lean to me, sweet Saviour." The following statement in Philip Henry's hand has been lent me by Mr. R. P. Greg, of Coles Park, Herts. It seems to have been written at the lady's dictation.

Sept. 2, 1658.

It is my earnest desire to my Husband

1. That hee will bee pleased to pay the moneyes which I owe according as will appear by a paper written with my own hand.

2. That hee will give to the Three maydes w^{ch} tended mee in my sicknesse five pounds apeice, Mary Newton, Sarah Prichard, Mary Prichard.

3. That hee will satisfy Mrs. Morgan for her very great care concerning mee, there is three pound due to her by promise.

4. That hee will give to Sarah Henry fifty pounds, and my Cloaths, and whatsoever is mine in my Chamber.

The ground of these my desires is besides his Generall love to mee, a particular Promise, that in case I should dye before him, hee would give mee leave to bestow as far as two Hundred pounds would goe according as I should please.

There were present when this was spoken Mrs. Horsey, Mrs. Morgan, Mary Newton, and my selfe, P. H.

A note of what is in my lady's chamber.

Her wearing Clothes— Bedding—

A Damask Table Cloth and 4 Napkins.

Bookes.

A Silver Damask Cup, a Silver Porringer, Two Silver Tasters, Five silver spoones, a Tankard.

Her Strong-water Cabinet—

An Amber-Bracelett with a Sergeant's Ring.

Two Diamond Pinns— Bodkin,

The watch.

a saphire Ring, a gold seal- & wedding ring. a Diamond-Ring. a necklace of Corall and a Pomander Bracelett.

a Drinking Shell. a spur-royal beaten out.

a Cabinet with Tills. a silk cushnett.

Physique-Baskett.

He removed from Emral to the house in Worthenbury which the Judge had built for him in February, 1658-59. In the following March he was much solicited to leave Worthenbury, and to accept of the Vicarage of Wrexham, and the same year he had an offer made him of a considerable living near London; but he declined both offers. That year he had some disturbance from the Quakers, who were set on by others who wished ill to his ministry. The Cheshire rising under Sir George Booth, afterwards Lord Delamere, and that of North Wales under Sir Thomas Middleton, could not but affect Worthenbury and the country thereabouts. Mr. Henry's prayer for them in his

diary, the day of their first appearing, is, "Lord, own them if they truly own Thee." He notes that Lambert's forces, which came down to suppress them, did in that neighbourhood espouse the Quakers' cause, and offer injury to some ministers; and therefore saith he, "unless God intend the ruin of the nation by them, they cannot prosper." Nor did they long, though in that expedition they had success. In their return some of Lambert's soldiers were at Worthenbury Church, and one of them sat with his hat on while they were singing psalms, for which he publicly admonished him. The first rising of the Cheshire forces was August 1, 1659, and the 19th following they were worsted and scattered by Lambert's forces near Northwich, a strange spirit of fear being upon them, which quite took off their chariot wheels. The country people called it, not the "Cheshire Rising," but the "Cheshire Race."

On September 5, 1659, Judge Puleston died, and all Philip Henry's interest (as his son tells us) in the Emeral family was buried in his grave. He preached the judge's funeral sermon from Nehemiah xii. 14: "Wipe not out my good deeds that I have done for the house of my God, and for the offices thereof;" the design of which was not to applaud his deceased friend, but to show that deeds done for the house of God are good deeds, and to press people, according to their ability and opportunity, to do such deeds. One passage in that sermon ought to be recorded—that it had been the practice of a worthy gentleman in the neighbouring county in renewing his leases, instead of making it a condition that his tenants should keep a hawk or a dog for him, to oblige them that they should keep a Bible in their houses for themselves, and should bring up their children to learn to read and be catechized.

The change in the relations of Philip Henry to the Emeral family after this date calls for some passing notice.

In the diary for 1681 he refers to a time "when he was a Cavalier;" and that he should have ceased to be one after his early life at Whitehall, after witnessing the execution of the king, after losing everything in the cause of royalty, may perhaps have been owing to the influence upon a youth of the words and conduct of Lord Pembroke, and afterwards of the persuasive arguments of Lady Puleston. It is evident that she was a person of no common intellect. The Puleston family had been on the side of the Parliament in the late troubles, and Emral had been taken by the Royalists in 1644, and unnecessary harshness used, as was alleged. But from the way in which the judge criticizes the proceedings of the prayer-meeting which Mr. Henry had established, we may perhaps conclude that it was the courtly manner, with the solid learning and genuine piety, of the young Oxonian which enlisted his sympathies, rather than the precise doctrinal views that he held. With the lady it would be otherwise; and in the tone of her letters to Mr. Francis Palmer of Christ Church, and to Dr. Owen, the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, we recognize a person of decided, if not extreme, opinions, in whose words and advice Philip Henry might seem to hear his own mother's voice over again, and be much influenced by them.

That the next generation, who had become in some way Royalists and Episcopalians, should dislike their Presbyterian tutor, is not remarkable. They only anticipated by one year the verdict of the nation in breaking the yoke which neither their fathers nor they were able to bear. He was a hearty well-wisher to the return of the king in April, 1660, and much affected with the mercy of it. On the 26th of this month he was married, at Whitewell Chapel, to Katherine, the only daughter and heir of Mr. Daniel Matthews, of Broad Oak, in the county of Flint. Some opposition was made by her father, owing partly to offers

having been made for his daughter's hand by others of considerable estate, partly too that he did not sympathize with Philip Henry's religious opinions; but these difficulties were overruled, and with his own hand he gave her in marriage. The Broad Oak property, which Mr. Matthews had obtained with his wife, Eleanor Benyon (as heiress of the Howell family, who had held it for many generations), was settled upon this marriage, and the remainder of his property in Hanmer parish—"lands of ancient inheritance," as Philip Henry calls them—came to them also at his death in 1667. The purpose of marriage was published in the church three Lord's days before—a laudable practice, which he greatly approved, and persuaded others to. The day before his marriage he kept as a day of secret prayer and fasting. He used to say, "Christ will be present at the wedding if he be invited by prayer."

The first letter I find addressed to Mrs. Henry after their marriage is dated "London." It well exhibits the affection, the happiness, and the piety of the writer.

London, October 9, 1660.

DEAR HEART,

I bless God, I am safe and well at London. I came from Oxford yesterday morning alone, but the Lord was with mee; it was a long journey but I was stirring betimes. I was nine miles on my way before eight o'clock, and came an hour or two before sun-set to Thistleworth.* Towards the end of my journey, for three or four miles, where was most danger it pleased God I had Company, which was a great mercy. I met many soldiers upon the way, going homewards upon their disbanding,† towards their several countries, and I was sometimes afraid

* This place is frequently mentioned by Philip Henry, but has not yet been identified. Evelyn mentions it in his diary, February 28, 1648.

† "The troops were now to be disbanded. Fifty thousand men accustomed to the profession of arms, were at once thrown on the world; and experience seemed to warrant the belief that this change would produce much misery and crime. . . . But no such result followed. In a few months there remained not a trace that the most formidable army in the world had just been absorbed into

of them. They were by two & three in a company, but the Lord preserved mee. This morning I came to Chelsea, where I saw my sisters, in health, blessed bee God, and overjoyed to see me; from thence, this afternoon, to London. I have been with cousin Thomas Hotchkis, from whom I received a letter to S^r Orlando Bridgman from Mr. Eddow; and, to-morrow, I purpose, God willing, to wait upon his Lordship, expecting a charge from him. in the first place, about conformity, wherein yet I shall do as I see cause, in case I should be continued at Worthenbury. The ministers here are generally unanimous, and resolved. Dr. Sheldon was installed Bishop of London to-day. The King is gone into the country for a fortnight during the trial of his father's Judges to prevent petitions. I sleep to-night at Mrs. Kingstons who desires to be remembered to you, and to Mr. Puleston, and his wife. I wrote to you, by the last post, from Oxford. Commend me to sister Mary, and all that ask of me. Dear heart, make much of thyself, and love me; and the Lord everlasting be thy Sun and Shield! So prayeth,

Thine, in all affection,

PHILIP HENRY.

In September, 1660, Mr. Fogg, Mr. Steele, and Mr. Henry were presented at Flint assizes for not reading the Common Prayer, though as yet it was not enjoined. They entered their appearance and it fell, for the king's declaration touching ecclesiastical affairs came out soon after, which promised liberty and gave hopes of settlement; but the spring assizes following they were presented again.

In November of that year he took the oath of allegiance at Overton, before Sir Thomas Hanmer and two other justices, of which he has left this memorandum in his diary: "God so help me, as I purpose in my heart to do accordingly." One of the chief characteristics of Philip Henry was his belief in the power of prayer. He was resolved

the mass of the community. The Royalists themselves confessed that, in every department of honest industry, the discarded warriors prospered beyond other men."—Macaulay's "History," cap. ii. See diary for 1667, March 15 (note).

that he and his house should serve the Lord. There was, therefore, family worship night and morning. He would say sometimes, "If the worship of God be not in the house, write 'Lord have mercy on us' upon the door, for there is a plague, a curse in it." He always began with a short prayer imploring the Divine presence; next he sung a Psalm; then he read a portion of Scripture, taking the Bible in order, explaining it and catechizing the children. He then prayed, always kneeling, which he looked upon as the fittest gesture for prayer. In family prayer he was usually most full in giving thanks for family mercies, confessing family sins, and begging family blessings. He used to observe, concerning Job, that he offered burnt-offerings for his children, according to the number of them all—an offering for each child. Family prayer he called family duty, and he did not allow the presence of strangers to interfere with it. "Prayer and provender hinder no man's journey," he would say.

Besides this, he and his wife constantly prayed together morning and evening, according to St. Peter's rule, "Live as heirs together of the grace of life, that your prayers be not hindered." Above all, he made conscience of closet-worship. It was the caution and advice which he frequently gave to his children and friends, "Be sure you look to your secret duty: keep that up whatever you do: the soul cannot prosper in the neglect of it." He observed that "Apostasy generally begins at the closet door."

As the diaries for 1658–1660 are not forthcoming, I can only give a very slight sketch of those years, and must pass on to that for 1661, which, with those for 1663, 1667, 1671, 1672, 1674, 1678, belonged (till her decease in February, 1881) to Mrs. Lee of Redbrook, a descendant in the fourth degree from Matthew Henry, and—with her two sisters—the co-heiress of Broad Oak and other lands.

1661.

January 1. This day begins the new year, the lord make it a year of mercy.

2. Hanmer-exercise, lord, a day in thy Courts is better than a thousand. It was rumor'd that there would be a disturbance but the lord some way or other prevented. ô that o^r opportunityes might yet a while bee continued to us! and that wee may have Grace to use them to thy Glory.

3. Mr. Richard Taylor return'd from London, where he was ordayn'd by D^r Sanderson Bishop of Lincoln. Friends well there, blessed bee God. About this time Mr. Davis of Jesus Coll. lodg'd a night with mee, I lent him half a crown at his departure, hee saying hee was poor and wanted it.

4. I went to Whitchurch to speak wth Mr. John Eddow to w^m the affay^r of Worthenb. is refer'd but hee was not at home. lord, wⁿ I come to thee about that or any other of my concernm^{ts} I am sure to find thee at home.

6. A stir was made about a collection for a poor woman of Bangor without Mr. Puleston's leave, lord, I cannot doe what I would, I desire to doe what I can for thy Glory.

7. I visited Tho. Prichard an aged weak man—lord fit him to dyë.

8. I find in every prayer greater pronesse to Thanksgiving then either to confession or Petition—which I fear is not well & argues I am little acquainted with myself. This time, twelve-month, it was quite contrary lord make mee truly humble & truly thankful.

9. I was at the house of mourning, visiting Richard Humphryes, long sick & sore, & pray'd wth him to his Comfort & my own Edification. God hath mixt mercy to him with his affliction in giving him a careful tender wife.

10. Lord, how are they increased that trouble mee, but in thee, lord, doe I put my trust, somet. fear and somet. faith prevails, lord Jesus increase my Faith.

11. I was at Whitchurch, Mr. Eddow waves the Reference left with him by D^r B^r yet advises mee to defer distreyning till his return. Newes of an Insurrection at london last Sabbath day at

night by fifth-Monarchy men. who declar'd for King Jesus, some were kild, more affrighted; the King at Portsmouth with his Mother. tis probable this may give occasion to those that seek occasion to restrayn our libertyes hitherto indulg'd—In my way home with Capt. Taylor and John Wright Mr. Pul: overtook us & drew his sword & would needs fight saying wee were all Traytors, swearing desperately: ô the infinite patience of y^e eternal God.

14. Capt. Barbor my Friend dyed, a great misse of him, hee was a pious & prudent X^{ti}an and had the good word of all even y^e vilest. help lord for the Godly man ceaseth.

15. Mr. Bruce wrote to mee about y^e Order hee had received prohibiting private Dayes and about his personal wants, which are pressing, lord, thou knowest how ready I would bee to help him. if I had it, or any poor member, much more any poor Minister of the lord Jesus, help, lord!

16. This day I was not well, I am prone to look upon every Distemper as a Summons to mee to give up my stewardship and I hope it is for my good so to reckon. Lord grant I may not bee found unprovided for; I know neither day nor hour. I pray'd with the Old Folkes at John Barns where 4. make above 300. yeares.

17. I went to Wrexham, where I p.formed the last office of my love to my dear deceased Friend, Capt. Gerard Barbor, the Saint of the lord, accompanying him to his grave where hee rests as in a bed of spices till the day of y^e restitution of all things. & then I hope to see him again & so wee shall bee together for ever with the lord. I pass'd through many dangers by reason of water & fowl wayes, but y^e lord was with mee blessed bee his name.

19. God hath denyed mee & others for two sick p.sons this week for w^m prayer was made, the will of y^e lord bee done.

20. I finisht the exposition of leviticus blessed bee God.

A word of terrour, knowing which, wee perswade men, lord, prosper!

21. I went with my wife to Broad-Oak, where wee stay'd all night & return'd the next day safe and well, blessed bee God.

23. Sam Hanmer of Ch. Ch. came to visit mee. I would

gladly doe for him tow. his mayntenance but my power is straitened. So is the will of God, wherein I acquiesce.

24. 25. A time of trouble in the nation. Many good men imprison'd & restrayn'd, some with some without cause, I am yet in peace blessed bee God, but expect suffring, lord, prepare mee for it & grant I may never suffer as an evil doer, but as a Christian.

26. 27. Hell the subject preacht upon this day that from the Terrour of the lord I might perswade men. the lord perswade them from sin to Christ.

28. I was at Broughton but knew not how to order visits to the advantage of Religion as I desire & as I ought.

29. I was at Wrexham, where I pray'd with Mrs. Mostyn not well & visited Mrs. Barbour in sorrow & Mrs. Weld in sorrow also for her youngest son, Michael, the lord comfort his poor people & make up all their losses from himsf, who is God All-sufficient.

30. I was at Shocklach * at y^e Baptizing of a child of Joseph Ridgwayes, named Sarah, Mr. Taylor baptizd it, wee both taught from Act. 2. 38. I of repentance, hee of bapt.

31. Things are low with mee in the world, but 3^d left, but my hope is yet in the *lord*, that in due time hee will supply more. Amen.

About this time Venner † & others were executed in london, for the Insurrection there—Jan. 6. & 9. Alarms in the country but without cause, blessed bee God. Many Quakers in prison because refuse the Oath of Allegiance.

February 2. 3. Assistance vouchsafed in study & preaching blessed bee God! the lord pardon my manifold failings—yet surely I know it shall bee well with them that fear God, that fear before him.

* This interesting church and Edlaston, near Wem, are the only two in this neighbourhood which may be called Norman. Shocklach is now (1881) being restored, under the care of the Honourable W. Trevor Kenyon, Rector of Malpas.

† Venner was a wine cooper of the city, who went about with some thirty companions proclaiming "King Jesus." Every one at first fled before them. One man, who being questioned said "he was for God and King Charles," was instantly murdered by them. This sect persuaded their hearers that now the critical time of the millennium was come, and their prayers were not only necessary, but their arms for bringing on of this work, and encouraged them by saying that one of them should chase a thousand, etc.

4. I went to Chester, where I spent 8 houres that day & the day following with Dean Brid—and return'd as far from any result or determination as wth I went thither. It seems at present as if the lord were about to remove mee hence, father thy will be done it is not his but thy doing: I spake with Mr. Ratcliff & Mr. Golborn about distreyning & receiv'd directions in order thereunto.

6. Minist^{rs} meeting at Bangor. Q. an sit Transubstantiatio in sacrâ cœnâ. The last wee are likely to have till God mend things in the nation, would wee had priz'd & impv'd y^{em} better while wee had y^e liberty of y^{em}. I din'd with my wife & sister at Broughton. I pay'd Mr. Steel his £4, & arbitrated y^e businesse betw. Mr. Fog & Mr. Jenkyn, paying a mark to Mr. Fogg this day & a Mark to Mr. Jenkins formerly. Blessed are y^e Peacemakers.

Lent enjoyed by Proclamation to bee observ'd.

8. Mr. P. made one of the Deputy-leiftenants of the County, sent to Search my house for Arms not openly but sliely by his brother E. but found none. Hee beleiv'd a lying report, that wee had a meeting that day at John Hugh's, & caus'd the bells to ring for Joy, hoping for great advantage against us thereby, but it prov'd nothing so, lord make us wise as serpents & harmlesse as doves.

9. Studying day, assistance vouchafed, to God bee Glory. Passion somew^t prevayled in my transactions with Tho: Hale. which I am now sorry for, lord lay not this sin to my charge.

10. Sabbath-subject, concerning Anger, lord, mortify that & all my unruly affections. Bells rung for pleasure, a sin, lord pardon, I endeavour'd to prevent it, but could not.

13. I walkt to Capt. Taylors & from thence to Bangor & so home, My heart is very barren of good thoughts, when I am alone, but fruitful enough of vayn thoughts.

14. Thursday, One sermon finisht this night for y^e Sabbath being to goe from home on the morrow, blessed bee God—I spake with David Philips about Arrears, but have no hopes by fair meanes—I told him, his M^r and hee must not bee angry with mee, if in pursuit of my just right I should bee forct to doe that which they might wish undone. Friends advise to Article āgt Mr. P.

either at the Assizes, or to the Chancello^r or to the Council, but as to my own temper, I list not to live in the fire, if I could help it.

15. I went to Chester Rob. Byck. wth mee, the Dean & Chancello^r D^r Baldwin pswaded with mee to conform, telling mee, else my preferm^t * was gone and what? are you wiser then the King & Bishops, but God grant I may never bee left to consult with flesh and bloud in such matters. I visited Mr. Brown a Prisoner, as disaffected, who said, fear not to suffer for God, tis sweet, his presence makes a Prison a Palace.

16. I visited Mr. Cook, full of zeal ag^t B^{ps} liturgy—in my own busines I could effect nothing, it is y^e will of God I should still bee kept in uncertaintyes, therof. wait patiently—I returned home safe, bless God.

17. One other Sabbath spent without disturbance, blessed bee God; might our enemyes have their will, it should not be so, but our God chaynes th^m.

18. Ministers met at Hanmer, to discourse about the lawfulness of re-ordination—Mr. Orl. Fogg re-ordayn'd, † as for mys^f I am at present of the mind it ought not to bee, the former being sufficient, lord shew us what thou wouldst have us to doe.

19. Peic't again with Thomas Hale, I am jealous hee will not, but wish hee may perform bargain with mee.

20. Rich. Humphryes buried. Text. Job 33. 19. it pleased God long to Chasten him with payn & yet after all I hope was gracious to him, & delivered him from going down to y^e pit, his wife was diligent & tender in looking to him, though long, even to admiration.

* This was not the line of argument to convince such a conscientious man as Philip Henry, whose fear of "conferring with flesh and blood" in the things of God prejudiced his judgment in this matter.

† In the chancel of St. Mary's Church, Shrewsbury, is the following inscription:—"Orlando Fogg, ecclie Hardinensis in Comit. Flint. Rector et pœul. jurisdic. ibid. ordinarius, fil^{us} Rob^{ti} Fogg, ecclie. Bangor. Monac. Rectoris: Huc ad sanitat. recuperand^m accedens dum vitam diuturnior. quæsitv æternam invenit. fens posuit filⁱⁱ charissimo pater mestissimus. Nov^r 10, A.D. 1666." Orlando Fogg became Rector of Hawarden in 1662, on the ejection of his brother Lawrence, who, however, afterwards conformed, and died Dean of Chester. Their father had been chaplain to Dr. H. Bridgeman, and it was by the interest of his son, Sir Orlando Bridgeman, with the patron of Hawarden, Sir John Glynne, that this his namesake got it. Calamy has erroneously substituted Rowland for Lawrence (Owen and Blakeway's "Salop," ii. 405).

21. I spake to Mrs. Barb. concer. y^e loan of £100 in April next which shee partly promised, I visited Uncle Edwards at Eyton.

22. Feasted at Bangor, with my wife & sister where was Mrs. Fogg of Hawarden.

24. Sabbath-mercyes—I publisht a citation about probate of wills & Publishing Banns.

25. 26. At Chester. A release of y^e Tithes tendred by Mr. P. to D^r B^r but not accepted. I gave 10^s to Mr. Ratcliff, retayning him for my counsel, if I must to suit; lord, shew thys^t. God knowes I had rather preach for nothing then not at all.

27. 28. At Broad-Oak, Whitch. Ash with my dear wife, taking her leave with Friends, bec. drawing near the time of her Travel. I was not well, but God restored mee.

Two hundred of Goose Kids—cost 6^s 8^d.

24. Catechism reviv'd. a comfortable appearance of children, bless lord.

March 1. the cross repaying in the churchyard of Worthenb. by Mr. P. and y^e Governor his serv^t. lord, I mourn for that which I cannot help. I return'd home & left my dear wife at Broad O. behind mee, lord, preserve her, form y^e child in her and X^t in y^e child, Amen.

3. A collection for one lewis ap Hugh of Skiviok, 6^s gathered. The Sabbath-subject, of Meeknesse, lord, give mee a meek & quiet spirit.

4. I fetcht my dear wife from Broad-Oak, wee came home well & in safety, blessed bee God. My Father not yet marryed but moving towards it, the will of y^e lord bee done.

5. lent observ'd according to Proclamation, the earth is the lords & the fulness y^eof—Mr. Fogg came to advise with mee about Bangor, D^r B^r would gladly be rid of him thence, bec. of the allowance hee is in bonds to give him, but I think it best, hee should stay there as long as hee can.

6. My dear wife every way my helper, blessed bee God.

7. Mr. Holliman promised to endeavour reconciliation betw. my Father & my Uncle Benion. I wish hee might effect it it seemes to stick at this only, my Father will no cease unlesse my

Uncle acknowl. (implicitly at least by paying him costs) that hee hath done him wrong.

8. Contests about the liturgy, an everlasting* bone of contention, till remov'd or mended, My sister Mary went to Whit-church—I received letters from London, Friends well there, blessed bee God.

9. Studying-day, in much infirmity, things are not with mee as they should bee, nor as they have been—help lord.

10. Many sick desired prayers, Daniel lloyd, Edw. ap Ellis, a son of John ap Ellis, John Griffith, Tho. Griffith, Mrs. Holliman for her daughter, lord, hear in heaven. I will hearken! Blessed bee God for liberty & help this day.

12. A stir intended about the Font,† Ned ap Edw. church-

* A Royal Warrant was issued appointing twelve bishops and twelve Presbyterians, with nine coadjutors on each side, to meet in the Savoy Hospital with powers to review the Book of Common Prayer, comparing the same with the most ancient Liturgies which have been used in the Church in the primitive and purest times. The Presbyterians demanded the discontinuance of all responses and similar divisions in the Litany; an abolition of saints' days; an introduction of extemporaneous prayer; a change as to several of the Epistles and Gospels: lengthening of the Collects; the rejection of the Apocrypha; the removal from the office of the word "regenerated," as applied to all baptized persons: and a similar rejection of the giving thanks for brethren taken by God to Himself, as embracing all alike who were interred. They would have the liturgy be more particular and the Catechism more explicit. They consented to give up the Assembly's Catechism for the Thirty-nine Articles somewhat altered, and they finished with the request that the cross, the ring, the surplice, and kneeling at the Holy Communion should be left indifferent. The Church commissioners replied (see Cardwell's "History of the Conferences"), adding that they would even give up the ceremonies if any shadow of objection could be brought forward on the score of their sinfulness or impropriety. This the others could not do, but would not come to terms. The conference, therefore, terminated in mutual dissatisfaction. In Hunter's "Life of Oliver Heywood" (1842), p. 354, we see that it was not so much a dislike of symbolism as of authority which distinguished the Presbyterians. At the ordination of his son, Oliver Heywood delivers to him a Bible to *intimate*, etc., and also takes him by the hand to *express*, etc.

† What the difficulty was we are not told. Perhaps the font had during the Rebellion been thrown aside, as was the case with the one at Whitewell. In the beginning of Christianity people were baptized at fountains or in lakes. In English Maelor there are at least eight names of places which refer to this. Then for many centuries the baptistery formed part of the *exedra* or places adjoining to the church. After this, fonts were introduced, and by Canon 81 they "must be of stone, and placed in every church and chapel where baptism is to be ministered in the ancient usual position; in which only font the minister shall baptize publickly." In England fonts are generally placed near the west door, to signify that it is by baptism we are admitted into the Church.

warden set on by Mr. P. would have it us'd as formerly, I have someth. to say Pro. & someth. Con. & doe rather incline to doe it there, if there bee no remedy that becoming all things to all in indifferent things, I may gain some.

I receiv'd an old Debt of 40^s from Mr. Philips of Mulsford, in good season. I was at Broughton. 'Tis a great mercy that hee & his family doe yet continue to own & countenance y^e best th. lord, fill him with zeal more & more, especially as a magistrate.

14. 15. Garden prepar'd, I sow. God knows who may reap; the lord make mee wise to sow to the spirit & then of the spirit I shal bee sure to reap life everlasting.

16. Freedom, quietness, & Assistance in study this day, blessed be God. John y^e son of David Peter baptiz'd in y^e way as formerly, & whatever was design'd noth. was executed, blessed bee God, who hath the hearts & hands of all my adversaries in a chayn, & hath broken this snare also & I am delivered.

19. I went to Br. Oke where I delivered to my Father a Bond of his of £100. w^{ch} hee owd to Aunt Adans, to w^m I made a new one, also two Rings of my mother in laws, which hee desir'd of my wife & had according to his desire.

20. Garden finisht, in time of an ecllipse, lord lift up upon mee the light of thy countenance, & let noth. cloud it towards my soul.

21. I met Mr. St. return'd from London, I hope rather strengthened then shaken, lord, tis a day of tryal with us and snares are layd in our way & temptations are multiplyed, help lord.

22. I receiv'd all writings concer. Br. Oke both from my father Matthewes & Uncle Benyon. Peace being made betw. them, blessed bee the Peace-makers.

23. Mr. Mason advertiz'd us that our appearance at the Assize, where wee stand indited for non-conformity, might bee wav'd, through the Indulgence granted in the Kings Declaration, now blessed bee God that hath broken this snare also.

24. Peace & liberty vouchsafed one Sabbath more, lord, what shall wee render. Mr. Orl. Fogg was design'd to have

preached at Emeral Chappel,* but was prevented by sicknesse. I fear a snare therby to others but none to mys^f. God is lord of all.

25. This day there is due to mee from Mr. Puleston £15. but my reward is with my God. Chosen for y^e Parl. in Cheshire, y^e Baron of Kinderton & lord Brewerton.

26. I heard of the goodnes of God to sister Sarah & find it is not in vayn to wayt upon him, hee is the father of the fatherless.

27. I was at Chester. The lord is pleas'd as yet to afford mee favour in the sight of the man without a snare to conscience, & hee can doe it still.

28. 29. Assizes at Hawarden, where Mr. Steel & I were presented for not reading Com. Pra. hee that hath delivered doth deliver, and I trust also hee will yet deliver.

April 1. I was at Fenns, where I payd rent to Mr. Hammer—26^s 8^d—for y^e lease-land at Br. Oke. In my return I was inform'd by John Jenings of several passages, wherein y^e Churchwarden, Edw. Dav. in my presentin^t forswore hims^f I shall inquire further about it.

2. Mr. Orl. Fogg weak and ill, lord, take him not away in the midst of his days.

3. Hammer-Exercise, Mr. Porter & Mr. Steel taught, I was designed to it but twas much better as it was. S^r Tho. Hammer signif. his dislike of it, which made it doubtful whether wee should have any more, but at parting I never saw such a face of sadnes, as was upon those that were present, sure God heares the sighs & sees the tears of his poor people.

* There are names still remaining near Emral which would seem to show that there had been anciently a church or chapel there dedicated to a Welsh saint named Gwerydd, and another to the blessed Virgin Mary. "The chapel" here referred to by Philip Henry "was dedicated to St. Thomas the Martyr. It had a tithe apportioned to it and a cure of souls, and the duty was done at one time by the parson of Bangor. Among the Emral manuscripts there is a petition that the Worthenbury minister should officiate instead. In 1443 it was used by the family as a burial-ground." Mr. Joseph Morris, of Shrewsbury, writes: "Captain John Puleston, the last male representative of the family, who died in 1800, pulled down the old consecrated chapel of the mansion, where several servants of the family were buried, and upon the foundation and with the materials built the present dog-kennel. The altar table was placed in the laundry, where it still remains as an ironing board. Returning home from hunting one day, he was thrown off his horse and pitched against the kennel-wall, became idiotic, and in that state died. This was looked upon by deserving persons as a judgment from Heaven."

4. I was at Broughton where hapned to bee Mrs. Puleston—Mr. Lewis cal'd to see mee, my ancient Friend.

This week at Ruthyn y^e Judge was more moderate. Quakers releast upon Subscription to y^e tenor of y^e Oath without swearing formally to it.

7. Sabbath mercyes vouchsafed once more, notwithst. all y^e power & policy of those that hate us. Text—I beseech you brethren by the mercyes of y^e lord, lord pardon sin & blesse y^e word.

8. Two of our Kine calv'd together and all well—I bless God ; Mee thinks I see even our common mercyes flowing in to us in a Covenant-way which puts both sweetnes in & value on them.

9. A copy of the lease and Release concer. Br. Oak was delivered to my Uncle Benion by Mr. Holliman, & I hope an end is put to that strife.

10. Several strangers of other parishes that have heretofore communicated with us being informed of y^e Canon forbidding it were much sadned by it, but for y^e present continue to come, till th. be settled in y^e church, which God hasten & grant it bee for y^e better & not for y^e worse.

11. Commissioners for y^e Militia met at Hanmer, where I was Summon'd to bee, to bear a 3^d pt. in a light horse, for Broad-Oke, Noth. done at present, only a 4th added, afterw. taken away. Leonard Perkins told mee, the book of Com. Pr. tendered to mee, was his, & that hee had had it in his house ever since, whereas Edw. David Swore, as Tho. Jackson & Will Butler tell mee, that twas y^e parish book & was in readines for mee to have read at any time since, w^h I would.

12. I was at Chester, where I received orders from D^r Br. about nominating a Church-warden for this next year—heard Mr. Jackson preach Heb. 12. 2.—& return'd that night, late but well, blessed bee God.

This day was spent in Prayer at My House by my dear wife, Sarah Prichard, Mrs. Welsh Etc. lord hear in heaven and grant an Answer of peace. for thou never saidst, Seek ye mee in vayn.

13. Preparation-day, in Publique, without disturbance, I hope, not in vayn, ô lord prepare my unprepared heart, my family, & this whole Congregation. Amen.

14. A day in thy courts is better th^{en} a thousand, such a day as this, better then ten thousand. Wee had the liberty of all Gods Ordinances, Prayer, Reading, Expounding, Preaching, singing, Supper, Catechising, Baptism, blessed bee God, & may wee yet see many such dayes: Edw. David tendred again y^e Common-prayer-book. The child baptized, Thomas the son of Thos. Hale. I was afraid of snares in y^e supper, but the lord prevented, Jane Dee was present expecting it, but I pass'd by her, knowing some & being inform'd of more miscarriages in her conversation, & besides doubting of her Knowl. concer. w^{ch} she came not to render satisfaction.

15. Church-wardens chosen, Mr. Puleston named one in his right & I another in D^r B^r. but which shall stand, sub iudice lis est.

16. Evan Thomas Randle an old man of evil name was bury'd with Common Pr. by Mr. O. Fogg, at the desire of Mrs. Puleston of Emeral; lord, I am sorry for what I cannot help, it caused great Offence, and woe bee to him by w^m Offenses come.

17. I went to Wrexham about Moneyes for Father, but came home wthout.

18. Carpenters laying Chamber-floores, God knowes who shall enjoy.

19. 20. A time of Temptation with many in the parish betw. their Minister & landlord, lord strengthen the weak & confirm the wavering.

21. A promiscuous Sacram^t was at Emeral, lord pardon unworthy receivers. Mr. Bonniman administred it.

22. I received £100 wch I borrowed of Mrs. Barbor & brought it home in my pockets weary enough. The Hebrew word, to bee rich, signifies, to bee heavy.

23. King crowned, great joy, much sin, the lord pardon, Twas a very wett evening, which prevented someth. of God's Dishono^r.

24. I mett Mr. Mostyn at Bangor for w^m God hath at present provided a little sanctuary at lord Say's in Oxford-shire.

25. David Philips sick, rejoyce not wⁿ think enemy falleth, neither let thy heart bee glad wⁿ hee stumbleth, lest y^e lord see it & it displease him. & hee turn away his wrath from him, I

desire to walk accord. to this rule, father forgive him, as I forgive him from my heart, & spare him to doe better, not worse.

26. This day twelvemonth I was marry'd, a good day. The first year God took order that marry'd Persons should not goe forth to war, neither have I, but now I must prepare to endure hardship as a good soldier of X^t Jesus.

23. Covenants of new Obedience solemnly made by H. Peter, lately fallen, lord bee surety.—broken fowly—w^t will bee y^e issue.

Great Thunder at London that night the King was crowned.

May 1. David Philips bury'd, Mr. Bonniman at my desire preacht, I stay'd y^e sermon. T. *luk.* 16. 2. but went forth w^h Common P^r was to bee read at the grave, some expressions in the Prayers I cannot approve, espec. upon some occasions and particularly this.

3. Upon this day my dear wife was delivered of her first child, short payn. much mercy. I was y^{em} at Chester, but God was here at Worthenb. a present help.

6. 7. My dear wife & little one strengthen apace, blessed bee God. Shee is willing to give him suck & hath breasts & milk for it, which is a double mercy.

8. Parliam^t began, Clerks for Chester Dioces for y^e Convocation, D^r Samwayes D^r Smalswood.

9. 10. A very wett season, God is angry w^h us, now prepare to meet thy God—ô England, & good lord, in the midst of wrath, remember mercy. & say it is enough—Barley much abused in Drunknes, & now Barley seedness hindred, God is Righteous.

12. This day my dear little one was baptized, named John, lord, Stamp thy image on him & give him that new name—Mr. Mainwaring baptized him & preacht in y^e morning from Zech: 13. 1. & in the afternoon from P^{s. 51. 5. lord wash mee & my little one in that fountayn opened from o^r uncleane.}

13. little one not well, the lord heard prayer & made him well—I desire to sit loose from him, having given him to God, & knowing him to be but a flower in y^e field—I read of some people lately, that made no account of their children til y^{ey} were 7* years

* Cf. Hdt. i. 136: πενταετης.

old & I am bid to expect to see him often at Deaths door, the will of y^e lord bee done.

14. Neighbours din'd with us, & rejoyced in Gods Goodnesse on our behalf—The same night my dear wife began to bee ill of an ague, I see there are no comforts but what are mixt & checquer'd, till wee come to Heaven, tis the Evening commends the day. theref. serve the lord with fear & rejoyce with Trembling.

15. Mr. Barnston of Churton, & this week Sir Francis Kinaston of Otely, were buryed, great men & young men, stopt in y^e full career of their pleasure, lord, awaken those y^t survive.

16. My dear wife ill again, lord, rebuke the Ague & perfect her strength more & more. In y^e way to Churton, I had a fall, but received no harm, blessed bee God.

17. I distreynd at Shocklach for moneyes due to mee from Mr. P. The Bayliff was not faithful, John Ince, I wish I suffer no prejudice by it in the cause. hee had 10^s.

18. My dear wife ill again, lord, hear & have mercy, Studying day; my work done thankes bee to God in due time.

20. I was at Chester, & the lord was with mee, preserving mee from danger, succeeding my journey. It was an Ill day with my dear wife at home, having a sharp fit of an Ague, I returned late, & found her someth. better.

21. John Ince y^e Bayliff came not according to promise to demand y^e Cattle, a Replevin was fetcht by Mr. Pulestons servant from Chester.

22. I went mys^f to demand the cattle of Richard Phillips & William Pova, who had promised they should bee forthcoming but they refus'd to render them, whereupon Mr. P. bayliff demanded charges, Friends came to see us from Ash & Whitchurch. a very wett season, famin threatned by Death of Cattle & Dearth of Corn, if mercy prevent not: O, England, prepare to meet thy God.

23. I heard of several votes pass'd in Parliam^t * concern.

* There were two classes of nonconformists, Popish and Puritan, each demanding the toleration which was promised to all; but though the Church and State had actually been overthrown by the Puritans, while the Papists had as a body been true to the State, and had not injured the Church, the jealousy against the Papists was so great that the Puritans would not be prevailed upon to receive relief which they must share with their brother recusants. The king pressed for liberty to all, and was obliged at last to deny it to all.

Covenant, Common-Prayer, Militia, which what they may produce, God knowes. The members order'd to receive y^e sacram^t together at Margarets Westmin^r else not to sit in y^e house, according to y^e rites & ceremonyes of y^e church of England, at which many stumble, lord bee y^e^{er} Counsell^r.

24. Sin confessed, Prayer made for health for my dear wife, for fayr weather, for successe in my Affayr with Mr. P. all with this caution, if it bee thy will, ô God.

25. More wett, which caus'd a great Floud,* lord, say it is enough.

26. Waters hinder many from publique Ordinances, prayer made for fair weather, lord, hear in heaven. Text Ps. 24. 3. 4. what to think I know not concern. the Affayrs of y^e Nation, a cloud rises, but lord, mine eyes are unto thee.

27. I saw an order from the House of lords for burning the covenant See *Jer.* 36. 23. 32. which was done in London by y^e common hangman.

May 24. I had discourse with Mr. Pu. but could conclude nothing—expecting further Overtures.

28. Marg^t Fenton an aged woman buryed Text. P^r 16. 31. The hoary head is a crown of glory, if it bee found in the way of righ. In that way was her hoary head found, whereof I could not but give my publique Testimony. This day unknown to mee John Ince distreyned at Shocklach, which gives occasion to those who seek occasion, for y^e day before, I promised to forbear this week, but God knowes hee did it without acquainting mee with it.

29. The day of annual Commemoration of God's mercy in restoring the king, which I cannot yet but call mercy, considering his right, also y^e sad condition wee were in, through usurpers, & y^e manner of his coming in without bloodshed.

29. (cont^d) I preacht, Text. Mar. 12. 17. render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, & to God the th. that are Gods.

30. 31. My dear wife escapt her Ague, blessed bee God, who saith not, seek ye mee in vayne. This last week it pleas'd God most dayes were fayr.

* On the Dee floods are caused as often by wind as from any other cause.

June 1. I wrote* to Mr. Pul. making tenders of a reference, having learnt 'tis no disparagement but an Honor for y^e party wronged to bee the first in seeking reconciliation, the lord, if it bee his will, incline his heart to peace.

2. Sabbath Subject—Ps. 29. 1. concer. tongue sins, I hope, profitable to my hearers whereas many seem'd much affected.

3. Two irregular marriages about this time, Rich. Eytons & Mary Moyls, from both whom I hoped better th. God grant their rash entrance upon that condition may not embitter it to them hereafter.

4. I was this day at Bronnington where I never was before, & hard by the house, † it came into my heart to pray, that God would mortify in mee all inordinate desires, & expectations on earth, & that hee would secure to mee my house in heaven, which is best of all.

5. Cosin Eddow Chambers &c. came to see us & Mr. Fogg sollicitated to accept £80. & leave Bang^r I advised him not, it having appearance of evil, but to wayt the will of God.

9. Sabbath subject concer. swearing & lying. lord, convince the Guilty, & make y^{em} that are in any measure free, truly thankful & still watchful—take praise for praise, liberty & Assistance & goe on, good lord.

10. I went to Chester to acquaint D^r Br. with the intended reference, who promised never to remove mee till the law remov'd mee & yielded, if Mr. P. would pay mee y^e £100 hee should enjoy the corn-tith, which was the most I did or could expect. I saw the ruines of the Deanes & Bishops house, & am glad they are restor'd to y^e church though I think they may bee putt to better use than at present they are.

11. Sir Thos. Hanmer and my Father mett Mr. P. & mys where discourse was had about my affair, but noth. done. The reason given for withholding my annuity was my not reading Common-Pr. w^{ch} they think sufficient but let God be judge.

* The letter is at the end of this diary.

† Maes-llwyn ("field of the wood") House in Bronington was, together with some lands in Willington, the ancient inheritance of the Matthewes, but whether obtained from Matthew Gough (the companion in arms of the great Talbot), whose name they had adopted, or from Bledlyn ap Cynfyn, King of Wales, who was their male ancestor, I have no means of judging.

Though my wages bee abated my work & paynes have not hitherto been abated, blessed bee God.

16. Common-prayer-book tendred again, why, I know not—lord, they devise devices against mee, but in thee doe I put my trust, father forgive them, My Hands are yet clean from the Pollutions of y^e times, lord, keep y^{em} so, & let no Iniquity prevayl agst mee.

17. Dear Mr. Lewis came to Worthenb. to see mee & wee were mutually refreshed, lord, spare thy people—I heard of y^e death of y^e Marques of Argyll beheaded at Edinburgh & Mr. Guthry Minist^r there, wee have not yet resisted unto blood.

The lords order for burning the Covenant was hang'd up in the church by Mr. Pu. appointm^t near the reading Desk.

19. Appointed by y^e King for a day of publique fasting & thanksgiving in reference to the weather, but in few places observ'd for lack of timely notice.

20. My dear little one in health, & thriving—blessed bee God.

21. Goods left at Oxford with Mr. Slater by the lady Puleston's appointm^t A. 1655. were at last fetcht home and hee satisfy'd for the Custody of them. I was afraid lest, if any of them had miscarry'd, malice might have question'd mee, though conscious to mys^f in noth., ô learn to trust God.

22. A Hovell rear'd at the stables end, I build for I know not who, but chuse it, the counsel of y^e lord that shall stand. help in study, blessed bee God.

23. Strong reports, I should not bee suffred to preach to-day, but I did, & no disturbance, blessed bee God, who hath my enemyes in a chayn. I took down the lords Order, knowing no Authority but malice, that caus'd it to bee hang'd there where it was.

24. I went with my wife to Bronington—the first time shee rode abroad since her lying in, & blessed bee God I return'd with her in safety. Several women being mett this day in Prayer at Widow Prich. they were disturb'd by Mr. Pul. meanes, lord hear & see.

26. The Governo^r attempted to take his Oath for Church warden but was refus'd. My Enemyes are plotting against mee but the lord is my stay.

30. This day twas fully expected, I should have been hindred, but was not. Chapt^r exp. seasonable. Num. 23. I finisht y^e subject of Sanctif. from 2. Cor. 5. 17. lord, pardon, lord bless. I know not what to doe but my eyes are up unto thee, help, lord.

17. 18. County-Court-dayes at Chester, the Replevin, I suppose, was entred, I was not there.

July 1. Hearing of some neglect in my business the last County Court day I went to Chester to inquire about it, but presum'd there was none. by y^e way I mett with one Mr. Duboys a londoner; by whom I received information in many things concer. present publique Affayrs. I saw Dr. Bridgman, who told mee, I must speedily conform or there would bee no staying at Worthenb. lord, shew mee w^t thou wilt have mee to doe, for I am afraid of nothing but sin.

2. I visited Mr. Mainwaring, at his dwelling, I can hardly say, at his house, but God hath made him contented. ô what cause have I to be thankful, who am more equally & comfortably yoak'd.

3. The first day of my son John's putting on a coat, cloth him, lord, with grace, with righteousnes, with Christ Jesus.

4. I was at Whitch. at y^e Marriage of Tho. Talbot & Cosin Jane Wittar, Mr. Porter preacht. Heb. 13. 4. the lord give them his blessing.—Newes from london of speedy severity intended ag^t Non-conformityes, the lord can yet, if hee will, break the snare, if not welcom y^e will of God.

5. I was at Broughton—It pleases God yet to keep that family in amity towards mee, which I count a mercy.

A collection for Southwold in Suffolk, burned—6^s 2^d.

8. I receiv'd a letter from D^r Br. wherein hee informed mee, if I did not speedily conform, his power would no longer protect mee, to which I wrote a dilatory Answer, hoping yet, my God may find out some way to break the snare, however, I had rather lose all & save my conscience, then contra.

9. I advised with Friends, R. B. told mee, though hee desir'd my stay above any outw. th. in y^e world, yet hee could wish rather I would bee gone, then conform. I was with Mr. St. with whom

I spent one or two hours in discourse about it & return'd home strengthen'd. I can suffer better then dispute agt Conformity.

15. I went to Chester, it being the County Court day, a Declaration was entred by Mr. P. in order to a tryal at y^e Assizes for my Annuity, concerning the success whereof, I bless God, I am not over sollicitous, for though it bee my due & I bee worthy of it (see. luk. 10. 7.) yet twas not that which I preacht for & besides I know assuredly God will make it up to mee some other way, If I should bee cast in y^e suit.—I shall use all fair & lawful meanes & let God alone to work his will. I discoursed also wth D^r Br. concer. my stay at Worthenb. who told mee hee would not remove mee till some publike Act of State remov'd mee, which hee was confident would bee very speedily, lord, the kings heart is in thy hand, turn it.—I came home by night but the lord preserv'd mee, blessed bee his name.

18. little one very ill, but the lord had mercy. ô help us to sit loose from him for his breath is in his nostrils, lest overloving end in overgrieving. Father, spare him to us if it seem good in thine eyes, nevertheless not as wee will but as thou wilt. only let his soul bee saved in the day of the lord Jesus.

19. Seasonable weather for Hay, blessed bee God.

21. lord bless y^e word, they say tis to bee y^e last, *fiat voluntas tua domine modo in ruinam meam*—A direct Answer given to a pray^r about a C. R. praise y^e lord.

22. Mr. Jo. Bro. having swallowed stones which came not through him, was under strong apprehensions that it would kill, & sent for mee to pray with & for him, which I did, & hope the lord will doe him good by it, hee said, if it would please God to spare him, hee would live better, lord keep it in the imaginations of y^e Thoughts of his heart and spare him.

23. I visited Uncle Edwards & Mr. John lloyd, & learnt by seeing him sick that cures so many others, that tis not hee but God that doth the cures, for were it in him, sure hee would cure himsf.

24. Great expectations about a severe Act about imposing y^e Common prayer & Ceremonies pass'd both houses of Parliam^t but not sign'd by y^e King. lord, his heart is in thy hand, if it bee thy will turn it, if otherwise, fit thy people to suffer & cutt short the work in Righteousnes.

Mr. Tho. Pul. lay at my house, fain I would have fastned convictions on him but could not, lord, yet recover him, if hee belong to thee, else better for him hee had never known the way of righteousness.

30. Ri. Jones his wife of Kidditon hall, at the loss of an only daughter, being full of grief almost to distraction, come to mee for advice, I did the best I could, both to quiet her sorrow & to turn her grief into the right Channel, bless lord,—lord give mee the tongue of the learned.

31. a sweet day of Prayer at Capt. Tayl. wee were but few, but y^e lord was one with us, lord hear & help.

August 1. 2. my enemyes are busy, plotting mischief tow. mee, lord, turn the Counsels of Achitophel into foolishness.

3. 4. precious liberty & peace, in study & preaching, yet continued, blessed bee the lord. I heard about this time of the Death of my Uncle Elliot, lord, bee a father to the fatherless & a husband to y^e widow.

5. I was at Chester, took out a copy of Mr. P. declaration, which cost 8^d deliverd it to Mr. Ratcl. with a fee of 10^s to draw an Avowrey, visited Dr B^r, had expressions of love & promises of favour from him, return'd in safety Home my sister with mee, for advice touching a sore leg, bitten wth a leech for these & all other mercyes, blessed bee God.

9. Things are very low wth mee at present, but I wayt upon God!

10. Studying-day, I forgot explicite and expresly when I began to crave help from God, and y^e chariot wheelles drave accordingly lord forgive my Omissions & keep mee in the way of Duty. 11. One Sabbaths liberty more, ô: how good is the lord. many hearers from Wrexham, forct to wander for bread, lord, pity y^{em} & provide for them. A collection for a ministers widow & family plundred in Isla Island, gather'd 8^s 1^d—the script. opened Math. 6. 19, 20.—12. I went to Broad-Oak about rating y^e Corn of 3. fields sown to parts, my Father to have two sheaves, the Tenant the third, they could not agree, I thought the Afternoon ill spent, & in multitude of words there wanted not sin, forgive mee, father, for y^e lord's sake. 13. I sent to Mr. Golborn, about removing my action to y^e Assize, wherein hee was careful & it was

done ; now y^e lord judge righteous Judgem^t for unto him doe I commit my cause.

14. I went to Wrexham where I tarry'd all night, & from thence y^e next day to Chest^r at Wrexham, I met with Mr. W. Jones of Denbigh, silenc't, lord keep not thou silence. I saw y^e heads of y^e Act, for restoring Jurisdiction to Bishops.

19. I occasionally cal'd at Tho. Griffiths, thinking noth & found him dying, I pray'd wth him & exhorted him to repent & believe in y^e lord J. hee died within an hour after ô how hard is it to deal with people in that condition, & how uncertain what event it hath. I mov'd Mr. Hen. Egton to bee of Council for mee, but hee refus'd, being, as hee said, engaged to & partly also by Mr. P. having seen the counterpart of my Deed, which was an implicit Retayning of him on their side. I had little to rejoyne, but refer y^e whole matter to the will of God.

21. Cosin John, Thomas, & Rich. Hotchkis came to see us, Thomas newly out of his time, his liberty sweet, much more spiritual liberty which wee have by X^t Jesus. 22. Mr. St. came to see us. wee are in doubt what to doe in poynt of conformity, lord, say unto us, this or that is the way, & wee will walk in it.

23. Two great concernm^{ts} of mine are now upon y^e wheel, one in reference to my mayntenance for time past, the other in ref. to my Continuance for time to come, lord, bee my Friend in both, but of the two rather in the later. 24. This day compleats the thirtieth year of my Age ; so old & no older Alexander was when hee had conquer'd y^e great world, & I have not yet conquer'd the little world, myself—so old Christ was wⁿ hee began to preach, & according to y^e present face of th. I am now as if I had done preaching, many of greater grace & gifts then I, are layd aside already, and when my turn comes, I know not, the will of y^e lord bee done, hee can doe his work without us.

25. Common-prayer tendered, God knowes how loth I am to goe off my station, but I must not sin agt. my conscience.* many hearers from Wrexham, a welch-man sent to Bangor to read Common-prayer. 27. I went to Whitch. & thence to Ash,

* From this it seems that Philip Henry had already for himself reached the conclusion that conformity was wrong. In other passages he does not condemn those who saw the matter differently.

where I stay'd all night & was much made of, Offence taken at Mr. Hanmer saying more y^{en} needed about Conformity, hee shall bee Lot's wife to mee. 28. I cal'd at Brunnington in my return home, my father seemes to have little care for us or our Concernments, God grant wee may never stand in need of him. 29. Mr. Bruce after great professions, and high expressions to y^e contrary, I heare is reordayned, hath subscrib'd & reads—wherefore let him that thinks hee stands, take heed lest hee fall—I conceive want & Freinds were urgent with him, which are trying, lord keep mee in the critical time—Ma^rg^t the daughter of Richard y^e Clerck, sick, I pray'd for her & by her, but shee hardly understood mee through extremity. I know not how to deal with persons in sickness, lord help mee.

31. Studying day, peace without disturbance, health without Sicknes, and many many mercyes vouchsafed, blessed bee y^e name of y^e lord.

24. Sister Mary went to Chester to a Shirurgion, having a sore foot bitten with a leech.

September 3. The Clerks daughter buried. They first carry'd her into y^e Church,* whereupon I went away, judging it my duty not to Countenance them in superstitious vanities, afterw. y^{ey} bury'd her, then I spake to y^e people, witnessing a^gt w^t they had done, Those that were present, were divided, pro & con. the refuse, rabble for it, the sober serious persons of y^e place a^gt it, it raysd a great

* The Puritans "would have no minister to bury their dead, but the corpse to be brought to the grave, and there put in by the clerk, or some other honest neighbour, and so back again without any more ado" (Cosin's Works, v. 168); they wished to restrict the ceremonies to exhortation and preaching only. They objected to the Psalms, and these were given up from 1560 to 1661; but as they had a peculiar aversion to the celebration of the Lord's Supper on any but very rare occasions, so its celebration at funerals was very distasteful to them, being associated in their minds with the Roman doctrine of purgatory. In the Latin Prayer-book of 1560, the old title was translated, with an addition, "Celebratio cene Domini, in funebribus, si amici et vicini defuncti communicare veliut." There was an *Epistle* and two *Gospels*, the alternative one being St. Matt. xxv. 24-29. When the Psalms were again printed in the office, in 1661, after a hundred years' suppression, the Gospel and Epistle were not, and the funeral Communion had almost passed out of memory in the first half of the nineteenth century, the only relic of it being the funeral offertory, which still retained its hold upon the Church in Wales. It may be mentioned that no liturgy, yet come to light, is without this office; showing the belief of the Church in the Communion of Saints.—See Annotated Book of Common Prayer, p. 296.

dust for y^e time, & it may bee I shall hear of it again, but my own heart condemns mee not. 4. Mr. Thomas from Tilstock, Mr. Raph Weld from Wrexham came to see mee, Mr. Bridg & Mr. Hanmer were on y^eir way but fearing where no fear was, return'd again.

7. I met uncle Burroughs at Brunnington who gave me some light in ref. to my suit, tis seldom I goe from home on Saturday, but my work, blessed bee God, was in some good forwardnes before. About this time Mr. John Puleston dy'd having wasted away his body upon his lusts, lord, let those that remayn behind take warning, hee left Edw. his heir.—8. This morning I verily thought, I should have been hindred from preaching but was not, the lord heard prayers. D^r Bridgman sent mee a prohibition from y^e Chancelour, to peruse, upon complaint from S^r Tho. Hanmer, y^t fanatiques from Wrexham flockt hither, but twas not publisht, Mr. Taylor hindred at Holt, Mr. Adams at Penley, lord, think of y^e vineyard. They took y^e Cushion from mee but y^e Pulpit was left, blessed bee God.—10. I was at Chester, confer'd with D^r Br., gave him what light I could touching Worthenb. affayres hoping it may bee a meanes to keep him from agreeing wth Mr. P. there being possibility nay probability of recovering the Tithes another way with the house & £250. left by will for the finishing of it for I well know wth y^e agree it must bee upon condition of my removal, which I am labouring ag^t if possible, to prevent it, not for my own but Worthenb. sake. After I was gone S^r Tho. Hanmer & Mr. P. came & with Mr. Harper, y^ey concluded, as I heard afterw. that D^r Br. should remove mee by y^e 1st of Novemb. next & that hee should have all y^e Tithes to Bangor to him & his successors, & mutual bonds were given of £500. for p.formance of Articles. Mr. P. promising withal, that whatsoever his father had done for y^e church besides, by will or otherw. hee would confirm & make good for which no thanks to him if done before—Thus hath D^r Br. rendered mee evil for good, lord, lay it not to his Charge. 11. D^r Bryan Walton B^p came to Chester.

12. Family humiliation. 16. I went to Chester where I tarry'd 4 dayes, it being assize week hoping for a tryal with Mr. P. but miss'd of it, tis y^e first time I ever went to law, wherein though I know noth. by mysf. yet am I not thereby justify'd.

16. The sermon before the Judges full of bitternes, from Gen. 49. 5. 7. the charge full of meeknes & moderation comparatively. 19. D^r Br. first acquainted mee of his agreem^t with Mr. P. wth though it troubled mee for y^e present yet upon second thoughts I blessed God for y^e good w^{ch} I am perswaded hee will fetch to mee out of it in the issue—Amen, so bee it. 20. 21. Cold & Tooth-ake caught at Chester, yet assisted in Study, blessed bee God.

22. Mr. Taylor restor'd to Holt by y^e B^p who barks not bec. hee cannot bite—lord, stir up thy strength & come & help us, in vain is Salvation hoped for from y^e hills & from y^e mountaynes.

Bishops restor'd by proclamation in Scotland, contrary to the solemn league & Covenant, as the Scots say; the lord is Judge.

23. I went to Bronnington wth my dearest, my Fathers countenance is not towards us. I pray God wee may bee in nothing wanting in our Duty to him, & let the lord work his will with us.

24. 25. I was not well of y^e cold, sickness doth not, as it should, make mee more fervent & earnest but rather more remiss in secret duties, y^e reason is, tis not extremity, lord, sanctify every twig of thy rod, and let all th. work together for my spiritual & eternal advantage.

26. 27. Somewhat better, blessed bee God. I count it a great mercy, that wⁿ the sun sets, there is a moon to rise to p. form duty in the Family.

An order was brought to mee to bee publisht inhibiting Strangers from coming hither to church, but I publisht it not, lord provide for poor Congregations that are as sheep without a shepheard—30. Upon this day 8. year, I came first to Emeral, since which time I have past through variety of providences, both mercyes & crosses, wherewith the lord hath exercised mee. Many dangers I have been deliver'd from, both in my inward & outward man, and many Comforts & benefits I have receiv'd and enjoy'd, several wayes, but my returns have not been answerable, father forgive mee, and lay not my sin, my sin to my charge—A falling out in London for precedency betw. French & Spanyards, some kild, more wounded.—4. I borrowed £10. of Mr. Steel for y^e charges of my suit. which I repay'd. Oct. 17.

October 1. Mr. Tho. Bold, son to Mr. Bold late of Hard. came to see mee, to w^m I gave the best directions I could in his studyes & desire of God that hee may rise up in his Fathers place, a usefull, faithful instrum^t in y^e house of God in his generation. 2. I went to Wrexham, heard of y^e death of Mr. Vaughan of Cludyatt, a great & rich man, but a leper, & his name will rott.

4. I went to Chester, took a copy of the articles betw. Dr. Br. & Mr. Pu. which it may bee may stand mee in some stead hereafter. Hee hath merely betrayd mee, lord lay it not to his charge, I searcht in y^e office after a presentm^t this last Assize but there was none of mee but of Mr. Steel y^{er} was for not reading the book of Common Prayer. 7. Mr. Adams of Penley came to see mee, God hath done well for that poor place, imploying first Mr. Broster & now him amongst them, I hope not in vayn—8. I preacht the third donative sermon of Mr. Tho. Broughton, for which I received ten Shillings—Text. Luk. 19. 41. when hee was come near hee beheld the City and wept over it—It is a grief of heart to J. X^t to see the misery and danger of poor impenitent sinners. 10. Wee kept a day of Private prayer and humiliation in the family, & the lord was with us—this Confession much affected mee, that things are not so amongst us As they should bee amongst those that are the Relations of a minister of J. X^t. lord, pardon & grant for time to come it may bee better.

14. D^r Br. was at Worthenb. saw the house, gave mee fair words, but intends my removal to gratify Mr. Pu. malice & his own profit, now y^e lord the God of the Spirits of all flesh get a man over the Congregation—15. Upon y^e evening of this day, D^r Bernard, Parson of Whitchurch dyed, it seemes suddenly, the lord provide for that people—17. I was cited to appear at y^e B^{ps} court as upon this day, but went not; my fault was hindring the publishing of the Deans Order for hindring Strangers, if I had hindred it, it had been a small fault, but I did not, only refused to publ. it my self.

19. Day of preparation for the sacrament I preacht from 2 Chr. 30. 18. &c. the good lord pardon—full of feares, lest wee bee hindered, & lest someth. fall betw. the cup and the lip, for our adversaryes bite the lip at us. 20. Through the good hand of our God upon us wee have this day enjoyd one sweet sacra-

men^t more—They did us all y^e hindrance they could, bringing a Corps to bee bury^{ed} just after the sermon, the grave near y^e very place where the Communion table should have stood, & after all a Quaker, brother to the party bury'd, spoke, saying, holy men of God never us'd to preach by the hour-glass & more to that purp. which was a design from Satan to discompose us, but notwithst. afterw. wee proceeded & had liberty, blessed bee God—y^e young man bury'd was son to Tho. Andrewes, servant to S^r John Hanmer, who upon this day fortnight was at Worthenb. Church, this day sennight at Worthenb. Alehouse & this day in his grave, hee dy'd suddenly—Robert Yale presented hims^f to y^e Sacramen but was not with mee before, yet I gave it to him, in regard hee hath been a Communicant at Bangor with Mr. Fogg & I believe hath knowl: &c.

21. I was not well in y^e evening of this day, & thought, it may bee tis death—22. At Bangor I had a discharge from D^r Br. after y^e next Sabbath, I spake with S^r Tho. Hanmer about my charge in y^e Militia, tis no matter how little I deal in y^e world, for I know not how. the lord make mee wise for heaven w^{ch} is y^e best wisdom. 23. I went to Whitch. with my dear, where wee discharg'd our scores, visited o^r friends & return'd in safety, blessed bee God—24. D^r Br. came to Worthenb. sent for mee to y^e Governo^{rs} & before a Rable there again repeated & read over my discharge, the circumst. whereof, place, maner, witnesses somew^t griev'd mee, hee cal'd it peevishnes, I justify not mys^f. lord lay not my sin to my charge, nor his sin to his—25. I heard, S^r Tho. Hanmer was fallen sick. rejoice not wⁿ thine enemy falleth—26. help vouchsafed in study, to God bee Glory. 27. Farewel-sermons—Text Phil. 1. 27. my desire was to profit rather y^{en} to affect. it fell out, wee just finisht y^e Catechism this day—y^e lord y^e God of y^e spirits of all flesh, set a man over y^e Congregation—I trust twill turn to y^e furtherance of y^e Gosp. 28. Mr. Pu. warn'd mee out of y^e house, I took time to consider. 29. Several were with mee to Advise about Com. Pr.—lord, shew thy people what thy will is. 30. I visited Richard Griffith, Clerk, sick, but could fasten noth. on him to doe him good.

31. Colkins—alias, ignes fatui.

November 1. I went to Chester, Cheifly to advise about my lease,

Mr. Ratcl. thinks it will not hold, if I am legally discharg'd from Worthenb. to advise also about coming to hear Common Prayer. A new snare is layd for y^{os} few Minist^{rs} y^t remayn in places & are faithful, y^{ey} are requir'd to publish an Act, wherein y^e Covenant is declar'd an unlawful Oath & y^e Cause of y^e long Parliam^t nullify'd, w^{ch} many stick at, lord, break snares. 2. I return'd home, Mr. Hilton my successo^r with mee, endeavouring to possess him with right thoughts of his work here—this morning, y^e old Clerk dy'd, mee thinks tis somew^t remarkable y^t hee & I should have our dismission together, only hee by death & I in another way. 3. Mr. Hilton preacht, well—read Com. Pr. which was bad, bury'd after y^e mode which was worse—I think wee ought in our Place to witness ag^t. y^{es} Corrup. but not therof. to separate from Gods publique worship—5. day of annual commemoration of our deliverance from y^e Powder treason, a mercy never to be forgotten, Mr. Hilton preacht, his subject y^e same with that which I preacht upon the first 5. of November y^t I came hither, mans extremity Gods opportunity. 6. Mr. Hilton gave mee a visit & stay'd wth mee all day, I deliverd to him y^e Register book * & advis'd him y^e best I could in y^e small affayres of this people, the lord make him faithful & save him from snares. 7. I was at Whitchurch at the buryal of D^r Bernard, Mr. Bridge preacht, *luk.* 19. 44. I slept at night at Ash, Friends are earnest with mee to make addresses at Court, but know not what I know of y^e strength of temptation & my own inability to deal with it—*qui bene latuit bene vixit.* 9th. Saturdays were wont to bee otherwise spent by mee, so is y^e will of God. I was sollicitd to preach at Bangor but am loth to discourage the Min^r here or to encourage y^e people to separation. 10. Two Acts of Parliam^t were publisht, in y^e one, y^e Covenant was declar'd illegal, and the others of y^e long parliam^t null ab initio—a new clerk, John Griffith, brother to y^e old. 11. &c. Spent at home in study, I find already that usus promptos facit, lord, let not thy gifts in mee dwindle away, though at present not exercised as heretofore. 16. Mr. Puleston of Emeral made sheriff of this county, his wife deliver'd of a daughter, I went to

* This register is carefully preserved at Worthenbury, and the pages where Philip Henry's beautiful handwriting is seen are at once noticeable among the others.

Tilstock in order to preaching the next day, slept at Mr. Thomas' house y^e present Minister there. 17. I preacht at Tilstock. Text. Ps. 145. 17. the lord is righteous in all his wayes; many of Worthenb. came hither though far. I went from thence to Lighteach to Mrs. Hassals where I was much made of. 18. It seemes there was no preaching at Worthenb. the day before, it did not use to bee so, lord, let every Providence work for good to those that fear thee. 21. 22. Spent at home in study. I perus'd the london Ministers exceptions agt. the common-prayer, to w^{ch} I subscribe, as also their new draught of a liturgy, which for y^e mayn I approve of, lord heal our breaches & bless thy people with peace. I sent to Chester to Mr. Golborn, who return'd Answer, that Hopley had put in his declaration & hee my Avowrey, lord let right take place, for y^e righteous lord loveth righteousness.

24. Sabbeth-mercyes as a hearer, though not as a preacher as formerly, Mr. Puleston was at Church in the forenoon where hee hath not been of a long time, if y^e word from him who now preaches may doe his soul that good which from mee it would not, ô: how should I therein rejoyce. 25. A day of prayer at Bryn, few were present, but the lord was there, according to his Promise, with two or three, assisting and I hope accepting in X^t Jesus—I went that evening to Wem, late, but no evil befell mee blessed bee God. 26. Much opposition at Wem, y^e lecture forbid but after a while liberty was granted, not without difficulty—I preacht first from Job. 36. 21. then Mr. lawrence from Ps. 62. 5. I slept that night at y^e Parsonage, where was Mr. Porter, Mr. Champion &c. men of far greater abilityes then I, yet layd aside as I am, return ô lord how long. 27. at lappington. where the next day, at my coming thence, I heard, the rest of my Brethren living in that county were warn'd to Shrewsbury for what was done at Wem. 28. Newes of my danger gott home before mee, which caus'd some fear to my dear wife, but our heavenly Father careth for us. 30. Small Pox in Shrewsbury, many dye, a publique fast intended, but forbidden, lord, say it is enough.

December 1. Mr. Hilton preacht from Mar. 8. 15. agt. false teachers & false Doctrines which are as leaven, but not declaring who hee meant, it gave offence to many, though none to mee, con-

sidering mys^f lest I also bee. 2. I visited Uncle Edwards of Eyton, who with the best Argum^{ts} hee had, perswaded mee to Conform, & those were taken from the common Topique of Interest & Preferm^t but blessed bee God I have learnt to deny mys^f & can heartily chuse rather to suffer y^{em} sin.

3. I hear y^e Shropshire Ministers, who were many, 10 at least, that were present at Wem Exercise were sent for in to Shrewsbury by y^e deputy leivetenants and for some time confined there, the reason of my escape was in my being out of their verge, blessed bee God, ô: how sweet and precious is liberty, lord, I have not priz'd it, near the value of it. 4. Mr. Taylor at Worthenb. I read Mr. Bagshawes papers, about the power of the Civil Magistrate to impose in th. indifferent & received much satisfaction from them. 5. Mr. Pulestons daughter baptiz'd in y^e house & named Susanna. 6. I was at Broughton barren of good discourse, little gotten, little done. 8. I heard the newes of y^e Death of D^e Bryan Walton Bishop of Chester. I cannot get my heart into such a spiritual frame upon Sabbath-dayes as formerly, which is both my sin & my Affliction. lord quicken mee with quickning grace.

9. Study in History, tis pleasant, the lord make it profitable. I find Afflictions and persecutions have been always the lot of the people of God, but God hath still upheld his Church & will doe to the end.

10. A child of Mr. Hollimans was baptiz'd privately, by Mr. Hilton, nam'd Robert, I was invited, but went not, lest I should now build up that which formerly I have been pulling down.

11. I advised Mr. Hilton to beware in his Ministry of such subjects & expressions as might grieve y^e godly or harden y^e profane, hee seem'd to take it well, I am sure I meant it so.

12. I read a book cald *Annus mirabilis** containyng a narrative of several strange Appearances of the great God this last year in all the Elements, chiefly, witnessing agt. Prophanes & persecution, lord, when thy hand is lifted up, men will not see, but they shall see, true and holy are thy wayes, just and righteous are thy judgements, thou King of Saints.

* Evelyn writes at the end of 1688: "Post Annum 1588—1660—1688, Annus Mirabilis Tertius."

13. I went to Chester, payd 20^s to Mr. Golb. for fees, but for himsf hee would take none, visited Mr. Cook, who inform'd mee of several votes pass'd in Parliam^t that none that hath taken y^e Covenant shall bear Office in State or church, unless y^{ey} declare themsf free from the obligation of it. Also a vote repealing the Act of y^e late Convention, not Parliam^t, concer. Minist^{rs} which settled some by whomsoever ordayn'd without institution & Induction—&c. God sittith in y^e Congregation of y^e Gods.

14. I had an acquittance from D^r Br. for 8^s 11^d payable for Tith hay for y^{es} two last yeares; I found him busy in repairing the Deanes house, as if hee were to live in it for ever, alas, a short ever—D^r Fern like to succeed in y^e Bishoprique.

15. I find it in some respects easier preaching y^{en} hearing, especy. a junior, doe what I can, my heart is not lively as I would desire it.

16. At home, in study, time is precious, lord give mee skill and wisdom to redeem it. 17. I inform'd T. Pr. of y^e state of publique affaires, as to the late war & Covenant, concerning which hee knew little, the result whereof was, that though partic. Instrum^{ts} might miscarry, yet twas in general the Cause of God & Religion, and will in due time bee made so to appear.* 19. I visited Mr. Steel and my father, *qui recipit me aperta domo, sed ut mihi videtur clauso vultu.*

22. No preaching at Worthenb. I offred mysf but was refused, in the afternoon wee went to Hanm^r where preached Mr. Rushworth. T. *Eph.* 2. 3.

25. Service at Worthenb. afore-day, an old custome, the ground of it I know not; the christians in time of persecution had their hymnos antelucanos, Tertull, Sermon at 10. a'clock. Text. Zech. 13. 1. child baptiz'd and sign'd with y^e sign of y^e Crosse, I stay'd, not daring to turn my back upon Gods Ordinance, while the essentials of it are retayn'd, though corrupted circum-

* Compare with this the words of Hume, chap. lxii.: "No people could undergo a change more sudden and entire in their manners, than did the English nation during this period [the Commonwealth]. From tranquillity, concord, submission, sobriety, they passed in an instant to a state of faction, fanaticism, rebellion, and almost frenzy. . . . 'Your friends,' said a Parliamentarian to a Royalist, 'are very dissolute and debauched.' 'True,' replied the Royalist: 'they have the infirmities of men: but your friends have the vices of devils, tyranny, rebellion, and spiritual pride.'"

stantially in the Administration of it, w^{ch} God amend. 26. Mr. Lewis of Wrexham & Mr. Thomas of Tilstock came to see mee, & stayd all night.

28. Preparation for Sacram^t at Hanmer. T. Ps. 51. 5. lord, I, was shapen in iniquity, ô: pardon & heal—29. Sacram^t at Hanmer, the lord was pleas'd to come in with much sweetnes upon my soul, & my soul was carry'd out with some precious breathings towards him, his is y^e glory. Vow & pay unto the lord—30. Being convinct of neglect in orderly reading the Script. alone (for with my wife I read one chapter daily & with my family another) this day I began, lord, keep mee from backsliding again & bless y^t Ordinance, I began y^e N. T.—Visiting Mr. Hollim. I saw him in y^t condicōn through dr. w^{ch} I could hardly have believ'd, had I not seen, lord, pardon & turn him from it, for his own, for his family, for Religion, for X^s sake.

3. Newes of one Tames a Minister executed for Treasonable words. Es. 29. 20. 21.

Feb. 3. Mr. Owen Minist^r of Wrexham administred the Sacramen^t (as I was inform'd) to y^e Gentlemen of y^e Parish, & the sabbath following to the poor—which to mee seemes very irregular—Mr. Wyn of Otestay speaking of y^e Kings Declaration concern. Church affayres, said they had private Orders to y^e contrary, to which it being objected, that the king did then only mock the world, hee answer'd, nay, doe wee not know that God hims^f hath his Voluntas signi & his Voluntas Beneplaciti.

Jane Humphryes most affectionately tender of her Husband who lay 14. months sick & sore, hee dying—Feb. 18. the week after a sister of his, named Elizabeth Mathewes of Sutton Green, dyed, being well at her brothers buryal, & by her Death land fell to Jane Humphryes, which I look upon as a small token from y^e lord to let her know, how well pleas'd hee was with her love & care towards her afflicted husband, being yet perswaded, hee hath a better thing in store for her—A father of the fatherlesse a Judge of the widow is God in his holy habitation. Amen.

Apr. 14. Evan Thomas Randle, a notorious evil liver, dyed accordingly. *qualis vita, finis ita.* the memory of the Just shall bee blessed but the name of the wicked shall rot.

Apr. 29. David Phillips dyed, I went to see him y^e same

evening, but finding him in extremity I could say but little to him, partly through straitnes of Spirit, & partly thinking, whatever I had said it would have been taken with prejudice—however it cost mee many sad thoughts afterwards for my omission, the lord forgive mee, Time is gone I shall see him to speak to him no more. The manner of his Death, for there were no bands in it, had hardned many; lord, thy righteousnes is a great mountayn but thy Judgem^{ts} are a great deep and unsearchable. Hee was bury'd on May-day, y^e same day on which hee was to have entred on a new Tenem^t w^{ch} his master had given him; his son a fool.

July 14. Two or three drownd near Chester bathing thems' on y^e Sabbath day. *Aug. 21.* Mr. Roger Grosvenor was kild by Major Roberts' son of Wrexham, his Cosin German upon a quarrel about a Foot-race.

Aug. 29. I was told of the Death of Mr. Thomas of Shropsh. a Minister Kild by a Fall from off his Horse—Unsearchable are thy Judgm^{ts} ô lord.

Sept. 18. Also of another Minister near london that came to y^e same end the same way—about Brentwood in Essex, drunk.

Apr. 12. About one a clock in y^e morning two moones were seen at Chiswick. Also the same month near Aulton in Hamshire about 4. or 5. a clock. in y^e evening 4. perfect rainbowes. at Northallerton in Yorksh.—ten rainbowes & 4 or 5. half-ones.

May 14. From 5. till 7. in y^e morning at Kingston upon Thames were seen three suns. *May 24.* at Hensworth in Hertfordshire, Caddington, & other places adjacent, was a terrible whirlwind, which did much mischeif. *Apr. 26.* at Spalding & Bourn & several other places in lincolnshire it rayn'd great quantities of Wheat. In the same month about Chesterfield in Derbysh. it rayn'd white Ashes.

May 21. Great Rayn in london w^{ch} did harm in Cellars. &c. many thousand pounds. the next day the Covent was burn'd.

May 29. at Wincanton in Somers. Mr. Sacheveral. min^r there preaching from *1 Sa. 12. 25.* offended the prophane of y^e Town, who to revenge thems^f on him made his Effigies of Straw attempting to burn it but of a long time could not, till they had tore it into pieces. *March 4.* at Kingston, the undersheriff the first day of the Assize being a bitter p.secutor was struck with sudden

death drinking in a Tavern. *March 23.* at Ashover in Derbysh. one Dorothy Mately, using to wish, I would the earth might open & swallow mee up*—was washing lead ore, & having stollen two single pence out of a youths pocket, stiffly denyd it, by & by y^e earth open'd & swallow'd her up 4. yards within the ground, the money found in her pocket. the ground adjoyning firm. (Excerpt. ex libr. dict—Annus Mirabilis † quorum omnium fides sit penes authorem.)

June 14. Three Suns were seen at Reading between eight & nine of y^e clock in the forenoon. *June 15.* At lewes in Sussex & elsewhere thereabouts about 3. of y^e clock in the morning the Heavens were seen by several persons as all on fire.—*June 29.* in the western parts of somersetshire, the moon shined in the night which was clear, without reflecting the least shadow, either of house, tree, hedge or man—&c.‡

Aug. 29. Three suns seen in the morning by a minister at Ipswich also the like about Exeter. *Octob^r 25—Oct. 31.* A Blazing star seen at Canterbury. Another the month following at lambeth. Another *Dec. 20.* between Bishops-Castle & Montgomery. Several dreadful appearances of Fiery meteors in the air, one of a Sword in a Cloud with the point downwards near y^e Isle of wight, another of men & horses in a warlike posture. About the same time Mr. Martin of Devon son to S^r Nicholas Martin was assaulted by two Ravens, picking at his eyes, suddenly after fell sick and dy'd, the bell tolling before of its own accord for 3 hours togeth^r. In Decemb^r this year there were growing in several gardens, young quinces, peares, apples, also hatcht young Rooks, Ravens—6000 Gentleman slayn in duels in France in ten yeares. (Boys.)

Dec. 20. near montgomery about Sunsett was seen by several

* In the market square at Devizes is the record, upon a central pillar, of a woman who, trying to cheat her neighbour, gave utterance to an impious wish and fell down dead. This happened about 1722.

† Evelyn notices the Annus Mirabilis. Lord Clarendon also acknowledges the hand of God in restoring in 1660 the peace which had been disturbed for twenty yeares.

‡ See *Standard* newspaper for September 10, 1881, p. 4: "Our New York correspondent telegraphs an account of some remarkable phenomena which accompanied the recent intense heat in the United States and Canada. Although the sky was cloudless, one day at noon the sun cast no shadow, and it was too dark to read. Many people thought the last day was at hand."

p.sons a compleat body of horse marching two on a breast between 500. & 1000. in y^e Road, but no sign thereof visible upon y^e ground the next morning; affirm'd upon Oath.* On the same day there was a double Tide at london-Bridge. *July 17.* a great Porpus leaped into a watermans wherry in lee-Road. April. Two persons designd to make Oath $\overline{\text{agt}}$. Mr. Revel Min^r of uval in Cornwall fell out before y^e sessions, y^e one slayn, y^e other fled.

July 22. fowr who did swear a Riot $\overline{\text{agt}}$. y^e inhabitants of leeds endeavouring to bring in Mr. Bowles to bee their Min^r three dy'd within few dayes, the fourth sick.

July 30. at Wanford in Suffolk at Mr. Absolom's house Sir John Rouse a Parliam^t man & other gentlemen mett to drink, & rayling $\overline{\text{agt}}$. Phanatiques, there arose a storm with thunder, as a warning, by & by a flash of lightning, which wounded one, Kild another, & amazed all, & breaking through the hedge went away.†

Mr. Cook told y^e Bp. y^t though his Ordination by Presbyters were not legal yet it was Evangelical. Mr. Glendals Argum^t $\overline{\text{agt}}$. Common Prayer, was, y^t it imposes upon God, either this hee must have or none, whereas in conceived Prayer, wee ask of God to give us that w^{ch} wee are to give him & wee give it in his strength.

Mr. Ashborn Min^r of Norton active in Inditing Mr. Taylor of Bury for a Conventicle before the end of y^e Assize was kild by one Ward then under Cure with him for madness, but in a way of recovery. *July 29.*

About y^e same time two witnesses $\overline{\text{agt}}$. Mr. Ince of Dunhead

* In the "History of Cumberland and Westmorland" (Whellan) a similar account is given of troops being seen upon Souter-fell in the year 1735. They seemed to be exercising, but upon examination no trace of their having been there could be found.

† Compare with these the case of Lord Brooke at Lichfield. He had been heard to say that he hoped to see all cathedrals so utterly destroyed that not one stone should be left upon another. On March 2, 1643, he was going to make onset upon the close of the cathedral, and was taking view of the place from a window opposite, when he was shot in the eye by a chance musket-ball—"a certain man drew a bow at a venture" and hit this Ahab—and he fell dead without speaking a word. Thus on St. Chad's Day, before the cathedral of St. Chad, which he hoped soon to destroy, fell this notorious enemy to cathedrals.

in Wilts were suddenly smitten by y^e just hand of God, one of them dy'd repenting. Another, one Moulins y^t said, To morrow when Ince goes I'le keep y^e merriest day—broke his leg by a fall y^t morning w^{ch} gangren'd & of it within two or three dayes hee dyed. Capt. Benet another opposer of Mr. Ince assaulting Mr. Dimon a londoner upon y^e Road was by him Kild, se defendendo. Mr. Ince said of him not long, before, that hee believed hee would not dye y^e common death of other men. Ex libro dicto—Annus Mirabilis secundus.

Jan. 2. Mrs. Welsh desir'd Prayer, that God would give her Wisdom & Patience in her present condition.

The twelve great Companies of london.

Mercers. Grocers. Drapers. Fish-mongers. Goldsmiths. skimmers. Taylors. Haberdashers. Salters. Iron mongers. Vintners. Cloth-workers.

Non Argus, largus, non Magdalena Methusal.

Non Habacuc, lazarus, Caseus iste bonus.

The following letters, etc., belong to Dr. Davies Colley, of Newton, Chester, to whom my best thanks are due for permission to use them.

June 1, 1661. To Mr. Puleston.

Sir, if it please you to accept of the motion, I am willing and doe desire, before the Differences betw. us grow greater, and the wound wider then yet it is, to referr it to two Indifferent unconcerned p'sons, who may compose and compræmise it, Or else my self to give you the meeting when and where you shall appoint this next week: hoping it may yet prove no very difficult matter (if meanes bee used for it) to revive a right underst: between us, for truly, Sir, whatever you may think of mee, I know mys. to bee

An unfayned well-wisher to your

Person and Family,

P. H.

refer'd to Sir Thomas Hanmer,
and My father in law, Mr.
Dan. Mathewes."

Mr. Ratcliffe, Recorder of Chester, to whom Mr. Henry had submitted his case, had advised him to commence an action against Mr. Puleston for the assertion of his rights, but the above letter was tendered instead as a peace-offering. It was agreed to refer it to the two parties named, and the following memorandum, the joint compilation probably of Mr. Ratcliffe and his client, and in the latter's neat autograph, was to be the basis of settlement from Mr. Henry's point of view :—

1. I desire, the true end and Intent of the meeting may bee stated, and that S^r Thos: Hanmer may declare what power hee hath from Mr. Puleston to conclude and determine.

2. I Desire, before any Proposal be made concerning the Future, that wee may bee at a Poynt concerning the Arrears already Due. This to be insisted on.

3. For the Arrears, there is 100 *li.* due this Midsummer, which, —1. I desire may bee payd intire, the rather because Mr. Puleston had the whole Corn Tith the last year. 2. If it bee urg'd hee payd 20 *li.* to Dr. Bridgman (the Judge payd 20 *li.* p' ann. to Mr. Fogg, while ye 100 was p'd to mee), I answ'r hee might have chosen ;—however I shall yeeld to abate the Half thereof, nay the whole, if ye Half bee not accepted, so ye remaynder bee payd forthwith ; And lower then this I cannot yeild.

4. This being concluded, for time to come, I would first know what proposal they would make. If for mee to quitt the place, whatever the terms bee, I cannot, I dare not, assent. If to give up the Deed, I would know, upon what consideration, and what Mayntenance I shall have instead of it. Here press the Validity & Equity of the Deed ; my leaving the Colledge for it, &c. Propose, what if Mr. Puleston, paying this Hundred pounds, enjoy the Corn-Tith, as formerly, the Reversion should bee secur'd to the Church when the Annuity expires.

Going over the ground again, he sends the following instructions to his representative :—

1. I can prove the paym't of 20 *li.* p' ann' for two yeares to Mr.

f'ogg ; as Parson of Bangor, after this hundred pound p' Ann' was confer'd on mee ; which evidences it to be the Judges Intent that I should suffer no prejudice therein by any claim that way.

2. For the future, I would propose, if Mr. P. pleases,—1. That the House & Corn Tithes in reversion, w'n my Annuity determines, accor[ding] to ye Judges intention & Deed . . . fact bee settled on the Church. 2. That Mr. P. may in the mean time enjoy them. 3. That Dr. B. may have ye profit of ye small Tithes. 4. That the hundred pounds p' Ann' may bee payd to mee.

3. Let the Arbitrators pitch vpon any other more equal way, I shall submit to it ; provided it bee not in any case to the giving up of my Deed, whatever abatem't I make, nor to my voluntary removal, neither of w'ch dare I in conscience yeeld to especially not the latter.

4. Let it bee considered, what I have been inform'd by learned Council, though I were removed, yet the Annuity remaynes payable to mee, whilst I continue unpreferred otherwise.

5. There is further this to be consider'd, that I left my Præfermt. in Oxon, at ye Judges desire, whose letter I have to shew, to accept of this ; & also, w'n I was put to my choyce by ye Coll[ege], I acqu[aainted] Mr. P. with it, who said, 'stay & w't my Father hath Done, I will make good to the uttermost,' without w'ch promise from him, I think I had not stay'd.

6. Dav: Phil: hath often said, so his Master were eas'd in the Hundred pound, hee did not care though I stayd in the Place.

Endorsed on back "Treaty with Mr. P." The document is written on the torn fly-leaf of a letter, which is inscribed with the following address, apparently in the hand of his once brother-parson and neighbour, Mr. Robert Fogg, of Bangor :—

ffor his much Esteemed
and Reverend good friend
Mr. Henry, minister
Of Worthenbury,
present these.

The arbitration moved on but slowly, there being little hope from the first of any agreement; and no wonder, for of the "two Indifferent unconcerned p'sons" who had it in hand, one was the young parson's father-in-law, and the other a sworn friend of Dr. Bridgman and Mr. Puleston, so there was little ground in common between them.

The next paper in the series is a set of "Reasons," arranged by Mr. Henry in three columns side by side, under the following heads:—

1. Why I should not yeeld to a composition with Mr. P.
2. Why I should.
3. Why Mr. P. should yeeld to a Composition with mee.

These points are very fairly put and reasoned out by the poor parson. There follows a letter, which has not been printed before, addressed, as it would seem, to one of the arbitrators:—

Sir, I have considered, the proposal which you were pleas'd to make of endeavouring a Composition for mee with Mr. Puleston by meanes of a Friend of your's, who hath Interest in him; and doe thankfully acknowledge your very great respect and favour towards [me therein]. The Condition on which you have to effect this is it seemes, no other, than a full and absolute r[esigna]tion of my whole claym and Title both in the Annuity and House also, which if valuable Consideration may bee had for it, I am willing to yeeld to; and the loss shall be accounted valuable to purchase Peace and his Favo'r! 'Twas a year and half, within few weekes, that I Officiated, since the last Payment, and for what is future, I shall refer my self to you and your Friend, only desiring, you would but suppose the Case to be your own. For Arguments, I conceive, whilst I have so much Probability of Recovering, 'twill be apparently found to bee for Mr. Puleston's Advantage to lighten his estate from the Burthen of such a charge, beside the incident charges of law; to which I might adde also some kind of obligation that lyes upon him in poynt of Honor, considering the relation

wherein I stood to him, and that I left my Place at the University upon the Grant of this from his Father. On each of these, Sir, as Occasion is given, I presume your own or your Freind's Prudence may enlarge; and whatever the success bee, you will acquire the Blessing of a Peace endeavourer, if not a Peace-maker, and withal oblige

Your Kinsman and Servant.

Worthenb: Jan. 15, 1661.

PHILIP HENRY.

May 7, 1661. To Dr. Brid[gman].

Sir, At my return from you upon Friday, I found a not-soon-expected addition to my family, a son which God hath given mee, which hath occasion'd my hindrance at present in making a Formal Draught of our Agreement as I intended, Nevertheless for substance, this is it I have yeilded to, and this, God willing, I shall perform; whereas 100^{li} p annu^m is conferred on mee by Judge Puleston in consideration of my Preaching at Worthenb: and whereas it is by your favour and Permission that at present I enjoy the liberty of Preaching there, for which liberty given mee you suffer detriment at present in the Tithes & Profits of the Place, I doe hereby promise to allow you, whilst you continue to mee that liberty and whilst you continue to suffer that detriment, the summ of thirty pounds p annu^m out of the hundred aforesayd, in those proportions as I receive it, which allowance is to comence at Midsummer last, you bearing with mee in regard I am to enter suit for it, a proportionable part of the costs & charges incident for the Recovery of it. This I think, Sir, is the whole of what is containd in the Paper which you drew, and I hope will bee sufficient at least till your return, to satisfy you, if it bee not, I shall be ready to adde what more you shall require to the same intent, for I assure you, Sir, though some have told mee I needed not to doe this being secur'd of my Annuity, though you should remove mee, yet I freely yeeld to it as in equity to you by way of recompence for your losses, so also hoping it may bee a motive for my continuance here, at least in y^e second place, for you have told mee you have a higher end in granting, as I also have in desiring it.

D^r Br. draught of the case.

John Puleston of Emerall Esq^r about January in the year 1658 signed and sealed a lease and release of all the Tythes both of Corne and hay together with an house and Croft thereunto belonging built by him on purpose for the Minister of Worthenburye to live in. Mr. John Holyman being then his Clarke drew it and saies it was sealed and left in the Judge's Chamber, and was delivered to Mr. Holyman in the name of the rest of the feoffees, who left it in the said Judge's Chamber amongst the rest of the writeings in a box.

It was drawne for the substance of it according to a former ffeoffm^t made by the said Judge the yeere before unto the same ffeoffees, viz. John Broughton of Broughton Esq^r, Thomas Puleston and Edward Puleston sons of the said Judge, Roger Puleston of Worthenburye, Edward Phillips of Mullsford, and John Holyman, gent^s, w^{ch} ffeoffment was by the said Judge Puleston sealed and delivered unto Mr. Roger Puleston, and John Holyman in the name of the rest of th' aforesaid ffeoffees, and was by him comitted to the custody of Phillip Henry minister there, to w^{ch} the said Phillip Henry was witnes amongst others, viz. Mr. Roche an Irishman now living at Congleton then the said Judges physitian, D^r of physick, and Rob^t Berley, serv^t to the said Judge, w^{ch} remained with the said Phillip Henry, 5 months, viz. from July to Januarie 1658, when the said Judge desiring to confirme it to the Church more strongly call'd for it again, and seal'd the said lease and release that the house whereof Mr. Phillip Henry had before a lease for 60 yeares, if hee so long continue minister of Worthenburie or did not accept of better p^rferment, might bee the better secur'd to the said Church of Worthenburye for ever, for the Tythes were sufficientlie before secur'd by thè said feoffm^t though Mr. Ratcliffe the Recorder of Chester having a sight of the Copie of the feoffm^t tould Mr. Henry his opinion of it being insufficient as to the house because of the lease in being, it was also insufficient as to the Tythes, ffor that in Law, where two things are conveyed whereof the Conveyor had no power to convey the one, hee invalidated the other if putt into the same deed.

John Puleston of Emerall Esq^r made a nuncupative will in

w^{ch} hee gave 250^{lb} to finish the Vicars House in Worthenburye, and to build out-houses for the same. The Judge dictated the will himselfe, and Mr. Holyman the witnes and the unadvantaged executor wrote it verbatim as hee dictated—This will compared with a lease of the said House to Mr. Philip Henry for 60 years if hee so long continued minister of Worthenburye and not accepted of better preferment, dated and sealed the March before, will evidence that it was the Parsonage of Worthenburye.

Yet this House, wth the moneyes intended by Justice Puleston for the Church doth his Son Roger intend to alienate from so pious a use, and to give it to a pot companion, for whom hee saith hee hath land enough, but wants a convenient house for him to bee neare him.

Quere, Whether my best course will not bee to make Mr. Roger Puleston to bring in y^e lease and release, w^{ch} tis more then probable hee has by him, for p^resently after his ffather's decease hee bragged (as Mr. Rob^{te} Bukley of Worthenburye Serv^{te} to Mr. Lloyd of Halton, and sometyme bailiffe to the Judge affirmeth) that hee would not for 2 or 300^{lb}, but hee had found certain writings, w^{ch} were then comonlie beleived to bee these of the Lease and Release.

And in order thereunto Whether it will not bee convenient to send out processe for Mr. Holyman and Mr. Phillips to prove the nuncupative Will.

The above document, written in a legal hand, seemed to be founded upon notes supplied by Philip Henry, who writes as follows:—

Sir,

I have followed your instructions in writing the letter and inclosing this with it, entreating you to make use of them as you shall see cause. I have mentioned no particular summe but surely, Sir, in the whole, lesse then 200^{lb} can hardly be judged a valuable consideration and my Father and Freinds are of the same mind, if both Deeds bee included, And if you find that more may bee had upon Bond within reasonable time then in present payment (as tis probable there may) I shall bee willing to accept of

Bond—I would desire also, it may bee brought to as speedy an Issue as may bee, because the Assize drawes on, and twill bee shortly time to prepare for it, if an end may not bee had otherwise. so craving your pardon for my boldness, I rest, Your servant,

P. H.

Notes

1. that the said R. P. about that time was heard to say &c. &c.

2. that David Phillips, servant to him the said R. P. told one speaking of ye writings that hee hoped his master would bee so wise as never to let them see the light again or to that purpose implying as much as if hee knew of his once having the possession of y^{em}.

To prove that it was the intention of the said J. P. in building the said house to bestow it on y^{re} church for y^e use aforesaid, these following Argum^{ts} may bee worthy consideration.

1. That he caus'd the people of y^e said place to help him with the carriage of Materials thither, viz. much of y^e Brick, Timber, Slates, having declar'd to several of them, that hee built it for their minister.

2. that hee took to hims. the Cote aforesaid cald the Priests Chamber. and made a lease of it to A. D. for her life, shee paying to him 5^{li} in y^e nature of a . . . which hee would not have done but that hee intended this other of his own building in lieu of that for the use of the Min^r.

3. That hee actually settled it by Feoffm^t aforesaid which had been good if livery & seisin had been executed—the reason it was not was, bec. being sick hee hop'd every day to mend & to goe abroad, and do it hims. but hee never went abroad after.

4 . . .

5. That hee the said John Puleston did write a letter bearing date Nov. 22. 1658. to the Trustees for Uniting and dividing of Parishes, wherein is this passage—I have also built a fayr brick house with necessary Outhouses for y^e use of y^e Min^r which I have likewise granted to the same Feoffees—a copy of which letter is yet producible if there bee occasion.

Mem. The reason why the sealing of the lease & release as to y^e circumstances of it is so hard to bee made out, is bec. of the rage

of the said Ro. P. threatening to kill any that should offer to speak a word to his Father about it, as also that he would not suffer those to come near him that hee thought likely to promote or further it.

Persons to bee sworn & examin'd concern. the said writings

| | |
|---------------------------------|------------------|
| S ^r Tho. Hanmer | John Holliman |
| Roger Puleston Esq ^r | Roger Puleston |
| John Royden | Robert Byckley |
| Edward Philips | Katharin Paynter |

Mr. J. F. Beever, of Beaumaris, has kindly supplied the following extracts from the diary for 1662. The diary itself seems to be lost, for Mr. Jos. Morris, of Shrewsbury, in a letter of February 13, 1857, to Mr. Beever, says, "I am told that my copy of Mr. Philip Henry's diary for 1662 is unique. Sir John Bickerton Williams had not met with one of that year when he published his work, and he never could find one except mine, which I put into his hands a few years ago." Whether Philip Henry continued his diary this year as usual, or whether the anxieties and troubles which he underwent caused him to neglect it, we cannot say, but it is certainly unfortunate that his records of this year, above all others, should be so meagre.

1662.

Jan. 2. My Father sent for me to go to Uncle Edwards of Eyton upon overtures of composition with Mr. Puleston. I took time to consider.

17. 18. I received letters from London of the recovery of Sister Sarah which I have often prayed for, & the Lord hath heard prayers. I will love the Lord because he hath heard the voice of my supplication.

Feb. 19. I saw my Father at Bronington & heard of his intentions for London on Friday next, but he himself said nothing to mee of it, nor I to him. I acquainted my dearest with it, whereupon the next day she went to take her leave of him.

March 1. Sometime in the night before this day Aunt Adams departed in a good old age. Shee was not well the day before, but hath several times in appearance been far worse. The first that died in this house. The Lord might have begun at the other end of us & smitten us with a sore breach.

4. Aunt Adams was buried according to her desire in her will, at Malpas. Mr. Bridge preach't—twas the first buryal of which I was supervisor, and I was forc't in some things to submit to custom, tho' against my own inclination. Concerning dole I gave groats apiece to about 20. poor of this parish, and at Malpas gave 20s. to poor there at pence apiece & yet they were not satisfied: many from neighb. parishes went away from the house clamouring w^{ch} I was troubled at. I desired Mr. Bridge shee might be buried before the sermon, but it was not granted. After sermon I was one (with my Uncles) that brought her round to the grave, which it may be did not become me. At Worthen^{by} in the morning I rather permitted than desired the ringing of the bells, but after a peal or two they were forbidden to proceed by Mr. Hilton, upon what account I know not, Mr. P. came to Malpas & animadverted upon those that accompanied us thither, as if the same that were my friends could not be his. Let the righteous Lord judge righteous judgment.

6. I took an inventory of Aunt Adam's Goods at Worthenb. & more at Broad Oake.

11. Aunt Adam's goods were prized by John Hughs and Dan. Prichard, the whole whereof, with what ready money she left came to something like £40. There were two remarkable events of Providence concerning it. That, as I found afterwards John Howel's goods, her Father, were priz'd upon this very same day March 11, 1635. 2. That when I made my Aunt a new bond of a hundred pound, upon delivering the old to my Father this time twelve month, the day nominated in the bond for payment was Mar. 1. this present year, & as it fell out upon that very day viz. March 1, 1662, shee dyed, Lord my times are in Thy hand, & Thou ordereth them as seemeth good in Thine eyes.

12. Cousin Cay & Cousin John Hotchkiss came to see us and lodg'd here two nights.

24. I went with my dear Wife to Whixall to my Cosin

Brayn,* who lies in, having a son the heir of the family named William. We went & came in safety, blessed be God.

25. I rec^d Letters concerning the death of my dear Sister Dickins, who dyed on the 13th day of this month, Lord come in her stead to her little ones, and fit us for our change that are left behind.

April 2. I went with my dear wife to Whitch: where I visited D^r Heylin now parson there, & took leave of him with Cosin Sarah Hotchkis going to London to live with her bro: Thomas—I wrote letters with her to all my sisters there. Lord send me good news from them & let their souls live in Thy light. Wee came home late but safe, blessed be God.

11. I went with my dear wife to Cousin John Jennings whose dau'r Mary was lately put to bed of two dau'rs.

19. My Father returned from London—I went not to meet him, not because I am not willing to give him all due respect, but because he shows himself not willing to receive it from mee.

21. I went with my dear to Bronington, where wee saw my Father & had common respect & countenance from him & that was all, hee never so much as ask't how the child did, nor how it far'd with mee in my affayres; but my Father which is in Heaven careth for us.

23. We went to Cosin John Jennings to rejoice with him in his daughter Mary's mercy to whom the Lord hath given two children at a birth—Lord make them doubly thankful.

May 21. Saw Cosin Thomas Hotchkis, a Conformist upon this principle—that whatever our magistrate † commands which the word doth not forbid tis our duty to obey; which I confess is not clear to mee in the th. of God.

August 7. Wee went to Ash, our friends are very loving & respectful towards us, which in some measure countervayls the unkindness of nearer relations.

Sept. 9. I went to Eyton, Mr. Wm. Edwards ‡ dyed the night

* This was an ancient family in Whixall and in Myddle (Salop) that had taken the side of the Parliament.

† This seems, to use Philip Henry's own expression, *verbum super rotas* in respect of recent differences (1881).

‡ The Edwards (ap Edward) family, descended from Tudor Trevor, had extensive estates at Chirk, St. Martin's, Dudleston, Eyton, and Plasffron.

before, leaving all his estate real & personal to a bastard excepting some few Legacies. Ps. 49. 10. Mr. Lewis came thither at the same time on the same errand, but both too late.

16. I went to Chester; hir'd a coach for Sister Mary.

22. Sister Mary set forward from Worthenb. towards London not without much grief of friends at parting; the little one more than ordinarily apprehensive.

23. She went from Whitch. in the coach—I accompany'd her to Sanford: the Lord be her good speed.

October 2. We went to Whitch. on foot. saw our friends & returned refreshed & in safety. Aunt Hotchkis recover'd as t'were from the grave—Lord unto Thee belong the issues from Death.

3. The child went to Whitch. & Ash where he was much desired & made off. The Lord make him His servant.

4. Sister Mary came safe to London; blessed be God that hears prayers.

18. About three o'clock this morning my wife was delivered of her second son. He was born before the midwife came, but God was there. We have no reason to call him Benoni—I wish we had not to call him Ichabod. He hath all his parts & is a comely child for in Thy book all his members were written. Lord sanctify him from the womb, and let him be a Jedediah beloved of the Lord—Amen.

19. Mr. Holland preacht at the Chappel. He baptiz'd my son there & I named him Matthew—Wee had no God-father for what needed, but he signed him with the Cross, which I could not help. *ipse viderit.*

Nov. 12. Mr. Sadler, Cosin Brayn, Mr. Luke Lloyd &c. came to see us. 'tis a great mercy we have yet so much liberty, blessed bee God.

18. After long expectation I received a letter from Sister Mary & am glad to hear of the health of my Sisters, blessed bee God. I went to Bronington to see my Father who will not come hither to see us.

The lands at Chirk passed by marriage to the Pulestons; those in Dudleston, including the old house of Killendre, to the Morralls. Sir John Edwards of Machynlleth, and Sir Herbert Edwardes, C.B., were of this house.

Dec^r 2. About this time we heard of the death of my Cosin Joshua Lea, who dy'd in Yorkshire & I believe is at rest in the Lord.

3. I went to Ash where I was much made of, and return'd the next day refresh'd, & found all well at home, blessed bee God.

17. I went with my dear to Whitchurch: saw Aunt Manning, sick, a right Dorcas, the lord spare her, and return'd in safety which was a great mercy considering the slipperiness of the wayes.

22. Cosin Talbot came to see mee.

26. I went to Chester by Malpas, having the company of Uncle Wittar & Cosin Talbot.

The Acts of Uniformity are 1 Elizabeth, c. 2, and 14 Charles II. By the first, if any parson, vicar, or other minister that ought to use the Common Prayer, or to minister the Sacraments, shall refuse to do the same, or shall use any other form, or shall speak anything in derogation of the same book, he shall, for the first offence, forfeit to the queen one year's profits of all his spiritual promotions and be imprisoned for six months; for the second offence, be deprived of all his spiritual promotions, and be imprisoned for one year; and for the third offence be imprisoned for life.

By the same Act, if any person shall in plays, songs, or by other open words speak anything in derogation of the same book or anything therein contained, he shall for the first offence forfeit to the queen a hundred marks, etc., etc.

All the Puritan objections to the Church as it existed before the wars remained in full force in 1662: The Book of Common Prayer remained unchanged, except in a few trifling particulars, which made it in no way more acceptable to its critics; the use of it was now imperative; the exercise of free prayer in public assemblies was forbidden;

no preaching of unordained persons was permitted, and no ordination held valid except by bishops. That they should dislike the liturgy of the English Church only showed that they were not in their right places in holding various posts which they had seized upon in 1643, and held ever since to the exclusion of their rightful occupants.

The indenture made March 5, 1657, by which the judge assigned him the house at Worthenbury (of which the study still remains and is part of the present rectory), is inserted here, because on September 6th of this year Philip Henry was induced to give it up. It is impossible without emotion to peruse the original deed, endorsed on the back in the well-known hand. One seems brought face to face with the matter, after the interval of more than two centuries, in a very real manner.

Puleston.

This Indenture made the fift day of March in the yeare of our Lord one thousand six hundred fifty & seaven. Betweene John Puleston of Emerall in the county of Fflint—Sergeant at Lawe of the one part And Phillip Henry of Worthenbury in the said County of Fflint Clerk of the other parte. Wittneseth that the said John Puleston for divers good causes and consideracons him heerunto moveinge Hath demised granted leased and to farms lett —And by these pr-sents doth demyfe grante, Lease and to farms lett unto the said Phillip Henry All that his New built Brick house in Worthenbury and the Croft whereon the Same now standeth with all, and singular th' appertimses to have & to hold the said house and croft with th' appertimses unto the said Phillip Henry from the making heerof for, and dureinge the full end and terme of threescore yeares from thence next ensueinge fully to bee compleate and ended (iff the said Phillip Henry doe or shall soe longe continue minifter at Worthombury aforesaid, and not accept of better prferment) yeldinge and payeinge therefore yearly to the said John Puleston and his heires at the feast of St. Michaell th' archangell the Rent of six pence if it bee demanded In wittnes

whereof the parties above named have to these presents inter-
 chaingably put their hands & seales the day and yeare first above
 written.

JOHN PULESTON.

[Outside.]

September 6th, 1662.

ffor diverfe good Consideracons mee
 hereunto moueing I doe surrender
 & deliver upp thes p^rsent Lease & deuife
 to the use of Roger Pulefton of Emerall
 in the County of flint Esq^r his heires
 & assigns

Sealed & delivered
 in the p^rsence of

EDMONDE LEWIS

his

ROBERT T BUCKLEY

mke

JOHN HOLLIMAN

PHILIP HENRY.

Witnesse hereof,

JOHN ROYDON

JO^s CARTER

THOMAS WILLIAMS

(Emral MS.)

Articles of agreem^t Indented concluded and made between
 D^r Henry Bridgman rector of Bangor Monach. in y^e county of
 Flint of y^e one pt v. Philip Henry of Worthenb. in y^e same county
 clerk this 12th day of May A.D. 1662. on the other part.

1. That hee the said Philip Henry shall yeeld Possession to
 him the said D^r Henry Bridgman of the new brick house in
 Worthenb. aforesayd, wherein hee the said Philip Henry doth at
 present dwell, & the croft whereon it stands.

2. Whereas .an Action is commenc^t against him the said
 Philip Henry concerning the said House and croft by Roger
 Puleston of Emral Esq^e that hee the said D^r Henry Bridgman
 shall save harmless him the said Philip Henry from all expences
 and charges whatsoever to y^e same, or any other on the account
 of the said House and shall enter into sufficient bond so to doe.

3. Whereas, it is hop^d sufficient evidence may be produc^d
 of y^e settlem^t of y^e said house and Croft for the churches use by
 John Puleston Esq^{re} who built it, that hee, the said D^r Henry
 Bridgman shall prosecute a suit to that purpose, and shall not

make any agreem^t or composition about it with Roger Puleston aforesaid or any other person whatsoever, without the Concurrence and Consent of him, the said Philip Henry.

4. That hee the said D^r Henry Bridgman shall make unto him the said Philip Henry a good and sufficient lease of the said house and croft under the rent of five shillings yearly for and during the full end and term of 3 yeares next ensuing the date hereof, and for as much longer time afterwards, as till the lawful incumbent of y^e said Church of Worthenbury shall come himself in person to inhabit there.

The house * of Broad Oak, where Philip Henry and his wife went to live in September, 1662, was the ancient inheritance of the Howell family.

It stood on rising ground above the road leading from Whitchurch to Bangor, from which the first range of the Welsh hills is clearly seen. Its situation was very favourable for the exercise of hospitality, to which its owner often refers, and in which he took great pleasure. At that time, as now, it was within the township of Iscoyd in English Maclor, and in the Cheshire parish of Malpas. In the reign of Edward II. it had been included in the parish of Whitchurch, Salop, and in A.D. 1078 it formed, in all probability, a part of the parish of Hanmer. On the north side of the township are names which show that there had been, many centuries before, some ecclesiastical settlement—a colony, no doubt, from Bangor Is-y-coed. The names are Maes y groes (“Field of the Cross”) and Hên grwys (“the Old Crosses”). Their situation above the Wich Valley and the river Elf would be owing to the population drawn together by the salt traffic.

* To the west of Broad Oak are some scattered houses to which the name of “The Chequers” attaches. The origin of this may be that when Iscoed was part of the manor of Whitchurch and belonged to the De Warrenne family, some inn stood there, with their arms—the chequers—as its sign. Philip Henry may thus have become possessed of some seal of theirs, and used it commonly. The marriages of the Matthewes so far back as they are known (viz. the time of King Henry V.) were with Welsh ladies.

Afterwards, when the Hên grwys came to an end, a chapel was built about a mile south, which was called from the salt spring the Wich well or Whitewell Chapel. The ample endowments of the place were lost for the most part in the time of Canute, and this will account for its being attached to three different parishes in succession. The picturesque old black-and-white building where Philip Henry and his wife used to attend was standing in 1830, and fell down when an attempt was made to enlarge it.

The fortunes of the manor of Iscoed have been no less varied than its ecclesiastical arrangements. We are told in Welsh history that Maelor, the grandson of King Cunedda (whose date is generally given *circa* 350, and who was the first to endow the Church in Wales), had Maeloron—that is, the two Maelors—for his inheritance. When the Saxon counties were formed, English Maelor was divided unequally between Shropshire and Cheshire, and both belonged, at the time that Domesday Book was drawn up in 1078, to Earl Edwin. The Saxon rights were then transferred to the Norman Earl of Chester, and he again passed on all the manors in English Maelor which belonged to Cheshire to his natural son, Robert Fitzhugh, Baron of Malpas. Iscoyd-with-Ty-broughton, now a township of Hanmer, formed the manor of Burwardeston. In the unsettled reign of Stephen, Iscoyd was seized by the Warrenne family, and thereby attached to Whitchurch. Meanwhile the house of Powys, princes of the Welsh March, exercised their own hereditary rights, without let or hindrance, down to the year 1281, when, the two young princes being drowned by express order from Edward I., the lordship of Maelor Saesneg, with their other possessions, came into the hands of the king. After temporary grants to the Lestrangle family it was finally bestowed upon them, 4 Edward III. From

them it descended to the Stanleys, who sold the manor of Iscoed to the Breretons of Malpas, 41st Elizabeth, from whom it passed by marriage to Sir Richard Egerton of Ridley, whose son sold it, with the ancient house of Wolvesacre in Iscoyd, to Bishop John Bridgeman in the year 1635.

Besides these manorial rights which had come from the princes of Powys, there were those which belonged to the Norman lord of Malpas in 1087. The *Maelor* share of those which the Breretons had, by inheritance from the Egertons, passed in marriage to Holford of Holford, and was by Thomas Holford, soon after 1635, sold to Mr. John Adams, of London and Wem. He had married Eleanor Howell, of Broad Oak, great-aunt of Philip Henry's wife, who died at their house in Worthenbury, March 1, 1662. When her sons Walter and John died at Iscoyd Hall in 1670, these also passed into the possession of Sir Orlando Bridgeman, Bart., the son of the bishop. One moiety of the Malpas barony still remains to be noticed, being the inheritance of the Cholmondeleys by direct descent. These rights, as regarded lands in Iscoyd and the township of Willington in Hanmer, were exercised in the present century. I hope to enter more fully into these and other kindred subjects in writing, if I am enabled to do so, a history of Maelor Saesneg.

That the old house of Broad Oak should be no longer standing is much to be regretted. It was pulled down about 1746, by an agent of Philip Henry Warburton, and the timber in it was sufficient to supply the requirements of four houses now standing, viz. the present farmhouse at Broad Oak, the Maes-llwn house in Bronington—the ancient property of the Matthewes—the Iscoyd Green Farm, called “Eastwick's Tenement,” which was bought by Philip Henry from Mr. Lloyd, of the Bryn, and a

house in the outskirts of Whitechurch, called "The Mount." Only one old oak remains near the place—the prevailing tree being the sycamore—and that one overhangs the lane leading from Whitewell to Whitchurch. It is quite hollow, and has one bough of a different shade of green to the rest.

The following report of the Commissioners gives us the state of ecclesiastical affairs in Iscoyd up to the Restoration :—

ISCOYDE.

And the saide Jurors upon their Oaths doe finde that

1. the chappel of Whitewell in the Township of Iscoide is in y^e County of flint, and that y^e tithes of y^e Township of Iscoide are annexed and belonging to y^e pish church of Malpas wh. is in y^e County of Chester.

2. And that Mr. Holland and Mr. Manwaring are Jointe or fellow Incumbents of y^e s^d pish church of malpas.

3. And that y^e Lord Breerton and others are patrons thereof.

4. And that heretofore the cure of y^e said Chappell of Whitewell was supplied by Curates apointed by y^e Parsons of Malpas who had some small salaries for their paines. But that now the said Parsons of Malpas of late placed to bee curate there one Mr. Joseph Hanmer to whom they allow all the tithe corn and hey of y^e said Township of Iscoide reserving to themselves y^e rest of y^e small tithes and a certaine rent of fforty shillings a yeare.

5. And the s^d Jurors upon their Oaths doe further finde that y^e s^d pish of Malpas is a very great pish containing in it 22 townships over & besides y^e s^d Township of Iscoide, & y^e Townships of Bickerton & Broxton (wh. said two townships are lately severed from Malpas & anexed to Harthill).

6. And that the tithes of y^e said Parish are worth neare 400^{li} a yeare besides y^e said Townships of Iscoied, Bickerton, & Broxton, and that there is at least 50^{li} p. añ (besides the Tithes) in Gleabe lands belonging thereunto, & two very faire Parsonages houses thereupon, all now enjoyed by y^e s^d Incumbents.

7. And that y^e Tithes of y^e s^d Township of Iscoide are worth about 50^{li} p. Ann., & y^t y^e Chappell of Whitewell is three miles or

thereabouts distant from y^e said Parish Church of Malpas & that some part of y^e said Township of Iscoide is about fower miles distant from y^e pish church of Malpas.

8. That there is noe church nor chappell neare whereto it may be añxed, but that therefore they think fitt and convenient that y^e said chappell of Whitewell (in y^e Township of Iscoide aforesaid in y^e County of flint) bee separated from y^e Parish of y^e Malpas, and that y^e said Chappell of Iscoide be made a Parish Church. And that y^e tithes of y^e s^d Township of Iscoide be añxed to y^e s^t Parish Church of Whitewell for y^e maintenance of a preaching Minister there.

9. And further wee find that there is a river called y^e river of Elfe * wth another dangerous brooke w^{ch} lieth betweene Iscoide & Malpas whereby y^e passage (as it is dangerous) soe often hindreth the Inhabitants of Iscoide from goeing to Malpas to ptake of Ordinances in publike.

Luke Lloyd. Owen Barton. Edward Phillips. Roger Puleston. Jo. Eddows. John Madocke. Thomas Price. Thomas Kinaston. D. Hollman. (Emral MS.)

At the Restoration Mr. Joseph Hanmer seems to have conformed, and in 1667 obtained the benefice of Marchwiell, near Wrexham. At Malpas, the Presbyterian George Mainwaring rendered back the higher mediety to its former incumbent, Thomas Bridge. Mr. Holland continued at the lower rectory as before.

1663.

January 1. I heard a marriage sermon at Tilstock Mary Talbot to Richard Chamberlayn of Drayton. T. Eph. 5. 22. &c. Husbands ought to love their wives as Christ loves y^e Church. and wives ought to be in subjection to their husbands as y^e Church is in subjection to X^t.

2. I went to Emeral where I received the remaying £50. & paid it to Mrs. Barbour, shee would take no Interest, though more

* This name appears to have been derived from the root *hal* (whence *halen* = salt), *āls*, sal; and to have given to Nantwich its Welsh name Nant yr *Heidd* Wen ("the Stream of the White Salt-pit"). The epithet "white" is noticeable from the neighbourhood of the Elfe to our White-well.—D. R. THOMAS.

then £10. was due but I gave her two Angels of Gold, one for each of her Children.

3. I went to Worthenb. to meet with D^r Br. but missed of him, the place is destitute at present. Jehova-ijreh.

4. Mr Bridg.* preacht at chapel.† T. Ps. 122. 3. not calculated for y^e meridian of this Auditory.

5. I went this morning to Emeral, Mr. Roydon told mee, D^r Br. had submitted to Mr. Puleston. & hee must have y^e keys, I s^d w^t I thought fit in point of conscience & promis'd hee should have them.

In y^e afternoon I went to Cap^t Heneage where was Mr. Talants Mr. laurence, Mr. parsons, Mr. Steel, wee discourst all night, espec. upon this Qu: whether our relation doe yet remayn to our people, in y^e close wee were divided in our opinions about it.

6. I came home & went thence to Ash, drowsy & unfit but engag'd by promise. My company is not desireable bec: not profitable.

7. I heard of y^e burning of Mr. Delawn's house near lothbury in london, in y^e flames whereof perisht hims^t wife children & servants to the number of 10. or 12. twas a brick house, the fire began in y^e lowest roomes, twas on Dec. 25. at night.

9. I read y^e K. declaration of Dec. 26. wherein hee promises to mantayn y^e Act of oblivion, to govern by law not by sword, to procure liberty from y^e Parl. for tender Consciences, to take off sanguinary lawes agt. Papists—

11. I went to Tilstock, Mr. Thomas preacht about living by Faith under Afflictions, I had fainted unless I had believed.

* Thomas Bridge, incumbent of the higher rectory of Malpas during the troubles of the great rebellion, was ejected from his living, but restored in 1660. He was also Vicar of St. John's Chester, "rebuilt the parsonage, and gave £50 towards erecting the grammar school, and £50 to the poor."

† Philip Henry attended the services at Whitwell Chapel for nearly thirty years after going to live at Broad Oak. His son tells us that he used to stand during the whole service, even while the chapters were read. To this the Rev. W. Turner adds that "he stood up commonly during the prayers." In his family he always prayed kneeling. Cf. Bingham's "Antiquities of the Christian Church," vol. iv. book xiii. chap. viii. sect. iii.: "Standing (in prayer) was the general observation of the whole Church on the Lord's day and the fifty days between Easter and Pentecost, in memory of our Lord's resurrection. This custom may be traced as high as Irenæus, who derives it from apostolical authority." "There was an exception to this rule in the case of penitents" (Bingham, vol. vi. book xviii. chap. ii. 9).

18. Mr. Bridge preacht at chapel. Cant. 5. 8. two sermons which cost him little, lord if thou hast Interest in him, revive it ; hee hath gifts but if repentance on his part & Mercy on God's part prevent not, they will quickly wither & come to nothing.

19. I went to Worthenb. & deliver'd y^e Possession of y^e House to Mr. Roydon for Mr. Puleston use, for I could not doe otherwise. Mrs. Puleston was there & agreed to give me 30^s for y^e Parler Table. &c. w^{ch} I left there. Tis clear y^e settlem^t w^{ch} y^e Judge made is voyd in law by y^e statute of mortmain, & besides y^e Original Deed is not to bee had.

20. I fell two Ashes & an Oak for implem^{ts} for Husbandry, in falling one of y^e Ashes, it pleased God wonderfully to preserve Daniel Powel y^e Son of Marg^t Powel, aged 8. years. the Tree fell upon him but hee scapt the body & fell under y^e outmost boughs, so that hee received no harm, blessed be y^e name of y^e lord.

22. Payd Randall Tanna 6^s 6^d being my Fathers share & mine towards y^e Muster of one Horse y^e last year.

23. My heart condemnes mee that I doe no more for God in y^{is} place & state of life into w^{ch} I am cast, lord open to mee an effectual door, for there are many adversaryes, within, without.

24. Ann Hale deprehended in two or three thefts, a cup, a dish, scollop-work, all trifling matters, yet see y^e powere of temptation.

25. Mr. Adams preacht at Whitwel-Chapel in the morning, T. John 1. 12. Fatherly correction is a branch of our Priveledge as sons. in the Afternoon wee went farther, to Whitchurch, but far'd worse, only by y^e way I had opportunity to instruct & exhort y^{os} that were in company with us, blessed bee God. 26. Robert Wyn ill, say w^t I would I could not fasten on him, lord grant hee may mend y^t hee may mend. 27. About this time a great appearance of fire was seen in this neighbourhood & elsewhere, what it portends God knowes. 28. one about Shrewsb. (they say) foretells three battles this year, one whereof upon Prees heath and I am asked, what I think of it, I answe^r I cannot, let the event speak. 29. my Father being againe askt to give Acquittance of y^e £100. receiv'd or to endorse y^e Bond refus'd. 30. I went to Tilst. to y^e humiliation, where I saw & mett with God, blessed be

his name. 31. an exceeding bitter cold season, the Frost continuing with small intermissions these many weekes.

23. I sent my watch to london by Raph Mansel to change for a clock.

February 1. no preaching at the chapel, I went to Tilstock. where Mr. Thomas is still preserved in his liberty blessed bee God and the place is a little Sanctuary to us; the lord continue it soe.

2. I sent 10^s to Mr. Taylor of Wem by Thomas Moor, being y^e remaynder of what was in my hands of y^e money given by Gen^l Venables & Mr. Golborn of Chester—to Mr. Heeling 20^s to Mr. laurence. 20^s. This day the second year of Tho: Hales' bargain in Br. Oke expiring at his desire to be releas'd it returns into my own hand, the lord bless mee with it & bless it to mee.

4. Mr. Steel Mr. Thomas and Cosin Talbot met & din'd at my house wee had opportunity of talking but not of praying together as I could have wished bec: of Inmates. A motion made by Mr. Hilton concer: Deberah Eddow to her Mother, shee came to advise, but for my p^t I could give her no encouragemen^t nor did I discourage her but spake the Truth. 6. 7. an extraordinary cold season, sowing & other country work are much put back, yet tending to Fruitfulness in summer.

8. Mr Adams preacht in the morning at the Chapel, a good sermon; in the aftern: wee went to Whitch: where preacht Mr. Cole. T. 1 John. 2. 20. 10. uncle Burroughs son Charles about year & quarter old dyed, long sick—hard matter to submit, twas their only child, lord sanctify—11. great talk about the intended Dispute in Parliam^t concerning Toleration for Papists by taking off sanguinary lawes, lord over-rule their Counsells. 13. At the request of Lydia Ienkins I went to Shotwick with Cosin W^m Benet. to move her Brother to doe someth. for her tow. her marriage with Arthur Hincks, but though I believe hee could not, yet hee said hee would not & with that answer wee parted—14. At Chester I heard of y^e Imprisonm^t of Mr. Yates Min^r of Harrington, upon the malicious information of a person of small credit, who swore, hee mov'd him to take up Arms ag^t. y^e King for y^e Presbyterians & promis'd him 40^s p. week pay. 14 (cont^d) 'Tis only from Gods Providence holding y^e Chayn* that tis not every ones case y^t

* How very true is this, and how little remembered by Christians!

feares God, considering our own impotency to gainsay & the enemyes malice to accuse. Wee came home well & found our families well, blessed bee the name of y^e lord. 15. I went to Tilstock * where Mr. Thomas preacht in y^e morning & in y^e afternoon at Whitch. blessed bee God for y^{es} libertyes.

16. went to see Mr. Adams of Iscoyd Hall, whose House had been rob'd y^e last week, Bacon and Beef taken away. 17. morn-ing-prayer with my wife omitted for some weekes, this day reviv'd—lord never let mee alone in sin. I met Mr. Steel at W^m Benets where hee repeated sermons & pray'd, blessed bee God. 18. This day twelve month was y^e great wind ; † This day the Parliam^t mett again, lord, rule in y^e midst of them. 19. I went to Ash, ‡ intending to goe further to Stych ‡ to meet Mr. Porter but uncle Benyon's occasions would not permit him to goe with mee, so I returned home y^e same night. 20. John Beard of Whitch. bury'd two children of y^e small Pox in y^e compasse of one week. lord, what mercy is it mine are spar'd. 21. Hathorn-sets planted to hedge in y^e Ortyard, lord bee thou a wall of fire round about thy Church, & let not y^e wild boar out of y^e Forrest devour thy tender plants. Fodder scarce & dear, wee did ill not to provide in Summer for Winter. 22. no preaching at Chapel, the weather wett, in y^e morning I exercis'd at home, I hope to edification, in y^e afternoon wee went to Whitch: for still y^e gates of Sion are better then all y^e dwellings of Jacob. 24. being holy-day, § hee & others [? not] at work, for mee fear'd being presented. 26. Mr. Hanmer's son Thomas came first to Fenns, I saw him, they say hopeful, hee went this day towards london, having the Kings evil upon his Thigh. I mett Mr. Hilton || at my Fathers :

* Tilstock and Ash Magna have now churches and districts of their own : formerly parts of Whitchurch parish.

† Evelyn writes, March 24, 1662, " Return'd home to repaire my house, miserably shatter'd by the late tempest."

‡ Ash Hall was the seat of the ancient family of Benyon (ap Enyon) : Stych (which Richard Gough would spell Stits or Stich), of the Clives.

§ The Saturday half-holiday, the Bank holidays, and the early closing movement ought to be so many proofs to us that our ancestors were wiser than we in making the various saints' days times of enjoyment and rest from work.

|| Mr. Richard Hilton, of Christ Church, Oxford, had succeeded Philip Henry at Worthenbury in 1661, and Mr. R. Steel at Hanmer in 1662. The " motion about Cosin Deborah Eddow" seems to have been dropped, for he afterwards married Mrs. Anne Whitehall, of Hanmer ; but his daughter Anne

hee communicated to mee his motion about Cosin Deborah Eddow & askt my opinion of her, I could say noth: concern: her, yet know not what to think of the thing. hee hath someth. in him y^t will not let him doe so bad as others. 27. Mr. Holliman returnd, friends at lond. well, blessed bee God. 28. day of humiliation & pray^r at Tho. Talb. lord hear & have mercy. Talk of a bill for y^e Sabb. & ag^t pluralities, God grant they may bee to purpose.

Feb. 17. At Elsmere. 3. measures of Rye. 11^s.

9. A bushel of Oats borrow'd of Ann Mathewes to bee payd in Kind or money when shee calls for it. the price of Oats is now. 7^s.

21. Three measures of wheat borrowd of Ann Mathewes the market price 4^s 4^d.

25. John Cliff 7. dayes work 7. groats.*

March 1. I went to Tilstock where Mr. Thomas is yet continued; hee taugt of living by Faith, and exhorted to try our Faith, if it bee such as wee may bee like to live by.

2. Trees receiv'd from Mr. Hammond. 6. Apples. 6. Corans. 6. Goosberries. 8. Roses. two vines. This day Mrs. Jane Done dy'd of Torperly, aged 63. a great support to Gods poor people in y^e neighbourhood.

6. Day of Prayer at Mr. Thomas, with many meltings & much Enlargm^t, lord hear us for thy poor Church wch lyes wast. At my going forth in y^e morning my wife spake a seeming hasty word, wch. y^e Devil made use of to distract mee several times y^t day. Shee went to Witch. payd scores at Uncle Hotchk. bought malt, Pease. &c. & my heart safely trusteth in her, blessed bee God. 7. William making y^e Garden, I spent more time with him then needed, & which might have been better spent, and at night I smarted for it in payn in my Teeth, & the lord is

married Robert Eddow, by whom the Gredington estate came with Jane Eddow to Mr. Lloyd Kenyon, father of the Chief Justice. Mr. Hilton built the porch to Hanmer Church, with the chamber over it.

* The price of corn and the rate of wage are about half what Macaulay mentions in chapter iii. of his "History," as prevailing between the Restoration and the Revolution. Philip Henry may have given John Cliff his food as well as the seven groats. The wages in Wales may have been lower than in England.

righteous. 8. The Morning at Whitw. chap. John. i. 13. All adopted are also regenerated. The Aftern. at Whitch. where preached Mr. Bowers a Printed sermon of Mr. loves verbatim. 1 K. 14. 13. 10. I went to Joseph Ridgwayes house at Shockl. where mett mee Mr. Roberts & John Farrar, wee spent 3. or 4. howres in discourse & prayer & that night I slept at Mr. Roberts. 11. I went to Wrexham with intentions to sell my mare at the fayr, but could not. It grieves mee very much to see how the Presbyterian Interest there, which I judge the middle between two extreames,* is of late ecclipt & clouded, the cause I judge to bee want of communion amongst them, & y^e cause of that, want of a Faithful Min^r thereabouts to goe before them; my spirit was much sadned at y^e consideration of it, help lord. 12. Mr. Steel baptiz'd a child of his hims^f named Salomon, notwithst. the Interdict; it was more than I durst venture to doe, when Mathew was born, but the truth is, I was surpris'd, & if it were to doe again, I think I should venture far, rather then suffer the cross,† though I then judg'd, twas no sin of mine, I being Passive in it, & besides I was loth to have it done in private y^{en} if I could have had it done without y^e Cross. 15. Wee expected Mr. Bridg at Chapel. but in the morning, hee sent word, hee could not come, hee had been sick all night, I heard hee had been drinking y^e day before, lord save thy church out of such hands, y^e morning wee spent, at home. in y^e Aftern, I went to Whitch. T. 1 Cor. 9. 24. so run yet ye may obtayn. 17. I went to see Margēt Bedward ‡ sick & tempted. I judge it a melancholy humor prevayling, which the devil workes upon to the disturbing of her peace. shee thought y^e Devil pswaded her to give hers^f to him with all y^e heart in her heele, which troubled her worse then before; I told her, the Devil

* The extremes here intended must be the Episcopalian and the Independent. The Calvinist would have little scruple in denying the possibility of salvation to a Romanist, nor would he condescend in any way to notice the Quakers—a sect that seemed specially designed to show him, as in a glass, the inconsistencies of his own system.

† Because the Papist bowed down before a crucifix, the Presbyterian denounced the cross. It has taken two centuries to convince men that the cross is the “sign of the Son of man.” In the beautiful cemeteries that are to be seen in Scotland, the broken column or broken bough, the jar to receive the ashes of those who have been burned, are common devices, while the emblem of our Christianity is most rare.

‡ This name is the English form of ap Edward.

was a proud spirit & could not endure to bee so slighted, & it may bee shee should hear less from him y^{en} formerly. I pray'd wth her —lord hear prayer. 19. I mett two or three Freinds at Cosin Benets to seek God in behalf of our poor tempted Friend, lord, command y^e Messenger Satan to depart from her, & bring good out of it. 20. I first attempted to graft, & try'd two several wayes, accord: to Austins direction. 21. great Oak fallen by y^e Turf-house, many yeares, tis likely, scores of yeares growing to that bigness, yet cutt down in a day, though not without much adoe. Ps. 76. 6. hee slips off y^e spirit of Princes, as a man would slip off a flower between his fingers with ease. 22. people mett at Chapel but no Min^r my spirit was mov'd to preach, but I forbore —only after a Psalm sung, which Mr. Katheral the Schoolm^r read, I spake a few words standing in my seat, w^{ch} it may bee I may hear of again, but chuse it, my heart is fixed, trusting in the lord. 25. I finisht y^e reading of y^e new Testament in secret, but for want of Meditation with it, it hath profited mee little. The lord pardon! 28. I visited Marg^t Bedward, someth. better, blessed bee God. 29. At Tilstock preacht Mr. Bowers y^e same printed sermon of Mr. love's w^{ch} hee preacht at Witch. this day 3. weekes.

April 1. I went with my wife to see Mrs. Steel, returning as from the grave, few thought shee would have recovered, but the lord was merciful. 2. I went to Cosin Iohn Ienings, agreed wth him for a Cow & Calf, which is to cost £3. 14. 8.

5. Mr. Holland preacht at Chapel two good sermons, in y^e morning law. Gal. 3. 10. in the afternoon Gospel. John 3. 17. Hee gave notice of a Sacram^t at Malpas, my soul thirsts for the Ordinance, but y^e gesture & some other circumstances trouble mee, lord w^t wilt thou have us to doe. 6. I mett some Freinds at Mr. Thomas, where wee pray'd together, but my heart was out of frame, lord, let not my sin hinder the success of that day, I see y^e spirit blowes when & where it listeth. my Father sent to us for y^e remaining £100. lord thou hast befriended us in 6. & in 7. forsake us not now in this 8th also. I saw a petition from y^e Parliam^t to y^e K. to banish Popish Preists & Jesuites,* which

* In 1568, November 21, a person named Thomas Heth preached a sermon at the cathedral church of our English city of Rochester. After he had left the pulpit a letter addressed to him (as was afterwards discovered)

swarm amongst. Amen. Fiat. 7. I pay'd 5^s for Chimneyes,* 4- of my own, one of Margt. Powels, the next I purpose shee shall pay hers^f accord. to y^e Act.

10. D^r Mathew Fowler came to bee Preacher at Whitch; in the stead of D^r Heylin, lik't better then he was if it hold. 13. I walkt to Mr. Steel's where was Cosin Rushworth; its query'd what's best to doe about the approaching Easter Communion, for mys^f I am not free to kneel, yet dare not condemn those that are.

14. hearing of £100. to bee had wth W. B. I went to him & had promise of it, accounting it a mercy & that in return of prayers.

19. Wee went to Whitch.—it grieves mee to turn my back upon y^e lord's supper. Mr. Steel & many more tendred them^f sitting at Hanmer & received. I borrowed £100 of Will. Butler jun. & gave bond wherein Robt. Bickley is bound with mee to repay it at Mich. next, I *payed* it to my Father Math. the last which I owe him, & took up y^e bond, which was of 400^{l^{rs}} unindors'd though I had payd him 100^{l^{rs}} at Mich. last which was not fayr; The Lord convince him of all his hard dealing with

under a false name, and signed by Samuel Malt, a Spanish Jesuit, was found there by the sexton, in which it was stated that "certain persons familiar to Heth, viz. Hallingham, Coleman, and Benson, had set up a faction among the German heretics." These three persons are mentioned by Fuller (ix. 9) and Heylyn ("Hist. of Presbyter.," book vi.) as being accounted the chief leaders of the Puritans of the time. On searching Heth's lodgings there were found in his boots certain papers—one being a licence from the Fraternity of Jesuits; another a bull of Pope Pius V., authorizing him to preach any doctrine which the Jesuits might direct, for sowing divisions in England (Robert Warc's "Foxes and Firebrands," London, 1682, pp. 31-47).

In 1646, above a hundred Romish priests were sent into England to play the part of Independents, Anabaptists, and Presbyterians to foment divisions, etc. Many of these joined the Parliament's army, and corresponded with other Romanists who were in the king's (Archbishop Bramhall's Works, p. xcvii., ed. Oxford, 1842).

Oliver Heywood mentions a case that came under his notice in 1672, where a man ordained by the Presbytery, without knowledge of his previous life, was supposed from what followed to be a Jesuit (Hunter's "Life of Oliver Heywood," page 397, n.).

* Pepys writes under date March 3, 1662: "I am told that this day the Parliament hath voted 2s. per annum for every chimney in England, as a constant revenue for ever to the Crowne:" and on October 15, 1666, "This day . . . one moved that the Chimney money might be taken from the king, and an equal revenue of something else might be found for the king, and people be enjoyned to buy off this tax of Chimney money for ever at eight years' purchase, which will raise present money, as they think, 1,600,000, and the State be eased of an ill burthen."

us, and the lord help us out of that Debt into which his unjust exaction hath brought us and in y^e mean time establish our hearts by believing, for unto thee ô. God I commit my way.

22. Tho. Halt & his family removed from us to Alghtree ;* I agreed with him &c. though upon hard termes ; better buy peace then want it ; † wee visited Eleanor Ratcliff & Cosin John Madocks sick ; lord spare.

23. Day of Prayer & Preaching at Mr. Adams of North-wood, where were present several of the Congregational way wholly unsatisfy'd about coming to hear y^e service book or any that read it.

25. Heifer sent for from Ash, where shee hath been since Twelftide ; a very wett season after a very dry before ; yesterday came two Oxen of Cosin Ann Mathewes, which wee are to keep a while for their work.

26. This day wee have been marry'd three y. blessed bee God. Mr. Thomas threatned at Tilstock by D^r Fowler, if hee should bee remov'd twill bee ill not with that place only but wth the neighbourhood also ; therof. spare lord.

27. Dwelling-house ‡ & shore clay'd for John Green, cost. 4^s besides windings & my servants work. Mr. Sadler came to see mee, exprest great fear of approaching trouble, the lord prevent if it bee his will.

29. I went to lappington, where I lay all night at Cosin

* This place, generally written "Althrey," is upon the Dee, and about a mile to the north of Bangor Monachorum. The word comes from *allt* = a steep place, and *threy* = the town. Its Latin equivalent is *alta ripa*, which has often melted into *hauton*, *haulton*, and *haughton*. There is said to have been a giant called Althrey, whose grave is pointed out in the Castle Wood below Gwernhaeled.

† As He who said, "Swear not at all," was yet not silent when the high-priest put Him upon oath (St. Matt. xxvi. 63, 64), so when He bids us "not to resist evil," and to "turn the other cheek," He bids us check all personal feelings of hatred and revenge ; those who press the literal expressions ought also to cut off their right hand and right foot, and pluck out their right eye, when these hinder their salvation. A regard for public justice and the welfare of society and of the offender himself may render it necessary to restrain and punish crime—Genesis ix. 6, will always tell us how murderers are to be treated ; and the number of Christian soldiers in the Roman armies shows that the modern idea of "peace at any price" was unknown to them as part of their religion, though exceptional instances to the contrary may be brought forward.

‡ Wattlesborough Castle, Salop, is supposed to have got its name from this kind of building, which is found still at Penley Hall, in English Maelor, and elsewhere.

Chambers,* visited Mrs. Tristram a good woman long sick & weak. Saw Mr. Laurence, who beares witness to the love & care of our heavenly father providing for him in his present condition beyond expectation.

3. This day my son John is two years old, blessed be God for the mercy of this day two year to mother & child & mee in them. Mr. Thomas took his farewel of Tilstock, great sadnes & many teares in y^e Congreg. lord, let the spirit of life enter again into y^e witnesses. I went thence to Ash, where I stayd all night, my Aunt very ill, in y^e morning better, I pray'd again with her & parted.

4. Thomas Hale fetcht away more of his goods & brought part of his Rent behind, w^{ch} I refus'd, with more anger, I fear, yth needed. bee angry & sin not. his carriage is provoking but mine should bee patient.

5. At 10. a clock I was sent for to Ash, where I came at 11. and found my worthy dear Aunt alive & that was all, wee went to prayer & her life & prayer ended together. Shee was without comparison the best Friend I had in this country; and tis no small loss to lose such a one; lord make up y^e loss to mee & all her relations, & humble us for sin that Kill-Friend.

6. Randle yongs wife bury'd at Hammer.

7. My dear Aunt Benyon was bury'd at Whitch. Mr. Thomas preacht T. 1. Cor. 3. 22. lord take up the children and come in her stead to all her relations and to mee. Amen.

8. I went to Worthenb. where I visited some of y^e cheifest of my Friends, but am sensible of great want of skill to doe in occasional discourse.

10. At Whitch. where preacht Mr. Binny, y^e leaves too big for y^e fruit. T. Ps. 86. 11: I heard of William Nixon, who yesterday attempted to cut his own throat from discontent at his wife. but escapt alive. I went to Mrs. Figes, where Friends met & pray'd, a sweet day it was, lord hear in heaven. Before wee parted her husband came unexpectedly.

13. A very wett season, wee are well neither full nor fasting, tis not many dayes since y^e earth was parcht with drought, now

* "The advowson of Myddle Church did formerly belong to the ancient and worthy family of the Chambres of Petton, many of which family are interred in the Chancel there."—R. Gough's "History of Myddle." p. 14.

drown'd with water. It is y^e lord, let him doe with us as seemeth good in his eyes.

14. I went with Cosin. Nixon & Cosin Benet to see W^m Nixon, & found him under terrors, but I fear, not kindly—Wee pray'd wth him, hear lord—My wife went to Bronn. but my father's countenance was less serene yⁿ of late it hath been, whatever is y^e matter. lord lift up the light of *thy* countenance upon us.

15. I wrote to Mr. Washborn of Oriol to befriend Dan. Brown.

16. Day of prayer at John Butters of the wood-houses, my heart much out of frame, cumbred with many th. but blessed bee God, wee are under a Coven^t of grace.

17. At Whitch. where preacht D^r Fowler concerning the nature & abuse of X^{tan} liberty, Gal. 5. 13. asserting y^e power of y^e magistrate about Indifferent th. which is p.tly to bee deny'd *vis.* in sacr̄is.

18. My glass is running and my time hastning into Eternity, but I doe nothing, father glorify thys. by me.

21. I went to light-edge & saw Mrs. Hassal, a vertuous, good woman, to whom I was welcome, but it troubles mee, I do no more good where I goe.

22. I went with my wife to Malpas to the buryal of Richard Palyn, aged 103, as his relations say. Mr. Ralph Weld cald on mee, I admonisht him to beware of being insnar'd by unprofitable company, lord sett it home for his good, I p.swaded him also to revive their ancient christian fellowship in Wrexham, decay'd.

23. I visited uncle Benyon, unresolved w^t to doe, lord bee his comforter, lord bee his counseller, my advice was to contract, not to break up house—letters from london by Cosin John Hotck. sisters well, blessed bee God; Sarah come from lady Buckhurst.

24. Mr. Adams preacht at chapel in y^e morning, in y^e aftern. wee went to Whitch. work out your own Salvation.

25. Day of prayer at Mrs. Figes, lord hear in heaven. near Wrexham lately y^e^t were surprised, wee have hitherto escaped, Eben-ezer.

26. I went with my dear to Whicksoo to Mr. Sadlers, from thence to Mrs. Braynes, not well; wee are under engagem^{ts} to that family, y^e^{ir} eldest son General W^m Brayn left my wife 100^{lb} which I had of her & my father Mathewes of mee.

28. Great vanity & folly up & down the country at Processions.* Mrs. Welsh came from Wrexham to see us.

29. Thanks-giving day for y^e K. return, a mercy in its. for which the lord bee praysed, though I & many more suffer by it—Market kept at Whitch. after sermon, which should not bee.†

31. Mr. Holland at chapel, *T. Ps.* 30. 6. a prosperous condition a dangerous condition & so it is. prosperity ensnares, entangles, destroys, lord give mee neither riches nor poverty, but feed mee with food convenient for mee.

June 1. William brought a mare from Mr. Laurences upon tryal, price 5^{lb}.

2. I went to Bryn. Mrs. Rushworth near y^e time of travel, prayer made for her, lord, hear. motion of marriage made between Mrs. Elizabeth Lloyd & Mr. Kirk, now Min^r of Acton. Advice sought & given, that whereas y^e man though a Conformist yet is hopeful for Godlines, it might bee lawful to proceed, yet with most comfort, if hee allow p^t of y^e profits of the place to Mr. Burghal ‡ ejected—lord, counsel & determine y^e matter.

3. Min^{rs} mett at Br. O. Mr. Steel, Mr. Sadler, Mr. Thomas Mr. Rushworth, wee pray'd together, lord hear & pardon, pardon specially our sins as Min^{rs} & doe not curse our blessings for wee desire to hear & lay to heart & to give glory to thy name.

5. reports of my father's marriage to Jane Eddow—*nec metuo diem nec opto.*

9. Seasonable rayn, a great mercy, blessed bee God.

7. Mr. Bridge at chapel *T. 1 John. 2. 15.* a playn text a la^t Sermon the matter scarce visible for words; lord write y^e

* The chief times for processions were at funerals, and during the Rogation days, when God's blessing was asked upon the crops, and the boundaries of parishes, etc., were marked. "Before 1543 the boundaries of fields" also would be noticed (Owen and Blakeway's "Salop." iv. p. 199).

† One might think that prayer and sermon—if people would attend—would be as suitable before market as at any other time; or is it once more a case of Scylla and Charybdis? Because the Roman Catholic market-woman kneels at the roadside cross and says her prayer, is the true Protestant to go to market and *not to pray?*

‡ Edward Burghal was the Puritan minister of Acton, near Nantwich. His diary of the war is a most interesting document. In "Nonconformity in Cheshire," p. 122, we find, "This aged and eminent servant of Christ did not long survive his ejection in 1662. Having patiently endured the poverty to which he was reduced, but which was alleviated by the assistance of sympathizing friends, he died in the year 1605."

Text in my heart & weed out all inordinate love of y^e world & all th. in y^e world. In y^e aftern. we went to Whitch. D^r Fowler preacht, with more playness & ædification *Act. 2. 1.* Mr. Booth entertayn'd curate there. Assisted in administring y^e Sacram^t, not ordayn'd.*

8. Motion of marriage betw. Tho. Moyl & Debo. Eddow, her mother came to ask my counsel, I did as I would bee done by. I went to Whitch. Fayr, where I bought a black mare, 4. year old, cost 5^{lb} 10^s 0.

9. Wee return'd, having visited Cosin Wickstead, old Mr. Hotchkis & other friends by whom we were refreshed but to whom our Society is little profitable.

10. I heard of the Death of W^m Juxon, Arch^{bp} of Canterbury, who dyed Jun. 4. the same day Mrs. Puleston of Emeral was brought to bed of her first son.

12. I went to Wrexham, saw some Friends, lodged at Mr. lewis discourst with several concern. y^e scruples of y^e times, † lord thy people are of different p.swasions & apprehensions in many th. lord heal & help.

13. I spake with Mr. Davis of Wrexham concerning Tabling Cousin Dan. Benyon & two sons of Mrs. Figes, who are to goe to school to Mr. lewis.—I acquainted Mr. lewis with my opinion of Cock-fights. John Jones & others excommunicated for nonconformity—I came home with my father Mathewes blessed bee y^e lord.

14. at Whitch. where preacht D^r Fowler well—Lord keep back thy servant from presumptuous sins.

15. My father bestowed new coats upon y^e children cost about 20^s. I heard of y^e death of a mayd in Nantwich who coming from milking fell down with the Bowk ‡ on her head & dyed.

* This seems to indicate a scarcity of clergy, as we know was the case after the ejection of 1662. During the war, services were held now and again by ministers who went from place to place. "In 1657, after being minister of Coley for seven years, Oliver Heywood is convinced of the duty of restoring the Lord's Supper, which had not been celebrated for fifteen years."

† Οἱ διῶλίζοντες τὸν κῶνωπα, τὴν δὲ κάμηλον καταπίνοντες. The result of this temperament is a tyrannical contempt for the conscientious scruples of others. The same spirit that forbad the use of the Book of Common Prayer, either in public or private, in 1644-45, under heavy penalties, raised its voice in the House of Commons in November, 1874, against Church of England endowments to Hertford College, Oxford.

‡ Bowk = milk-pail. There is a surname Bowker.

19. Mr. Edw^d Philips of Mulsford dy'd of y^e spotted feavor.

20. Eleanor Ratcliff buried—wee visited Mrs. Rushworth, lately brought to bed of a Daughter, named Katharin, hee baptized her hims. as I should have done my son Mathew, if I had done well.

21. at Whitch. T. *Heb.* 4. 13. concer. God's omnisciency, a lesson which I have been long learning but am not yet com'n to y^e knowl. thereof.

22. first journey to y^e coles with a Team of my own, the lord bee y^e^{er} good speed. 23. they return'd in safety, though wth difficulty by reason of y^e fowl wayes. blessed be God.

25. Reports of great mortality in & about Chester. spare us, good lord, spare thy people. Mrs. Row of Barrel being with child a leaping down from off a horse dyed this week, y^e child living in her after shee was dead.

26. sent by Mr. Holliman to sister Mary two Coralls to change, a Diamond ring to sell.

27. new coats given to y^e children by my father Mathewes at y^e request of Aunt Hochkis, cost 20^s 6^d.

28. Mr. Holland at chapel. T. *luk.* 23. 34. 38. a good examp. to love & pray for enemyes in y^t prayer of our lord Jesus. Father forgive them for y^{ei} know not what y^{ei} doe.

29. Mrs. Elisab. Puleston now marry'd to W^m Farrar, with Mary Mear &c. came to see us. Mr. Sam. Edwards, son of my old Christian Freind Edward Thomas being motion'd by mee to Whitch. School, I went with him to y^e Feoffees, & hope it may doe well both for y^e Town & him.

30. I saw the school-house. Mr. Thomas of ubbley hath added 15^{lb} p. ann. to y^e maintenance with a desire to have certain pious Orders of his own drawing to bee observed there.

July 1. Fayr weather after much wett, a great mercy, blessed bee God.

2. Mr. Thomas came to see me, I have begun to teach him

* A house in the Watergate, Chester, where the plague is said to have stopped, has still inscribed upon it "God's Providence is mine inheritance. A.D. 1652." (It was restored in 1862.)

"In 1648, between June 20 and April 20, 2099 people had died of plague. Cabins for the infected were built under the water-tower and in the adjoining salt-marsh."—Ormerod's "Cheshire," i. 209.

Hebrew, as far as my skill will reach, which though but small, yet I count far better than none.

3. Mr. Edwards sent a messenger wth a letter to mee to signify, that hee could not accept of Which. school, which I am sorry for, hee motion'd a son of D^r Winter's whom I like not.

4. my wife receiv'd 1^{lb} 14^s 0^d of my Father for y^e Brick meadow, for which I was offred by John Mathewes 2^{lb} 5^s 8^d, yet more y^{en} so much hee would not give, yet had a desire to have it, I know not what to doe, yet chose rather to sit down by ye loss then displease him.

5. at Whitch. T. *John* 13. 34. 35. J. X^s hath loved mee, theref. I ought to love him, theref. I ought to love my Brother.

6. great rayn again; report of much harm done in y^e up-countrys by late rayn.

7. day of prayer at Mrs. F. with much sweetness. lord hear & have mercy. Esa. 16. 4. much upon my heart, let my outcasts dwell with y^{ee}, Moab. 1. God's people may bee an outcast people, cast out of men's love, out of y^eir synagogues, out of y^eir Country. 2. God will own his people wⁿ men cast them out, my outcasts. 3. God will provide a dwelling for his outcast people. 4. even Moab an enemy shall bee a shelter to God's people when y^e lord speakes y^e word.

8. This last night Mathew fell out of bed, not hurt, a wonderful preservation, blessed bee God, even our God. I went to see Mrs. Thomas not well, where hapned to bee many Friends without design, wee pray'd together, lord hear in heaven.

9. I went to speak with Mr. Broughton about sending in a foot-souldier wherewith I am charg'd, thence to Worthenb. where I saw some Freinds, & hope there are yet a few in that place y^t have not defil'd their Garments, lord, strengthen, stablish.

10. at home, making hay, ye weather seasonable, blessed bee God.

11. Nurse Trim suddenly taken ill this evening at Br. Oke. but God had mercy. Wee know neither time nor place, when, where nor how.

12. At Whitch. T. 1 *John* 2. 1. a profitable sermon, lord grant that I sin not. Mr. Booth retayn'd Curate y^{ere}. preacht in the aftern. indigested.

13. Mr. Adams like to come into trouble for baptizing a child of John Huxley.

14. a child of W^m Taylor, ill of convulsion fits, I went to see him, & ô what evil is there in sin that produces such effects upon poor Innocent little ones, if this bee done to y^e green tree w^t shall be done to y^e dry. It dyed this night—blessed bee God y^t my little ones are in health.

15. Mr. Sadler came to see me ; It rayn'd y^{is} morning, being Swithyn's day, it should bode rayn, soe vulg. 40 dayes after, w^{ch} I shall observe. For y^e 7 or 8 following dayes it did rayn daily more or less, for y^e 10 next it miss'd most dayes—enough to show y^e vanity of such predictions.

16. Will. Griffith ill of a swelling in his Throat, wee fear'd it was a Squinancy, John Barker lett him bloud.

17. Reports of Bristol's* Impeachm^t of y^e chancellor, for befriending Papists, misimploying publique moneyes, over-straying his power, marrying his daughter to ye D. of York, &c. judge's opinion y^t it amounts not to Treason, y^e K. sides wth ye Chancellor.

18. William better, blessed bee God. if y^e least wheel in our watch bee out of order what trouble is it to all y^e Family, ô, what a mercy is health.

19. At Witch. where preacht Mr. Bridg. Jun^r, two empty, frothy, flashy unprofitable sermons, I am asham'd to give such Epithites to sermons, but truly such they were, lord pity preacher & hearers.

20. I was not well, it held mee like an Ague, my leg sore. Mr. Holliman brought letters from Sister Mary. Coral's chang'd two for one besides half a crown given for exchange.

21. Mr. Steel & Cosin Rushw. presented for baptizing their children thems.

23. Day of Praise & Prayer at Cos. Rushw. Praise for y^e safe delivery of his wife. Prayer for Guidance in y^{eir} intended remove to Henly. Also in y^e Marriage affayr betw. Cosin Elis. Lloyd & Mr. Kirk now preacher at Acton near Nantwich.

* This was John, the youngest son of Sir George Digby of Shirebourne, and created Earl of Bristol, September 15, 1662. His friendship with Clarendon during their exile had been lessened since the Restoration by the chancellor's refusal of some grants which Bristol had applied for. The charges that he brought forward on this occasion only damaged his own character irretrievably.

24. I went with Mr. Steel and Mrs. Lloyd &c. into Woral to Capt. Shipleyes, wee cal'd at Ches. Saw Mr. Cook, Prison no Prison.

This day dy'd Will. Figes. at school at Wrexh. of y^e small pox. 'tis not long since their mother brought him thither Naomi, & now returns Marah.

25. wee went to Gayton, to Mr. Glegg's, heard of y^e execution of 3. Plotters in Ireland, Tomson, Jephson, Warren, also of y^e sad condicōn of many English, turn'd out of house & home.

26. Mr. Green preacht at Nesson. T. *John* 3. l. 1. 1. y^e sum of man's desire, life. 2. y^e sum of God's bounty, X^t. 3. Y^e sum of man's duty, Faith. I believe in y^e lord J. X^t hoping to obtain by & through him everlasting life. Ill y^{is} night, tooth-ake—it grieves mee I can doe no more good amongst Freinds.

27. I went to Hawarden, saw & pray'd in secret with Mr. Fogg, lord, hear in heaven. much made of.

28. I return'd home, found all well, & pretty well mys. home is home indeed to mee, blessed bee God—my wife is much my helper, present, absent, & my heart doth safely trust in her, the lord's most holy name bee blessed & prayed.

30. Cosin Ashton came to see us from Chester, I have been often welcom to her house.

31. Seasonable hay-weather, all ye week past, a great mercy. blessed bee God. crab-mill still altdred, better so y^{en} worse.

The 6-day Math, so called, proves 8-day Math.

August 1. Hay carry'd in out of ye great meadow, three trolefuls in p^t and no harm, blessed bee God.

2. Mr. Bridge Sen^r preacht at chapel. T. *Luk.* 21. 19. In your Patience possess yee yo^r soules, lord I have need of Patience.

3. much distemper'd with payn in my head & teeth, how seasonable was ye word of yesterday to the Providence of to day, and how good is ye lord that first tells the remedy, & then wounds.

4. I went to Wrexham with Uncle Benyon to see his son Daniel, sick there; lord spare him, I had discourse with him concerning his soul, & hope hee is in X^t. I pray'd over him in y^r name of y^e lord, ô. y^t prayer m^t save the sick. Mr. Golborn bury'd, my Freind.

Mr. Bostock sick in Town of a drunken surfet which hee brought with him from ye quarter Sessions at Ilanroost where y^e Conventiclors, so called, were huspeld. *Math.* 18. 6.

5. This day I was at Brunn, where I have not been these many dayes, saw my Father whose wart, thought to bee cured, returns again.

6. Cosin Tho. Jackson payd for his p^t in y^e meadow 1^{lb} 8^s 8^d I thought it worth more, hee thought it not worth that by 2^s—I would not that 2^s should occasion any unkindnes where, I must confess, I am obliged for former courtesyes.

7. I thought to have gone to Wrexh. but was turn'd back by Cosin Talbot, Cosin Dan better, lord spare him.

8. busy at Hay, lord let mee not lose thee or my.s. in that or any business.

9. At Witch. Mr. Bower—two weak indigested unprofitable sermons, lord help us.

10. Mr. Bridge sent to desire Barn-room for his Tythes in this Township, to which I condescended the Terms to bee determin'd of hereafter, when wee see w^t I can spare.

11. great payn in my head these two or three last dayes, from y^e time I wak't till towards noon.

12. At Ash, where mett at Mrs. Figes, several Freinds. Mr. Por. Mr. St. Mr. Tho. &c. and a comfortable day it was, blessed bee God! y^e partic. occasion was to mourn with her y^t mourns & to counsel & comfort her. lord grant shee may *hear* y^e rod. judge hers. & justify thee. The meeting was known in Town, welcom y^e will of God.

13. new suit. lord, cloth mee with thy Righteousnes, which is a comely costly lasting everlasting Garm^t.

14. Turfes begun to bee carryed—first Pigeons taken of this season.

15. I visited Mr. Adams lately com'n from london. hee hath brought with him great store of bookes.

16. Mr. Bridg. jun. at chap. *I. Col.* 3. 2. lord raise up my Affections from earth to heaven, from y^e world to X^t who best deserves.

17. This day begins y^e Assize at Wrexham & this day Mr. Bostock was buryed. a Persecutor & Prosecutor of those bound

over, but God hath cut him off, so let all thine enemyes perish, ô lord.

18. If some occasions had not hindred, I should have been this day at J. B's. lord, let them that tarry at home divide the spoyl.

19. a day of great rayn which threatens much harm to the Country, it is y^e lord.

20. fayr, & drying weather again, which prevents fears & repayres y^e damage blessed bee God.

21. the last of my hay was carry'd in. the lord præsertes & provides for y^e Cattle for y^e service of man, blessed bee his name.

22. I find in noth. more of y^e deceitfulnes of my heart yⁿ in secret worship. ô. how hardly am I brought to it & how little sweetnes & delight doe I find in it for the most part! lord, I blush & am asham'd before thee; lord, pity & pardon & help for with my mind I serve the law of God, though with my flesh the law of sin.

23. Mr. Bridg. jun. at chap. two better sermons then ordinary from *Rev.* 3. 5. & 17. 18. lord Jesus, cloth mee with y^e white rayment of grace here, that I may bee clothed with the white rayment of glory hereafter.

24. This day thirty two yeares I was born, this day twelvemonth I dyed, that fatal day to y^e Godly painful faithful Minist^{rs} of England amongst whom I am not worthy to bee numbred—we mourn'd and pray'd before the lord at W. Ben's House, if so bee there may bee hope. *Zech.* 7. 3. comp. *Jer.* 1. 3. The Jewes in their captivity fasted in the fifth month, bec. in y^e fifth month Jerusalem was carryed away captive, & in y^e 7th month, *Zech.* 7. 5. bec. in y^e 7th month Gedaliah was slayn—*Jer.* 41. 1.

26. Corn in y^e Oak feild divided with Tho. Hale. 7 to 5. in which bargain hee over-reacht mee but I consider *Ps.* 15. 4.

27. Mathew not well—like as a father pityes his children, so y^e lord pityes y^{em} y^t fear him. better at night, thankes bee to God.

28. I heard from london—sister Mary & Sarah & two other Gentlew. walking abroad in y^e Even, Horsmen rode over y^{em}, drunk as was suppos'd, Hurt ye two Gentlew. & frightened sister Mary into Mother-fits for several dayes, the lord bee praised it was no worse.

29. a fayr day after a wet night, the lord is pleas'd to interchange else ye Creatures would bee consumed.

30. at Whitch. Dr. Fowler. T. 1 *John* 2. 3, 4. hereby wee know y^t wee know him if wee keep his commandments. The lord give mee if not a great yet a good understanding such as all they have y^t doe thy commandm^{ts}. Amen.

31. a great rayn, a hindrance to harvest, a disappointm^t. to my.s. who thought to have had corn gathered this day, but y^e lord is righteous.

September 1. Cosin Benet reviv'd by good newes in an Affayr which concernes him, gives God ye glory, for hearing Prayers & saith tis not in vayne to see to him, to trust in him, to depend on him, so say I also, blessed bee his name.

2. Cousin Butler cal'd for ye hundred pound which I owe him, also Mr. Yates for 30^{lb}. I am in straits but I wayt upon God.

3. I heard of 100^{lb} which I may have of Robert Benyon's brother—it shall come to pass, before yee call I will answer.

4. Oats inn'd, lord doe not blow upon y^{em} but bless them, & all the increase of my ground, else what is brought home will come to little.

5. John Green carry'd in his p^t of Corn by Cliffe's, which Tho. Hale should have carry'd or I—it prevented strife, which I am glad of who desire peace.

6. D^r Fowler at Whitch. 1 *John* 2. 5. 6. concer. our union with X^t & y^e obligacōn lying on us to walk as hee walked. hee urg'd wee are no more to imitate his gesture y^{en} his vesture in y^e Sacram^t. lord make thy way playn.

8. I was at Bronnington, my Father seemes pleas'd, & I know no cause hee hath to bee otherwise, but God grant I may never have need of him.

9. great store of Plums about y^e house this year, beyond w^t hath been ordinary. lord, make mee as fruitful to thee as ground, trees. &c. are to mee, herein would my father bee glorified.

10. I heard of strife at Worthenb. betw. Mr. Puleston & D^r Br. about y^e Tith of Emeral demecasn, which yet D^r Br. took in kind, although with some difficulty.

11. Ill all day, in like manner as formerly, lord forgive sin—better at night, blessed bee God. Cosin Dan Benyon from Wrexham, recover'd, to him bee praise y^t heard prayer.

12. Mr. Parsons, Mr. lawrence Mr. Thomas din'd wth us,

Candles under a Bushel, lord, set us up again y^t wee may give light in thy house. In y^e afternoon wee visited Mr. Sadler in the same predicam^t—They compute above 100. Ministers, y^e^{er} wives & children within few miles. *Jehova-ijreh.*

13. D^r Fowler at Whitch. in y^e morning. *Act.* 26. 28. Shew'd what it is to bee a Christian, to bee annointed as X^t, to bee a follower of X^t lord make mee such an one. In y^e aftern. preacht Mr. John Whitehal, a beginner in y^e work, lord increase his gifts & make him faithful, and being a Novice lord let him not bee lifted up with pride, lest hee fall into y^e condemnacōn of y^e Devil.

19. at home in health & peace with Freinds & many comforts about us, blessed bee God.

17. I went with my wife to light-edge, saw Mrs. Hassal, Mr. Thomas & his wife with us, tis much shee is not asham'd of such poor Outcasts, I told her so, & shee answer'd they were y^e best guests y^t come to her house.

18. This week Cosin Betty lloyd was marry'd to Mr. Kirk, now Preacher at Acton, near Nantwich.

19. The last of my harvest, which was three load of Fitches, brought into y^e Barn, blessed bee God who is lord of y^{is} harvest also.

20. Mr. Holland at chap.—*T. Jam.* 2. 21. Our p^{rs}ons are justify'd by Faith before God. Our Faith by workes before men. Also *luk.* 17. 20. The Kingd. of X^t in y^e world is not with outward pomp & splendour as other kingdoms are.

21. I went with my wife to Brunnington, my Father ownes us & that's all, blessed bee God wee have no need of him. Eddish set to a drove, 16^l a score—drovers lodg'd in y^e house, scornors of Godlines, bec. y^e^{er} know it not, lord pdōn.

22. meeting about subsidyes—I was return'd y^e same wth Mr. Jenings—25^{lb} p. ann. Randle Tonna 50^{lb}.

23. my dear Freind, Jone Bickley bury'd, lord make up y^e breach—Mr. Humphryes preacht, better y^eⁿ I expected, lord doe good in thy good pleasure to poor Worthenb.

24. at Bryn, where was Capt. Shipley & his wife, Cosin Kirk & her husband.

25. Mr. Hanmer was mov'd y^t y^e moneyes collected in this Township for y^e poor, might bee bestow'd at least p^t on y^e poor of the Township.

26. Roger Burroughs wife bury'd at Malpas, where wee saw y^e Register, my wife baptiz'd Apr. 5, 1629.* & payd the Clerk Arreares.

28. wee went to Ash, where I saw with greif the miss of a good wife, mother, mistris, and doe bless God that all these are yet spared in my family.

30. I was at Bangor at y^e muster, being charg'd with a corslett, I expected Arms there, but am put to buy for mys. it may bee t'will bee cheaper. I saw the subsidy roll, where I am return'd after y^e rate of 1^{lb} in land and am to pay 4^s for each subsidy.

October 4. reports of a Plot.† Mr. lloyd, Mr. Steel secur'd, I am yet at liberty, if trouble come lord thou knowest my innocency—*hic murus aheneus esto nil conscire sibi.*

6. Cosin Benet in fresh trouble about his business, tis ill giving way to carnal base feares, for y^ei are inroaching—tis my own infirmity, help lord.

7. 8. a very wett season, the lord is angry with us. seedness hindred. spare us good lord. spare thy people.

9. William went to Wem to buy a pike.

10. This morning I was fetcht to Hanm^r by Randle Milton. who said his Capt. S^r John Hanmer must speake with mee. hee brought mee to Susan Croxton's house, an Ale house in y^e Town, whether several others were brought also this same day. The pretence is that there is a Plot to rise, the lord knowes I know noth. of any such thing.

11. wee were deny'd liberty to goe to church, wherefore wee spent y^e day together in y^e prison, as y^e lord enabled.

12. my man William Griffith being sent for when I was, came not till this day being from home, which caused suspicion. Mr. Holliman examin'd but not releas'd.

13. 'tis sweet being in any condition wth a clear Conscience—the sting of Death is sin, & so of Imprisonment also. Tis y^e first

* In the eighteenth century and the nineteenth, there were descendants of Philip Henry born and married almost at the same time as he was, and with the same difference in the ages of husband and wife.

† It is little wonder, after such a successful and prolonged rebellion, that rumours of plots should be circulated from time to time, and the innocent suffer with the guilty.

time I was ever a Prisoner, but perhaps may not bee y^e last—Wee felt no hardship, wee know not what wee may.

14. Wee were cal'd to appear, S^r Thomas Hanmer & Mr. W^m Hanmer of Fenns were present, S^r Tho. told us y^e occasion of our confinem^t. viz. reports of a Plot, & to mee hee spake of my frequenting conventicles & partic. within y^{is} month which I deny'd—then releas'd us, finding verbal security for a fortnight, y^t wee shall bee forthcoming within 24 houres after wee are cal'd for. Rob^t Byckley past his word for mee & my man & Mr. Holliman. It cost me about 7 or 8. sh. besides Damages at home by trespas. This Evening I return'd to my Tabernacle safe & well, blessed bee God. lord forgive my enemyes & turn their hearts. John Davis was listed to trayn for mee & had Arms, a Pike & a sword, y^e Pike cost 8^s y^e sword. 3^s.

15. This day dyed S^r Evan lloyd Governo^r of Chester, of a drunken surfett, the first wheel, as I hear, in our late trouble, by his instigation of his Cosin S^r Tho. Hanmer; so that men shall say, Verily thou art a God that judgest in y^e earth.

18. In y^e afternoon I heard Cosin Kirk at Hanmer, concerning pleading with God in prayer—like to make an able Min^r of y^e New Testam^t, if God bless.

19. The first Corn I ever sold in Market two measures of wheat, at 3^s 1^d y^e measure. blessed bee God for such plenty.

20. I went to Bryn to see y^e Acts concerning chimneyes, intending, if I can, to get off Marg^t Powel.

21. I went to Malpas, procur'd a Certificate of Mr. Holland—&c.

22. I inquir'd of Mr. Hanm^r concer. that wherewith I was charg'd as having Conventicles at my house by night, hee said hee knew nothing, if it had been so, I should neither deny, nor bee asham'd.

23. There being 4^{lb} 19^s charg'd upon this Township for church & poor, y^e churchwardens would take all for y^e church & leave for y^e poor little or noth. I became the poore's advocate, to smal purpose yet—but my reward is with my God.

26. I went to S^r Tho. Hanm^r, spake about y^e near hedge betw. John Rees & mee, hee promis'd to inquire & said I should have no wrong. wee discours'd about y^e late Imprisoning us &c. &c.

28. the Queen^r reported to bee dead, recovered.*

Nov. 1. At Whitech. T. 1 *John.* 1. 7. if I walk in the light as God is in the light, in resp. of sincerity and cordial endeavour, then wee have fellowship one with another, union & communion, I with him & hee with mee, & y^e blood of X^t his son cleanseth mee from all sin.

2. 3. I kept y^e house ; my distemper is heat of bloud, inclining to y^e Feavour ; lord my times are in thy hand & I am glad in my heart that y^{ei} are so, my time of health & sicknes, my time of life & Death.

4. being threatned with y^e Constableness of Tybroughton, w^{ch} John Green sh^d have serv'd, but y^t hee is thought obnoxious, I went to S^r Tho. Hammer to seek a Reprive, till next year, but twas not absolutely granted. Hee told mee John Rees had been wth him, & thought y^e hedge were mine, several of y^e Trees were his, & hee would keep y^{em} nevertheles, hee promis'd to meet mee y^{er} to see further.

5. At Malpas. T. *Psal.* 9. 11. blessed bee God for y^e mercy of y^{is} day. Conclusion made with y^e church-wardens about y^e ley for y^e poor, 24^s accepted of, y^e rest in regard y^{is} Township had so much allow'd y^e last year, & in regard of present extraordinary repayres for y^e church they kept (y^e whole 4^{lb} 19^s.)

6. 7. extream payn in my head and Teeth, lord give ease, & in y^e mean time patience. much wett. a great judgm^t. seednes hindred.

8. Mr. Bridge at chap. in y^e morning. T. *Rom.* 5. 1. a most

* See Pepys' Diary, October 17th: "Some discourse of the Queene's being very sick." October 19th: "Waked with a very high wind, and said to my wife, I pray God I hear not of the death of any great person, this wind is so high." "Coming to St. James' I hear that the Queene . . . was so ill as to be shaved and pigeons put to her feet, and to have the extreme unction given her by the priests who were so long about it that the doctors were angry. The King they all say is most fondly disconsolate for her, and weeps by her which makes her weep." October 20th: "The Queene's sickness is the spotted fever, as full of the spots as a leopard." October 22nd: "This morning hearing that the Queene grows worse I sent to stop the making of my velvet cloak, till I see whether she lives or dies." October 24th: "The Queene is in a good way of recovery and Sir Francis Pridgeon hath got great honour by it, it being all imputed to his cordiall which in her dispaire did give her rest." October 26th: "Dr. Pierce tells me that the Queene is in a way to be pretty well again, but that her delirium in her head continues still; that she talks idle not by fits, but always, which in some lasts a week after so high a fever, in some more, and in some for ever."

full Text, a most empty Sermon. in y^e aftern. hee came not, Wee stay'd at home, lord, water y^e seed ; Ill at night in head & teeth, no rest till after sweating.

9. Bargain made wth Mr. Tho. Bridg. for Barn-room at 6^s 8^d a bay. 5^s allow'd for Tith-hay,—y^e rest to bee pay'd in winter straw, at 8^d a threave for thatch.

10. I went to Robert Bickley, my Freind, lord, bless his Family & shew kindness to him & his children for Jesus sake.

12. Wee finisht y^e reading of y^e old Testam^t in y^e family.

13. wee began y^e reading of y^e new T. lord assist, lord accept. as for me & my house wee will serve y^e lord.

14. winter seedness not finisht till this day.

15. much rayn all day, w^{ch} hindered our attendance on publike ordinances, lord meet & bless at home.

16. more rayn, a great judgm^t hindring seedness threatning scarcity.

18. I went to Chester with Cosin Jane Benet, y^e lord preserv'd us by y^e way, alone, double,* blessed bee his name ; I saw Mr. Ratcliff, Mrs. Golborn a widow indeed.

19. Cosin Jane Benet prov'd her father's will, George Matthewes, dead long since, but Mr. Hilton put her to it, shee took her oath, shee gave y^e 10^{lb} (left to her discretion) to Mr. Steel to dye with him. wee returnd late but safe, thanks bee to God.

22. at Whitch. T. 1 *John* 2. 25. this is the promise which hee hath promis'd us (us who continue in y^e th. which wee have heard from y^e beginning) even eternal life. Reports of a Plot in Yorkshire, many imprisoned, lord clear up y^e innocency of y^e innocent, & let y^e sin of y^e guilty find them out.

23. 24. at home, not well ! I have had many Items of dis-temper of late, blessed bee God it is not worse.

26. I went to Malpas to see Mrs. Figes, & pray'd with her ; lord bless the meanes & spare her life, to her family, to her friends, to y^e Church of God, for thy mercy sake ; y^e wayes were very fowl, and I escaped many apparent dangers, blessed bee God.

27. I sent to Mr. Thomas, out of my poverty, a measure of Pease & some verjuice, lord provide for him & all thy poor out-casts throughout the three nations.

* Pillions were in common use up to 1820.

28. I bless God for quietness in my house, wherwith a dry morsel is better then a house full of sacrifices without it.

29. At Whitch. T. 1 *John* 2. 26. concerning seducers, what hee meant I know not but I know how I apply it—lord give us Pastors after thine own heart. & keep me & all thy people in y^e way of truth & godliness for ever.

30. Time is running into eternity, ô what wisdom tis to redeem it, & how much am I wanting in that wisdom.

12. Rec^d of W^m Benet for a musket w^{ch} Mr. Steel gave mee, 8^s.

December 1. Whereas John Green's House should have serv'd y^e Constabship for Tybroughton this year, which in regard of John Green's present obnoxiousnes would have been my charge, Sr Tho. Hanmer was pleas'd to find out another, but next year John Stocton is to serve, & I am to allow him 5^s.

2. I went to Whitch. saw some freinds, particularly old Mr. Hotchkis, Mnason, an old disciple.

3. Servants dressing hemp; blessed bee God for my wife every way my helper.

4. Mr. Holliman from London, where hee saith liberty is in agitation in y^e Council, God grant it.

5. The first considerable frost this year. Cattle fodder'd abroad, not taken in yet.

6. Mr. Bridge at chapel in y^e morning, only read prayers in y^e aftern. I went with my wife to Whitch. in y^e evening I taught my family from 2 *Pet.* 1. 4. bless lord.

7. I had an ill fitt this morning. Colique and swooning, but quickly over, blessed bee God. lord, make mee to know my end and the measure of my dayes what it is that I may know how frayl I am.

8. Uncle Benyon sent us two measures of malt. Cosin Talbot came to see us. lord let all my Freinds bee Freinds to J. X^t.

9. Mr. Steel's mother dyed, sick but two or three dayes—Mary Powel thought by some to bee bewitch't, her dame (cal'd Katharin of y^e Pinfold) is said to have kneel'd down & curst her; it seemes shee told some storyes of her about stealing—whether true or false doth not yet appear.

10. workmen cropping in Kay. Shon. morris,* that which hath been growing many yeares is cut down in a moment.

11. nothing troubles mee so much as that I am so unprofitable in my generation, lord give mee wisdom, that seeing I may not otherwise, I may preach in all my discourses.

12. I heard of y^e Death of my worthy Fr. Mr. Ambrose Moston, who dy'd y^e last week at london, and is now at rest in y^e lord being taken away from y^e evil to come.

13. Mr. Daxton, of Brasen Nose, an Initiate in Theology, preacht at chapel, many good things but weak utterance, lord thrust forth faithful skilful labourers into the Vineyard—Tis mercy wee have bread, though it be not as it hath been of y^e finest of y^e wheat.

14. a begging Min^r out of lancashire, who preacht at Hanmer yesterday, & had a colection cal'd on mee to w^m I gave a mite to make way for a word of reproof & counsel, for I likt not ye narrative of his case.

15. I visited Mr. Adams. Woodroff Eddow of the lower wich buried at Malpas, a wicked man in his life, & I hear of no discoveryes of Repentance at his Death, lord open the eyes of his companions in y^{is} their day.

16. Mr. Lewes came to see mee & tarry'd all night. wee had much discourse together of present things, Dr. Griffith B^p of y^t Diocese is his Freind & keeps him in *salvâ conscientiâ*.

17. I went with him to uncle Benyon's, where wee tarry'd all night, my wife with us, Mathew in y^e weaning.

18. wee return'd, all well at home, blessed bee God—lord spare my dear wife to mee, for I see what a sad miss there is of my Aunt Benyon at Ash.

19. lord cleanse mee from my Omissions. the world thinkes better of mee then I doe of mys. God knows.

22. hopes of liberty like to come to noth. I expect wee shall first suffer yet harder th. then these, lord fit for it, & get thys. glory.

24. As busy as people are to præpare their houses for christmas, so & much more busy should I bee to præpare my heart for X^t.

25. No Preaching at chapp. wherefore I stay'd at home, making

* *i.e.* field of John Morris.

no Conscience of ye day as a day to bee kept holy, for want of divine Institution.*

26. day of Prayer at W. B. lord hear in heaven & pardon the sins of this good bad time.

27. At Whitch. where preacht D^r F. T. 1 Tim. 1. 15. hee prov'd y^e Messiah to bee come & that Jesus of Nazareth is hee, which I doe stedfastly believe.

29. I mett Mr. Sadler at Tilst. where wee discourst a while together and blessed bee God wee have so much liberty.

30. I mett Mr. St. at llynbedith † where wee discourst & pray'd together, lord hear in heaven.

31. lord forgive mee all y^e sins of this year past in y^e blood of X^t & accept of prayes for ye mercyes of this year to mee & mine and to all y^e Israel of God. *Amen.*

Jan. 18. I heard of a woman that continued dumb from ye birth of her first child till ye moment of ye birth of her second & then shee cry'd out, Two mercyes, meaning speech & a child.

I understand since, twas John Gough's wife of Tilstock, whom I very well know.

Agnoscit se Roma ream, non miror, amici

Ad cantum Galli pœnituisse Petrum

upon y^e Pope's submission to y^e French.

Christus dixit quodam loco

Vos non sic, nec dixit joco,

Dixit suis, ergo isti,

Cujus sunt? non certe Christi!

of y^e Prelates.

Hee that remembers not to keep y^e Christian Sabbath in y^e beginning of the week, will bee in danger to forget before the end of y^e week that hee is a Christian. Sir Edw. Turner. Speaker. in his speech at y^e Prorogation. *July.* 27.

* There is little more authority in the New Testament for observing the first day of the week. Both come to us by the appointment of the Church, though at different dates.

† Llynbedydd = lake of baptism, one of three lakes in Hanmer parish. It is probable that the Bangor monks, and St. Chad, the great missionary in Mercia, and Bishop of Lichfield, brought their converts here for baptism.

Sept. 14. Reports of a created crop. A feild of Col. Norton's near Portsmouth in Hampsh. sown y^e last year with barley this year lay fallow, brought forth upon the fallow a Crop of wheat. which being ripened in a fortnight's space, was ground & bakt. & y^e bread good.

Mr. Sadler told mee of a Hen, near ludlow, which being black before gradually became all white, since Bartholomew—62. & now lately begins in y^e same manner to turn black again.

Reports of a puddle of water in lancash. which burns to a coal what stickes and wood are put into it. Mr. Hills man put in his staff & when hee took it out lighted Tobacco with it.

Octob. 27. Two only children of Thomas Richards of linea one seven yeares old, t'other in y^e weaning were drown'd near a Mill, y^e former not baptiz'd till ye later was born.

John Alcroft an Inn Keeper in Knutsford forct to drink healths by some company in his House (Capt. Needham. Cornet Stringer &c., as I am inform'd) fell down dead amongst them with y^e cup in his hand.

Tis obvious to observe, At fowr several times & upon 4. several occasions Min^{rs} have been silenc't & turn'd out of their places, and yet still after a time, more or less, restor'd again.*

1. in Q. Mary's dayes, bec. they would not close with Popery at y^e return of it, but that interdict lasted under 5. yeares being taken off upon Q. Elisabeth's coming to the Crown.

2. in Q. Elisabeth's, † K. James' & King Charles' dayes, bec. y^{ei} could not conform to y^e Hierarchy & Cæremonyes, and this Interdict lasted long, even till the long Parliam^t A. 1640. but was y^{en} taken off.

* "The tendency of the Puritans was to ally themselves with the French and Swiss Calvinists, and with them to make their sole appeal to Scripture, as interpreted by each man's reason and conscience. This French system has been found in practice to favour mental servitude. For the obedience claimed for the mere letter of a book becomes, ere long, inevitably transferred to the interpreting of that book, and the despotism of a Pope—who may at least die—is replaced by that of an oligarchy whose watchful dogmatism never dies, and whose tyranny leaves open only one way of escape—secession. This the Englishman of the sixteenth century, confused and deafened by the clamour of a Puritanism which could never make up its mind whether to conform or to secede, was not slow to adopt."—Curteis, "Bampton Lectures" for 1871, p. 64.

† The Independents seceded in 1568 from the English Church; the Romanists in 1570; the Baptists in 1633.

3. under y^e long Parliam^t many Min^{rs} were sequestred & silenced, for Malignancy & not covenanting.*

4. many others after y^e K. death for not engaging, to bee true to the Common-wealth,† as then establisht, both which restraynts though, much remitted before, yet quite ceas'd at the coming in of the King. A. 1660.

And now more Min^{rs} are silenc't ‡ & with more severity y^{en} ever, by the Act of Aug. 24. and who amongst us can tell, for how long. This only I know, hee that hath deliver'd doth deliver & wee trust also hee will yet deliver.

Script. Mar. 31. 1663.

The lord is my Protection, I shall not fall
what need I fear.

The lord is my Portion, I shall not want
what need I care.

The 6 day math (which prov'd 8 days in y^e mowing) yeilded this year 12 good jags of hay, for half whereof I had of Cosin Thomas Jackson & Mr. Thomas together 2^{lb} 3^s.

A list of my fellow-Prisoners at Hanmer. Oct 10. 1663—

Mr. luke lloyd

Nicholas Hemlock

Mr. Rich Steel

Richard Bloud

* It is said that eight thousand episcopal clergy were ejected. This number is derived from White, the author of the century. Gauden's calculation is founded on his assertion that "one-half of the clergy were sequestered." Bishop Short thinks a smaller number (Short's "History of Church of England," chap. xiii. p. 443). "Clergymen of respectable character were not only ejected from their benefices by thousands, but were frequently exposed to the outrages of a fanatical rabble" (Macaulay's "History of England," vol. i. chap. ii.).

† It is a curious fact that the Presbyterians themselves were in their turn called malignants in and after 1649, and treated accordingly. Reynolds was turned out of the deanery of Christ Church. Prideaux' views of Archbishop Laud underwent a complete change when he had to pass through something of the same kind of treatment as the archbishop.

‡ It is hard to judge correctly of one's own losses. The hint given by Philip Henry has been made the most of by "bicentenary" orators. "A careful examination of Calamy's list shows that for all statistical purposes it is worthless. In London he represents the ejections as amounting to 293, the truth being that on the highest possible computation they only amount to 127. In Essex more than half the cases which stand upon his roll were not true cases of ejection. In Hertfordshire four-fifths of his list disappear under investigation. In short, . . . unbiassed inquiry would strike off from the celebrated catalogue of 'two thousand confessors' no less than twelve hundred names" (Curtis, "Bampton Lectures," p. 68, n.).

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| Mr. John Holliman | Thomas Bartlam |
| John Maddocks | William Philips |
| Thomas Bedward | William Griffith |
| John Fletcher | Edward Smith a quaker |
| John Green | |

June 12. I heard of a cow in Dyffryn Clwyd, which calved lately fowr calves at once & all alive.*

A woman in Wrexham having been long distemper'd & taken much Phisique, took someth. of an Italian Mountebank wh. caus'd her to voyd a worm 7. yardes long, which Mr. lewis told mee hee saw, and shee is since recovered.

—Mr. Cook imprison'd in Chester, by letter from y^e Bishop according to y^e Act for uniformity, his fault was repeating in his House, where many people were present, hee chose y^e common Prison, where hee hath liberty to preach every day to ye Prisoners, his chamber is cal'd y^e Freeman's chamber.

Mr. Taylor & many more about Wrexham bound over to appear at Quarter-Sessions, for a private meeting in which yei were deprehended.

July 14. At quarter-sessions, with much opprobrious language, especially from S^r Richard Win † of Guedur, they were bound over to ye great Assize, & to y^r. good behavior, & some y^t being strangers could not find suretyes, for twas at llan-rust, were committed to prison. At y^e Assize y^{et} who took y^e Oath of Allegiance were acquitted, y^e rest imprison'd: Mr. Bostock y^e Prosecutor was bury'd y^e first day of y^e Assize—Digitus Dei.

June 24. This week dyed in Chester a servant to Giovanni, an Italian Mountebank, known by y^e name of his Apothecary, who received some blowes about 3. weekes since upon y^e stage in Wrexham, in a scuffle with Mr. Puleston of Emeral ('twas June 4, y^e

* This sort of cow is called by country people a "free-martin." Of the calves the males will not procreate, but the females will.

† This Sir Richard Wynn succeeded his father Sir Owen Wynn in 1668. By his wife Sara, daughter of Sir Thomas Myddelton, Bart., of Chirk Castle, he left one child, Mary Wynn, who married Robert Bertie, Duke of Ancaster, and Gwydir thus descended to the Baroness Willoughby d'Eresby.

It must have been by Sir Richard Wynn that the Duke of Beaufort—the last but one of the Lords President of the Welsh March—was entertained at Gwydir in 1684. Sir Richard Wynn was chamberlain to Queen Katharine.

day on which his eldest son Roger was born—) since which hee hath been sick and is now dead.

July 1. This day William Ball was found dead by y^e way side near Malpas not far from his house, snppos'd to have bin drunk.

July 2. this week lord Buckhurst & S^r Chas. Sidley were arrayn'd at y^e King's Bench & fined for Debauchery. Being in Covent Garden at a house known by y^e name of Oxford Kate's they had six dishes of meat brought in by six naked women, after dinner y^{ei} went forth in their shirts into y^e Balcony & there shewing Bottles of wine y^{ei} proclaym'd, Ho every one y^t thirsteth come yee to ye waters—&c. they drank a health to y^e salvation of Judas & another to y^e Babe of Bethlehem, after all y^{ei} said, come now let us goe in & make lawes for y^e nation, the one or both being, as y^{ei} say, Parliam^t men.

This was written in a letter from Mr. Joshua Hotchkis to his Brother in law Ralph Eddow—

I hear since, only S^r Charles Sidley was arraign'd & fin'd 4000^{lb}, lord Buckhurst having made an escape.

This is that lord Buckhurst who, tis said, murther'd y^e Tanner last year upon ye road near london *—if so, evil men wax worse & worse.

July 27. Parliam^t prorogu'd till March & subsidies given to ye King—two to bee payd November next, two in May. Great expectacōn of an Act about Conformity & Conventicles, but they were not compleated & so not pass'd: An Act call'd an Act for y^e Sabbath was made ready, but somehow or other was missing wⁿ ye King should have pass'd it, *utrum gaudendum an dolendum nescio*, for yei say, it did declare, what sports were to bee accounted lawful on ye Sabbath day.

* On February 25, 166 $\frac{1}{2}$, Pepys writes: "This day in the News-booke I find that my lord Buckhurst and his fellows have printed their case. . . . that they were in pursuit of thieves, and that they took this man for one of them, and so killed him. . . . but I doubt things will be proved otherwise than they say." The character of this Charles Sackville, afterwards sixth Earl of Dorset, is drawn by Prior, and by Johnson in his "Lives of the Poets." The latter, referring to the scandal in Covent Garden, says that they were intoxicated, and that Sedley was fined five hundred pounds for the misdemeanor, the sentence upon the others being not known. He also adds, "Sedley employed Killigrew and another to procure a remission from the King; but (mark the friendship of the dissolute) they begged the fine for themselves, and exacted it to the last groat." See Pepys' Diary for July 1, 1663.

The contest between the Chancellor & Digby, husht for a time.

July 22. Archibald Johnston laird Warton * was executed in Scotland upon a Gibbet two & twenty foot high. An active man in ye time of y^e long Parliam^t, especially in Promoting y^e solemn league and Covenant which hee professedly acknowledged at his Death, as appears by his speech, without regret, but for his compliance in the usurpation afterwards hee declar'd his sorrow for it & crav'd of God forgiveness for ye same.

Aug. 14. Mr. George Bostock of Holt, Justice of Peace, dyed. His death occasioned by a surfet of drink which hee took at ye time of ye quarter-sessions at llanrust whither hee had bound over certain of ye Inhabitants in & about Wrexham who were deprehended at y^e meeting to their no small trouble; And now just before ye Assize ye lord took him away by a remarkable stroke for verily hee is a God y^t judgeth in the earth; ô that men might hear & fear, & lord, goe on to plead ye cause of thy poor suffering people in all the three nations for Jesus sake—'This Bostock I have heard formerly at Emeral wickedly glorying in his shame & boasting of filthiness which I dare say hee was not guilty of, such a height of ungodlines was hee come to.

Sept. 25. Reports of sad inrodes made by ye Turkes upon Germany, Vienna besieg'd and Prague, & Presburgh.†

Oct. 26. Reports of ye Death of Queen Katharin it prov'd otherwise.

Nov. 9. Mr. Morgan's wife of Witch. was brought to bed of three sons, baptized Hananiah, Azariah, & Mishael—they all three dy'd within the fortnight—all very like in face to one another.

It is reported of the grand Segnior Mahomet the 4th, hearing of ye restitution of Charles y^e 2^d that hee should say, If hee were to chuse his God or his Religion, hee would chuse the King of England's.

It is suppos'd the present expedition into Hungary is like to bee the fore-runner of great mutations & changes in the Christian world.

* See Burnet's "History of his Own Time," vol. i. p. 203, fol.

† From 1661 to 1664 there was war with Austria for the supremacy of Transylvania. There was a great defeat of the Turks in 1664, but it was not till 1684 that Neuhaussel was recovered.

Sept. 14. New-hausel was taken upon Articles, after the loss of 17. or 18000 men in two Assaults.

Dec. 16. Mr. lewis told mee concerning S^r Evan lloyd, who dy'd in October last that not long before his death hee told him in Wrexham, hee was struck suddenly upon his leg, as he was walking in the feilds, and that hee did beleive it did bode his Death, like as a stroke in y^e same place had done his wife's not long before, three weekes before shee dy'd, which came to pass accordingly.

May 5. my dear aunt Benyon dy'd. Shee was daughter to Mr. Knight of Shrewsb. & had been marry'd about 27. y. to my uncle Benyon by whom shee had issue now living Daniel, Martha, Mary, Sarah, Elisabeth : Shee was the fittest wife for him in the world being patient & prudent in opposition to his passion & rashness. Shee was, I verily beleive, one that truly feared God, and was taught to doe so from her youth. Shee was of y^e mourners in Sion, laying much to heart y^e sins & sufferings of ye times. Shee was provident & diligent in family Affayres, laying her hands to y^e spindle, & her hands held ye distaff. Shee was an inward, real, true hearted friend, eminent for humility & self denyal : witness y^t expression of her's, wⁿ speaking of her children. I said I did not doubt but God had a kindness in store for y^m for her sake. shee answer'd, for my sake, alas ! poor things if it bee not for another's sake then mine y^e^{el} are undone. She enjoyn'd mee to write to Col. Hunt to bee a Freind to them ; the lord bee their Freind.

The diary for 1665, as well as those for 1680-1684, belong to Miss Osborn, of Foregate Street, Worcester, to whom I am much indebted for the loan of them, and of other manuscripts.

1665.

Covenants renewed in y^s particu: 1. by y^e lords help & purpose to bee more substantial in secret worship.

2. more sparing of precious time.

3. more constant in reading the scrip. alone & meditating in them.

4. more careful to improve all opportunities of doing good to souls, not only taking, but seeking them.

5. less fearful about events, when in a way of duty, in all w^{ch} I have lately mist it, but y^e lord has pardoned mee in X Jesus.

When y^e flail of Affliction ô: lord is upon mee, let mee not bee as y^e chaff that flies in the face, but as y^e Corn that lyes at thy feet.

To one complayning of weakness in duty, remember two th.

1. That you are not under the law, but under grace. 2. That you are on earth & not in Heaven.

Hee that would not dye when hee must & hee y^t would dye when hee must not, both these are alike Cowards.

January 8. The Quæstion was, what are good Argum. against Sin?

A. 1. one sayd, to consider, if I sin I must repent of it, and repentance is made up of shame & sorrow & hath much bitternes in it, et ego not tanti emam pœnitere.

2. To consider, sin is against God, & how shall I doe this great wickednes & sin against God, the great God & a great King above all Gods.

3. Another sayd, to consider that sin is pleasing to the Devil, and shall I doe that which gratifyes him, who doth all hee can to destroy mee.

4. Another sayd, To consider y^e reflection of sin upon J. X^t how it greives, peirces, & openly shames him, my dear redeemer who shed his bloud to redeem & ransom my soul from sin. And of this it was sayd, as of Goliahs sword, none like it.

5. Another sayd, To consider y^e vowes of God which are upon us, especi. y^e great vow of our Baptism.

6. To consider, though I may not bee damned for this sin hereafter, yet I may bee sorely chastned for it here; as David.

7. The consideration of Death & Judgm^t & y^e account that must bee rendred w^h every secret th. shall bee reveal'd.

8. If it bee a publike Sin, to consider the Scandal of it to Religion, besides y^e harm it may doe as a bad example &c.

Quæstions in family-Conference

Saturday-Evenings.

Feb. 4. Q. How far a man may goe tow^{rds} Heaven and yet fall short.

A. in general, a great way.

Mar. 12. 34. almost. *Acts.* 26. 28.

in particular. 1. A man may have a great deal of knowledge,
1 *Cor.* 13. 1. 2. even so much as to teach others. *Mat.* 7. 22.

2. Hee may bee free from many nay from any gross sin.
luk. 18. 11.

3. Hee may perform not only some but all manner of external
Dutyes of Religion, Pray, Fast, give Almes, *Math.* 6. 1. 2. &c.

4. Hee may bee a lover of good men—as Herod, Pharoh,
Darius. 5. Hee may repent after a sort, as Ahab, and believe
after a sort, as Simon Magus.

6. Hee may suffer much for Religion, as no doubt Judas did,
whilst a retayner to X^t.

1. *use.* If a man may goe thus far and yet fall short, then
what will becom of those that goe not near so far.

2. Then what need have wee to look about us, and to make
sure of Regeneration & Sincerity, which are things that certainly
accompany Salvation.

Feb. 11. Q. what are the common Hindrances of mens
Salvation?

A. 1. Ignorant. *John* 4. 10.

2. Unbelief—*John* 5. 40.

3. love of y^e world—2 *Tim.* 4. 10.

4. Pride—men will not stoop to bee saved by y^e righteousness
of X^t *Rom.* 10. 3. nor to bee rul'd by the lawes of X^t *lu.* 19. 14

5. Præjudice, āgt y^e wayes of God, & āgt y^e company that
walkes in them, their paucity, their poverty.

6. Præsumption, upon God's mercy, & upon long life.

use. See that none of y^{es} hinder us, especially now being fore
warned.

Feb. 18. Q. what are y^e Ingredients of true repentance?

A. 1. Inward, hearty sorrow—*Zech.* 12. 10.

2. Hatred of sin & of self bec. of sin. *Job.* 42. 6.

3. apprehension of y^e mercy of God in X^t *Math.* 3. 2.

4. partic. confession wth shame & blushing 1 *John.* 1. 7.

5. a special eye to original sin. *Ps.* 51. 5.

6. reformation of life. *Pr.* 28. 13. *Hcb.* 6. 1.

7. restitution in case of wrong to man. *luk.* 19. 8.

Feb. 25. Q. what motives to Repentance?

A. 1. the shortnes of life & uncertainty of y^e Space, for Repentance. *Rev.* 2. 21.

2. the misery & danger of Inpœnitency. *luk.* 13. 3. 5.

3. the command of God. *Act.* 17. 30. 31.

4. the goodnes of God. *Rom.* 2. 4. his readines to forgive us upon our rep. *Ps.* 86, 5.

5. the Gosp. gracious Invitations of J. X^t. *Math.* 3. 2.

6. there is no other way to p^don & reconciliation—tis unica Tabula post naufragiū.

Mar. 4. Q. what is it to beleive in J. X^t for salvation.

A. 1. tis to come to X^t *Math.* 11. 28. *John.* 6. 37—5. 40. by unbelief wee depart from him. *Heb.* 3. 12.

2. tis to lean upon X^t *Cant.* 8. 5. forsaking all other leaning stockes whatsoever.

3. tis to look upon X^t *John.* 3. 14. 15. look unto mee & bee yee saved.

4. tis to receive & accept of X^t as hee is offred in y^e promise to bee lord & King as well as Preist & Savior, giving ours. to him *unreservedly.* 2 *Cor.* 8. 5. *Hos.* 3. 3.

Mar. 11. Q. What is required to an acceptable good work?

A. 1. That y^e p^{son} bee accepted. *Math.* 12. 34.

2. Sincerity—1. in eyeing the command of God as y^e rule.
2. y^e glory of God as y^e end. 1 *Cor.* 10. 31. habitually if not alwayes actually.

3. faith in J. X^t both for Assistance, *John* 15. 5 and Acceptance. *Math.* 3. 17.

4. The love of X^t 2. *Cor.* 5. 14.

Mar. 18. Q. What evidences of love to God.

A. 1. Hatred of Sin. *Ps.* 97. 11. and that esp. bec. it dishonors him.

2. care to keep his commandm^{ts} *John* 14. 15. & that of choice & with delight. 1 *John.* 5. 3.

3. love to the people of God, qua tales. 1 *Joh.* 3, 14.

4. willingnes to p^t with any th. for his sake. *Gen.* 22. 12.

5. desire of fellowship wth him in his Ordinances, *Cant.* 1. 2.

6. greif wⁿ hee withdrawes, as one Freind in the absence of another.

7. love & longing for y^e appearance of X^t.

8. mourning that wee can love him no more.

Mar. 25. Q. How to express love to our neighbour?

A. 1. by praying for him, even for all men. *1 Tim.* 2. 1. even for enemies. *Math.* 5. 44.

2. by reprovng him. *lev.* 19. 17. unless hee bee a scorner, w^{ch} wee are not rashly to conclude.

3. by not envying him, because either of what hee is, or hath, or doth, *1. Cor.* 13. 4. but rather rejoycing. *Rom.* 12. 15.

4. doing to him as we would have him to doe to us. *Math.* 7. 12.

5. being tender of his name, neither to raise nor receive an ill report agt. him. *Pr.* 25. 23.

6. if a superior, wee are to honor & respect him, if an equal or inferior to bee affable & courteous & condescending tow^d him.

7. if good to associate with him. *Ps.* 16. 2. if bad to pity him & pray for him, but not bee over-familiar with him.

— see y^e rest elsewhere.

1665.

January 2. 3 men at work—500 & 40. Shingles. 5 score & 4 bottoms, and 40. bowk staves, which came to 11^s.

4. Cosins with us from Witch. I have hopes of Cosin M . . . H . . . y^t God hath begun a good work in her.

8. Mr. Daxton at chap. T. *Act* 14. 22. and that wee must through much affliction enter into the kingdom of God, then the will of the lord bee done! so that may bee the End of my Journey, let the way bee such as pleases God, nunc deprimuntur electi ut olim assurgant instar palmarum.

9. I visited Mr. Adams, askt him, wⁿ hee meant to preach again, hee answer'd, wⁿ y^e weather is warmer; pity, such a Candle should put him. under, especially now wⁿ so many are put by others under a Bushel.

10. Mr. Edw. Puleston, yongest son of my Patron & Freind Judge Puleston, was buryd this day at Gresford.—hee dy'd *Jan.* 6. his life was bad and his badnes of life hastened his end, not meritoriously only but efficiently. Hee was once a part of my immediate charge and I fear I did not doe my duty towards him, wherein y^e lord forgive mee !

11. I went to Tilstock, purposing to goe thence to Cos. Talbots, but did not, I went to light-each & return'd at night to my own hive, blessed bee God.

14. I went to Whitch. Some smal difference 'tween y^e Feoffees and Mr. Edwards, which I endeavour'd to compose. Wee came to Wil. Turners, who had newly Swooned with a prick of an awl in y^e palm of his hand & yet escapt with life in Hamilton's invasion though a Bullet were shot through his Body.

15. At Whitch. Dr. Fowler T. 1 *Tim.* 3. 16. Seen of angels ; blessed bee God for y^e Guardianship and all the other Ministries of the Angels to mee & to all the Elect of God.

16. Wee din'd at Bronn. where was Uncle Hotchkis. Two Kine from Mr. Mainwaring at 7^h.

17. exchang'd with Mr. Thomas, my common-place-book, wherein someth. written, for a larger of clean paper.

18. war like to bee with the Dutch, the lord of hosts is the God of Jacob—Capt. Holmes * imprison'd in y^e Tower, who tis said began the quarrel at Ginny.

19. New Common-place-book † ruld and præpared, wherein I purpose to take paynès—non sera si seria.

* In 1664 Sir Robert Holmes was secretly despatched with a squadron of twenty-two ships to the coast of Africa. He not only expelled the Dutch from Cape Corse, to which the English had some pretensions ; he likewise seized the Dutch settlements of Cape Verde and the Isle of Goree. Going to America, he possessed himself of Nova Belgia, since called New York, a territory which James I. had given by patent to the Earl of Stirling, but which had never been planted but by the Hollanders. When the States complained, the king, unwilling to avow what he could not well justify, pretended to be ignorant of Holmes's enterprise. He likewise confined that admiral to the Tower, but some time after released him.

† This book is seventeen inches by eleven and a half. There are 1264 pages, double columns, and it is about one-third filled with notes in Philip Henry's close handwriting. On the last page are the words, " scribere est agere." It belonged till lately to Mrs. Grace Keay Lee, of Redbrook.

20. I heard of y^e Death of S^r Richard Grosvenor,* a bitter enemy unto God's people, in Cheshire—sic omnes inimici.

21. I visited Margt Bedward, who hath layn long under sore buffetings of temptation, and under sad perplexing doubts and feares and will not be comforted, lord, doe thou speak peace to her & let y^e bones which thou hast broken rejoyce. Shee hath had sometimes blasphemous injections from y^e evil spirit, & somet. hath spoken folly wth her tongue but mournes for it afterw. & I believe hates it, lord, set her free.

22. At Whitch. T. 1 *Tim.* 3. 16. preached unto the Gentiles. beleived on in y^e world. ô y^t it were so to all y^e Gentiles & in all the world.

John Madocks, Tho. Kinaston, & Andrew Ridgway, excommunicated at Hanmer.

23. I went with freinds to Alsager, vulg. Auger, near Bartomley in Chesh. in safety, blessed bee God & with a full purpose to doe good.

24. Elizabeth Alsager bury'd, y^e eldest daughter of y^e family, aged above 20. Mr. Cawdrey preacht. T. 1 *Thes.* 4. 14. lord sanctify this providence for their good.

25. wee return'd safe & well, blessed bee God, though through much danger by reason of Ice—and I trust the lord was pleas'd to doe some good by mee in y^e journey, to him bee the glory.

30. The lord forgive y^e sin w^{ch} is cald to remembr. this day & let y^e Innocency of y^e Innocent bee cleared up.

31. John Ratcliff dy'd, I pray'd with him before, but hee knew mee not.

February 2. Ann Nixon ill, I am still to seek how to deal effectually with dying people, I could not doe it well heretofore when I had Authority, much less now; lord, give mee the tongue of y^e learned for this purpose as for others. I pray'd with her, ô: y^t y^e prayer of faith might save the sick!

* Sir R. Grosvenor, second baronet, had, during the lifetime of his father, called out the *posse comitatus* in 1644, as sheriff of Cheshire, to oppose the Parliament army under Lord Fairfax. After a series of loyal exertions he was ejected from Eaton, and, having suffered a sequestration of his estate, was sheltered in the house of a neighbouring gentleman until the Restoration (Ormerod's "Cheshire" (fol.), ii. 451).

3. At Hanm^r at y^e buryal of John Ratcliff, Mr. Hilton preacht T. Ps. 73. 24. thou wilt guid mee in thy counsel & afterwards receive mee into glory. In heaven we shall have y^e company only of good men & those perfectly good & an innumerable company of them! my soul, dost thou not long to be there.

4. At Ash wth Mrs. Figes who had been ill this week, I trust shee is on y^e growing hand towards heaven. Is there not danger lest frequent converse with sick and dying p^{sons} should abate my sense of that condition, pity it should, see it doe not, but rather the contrary.

5. Mr. Daxton at chap. T. *Heb.* 11. 13. and confessed that they were strangers in y^e earth, lord I confess it, give mee grace to carry it as such, that my Affections may bee at home.

6. serious in trifles, trifling in the most serious things, undoes thousands, undoes mee.

7. I deferd going to Worthenb. from one day to another & this day, when I verily intended it, I could not for y^e weather. non est procrastinandum, cras o ã tuum.

8. Hee that will suffer hardship when hee is called thereunto, must use every day to deny hims. in lesser matters, and therein I am wanting.

9. I went to Worthenb. escapt. dangers by y^e way, through Ice, saw freinds y^{er}, and admonisht H. P. a backslider, & returnd safe at night, full of Comfort, blessed bee God.

12. my mind was much distemperd & discomposd both night & morning through prævayling fear, for w^{ch} I blame mys. but in the end y^e lord gave victory. It was y^e worse for being Sabbath-day. At Witch. T. *Math.* 4. 1. 2. to justify y^e observation of *lent*,* for w^{ch} no warrant from y^e word, as to any religious account, that I know of.

13. A child of one llewellyn's of Ash about five years old was scalded to Death in a Kettle of Wort, one day y^e last week & mine præserved. Eben-Ezer!

14. reading the life of old Mr. Bruen of Staple-ford I mett

* In St. Matt. vi. the Lord tells His disciples how to do alms, how to pray, how to fast; and in St. Matt. ix. 15, he looks forward to "days when they will fast." The date and duration of "those days" may very well be left to the wisdom of the Church Catholic, and will be so except by those who think its rulers "unworthy to judge the smallest matters."

with some th. that shame mee, some th. that confirm mee, & some th. that quicken mee, blessed bee God for the cloud of Witnesses.

15. Head-ake, Indigestion, & other bodily distempers, fruits of sin, fore-runners of dissolution. I thought once this day, I could not only bee willing but rejoyce to dye, that I might bee ever wth y^e lord.

16. Mr. Tho. & Cos. Fi. came to see us, y^{ei} Subscrib'd a certificate that Sarah was baptized by a lawful Min^r I mett Mr. Edwards at W^m Turners.

17. a restless night this last night, through pain in my limbs like a Cramp. I made my will, not knowing but it may bee a Summons to Death, however tis not amiss to have my house alwayes in order; welcom the will of God!

18. Better this day, but not well. I went to Bronn. and am still plagu'd with an unprofitable Heart.

20. Day of Pr. at — with — in y^e number—his Son Tho. prayd uno avulso not deficit alter Aureus. blessed bee God!

21. As fast as time goes, Eternity comes, the lord help mee to redeem time & to make ready for Eternity.

22. Son John not well, I made a fresh deed of gift resigning him up to the lord, my soul, remember & forget it not, when there is occasion; hee is but put to nurse to us, lord, hee is thine, save him.

23. Son John better, blessed bee God! poor Margaret Bedward of Bronn. an object of pity, for y^e hand of God hath touched her, lord, give mee a truly sympathizing heart & hear prayers for her, for y^e lords sake, ô: thou that hearest prayer! & Succor a poor tempted disconsolate soul.

24. I hear of God's Afflicting hand upon many families & mine in health, ô: w^t shall wee render! the lord help us to improve y^e present season.

25. a meeting at Wrexham surprisd, Sabb. day was sennight, some payd 5^{lb} some went to prison for 3 months accord. to the Act. lord let y^e libertyes of thy people bee precious in thy sight.

26. Mr. Booth at chap. T. Ps. 92. 12. lord make mee in this as y^e Palm quæ crescit sub pondere, et depressa resurgit. I

did a work of mercy in y^e Even. visiting, counselling & praying with Ann Nixon in payn *Job.* 33. 19. but after all an unprof. serv^t.

27. the greatest p^t of y^e day spent with my servants in garden-work, δουλεύειν τῷ κάρῳ to bee redeem'd—first beanes set—the long frost going, scarce yet gone.

28. ô: who is burthen'd as I am with an unprofitable heart! an Ambassador for Christ by Office, but Alas! how much wanting am I to y^e Duty of y^t Office! it troubles mee, the good lord forgive mee for Jesus Sake & mend this matter with mee. Amen!

March 1. I had occasion this day to discover another of y^e sins w^{ch} doe so easily beret mee, & that is fearfulness, I am often afraid where no fear is, lord help mee! D^r Ham^d observes, in evil times it fares best with them y^t are most careful about Duty & lest about safety.

2. I went to Wrexha. with Mr. St. where mett us . . . wee had talk together, & blessed bee God for so much liberty. At night being weary I was ill & fainted at pray^r, lord consider my frame.

3. I walkt on foot to Malpas, hearing of a citation—by y^e way read Barlow ag^t Baxter, y^t Common & saving grace differ specifically, not gradually only.

4. I heard of y^e Death of Mr. Hoskins, vicar of Elsmere, who dy'd somewhat suddenly; lord, for mee, however I dye for circumstance, let mee dye in X^t Amen!

5. Freinds spending y^e Sabb. with us . . . whose company is sweet now, what then will it bee in Heaven, the lord bring y^{em} thither wth us.

6. I went to Elsmere, where I mett with Mr. Fogg & his son lawr. who is unsatisfyed about y^e obligation of Pœnal lawes, such as that about Conventicles & y^t about ejected Min^{rs} preaching, to w^{ch} I added & it seem'd to clear the rest, about eating flesh in lent.

7. Mr. Edwards and Mr. Tapping came to visit mee & stayd all night; both Conformists but I hope Conscientious; That w^h wee see not, lord teach y^u us.

8. I want a Spiritual heart to improve natural objects for heavenly purposes, lord, work such a heart in mee!

9. Cocking at Witch. not without much excess & riot, for which I am sorry & that for my sweet Jesus sake.

10. a child of John Butlers dead & mine yet spar'd, blessed bee God. My heart vain in y^e morning, made somew^t more serious by meanes of good company & affecting Providences; lord set mee free from a vayn heart.

11. Dum quid sis dubitas, jam potes esse nihil. The day lost in irresolutions about this or that . . . a very great weakness; sin pardon'd, strength renewed, blessed bee God.

13. I find decayes already, y^e good w^{ch} I would doe y^t doe I not, and y^e evil which I would not doe, y^t doe I, ô: wretched man y^t I am!

14. At Malpas upon Citation for baptizing Sarah, a certificate from Mr. Holland * took it off, that I had leave from him to get another to doe it; Fees 3^s 2^d I own their power no otherw. y^{en} as delegates from y^e King who hath to doe circa sacra and so far is to bee obey'd *ἐν τοῖς ἐξέω.*

15. sadness upon my spirit this evening, the lord doth seem to threaten us with desolation; newes of y^e london Frigate burnt at sea by an Accident, many men lost, perhaps ominous; lord, take care of y^e Church.

16. day of praise at Cos . . . where I should have been to pay my vowes on her behalf but y^e Messenger fail'd & I knew not of it, nevertheles, lord, I subscribe, thou art good & dost good.

17. I heard of y^e Death of Mr. Holliman at lond. being at his house in Wullington wⁿ y^e newes came, hee dy'd *Mar. 12.* suddenly of an Apoplexy, wⁿ every one hoped y^e worst of his late sicknes had been past. The lord forgive to mee my Omissions towards him & provide for his poor Orphans. 4 sons & a daughter.

18. I visited Mārgt Bedward, a poor Melancholy, drouping soul, the lord revive her in his due time & let her end bee peace.

* William Holland is described in the register, February 27, 164½ as minister of God's Word at the lower rectory of Malpas. His loyalty and orthodoxy may, however, be presumed from his having been selected to preach at the death of a distinguished loyalist, the founder of the house of Vale Royal—a sermon yet extant, replete with beautiful descriptions of the virtues and sufferings of the deceased, but reprobating with the most incautious zeal “the heresies, schisms, and personated holiness of the ruling party in the greatest plenitude of their power” (Ormerod's “Cheshire” (fol.). ii. 342). Mr. Holland was a contributor of £100 to the poor of Malpas.

19. At Whitch. where was good fare, thanks bee to God! *Z. 1 Cor. 11. 23.* &c. hee took, & brake & gave & the receiver takes & feedes by Faith, which in this Ordinance is all in all. I found afterw.* where y^e substance was borrowed viz. in Dr. Reynolds Treatise of y^e Sacram^t.

20. Mr. St. inform'd mee of y^e remarkable hand of God upon Mr. Flanner y^e Dean rural, whereas hee fully determin'd to bee at Bangor y^e 13 instant & then to issue out y^e Significavit agt Cosin John Madocks &c. & would not bee pswaded to defer it, the very night before hee was struck with a fit of y^e Stone. *Digitus Dei.* Herein mys. also was concern'd for if hee had been at Malpas the next day I had not gott off but with more difficulty if at all;—Mr. Hilton was his substitute.

21. Margt Bedward somew^t better, who knowes by whom, which way & when it will please y^e lord to speak peace to her soul.

22. Mr. lewis my ancient Fr^d & his wife came to see us & tis great mercy w^m so many are gone into Eternity y^t wee are here; lord make our coming together profitable.

22. At Whitch.—Heautontim † acted by y^e children, it may bee some may blame mee for being present, but I judg'd it both lawf. & expedient to incourage being desir'd.

24. Time, how precious in y^e Theory, yet lavisht away as if little worth—lord, pardon! lord, help mee yet to redeem.

29. At Worthenb. at y^e Buryal of my loving Freind John Barbor above 80. *T. Job 14. 5.*

30. I saw & shew'd my Family towards evening this day an extraordinary brightness colour'd as y^e Rainbow, first on one side of y^e Sun northwards, then on the other side southwards, which continu'd each of them more y^{en} a quart^r of an hour, distant from y^e sun as it were 10 or 12 y^{ds}.

31. I recd a warrant to bee Collecto^r of y^e royal Ayd in Iscoyd, & Mr. Steel in Hann^r—vid alibi.

* The patience of Philip Henry in listening to poor preachers, and their knowledge of the keen critic they had among their audience, might be supposed to balance one another, *pro* and *con*. But he was at once disarmed by the earnestness of good men.

† Terence's "Heauton Timorumenos" (the self-tormentor). This shows what a hold his Westminster school-days still had upon him. There is not the least doubt that his friends would blame him for being present.

4. War solemnly proclaymd āgt the Dutch.*

11. behold winter instead of spring, the lord is angry.

April 2. Mr. Bruen sayd, if every day were a Sabb. or a fast-
ing day, y^{en} I should bee well, w^{ch} is a th. I have not yet
attayn'd to, for though there bee some willingnes yet y^{er} is much
unwillingnes. which the lord pardon & amend.

3. Mr. Mainwarings two sons came again to table with us.

4. a restles night through payn in head & teeth. it is not
often so, w^{ch} makes it y^e more irksom but I deserve it should, sin
is y^e mother, payn the daughter, ô: y^t y^e daughter might kill
y^e mother. Maj. Eyton with us.

5. Day of Humil. for success of navy āgt y^e Dutch †—the war
just, though offensive, & tis our duty to seek y^e welfare of our
K. & nation.

6. agreed with Ran. Stocton for 2^s to gather this present 3
months pay. This morning I saw another blazing star, tayl
upwards after day, Eastward.

7. Plums grafted by y^e Kiln, y^e lord knows who shall gather
the fruit.

8. At Malpas at a parish-meeting as it hapned, three mizes
sess'd for y^e ensuing year, old church-ward^{ns} gave in y^{er} accounts.
Certificate subscrib'd concer. Margt. Powels chimney. I went to
Mr. Mainwarings, saw his new house, & return'd in safety, blessed
bee God ! the lord pardon y^e barrenness of my heart & life, for in
all this, I bring forth fruit to self.

10. The first day of my son John's going to school, hee sets
out upon a long Journey, if hee have life & capacity, wherein the
lord bee his good speed. Amen !

14. Cos. Dan. Benyon set forward for Oxf. God Almighty
prosper his studyes & let him doe worthily in Ephrata & bee
famous in Bethlechem.

15. Fain would I redeem more time on Saturday evenings for
preparation for y^e Sabb. with my family, but one th. or other inter-

* The States had secretly despatched orders to De Ruyter to retaliate on
the English, and all the new acquisitions except Cape Corse were recovered
from them. As soon as certain intelligence arrived of De Ruyter's enterprises,
Charles II. declared war against the States. The fleet, consisting of a hundred
and fourteen sail, was commanded by the Duke of York.

† The Dutch had nineteen ships sunk and taken ; the victors lost one.

poses. Aunt Manning and other Freinds at Whitch. in trouble through a false oath of Jenings & llewellyn, mark y^e end of such men. bound over to Sessions.

16. At Whitch. T. *Math.* 6. 33. Seek first, first every morning I am to begin the day alw. with God, else early up, never y^e near.

17. At Orton—paying the first 3 months pay to Mr. Philips being Head-collector for W. hee gave an acquittance & a peny in the pound according to the Act. Time hath been when I was employ'd about another Kind of publique work, which had more both sweetnes & honor, but this I take up amongst my Crosses.

18. To be afraid where no fear is, is sometimes the sin of God's people, & oftentimes the punishment of wicked men—*Pro.* 28. 1.

19. the lord bee a sanctuary to his poor people & a covert from y^e Storm.

20. Rumors of Plots abroad, I know not whence. Cos. Mad. house searcht at midnight, the most innocent are most suspected. Wee lay down in expectation, but y^e lord prevented.

21. Mr. St. going for london was stopt and searcht. y^e warrant was for mee also. His Diary was taken from him, the lord prævent any prejudice from it either to hims. or any other. I have found a great deal of Good by this way of Review daily & am loth to give it over, but I shall take warning & bee more Cautious,* for Malice may take that with the left hand which is written with the right. *His muruc aheneus esto nil conscire sibi.*

May. A great noise in y country concer. Mr. Steels almanack, †

* The fear of sharing the fate of his friend in this respect led Philip Henry to make large erasures in his diaries, and possibly to stop writing altogether for a time. It has been thought that the blanks may have been filled in with white or sympathetic inks (of which Burnet mentions the use in his time), but as yet no discoveries of manuscript have thus been made.

† In Newcome's Diary, i. 154, we find: ". . . his business was to tell me of the fearful things he heard of my dear bro. Steele. It was upon his diary being taken off him, and some passages in it that they interpreted to the worst of actions, as this—that such a day he went to such a place on a carnal account, and God turned it to a spiritual. This they interpreted to be some woman design and no other. The truth was he went to a fair to have bought a cow; he missed of that and went home with a gentlewoman, and they had some opportunity for the soul together. Now this was formed into a dreadful story."

a copy whereof I saw & transcrib'd, wherein hee had kept account of meetings which had been many since Jan. 1. of faylings, which being in somew^t obscure characters were misinterpreted to his great præjudice, not without reflections upon Religion, but some that saw it, who did not know him, judg'd him a holy man, others said they got a great deal of good by it & lov'd * him better than they did before, but hee absented hims. which increas'd the bruit among the vulgar—sed et hoc etiam in bonum. *Psal.* 37. 5. 6.

29. I set forward towards london in company of Mr. Joshua Hotchkis.

June 1. I came into london, safe & well, blessed bee the lord. At y^e same time was y^e funeral of S^r Tho. Viner † with great solemnity.

I had sight of all my sisters, & of diverse of my Freinds, with a great deal of comfort, thanks bee to God.

The plague not yet raging, but increasing gradually—ô: london, london, how often?

12. a great victory obtayned at Sea agt y^e Dutch, ‡ though with y^e loss of many persons of quality.

Cos. Hotchkis & cousin Darack had each of y^{em} a daughter born while I was there.

I return'd homewards through Oxford, thence to Stanton in Wiltshire where pr. pub. & Jun. 21. found all well at home, praised bee the name of y^e lord.

July 21. I was at Shrewsh. Assize, a witness in a cause betw. Mr. Nevet of london & Mr. Eyton of leeswood, concer. lightwood hall, being present w^m Judge Puleston seald y^e deed of Annuity to his son Thomas, who sold y^e reversion of it to Mr. Nevet. I had 8^s towards charges and y^e Verdict was brought in for Mr. Nevet, before Judge Tyrrel.

* A worthy, good man. (If any one has met with these diaries, and will inform the editor, he will confer a favour.)

† Pepys speaks of being present at the funeral, "the greatest I ever did see for a taverne." Sir Thomas Viner was Sheriff of London, 1648; Lord Mayor, 1654.

‡ The victory was on June 3, 1665. See Pepys' Diary for June 8th: "We have taken and sunk about 24 of their best ships: killed and taken near 8 or 10,000 men and lost we think not above 700. The Earl of Falmouth and Richard Boyle were killed with one shot. The Earls of Portland, and of Marlborough [James Ley, third earl], and Captains Kirby and Ableson. On the Dutch side Admiral Opdam Tromp, and all the rest but Everson."

20. Dy'd of y^e Plague in london y^e last week—1089.

July. 27. Dy'd—1843.

| | | |
|----------|-----------------|------|
| Aug. 3. | Dy'd of Plague | 3010 |
| | of all diseases | 3014 |
| Aug. 10. | Dy'd of Plague | 2817 |
| | of all diseases | 4030 |
| Aug. 17. | Dy'd of Plague | 3880 |
| | of all diseases | 5319 |

Sister Sarah went into Ireland with lady Broghil,* to Charlevil in Munster. God Almighty bee her good speed.

September. my man william Griffith was marryd about this time to one of Baschurch, to whom hee had been sure since before hee came to mee, which at Christmas next will bee 3 yeares.

Many silenct Min^{rs} and others in prison throughout y^e nation.

25. I was fetcht from my own house † to John Hawkins of Hanmer by leiften^t Rich. Eddow by warrant under the hands of S^r Thomas & S^r John Hanmer. Mr. luke lloyd & his son & Mr. Steel were secur'd y^{er} y^e day before. John Madocks, Wil Philips, Nich. Hemlock and Stephen Morice the same day. Andrew Ridgway & Th. Kinaston, two dayes after. Our restraynt was not strict, for Freinds came to us & wee had liberty of Pray^r & conference together, which through the lord's mercy wee did improve, I hope to every ones edification. Thus out of y^e eater came forth meat & out of the strong sweetness, & wee found honey in the carkass of the lion.

30. The deputy leiftenants mett; S^r Thomas & S^r John ‡ Hanmer, Mr. lloyd of Halghton & Mr. Hanmer of Fenns. I was

* Under date June 21, 1660, Pepys quotes: "The Protector (Richard) said that whatever G. Montagu, my Lord Broghill, Jones and the Secretary would have him do he would do it, be it what it would." Roger Boyle, Lord Broghill, was created Earl of Orrery, 1660; *obit* 1669.

† Newcome writes: "About this time sundry ministers were clapped into prison as my bro. Steele in Flintsh. my bro. Leadbeater in Cheshire. I could not but be grieved that I was no more affected at it."

‡ Sir John Hanmer, Knight, succeeded his father as third baronet in 1678. He was a distinguished cavalier. In 1660, when the King was expected, and before Monk had declared himself, he got together a body of 60 horse. He was M.P., at different times, for Carlingford, Evesham, and Flint. He joined Schonberg 8th September, 1689, and was at the battle of the Boyne. He died *s.p.*, and was buried at Hanmer, August 12, 1701.

examin'd first about meetings. then about letters: for letters I had received none of a great while, for meetings I could not so expressly answ. having once or twice of late been present where y^e number exceeded. S^r Thomas challeng'd mee with a promise made a while since that I would forbear, to w^{ch} I answrd 1. y^e occasion was extraordinary in regard of y^e hand of God upon y^e nation & some of my own Freinds in great danger, 2. my promise had reference to a plot w^{ch} hee said y^{er} y^{en} was, during y^e danger of w^{ch} I thought I might in prudence & did forbear. 3. I had kept promise about home, & wⁿ I did transgress, t'was not in this county. to w^{ch} I might have added 4. y^e promise was not absolute, for I said if I doe transgress I know y^e penalty; Nevertheless a great matter was made of my breach of promise, wherein I blame mys. &c. S^r John charg'd mee with administring y^e Sacram^t out of Mr. St. Almanack, to w^{ch} I answer'd if by y^e Sac^r. hee meant y^e bread & wine in y^e lord's supper, I had not administred them since I was disabled. Also with going a back way to y^e Bryn wthin a fortnight w^{ch} I denyd for I was not there since Aug. 17. & y^{en} I went no back way. In y^e close I was releas'd, upon recognisance of 20^{lb}. Allen Sheret & Tho. Davies suretyes to bee forthcoming within two or 3 dayes after notice under y^e hands of two or more Deputy leiften^{ts} and to live peaceably as a good subject between & Christmas next, Also paying 5^s to Mr. Tho. Yong, cal'd our Marshal, charges besides came to about 6^s 8^d Mr. Steel, Nich. Hemlock & And. Ridgway were sent. Oct. 2. to Northop, as dangerous & disaffected p^{rs}ons the rest were releas'd when I was & on the same terms, except Mr. luke lloyd jun. who was releast y^e Wednesday before & bound over to y^e great Assize, for charging Mr. Hilton with being a lyar by the communion Table, just after y^e Sacram^t.

November. 6. Cosin Dan Benyon came to sojourn with us for awhile at Br. Oke.

December. 4. Mathew not well, wee feared the Smal pockes, but mercy prevented.

6. Mr. Mainwarings two sons went home.

7. It pleas'd God to add another daughter to my Family, Shee was born about one a clock this morning, my wife had short & easy labour in comparison with many others, blessed bee his name.

17. I baptiz'd her & nam'd her Katharin, lord, baptize her with the Holy Ghost.

23. Mr. Steel appear'd & gave his Testimony in the B^{rs} Court.

24. hee was pronounc't in Hammer Excommunicate.
Sold a yoke of oxen 7. 19. 6.

The diary for 1666 belongs to Henry Witton Tyndall, Esq., of Birmingham, who represents the family of Tyndall of Stinchcomb, county Gloucester, being descended from a brother of the translator of the Bible. He is also descended from Philip Henry.

PHILIP HENRY'S DIARY FOR 1666.

Quæries touching the Act of Residense.

1. Whence are we to date the Act of Oblivi. from the time when it was sign'd & made publick which was in August 1660, or from June 24 until which time it pardons.

2. what miles are to be understood, reputed miles or measured miles; if measured miles how much is a measured mile.

3. whether the Informer's Oath alone be sufficient conviction, or whether hee bee not a party.

4. whether such Borough Townes as concur with other Borough townes in sending a Burghess to the Parliam^t bee intended by the Act—as Holt.

5. what is a Corporation, or Town Corporate in the law.

Reasons why I do not communicate in the pres^t Administration of the Lords Supper—

1. bec. I am not satisfy'd to kneel * in the Act of receiving.

* “The ancients received sometimes standing. We learn this directly from Dionysius of Alexandria, who speaks of a communicant ‘standing at the Lord’s Table,’ and from Habertus, who undertakes to prove that the whole divine Liturgy was celebrated standing—that they consecrated standing and received standing. Indirectly, since they prayed standing on the Lord’s days, they received standing. They also received kneeling, though the evidence of this from St. Chrysostom is not so clear. Addressing communicants, he says, ‘let us fall down and confess our sins . . . let us come with a becoming

1. bec. it hath no warrant in the least from the Script. neither by Præcept nor Præcedent whereas sitting* hath, at least by Præcedent in y^e Practise of X^t hims. & the Apost. clearly, and probably in y^e Practise of y^e first churches for it seems the Agapæ or love feasts were us'd together with the Eucharist. see 1. Cor. 11.

2. bec. it doth no way suit with the nature of the Ordinance, which is a Supper; an Ordinance wherein the blessed Jesus calls us to the nearest Familiarity & fellowship wth hims. to eat with him, and therf. to sit, not to kneel, with him at his Table.

3. bec. it hath been grosly abus'd even to Idolatry, by the Papists in worshiping the consecrated Host, † which in all probability brought it first into the Church, & moreover gives them advantage to argue, as Bellarmine expresly, we do no more in kneeling before an Image than y^e Protestants doe in kneeling at the Sacram^t, [er]gō, if we are Idolators, so are they.

4. Bec. having made tryal mys. of both gestures, kneeling heretofore in y^e days of my Ignorance & sitting of late since y^e lord hath inlightned mee, I dare not sin against my Conscience which tells mee, I ought not to quit the liberty wherewith X^t hath made mee free.

that I know that is said for it, is the command of my Superiors, to which I oppose the Command of my Supream, saying, bee not yee y^e Servants of men, & call no man Master; which I then doe when I give a blind Obedience to their Injunctions for the Authority sake of the injoyndrs, rendring mee no reason

reverence as to our heavenly King." There is no instance where they received siting (Bingham's "Antiquities of the Christian Church," lib. xv. chap. v. 3).

* Our Lord and his disciples reclined probably. "The Arians in Poland are said to receive sitting, to show that they do not believe Christ to be their God, but only their fellow-creature." "We are likewise told by Bona, that it is the singular privilege of the pope to communicate sitting, whenever he performs the office of consecration" (Bingham, *ut supra*).

† Jeremy Taylor, speaking of the real presence of Christ in the Holy Communion, says (vol. vi. pp. 11, 12): "It was happy with Christendom when she in this article retained the same simplicity which she was always bound to do in her manners and intercourse: that is, to believe the thing heartily and not to enquire curiously, and there was peace in this article for almost a thousand years together, and yet that Transubstantiation was not determined, I hope to make evident. It is a famous saying of Durandus, Verbum audimus, motum sentimus, modum nescimus, præsentiam credimus."

why or wherefore, but only sic volo, sic jubeo; and to do this in the things of God's worship I conceive to bee sinful.

2. if I were satisfied to kneel, yet not at the Rayles,* which is us'd in our Parish church of Malpas, bec. it is an Innovation, warranted by no law, neither divine nor humane, civil nor Canonical, and also smells rank of Popish superstition yea of Judaism it self, whereas by Jesus X^t y^e vayl is rent & all such like walls of Partition broken down.

3. Though before God I am the chiefest of sinners, and dare not say to any, stand off, for I am holier than thou, yet since the Script. enjoynes mee with such & such no not to eat, & saith withall, that a little leaven leavens the whole lump, whilst so many are admitted grosly prophane, yea none indeed excluded that will receive,† I am afraid as on the one hand of defiling myself, so on the other hand of hardning them, by eating & drinking into the same body with them.

Questions for Conference.

What are to be accounted vayn Thoughts.

What evil there is in vayn thoughts.

What remedies ag^t vayn thoughts.

What are the common sins of y^e Tongue.

What rules in governing the Tongue.

How is the Sabbath to bee sanctify'd.

* The early Churches seem to have followed very much the plan of the Jewish Temple. Where those who ministered to the others stood was separated from the other part by rails of wood, which the Greek writers term *κιγλίδες*, the Latins *cancelli*. St. Ambrose would not allow the Emperor Theodosius to communicate in this part, but obliged him to retire, as soon as he had made his oblation at the altar. In the third century, however, Dionysius of Alexandria speaks of men and women standing at the Holy Table, and reaching forth their hands to receive the Eucharist there (Bingham, vol. ii. lib. viii. chap. vi.). "One of the injunctions of Queen Elizabeth is that the Holy Table be set in the place where the altar stood." The altar rails were introduced by Archbishop Laud to protect the Holy Table from the irreverence of the Puritans. Hats and gloves were thrown upon it; churchwardens were writing their accounts thereon, the processioning boys eating their loaves and cakes, and dogs leaping up at the bread, to the great scandal of our Reformation (Nicholls). There was no dispute in the primitive Church as to the name "altar" or "table." Mede, in his "Discourse of Altars," p. 386, says that "the name 'table' is not to be found in any author for the two first ages."

† He might also have remembered how the Founder of the feast did not send Judas away.

Wherewithal shall I come before God?
 What shall I do unto thee ô: thou preserver of men.
 Why art thou cast down ô my soul?

Memorand.—The Hedge between John Stocktons and John Rees in Tybr. being a foot hedge. was acknowledg'd to bee mine, but several trees, the quick wood being thrust away from them, were now quite out of y^e hedge. & challeng'd by John Rees to bee his, though Randle Stockton did aver, hee had cropt them & known them cropt by our Tenants in that house above these 40 years.

This I acquainted Sr Thomas Hanmer wth who came and view'd the place & sayd, whatever they had been, now twas clear they were his, growing as they doe, out of the hedge. whereupon I propos'd it might bee ditcht, to prevent future strife, which hee yielded to, his Tenant to take and ditch the one half. mine the t'other. Accordingly it was divided by Cosin Thomas Jackson Sen^r. I took the half next the house being — rood—and this year it was ditcht & where quickwood was wanting, sett with quick-setts by John Stockton, which cost mee in all for the doing of it —.

Jan. 1. William Griffith went from us, having liv'd with us three yeares, an able and faithful servant, but sometimes wilful & testy—*nemo sine crimine vivit.* Cosin Thomas Jackson came in his stead, his wages 3^ls 5^s p annu. 1^s hee had in earnest.

5. I sent to london by Cos. Thomas Hotchkis (who received great mercy from the Lord in his preservation from the Pestilence (for his man dyed) & hath been since in y^e country with his Friends). God hath been very gracious to them hitherto, in giving them their lives for a prey. when Thousands have fallen on their right hand & scores of thousands on y^e^{er} left, the lord Almighty bee still unto them a sun & shield!

7. Mr. Daxton at chap. T. Luk. 23. 42. lord remember mee when thou comest into thy kingdom. *Deus qui penitenti veniam promisit, peccanti crastinum non promisit.*

8. This morning departed Mnason the old disciple, Mr. John Hotchkis of Witch. aged 91. who got to Heaven, as few doe,

without a blot. Being askt, if hee were willing to dye, hee answer'd, yes, what else? Being askt w^t hee thought of present th. & whether his Freinds might safely venture to suffer rather than conform, hee answe^rd yea by all meanes for the cause is Gods. His last word, being askt, how he did was, well.

10. Dr. Fowler preacht at his buryal T. Gen. 15. ver. 15. Thou shalt goe to thy fathers in peace & shalt bee buried in a good old age. so did hee.

14. Mr. Bold at chap. T. Luk 12. Hell is a prison from whence there is no release for ever. O what cause have I to love the lord Jesus, who hath payd my debt & delivered mee from that condemnation. This evening Cosin Ann Nixon dyed, having been sick more than a year & quarter; whilst I live & am in health; lord what shall I render?

17. Shee was buried at Malpas. T. Rev. 14. 13. blessed are y^e dead that dye in the lord.

21. At Whitch. Mr. Cumins. T. 2 Pet. 1. 10. election may bee made sure by making our calling sure, for else who hath ascended into heaven?

Multi volunt venire ad Deum, pauci verò post Deum.

25. measur'd a mile by Paces. 2000 Paces from the beginning of y^e Pavement by the Pit to the hither end of the y^e Pavement on y^e little green on this side Richard Ratcliffs house. Will Griffith measur'd it. *Teste* Cos. Daniel Benyon!

26. Hee went on & measur'd from thence to Sarn-Bridge, which made 7500 paces. in all from y^e Pit to y^e Sarn-Bridge. 9500 paces. Six of his paces being measur'd made 5 yards.

Note. Y^e English mile is 1760 yards.

16 foot & a half or 5 y^{rds} & half make a pole or perch. 40 perches a furlong. 320 pch^{es} which is 8 furlongs make a mile. The english mile contaynes 280 foot more than the Italian mile.

27. Mr. Steel's family broke up & remov'd from his dwelling in Hanmer. his children scatter'd. The lord bee their portion, his freinds sorry. the lord be their comfort, hisself expos'd—the lord be his protection.

28. At Whitch. Dr. Fowler preacht. T. 2 Tim. 3. 2 blasphemy & disobedience to Parents, natural, civil, spiritual, are like to bee two of the reigning sins in the later dayes.

29. At Bronn. Jane Eddow publish't to bee marry'd to Thomas Wright of Whitch. my father is like to have miss of her in some th. & shee of him in other th.

30. publ. Fast. lord I profess my detestation of that horrid murther, which is cal'd to remembrance this day, & whereof I was a spectator, but I bless God, not in the least an approver. the lord pdon & lay it not to y^e nation's charge. T. at Whitch. *Matth. 22. 21.*

31. I went from Ash to Shrews. to advise concerning sending of Cos. Dan. Ben. to y^e University, which some of his Freinds are averse to, bec. of snares there. but I hope he is in some measure forearm'd.

January. Those dyed of the plague in London & the suburbes, the last week of this month 56. the week before 79.

Trinity-Steeple in Coventry blown down in this month.

February 1. I return'd from Shrewsb. bewayling my unprofitableness, for who is the better for mee. a child of Belial is hee, in whom there is no profit. ô that I should bee such a one.

3. Edw. Newton & cosin Alice Hotchkis contracted. Gen. 24. 50. then Laban and Bethuel answered & sayd, the thing proceedeth from the lord, wee cannot speak unto thee bad or good.

4. A day in thy courts is better then a thousand elsewhere; such a day better then ten thousand; what time I am afrayd I will trust in thee; Thy vowes are upon mee ô God, thy vowes are upon mee! I desire to know nothing but X^t Jesus & him crucified.

6. Edw. Newton & cosin Alice Hotchkis marry'd at Ightfeild. The lord make her like Rachel & like Leah, which two did build the house of Israel, & may hee doe worthily in Ephratah and bee famous in Bethlehem.

7. Monthly fast should have been, but not observ'd at Whitch.* Tis well if our humiliation dayes doe not prove to be provocation dayes, through the general neglect. It had been observ'd, the Plague hath still increas'd, for several months. just the week after y^e Fast. *κύριε ἐλέησον.*

* In 1661 Newcome writes: "Christians to your Bibles: sad if our zeale to our Bibles and the flames of persecution goe out together."

10. war proclaym'd about this time betw. us and France. lord bee thou a wall of fire round about us & y^e glory in the midst of us. Salvation will hee appoynt for walls & bulwarkes, but then it followes, Open y^e gate that y^e righteous nation which keepeth the truth may enter in.

11. Mr. Bold at chap. T. 1 *John* 3. 4. *Neh.* 9. 33. Howbeit thou art just in all that is brought upon us, for thou hast done right but wee have done wickedly.

12. Term adjournd from Oxford to Windsor, from Windsor this day to Westminster, whither wee hear the court also is removd.

13. At Ac. Cast thy burthen on y^e lord & hee shall sustayn thee—*feret te*—hee shall bear thee up under it, if hee doe not deliver thee from it. Amen.

14. my little children, these things write I unto you that yee sin not. Of all the Arguments *āgt* sin, none like this, X^t hath dyed.

My son John finisht his first reading over of his Accidence, reades English well, not 1 year till April since he went to school, blessed bee God.

16. At y^e quarter Sessions for Middlesex . . . Min^{rs} & Schoolm^{rs} of less account took the Oath in y^e morning, in the afternoon 13 more, D^r Bates, Mr. Pool, Bastwick, Clarke, Sheffield, Rood, Rolls, Church, Sarcliff, Ayler, Overton, Brookes. That which mov'd y^{em} was S^r Orl. Bridgman's declaring upon y^e Bench, that by endeavor was meant only seditious & tumultuous endeavor. Wⁿ all had subscrib'd Chief Justice Keeling spake to this purpose, well now, Gentlemen, I am glad to God so many of you, a whole Jury, have taken this Oath, you have now renounc't that abominable wicked Covenant & I hope will never speak a word for it any more, I hope others will doe likewise by your example, & that you will proceed further to conform.

this narrative I saw in a letter from Mr. Arthur Jackson. At y^e Quarter Sessions for Northamptonsh. eleven took the Oath, upon a like Assurance from Bish. Reynolds, the chief whereof was D^r Conant.

A paper cald y^e Sober gness concludes, the Spirit of life from God shall enter into the slayn witnesses about y^e 24. of this month

when y^e 3 dayes & a half, a day for a year are accomplisht—but I like not such Ghesses, it is not for you to know y^e times & seasons.

17. At Bronn. my father ill, suppos'd to bee an ulcer in his kidneyes. lord spare ! his life I beg, if it bee thy will ; his salvation however ; and for his estate doe with it as pleases thee, nec habeo, nec careo, nec curo.

Mr. Hunt not clear for Cos. Dan. Ben. going to the University bec. of snares there, yet hee hims. being desirous of it, hee condescended to it. the lord bee his good speed.

I say to you my Freinds, There is a Covenant of Freindship betw. X^t & Beleivers. Hee hath said, I will never leave thee nor forsake thee ! lord, by thy grace, I will never leave thee nor forsake thee.

25. At Witch. T. 2 Tim. 3. 2. unthankful unholy. D^r sick, no sermon in y^e aftern.

28. Great mercy to my wife in her last deliverance acknowledged this day. Unto thee doe wee give thanks, unto thee doe wee give thanks !

March 22. This day, mee thought, it was made more clear to mee than ever by the hand of my God upon mee, and I note it down that I may remember it.

1. That the Governm^t of the Church of Christ ought to bee manag'd by the Ministers of Christ.* *Heb.* 13. 7.

* One might suppose that this was written by a Churchman in the present day, except that his conclusion is faulty : schism carrying with it this deadly evil—that when the original excuses for separation are removed, Christians are no nearer to one another than they were before.

Compare the following suggestions :—

- (1.) "That the clergy and lay communicants of the English Church should have a real voice in the election of their bishops, instead of having bishops arbitrarily imposed on them by the Prime Minister of the day."
- (2.) "That the bishops thus chosen should govern their dioceses constitutionally, with the advice of their diocesan synods, the necessity for the restoration of which is in no way lessened by the assembling diocesan conferences of clergy and laity, useful as these gatherings are."
- (3.) "That the provincial synods of Canterbury and York should be reformed, so as to provide for a more adequate representation of the parochial clergy, both beneficed and unbeneficed."
- (4.) "That the rightful position of the Convocations (thus reformed) in regard to ecclesiastical legislation should be recognized by Parliament, in accordance with our constitution in Church and State."
- (5.) "That Church courts should be appointed—for the diocese, by the authority of the diocesan synod ; for the province, by the authority of

2. That in Prelacy Ministers have not the managem^t of Church Governm^t not in the least being only the Executioners of y^e Prelates Decrees, as in Excommunication and Absolution, which Decrees are given forth by lay-Chancelors and lay Deanes rural.

3. Therefore that Prelacy is a Usurpation in the church of God upon the Crown & Dignity of Jesus X^t & upon y^e Gospel-rights of his servants the Ministers.

4. And therefore I ought not to subscribe to it, nor to swear not to endeavour in all lawful wayes y^e Alteration of it, i.e. by praying, & pswading when there is opportunity.

5. but may safely venture to suffer in the refusal of such an Oath, committing my soul, life, estate, liberty, all, to him who judges righteously.

7. Of y^e plague, 28. | 14. of y^e plague, 29. | 22. of y^e plague, 33.

24. A sad day amongst poor Min^{rs} up & down these Nations, who by this Act of Restraynt are forc^t to remove from amongst their Freinds, Acquaintance, Relations, People, and to sojourn amongst strangers, as it were in Mesech & in the Tents of Kedar. But there is a God who tells their wanderings & will put their teares & the teares of y^e^{er} wives & children into his Bottle. Are they not in his book?

Lord be a little Sanctuary to them & a place of refuge from the storm & from the tempest, and let not their removes bee figurative of any evil to these nations as Ezekiel's was—*cap.* 12. 1. 2. 3. and pity those places from which they are ejected & come thou & dwell where y^eⁱ may not. There is great danger of decayes, declinings, Apostasyes, w^h y^e guides are gone, prevent lord.

29. At Ash. unskilful in redeeming time, lord teach mee to number my dayes.

30. Of ye Plague 17.

31. At O . . . the world is our sojourning place—Heaven our home—ô—how much sweeter.

April 1. Publique Sabbaths are to mee more beautiful & more comfortable, but there is a promise to two or three.

the provincial synod; and as a Court of Appeal for the whole Church of England, by the joint authority of the two provincial synods."

A seat in the House of Lords, with £5000 a year, is not—*pace* Lord Houghton—of the essence of the episcopal office.

2. Sisters remov'd to Kensington from little Chelsey, wee have here no continuing city, but wee seek one to come.

4. a signal answer of prayers in y^e recovery of Sarah Benet, extream ill of y^e smal Pox, I will love the lord because . . . Publique Fast should have been but now wee are not slayn, wee seek not.

6. Abraham follow'd God by Faith into a strange countrey not knowing whither, I lack faith to follow him fully even amongst my own people.

though the Shepheard bee smitten. lord let not my little Flock at home bee scatter'd. bee Husband to wife, Father to children, Master to servants. | 6. Of y^e plague 26.

7. Welcome at Ash—I should doe ill to call myself an exile, Ash is neither Mesech, nor Kedar, nor Patmos, lord fit me for even such a banishment.

8. Which. T. 1 Cor. 11. 26. The Sacram^t is a memorial of the Death of X^t worthy to bee had in everlasting remembrance.

9. troubl'd, I am so unprofitable, of little or no use in my generation. how long lord, holy & true.

10. At Tils[tock] Eza. 26. 8. yea in the way of thy Judgm^{ts} ô lord have wee wayted for thee—tis good that a man should both hope and quietly wayt for the salvation of the lord ; lord my soul wayteth for thee, more than they y^t wayt & watch for y^e morning.

14. Of ye plague 28.

15. Mr. Edw. at Cockshute. T. *Ecc.* 7. 1. The day of ones death is better than the day of ones birth, bec. our Birth-day lets us into a vayne world, w^{ch} death lets a believer out of & opens a door into eternal rest in the bosom of God, which is best of all.

22. At Aulam, where preaches one Mr. Cole affectionately & to ædification, which I am glad to see anywhere. prais'd bee God. *Tit.* 2. 3.

24. At Acton. cos. K . . . a 2nd daughter. p. G. thence to Nantw. *Rom.* 12. 1. God's mercyes to our bodyes should engage us to serve God with our bodyes. though bodily exercise alone in wors^p profits noth. yet I must glorify God both with my body & with my spirit, for both are his, and I must not in anyth. sin a^gt him with my Body, and I must bee ready to suffer for him with my Body. Amen.

29. Sabbath spent at Torperley where preaches Mr. Sherrot. T. Col. 3. 3. the life of a X^{ti}an a hidden life, therof. judge not, for without all doubt many whom wee now take to bee Godly shall at y^e last day bee found Hypocrites & many whom wee now condemn as Hypocrites shall bee found godly.

April. I was bound in a bond with Robert Bickley my freind to Elizabeth Yardley of Whitch. for 30^{lb} which hee had of her, to bee paid at Mich. next. Salomon saith, hee that hateth suretiship is sure but hee saith also, hee that hath Freinds must show hims. Freindly. I am bound with him, for other 30^{lb} to y^e parish of Hanmer, and besides that for no other that I know of in this world; nor no other for mee but the same Robert Bickley for 130. which I owe to Timothy Adams.

May 1. I went with my wife to Hakos to Cos. Talb. whom God hath blessed with a second son nam'd Richard. p. G. thence to Ash.

3. My son John five yeares old this day. ô w^t yeares of mercy have they been to us in resp. of children, given, preserv'd, thriving, health, mercy and noth. but mercy.

6. Mr. Edw. at Tilst. T. Hos. 5. 15. the great God takes it for granted that a people or pson in affliction will turn to him. twere well if alwayes it might bee so, twere well if it were so with this nation, with london at this day. My wife present also, parted at Even. shee to O, I to A. blessed bee God, it hath been otherwise! 1 Cor. 7. 29.

7. remayning 10^{lb} payd by my wife to Mr. Yates.

8. I went from A. circum circa. whilst a rolling stone, God grant I may gather moss to my soul, and doe Good to my Freinds, some way or other. Amen.

14. Mr. Whitehal had a great deliverance near Ightfield. his horse threw him into a ditch & then lay upon him, almost half an hour. I was present at the getting of him out, & no great harm, a mercy never to bee forgotten by him, God grant it may not.

15. I wrote to my wife to go to Sir T. H. & to Mr. H. of Fenns, to acquaint them with my Desire that they would either nominate another Collector or indemnify mee, the form^r they would not, the later they would not promise, but I suppose the last change in the Act of Restraynt, if need bee, will reach y^e case.

14. My wife appear'd for me at Malp. Visit. paid y^e Fees & procur'd my discharge out of their bookes, where I was presented by Mr. Tanat & Mr. Bromley for not coming to the Sacram^t.

In this month sickned & dy'd John Kinaston of Otely Esq^r the fifth heir of that House in 25 year. Sir Edward. Sir Francis, Mr. Edward. Sir Francis and Mr. John. the next now succeeding is Edward.

16. At A. not well. Head Ake, payn in shoulder & Breast, a cold taken in my wandr. but the lord is righteous & tis meer mercy I am not consum'd. Through freinds kindness I wanted noth.—as like home as could bee, but that it was not. p. G.

24. At Sta[nwardine]* with Uncle B. thence at night ad-la: Qu: safe & well, blessed bee God.

26. Mrs. Steel brought to bed at her own house in Hanmer † of a son, whither her husband may not come to her, a great affliction: but shall wee receive good at the hand of y^e Lord & shall wee not receive evil also?

—baptized the week after, named Josiah.

—dy'd Jun. 3. & bury'd at Hanmer, its two brothers Moses & Samuel laying it in the grave, which much affected those who were present.

28. Mr. Heath, late Minister of Julians in Shrewsb. was bury'd at Wellington, where he had been an exile since Mar. 24—Being askt by Mr. Laurence what reflections hee had on his death-bed upon his non-conformity, hee said hee would not but have done as hee did for a thousand worlds. Hee was *trium linguarum peritissimus*; the best Hebricean in these p^{ts} of England. Hee read the liturgy till Aug. 24.—62 and then went off, refusing to

* Stanwardine, Salop, belonged to the family of Horde of Walford. It came by marriage to Kinaston of Hordley, and with Jane, second daughter of Thomas Kinaston of Walford, it came to Robert (son of Roger) Corbett, of Shawbury, Esq., who built the fine hall which is still standing (1881).

† By Richard Steele's will, proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, December 10, 1692, it appears that he had a tenement of his own in Hanmer. This will account for the painful separation referred to. At that time there was no vicarage house there. In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1762, Candidus writes; "Richard Steel was the vicar here (Hanmer) in the grand rebellion, and when obliged to quit the place by the Five-mile Act, he wrote the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth verses of the fifteenth chapter of 2 Samuel in a pane of a window of the house, with his name at bottom, in the year 1665, which very pane is yet remaining."

declare. He had great confidence that God would provide for his widow & children, according to promise.

The week before, Mr. York dy'd in Shrewsb. a holy good man, & well approved in y^e Ministry, who wasted his own Candle in giving light to others, even whilst under y^e Bushel. lord is this y^e meaning of Rev. 11. 12. concern. the witnesses. ô stay thy hand. *Ps.* 39. *l.*

Easter-Tithes payd.

| | | | | | <i>s. d.</i> | |
|----------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|--------------|-----------------|
| Cowes & Calves | ... | ... | ... | .. | 0 | 9 |
| Offerings ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 0 | 4 |
| Plow-seat ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 0 | 3. ^d |
| A colt ... | ... | ... | ... | .. | 0 | 1. |
| Bees ... | ... | ... | ... | .. | 0 | 3 |
| Dove-house | ... | ... | ... | ... | 0 | 6 |
| | | | | | <hr/> | |
| | | | | | 2 | 2 |

Pigeons taken since Mar. 30. to this time about. 14 dozen.
from July 31. to the end of the year, taken more—18 dozen.

In all, 32 dozen.

An unhappy difference between Uncle Hotchkis & cosin Raph Eddow about a legacy left in old Mr. Hotchkis Will. their Brother Mr. Tho. Hotch. came over to mediate, and my endeavours were used with his, but hee returned re infectâ. A brother offended is harder to be won than a strong city, and their contentions are like the bars of a Castle.

A terrible sea-fight between us & the Dutch,* wherein accord. to the first report wee had the better which caused great joy, but it proved afterwards wee had the worst, many ships and men lost, which caused great sadness.

* A fleet of seventy-four sail was equipped in May, of which Prince Rupert took twenty sail to the Mediterranean, while the Duke of Albemarle was surprised to find the Dutch fleet of more than eighty ships off the North Foreland. He fought till night (June 1), with great loss. The next day the enemy were reinforced with sixteen sail, and Monk, again sustaining the attack with his usual determination, fought as long as the light of day served. He then with difficulty commenced a retreat. On the evening of the third day, Rupert returned with his twenty ships, and the fight was resumed; they separated at last under cover of a thick fog. The advantage had been, on the whole, with the Dutch. On the 25th of June they met again, and the Dutch were defeated. Holmes, with a squadron of boats and five ships, entered the Baltic and burned two men-of-war and a hundred and fifty merchantmen and their cargoes. The rage of De Witt indicates the greatness of the loss.

Feares of sudden invasion follow'd whereupon the Countryes were arm'd but it pleas'd God to scatter the cloud for present, lord bee England's God and Guid, Sun and Shield. Amen.

Reasons of my venturing at home notwiths. the penalty of the Act.

1. a Warrant requiring mee to collect the Royal Ayd, which I cannot doe unless present. The last clause of y^e Act provides that personal appearance in obedience to a Warrant shall not bee construed an offence.

2. having measur'd, I find it 5 miles to the bounds of the Parish; reckoning 1760. yards to a mile, accord. to the Statute. 35 Eliz. cap. 6. & Tis Mr. Ratclifs opinion which I have under his hand and Mr. Tho. Jones of Shrewsb. as I am credibly inform'd (both which are Lawyers & Parliam^t men) that the miles mentioned in the Act are to bee measur'd miles.

3. It is doubtful whether I were either Parson, Vicar, Curate, or Stipendary at Worthenb. since the Act of Oblivion, preaching there a while only gratis, by permission not substitution of Dr. Bridgman.

July. Armour from Shrewsb. Back & Breast & Head-peice. cost 1^{lb} 13^s 4^d. Muster at Flint. 4 dayes. Randle Stocton trayn'd for mee at 16^d p diem.

Early harvest, the like scarce remembered.

August 4. I was summon'd by warrant to Hanmer to subscribe to the loan for the urgent occasions of the Dutch war; I appear'd and pleaded I had it not, neither have I, and therefore desired to bee excus'd; I was told my denial proceeded from disaffection, but it doth not. some little I would have lent, but less than 20^{lb} would not bee accepted. My Father Mathewes refus'd to lend also, which gave Sir T. H. occasion to say, wee know where money is and if the King have need of it, hee must and shall have it.

13. I went towards Flint being served thither with a subpoena to witness in a cause betw. Mr. Nevet of london & Mr. Eyton of leeswood concerning lightwood Farm, settled by Mr. Sergeant Puleston on his son Thomas, and by him sold to Mr. Nevet for 455. Mr. Eyton claymes by an entayl made by Mr. George Puleston.

17. It was heard. I attested my hand, being witness to Mr. Puleston's deed to his son, and declar'd moreover being required to it w^t I had heard him say, *viz.* the reason why hee settled it on his son Thomas was p^{tly}. for his name sake, it having been the Annuity of his uncle Thomas, & thought it might be question'd, yet hee had by a commission & depositions made it so clear that the right might easily be defended. After 3. or 4. houres hearing, the Jury brought in their Verdict for Mr. Eyton, the Judge sent them forth again, then press^t a reference which was at last yielded to, referees were, Mr. Fr. Manley, and Mr. Walcot & y^e Judge to name a moderator.

August 15. Mr. Luke Lloyd jun. indited at the Assizes at Flint for disturbing Mr. Hilton at Hanmer in y^e time of Adm^ration of y^e Sacram^t.^{*} witnesses sworn deposed that the blessing was

* The following letter from Sir Thomas Hanmer to Judge Charlton shows that the disturbance had taken place two years previously. It shows also who they were that distrusted the Nonconformists, and resented the injuries brought by them upon the country.

“MY LORD,

“About Michaelmas last complaint being made to me, & other justices of the peace in this neighbourhood of a strange irreverent, & bold carriage of one Mr. Luke Lloyd the Younger towards the Vicar of Hanmer Parish on a Sunday in the Church of Hanmer, we met together & examined several witnesses. whose depositions are here enclosed & thereupon thought it our parts to bind the said Mr. Lloyd to his good behaviour to appear before your Lordship the next Assizes in Flintshire. The reasons inducing us were, that the giving the lie was a great provocation to the breach of the peace, and being given in a sacred place & to a sacred person at the Communion board, we thought it fit to be transmitted over to your Lordship to proceed as in your wisdom should seem meet. Besides the former reasons we had at that very time orders from His Majesty & the Lord President to have a special eye over such as conformed not to the Church or State, & to secure the most dangerous, & had many Nonconformists in this parish of Hanmer, who we feared would grow insolent, if such an affront to the Church should pass unpunished.

“Having given your Lordship this account of our proceedings against Mr. Lloyd I must now acquaint your Lordship that I am very credibly informed that Mr. Lloyd hath been with our Bishop, my lord of Chester, and hath shewn sorrow for his carriage & hath promised Conformity to the Church for the future: the like he hath also done to me, & I hope his professions are real, divers of his friends having engaged their words for him, & upon their entreaties I am prevailed with to desire your Lordship's gentle usage of him, which is all I have to trouble you with at present; therefore I conclude, & remain, Y^r faithful serv^t

“THO. HANMER.

“Hanmer, March 12, 1665.”

pronounc't & y^e people gone, only some few remayn'd accord. to y^e Rubr. to eat w^t was left of y^e consecrated bread, which the Judge declar'd to bee p^t of y^e Sacram^t: the Jury brought him in not guilty, sent out again by y^e Judge, the second time y^ei brought him in guilty. Tho. Jenkins depos'd, Mr. Hilton was talking with Randle Eddow wⁿ Mr. Lloyd came to him, if talking not administring. Mr. Hilton refusing to give him the Sacram^t in his pew, hee came up to know the reason & after some other discourse, had occasion to tell him & told him, hee was a lyar & hee would prove him one, w^{ch} was y^e disturbance.

Much prophaness in the Town, drinking, swearing, revelling, night & day, such as I have not seen this long time, and that it should be so in y^e very face of Justice, is a sign that wickednes hath a high hand, & then tis time to cry help Lord.

16. I went to Holliwel, a wonderful spring; pity, so abus'd.

18. I return'd, found my family well, and am for ever bound to love & praise the God of my mercyes. Amen.

24. This day compleats y^e 35 year of my Age, lord teach mee so to number my dayes that I may yet apply my heart to wisdom. 'Tis now 4 yeares since the Decree was put in execution agt. the Ministers, how long lord, holy and true!

September 2. A lamentable fire began in london, in a Baker's house in Pudding lane behind the King's Head Tavern in new Fish-Street, which continu'd burning till Thursday following, laying wast that famous and beautiful City, except a very smal remnant of it, in its own rubbish.

The use I would desire to make of this sad providence is as followeth,

1. to get my heart deeply affected with it and with sin the cause of it, the nations sin, the sin of london, my own sin.

2. to weep with those that weep and to mourn with those that mourn, as being myself also in the body. How many thousand families, that have not where to lay their head!

3. to see herein as in a glass, what a pittiful portion is a portion in this world, and how far it must needs bee from making a man happy, seeing in one moment it makes to itself wings and fly's away.

4. to bless God for his wakeful eye of Providence over my

house & goods continually from morning to Evening and from Evening to morning again.

5. what a terrible day will it bee when all the world shall bee on fire and the elements shall melt with fervent heat, the earth also and all the works that are therein shall bee burnt up.

6. was there not mercy in it to poor silenc'd Ministers, that they were banisht out of the City before this sweeping Judgment came upon it, and is not the case somewhat like that of lot fetcht out of Sodom. *Gen.* 19. 15. 16.

7. may it not be a further voice to our Governors, like that to Pharoh, saying let my people goe that they may serve mee, and if ye will not, behold thus & thus will I doe unto you.

8. is there not someth. to bee observ'd in the circumstance of time that it began on the Sabbath day, as if the lords controversy wth london was more particularly for prophaning that holy day.

Chronogram. totV^c MVnDV^s Conflagrabit MDCLXVI.

The account given by y^e City to the King and Council. Burnt within the walls 273 acres of building. standing 65. without the walls burnt 75 acres & some odd roods. | dwelling houses in all. 13200. | churches. 89. standing. 11.

I received 5^{lb} of Mr. Hunt of Boreatton for my white mare.

October. Receiv'd from Mr. Jackson of Shrewsb. 120. welsh bookes to bee distributed freely, in North Wales, tis Mr. Baxter's call to the unconverted, Ex dono Authoris.

| | |
|---|----|
| Sent to Mr. lewis to bee given about Wrexham, & in Anglesey | 60 |
| to Mr. Jones for Denbigh | 20 |
| to Mr Spark for about Northop | 6 |
| occasionally to partic. psons. | |
| to Mr. Ellis Rolands for Carnarvon. | |

The Termes.

1. to read it over twice
2. to lend it if desir'd.

Several Fires about the beginning of y^e month in & about london, one in the Stables over against Whitehal ; Behold the lord God calls to contend by fire, ô lord God cease, I beseech thee.

—children all not well, especially John ; our feares of parting with them were renewed upon us, and wee made a fresh Deed of

gift, resigning them up to the will of God, and once more it pleas'd the lord in mercy to give them back to our prayers. Bless the lord ô: my soul, I will love the lord because hee hath heard the voice of my supplications.

1667.

Mar. 1. A youth of 17 or 18 y. of age riding near after Another in y^e way betw. Shrewsb. & Wrexham, there hanging a bough of a tree over y^o way, hee put it back with his hand and it flurled in the youth's face & strook him into his eye & brayn whereof this day hee dyed at Wrexham, the youth's name was Bowen.

4. William lack told mee of a woman in Hope parish, sister to John Griffith of Hawarden of a prophane life, who hearing those words pronounc't at y^e Sacram^t wherby Scandalous livers are warn'd not to come at that holy Table was struck in Conscience & fell into great terrors. the Min^r Mr. Jones being sent for told her, hee did not mean her why should shee take it to hers. gave her an Amulet viz. some verses of John I. written in a paper to hang about her neck, as also certayn herbes to drive the Devil out of her,* but all in vayn, her Brother and William lack being sent for, they gave her counsel & pray'd with her several times till at length shee was much better, and they hope a good work is wrought in her, her husband saying hee knows not but hee is sure she is a better wife since than shee ever was. The Min^r threatned to Indite J. G. & W. L. at the great Assize for Seducers.

8. wee remov'd to Whitch. from Broad-Oke, God almighty goe along with us & bee our Sun and Sheild. As wee passed over the red-brook, it somew affected mee to remember how with my Staff I pass'd it awhile since & now I am become two bands, blessed bee God. The occasion of our remove is partly with reference to the late Act of restraynt from the penalty of wth I am not altogether secure, but cheifly for the childrens sake, the school being taken now from Whitw. chap. to Wigland by S^r O[rlando] B[ridgeman].†

* Cf. Tobit vi. 6, 7; Josephus, "Antiquities," book viii. ch. ii. 5, and "Wars of Jews," book vii. ch. vi. 3.

† Bishop John Bridgeman of Chester, father of the lord keeper. Sir Orlando Bridgeman, purchased from Richard Egerton, Esq., in 1635, the manor of Malpas, as also Wolvesacre, Wigland, and Bryne-pits. Mr. Egerton was heir to the Breretons.

9. A sad welcome to Town, by reason of a Fire breaking forth in y^e evening of this day,* which caus'd a great fright for the time. & t'was y^e more affecting to mee bec. t'was in a Kil. belonging to Mr. Moxon, a non-conformist in Town, though not living as such—lord, grant, though I may bee esteem'd wrongfully, yet I may never be found justly among the troublers of Israel on any account whatsoever.

15. my wife not comm. to us yet to Witch. by reason of the weaknes of her Father but y^e less must give place to y^e greater.

17. This day about 2 clock after noon my Father Mathewes departed this life, having endur'd much tormenting payn for a long time.

18. The 6 Feoffees mett & perus'd the will & finding my son John sole Execut^r & them. only desir'd to bee ayding & assisting, they thought the power would naturally devolve to mee as Gardian, which I profess I am no way desirous of, bec. of trouble & account which it brings with it, but there being none else, I undertake it, begging grace & wisdom of God, that I may bee found faithful. 400^{lb} was in ready money in his trunk & no more though reports were otherwise.

20. This evening dyed Jane Woods, who had been a servant to my father 40 y. Two dead in the house together.

21. my Father buryed at Hann^r Mr Hilton preacht. T. 1 Cor. 19. 44. Jane Woods bury'd the next day.

26. my good old Cosin Tho. Jackson dyed after only one dayes sickness. Hee was present at the two former buryals in the begin. of y^e week. & dead hims. by y^e end of it. lord what is man!

29. I prov'd my Father's will at Chester being made administrator, in regard my son the execut^r is an Infant. I had also letters of Tuition of him & y^e other children and took the oath to bring y^{em} up in y^e fear of God according to the lawes, which God enable mee to doe. Another kind of Oath was tendred which I refus'd.

February. Goods priz'd, some under, some over. Wearing apparel distributed according to the will. About this time I was discharg'd from my Office of Collector through my remove to

* The house occupied by Philip Henry is said to be the one opposite to the new Independent Chapel in the street of Dodington, Whitchurch.

Whitch. I gave up the warrant to Sir Tho. Hanm^r, the Acquittances hee return'd.

9. Mr. Francis Kinaston of Pant-y-byrsley at the importunate request of his mother & Mr. Edw^{rds} of Kylhendrey came to us to Whitch. to sojourn with us for a time; I pray God make mee Instrumental to doe him some real lasting good.

Luke 22. 62. and Peter went out & wept bitterly. Peter's sin recorded for Admonition, Peter's Repentance for Imitation.

11. Health & peace in my Family, blessed bee God! wee find his goodness the same here as formerly elsewhere, to his name bee y^e praise.

14. See Jon. 1. 6. what meanest thou ô. sleep. arise call upon thy God. J. H. when the storm is risen as at this day, its no time to bee secure asleep, but each member is to improve his partic. Interest in his God in behalf of y^e common ship of church and state.

Jam. 1. 4. let patience have her pfect work.

Esa. 1. 13. 14. Sanctify the lord of hosts hims.

19. Expectation of peace with the Dutch w^{ch} God grant & scatter the people that delight in war.

20. Tis observable how zealous people were for y^e observation of lent a while since and how cold they are towards it now; what hath no foundation will not last; but in that which is good 'tis duty to bee zealously affected alwayes.

24. If I may doe any good in this place I have what I desire, lord use mee! Prov. 23. 17. let not thy heart envy sinners but bee thou in the fear of y^e lord all the day long.

25. A very dry season considering the time of year which threatens—if mercy prevent not. Wee are sick of plenty.

March 1. I went with Mr. C. beyond Dee where wee had precious opportunityes both of doing & getting good. 2. sow in teares. 3. reap in joy. It is good for mee to draw near to God. lord pity scatter'd sheep that have no shepheard.

8. Cease from anger & forsake wrath. I have a froward peevish spirit unto this day impatient of contradiction, ô y^t it were mortify'd, y^t the grace of meekness might abound in mee more & more.

10. It is y^e blessing of blessings to bee turn'd away from sin, lord turn mee away from mine iniquity.

15. Poll-money* assest & gather'd, every Gentleman to pay 20^s & every *pson* having a hundred pounds, either in ready money or clear debts 20^s on which accounts both my self & children should have been likely to have pay'd, if at Broad-Oke, but here wee scapt for 12^d a peice, if there bee not a review. The childrens hundred pounds is not yet pay'd though it bee to bee pay'd.

Articles seal'd with William Butler & bond taken for pformance; his rent 55^{lb} p. ann. I to pay taxes—Hee would have had bond from mee for pformance on my p^t which being not usual I refus'd.

16. My son Mathew sicken'd of y^e Measils wherwith most children are visited in the Town, & mine no better y^{en} others.

19. I went wth Mr. Kinaston to Kylhendry thence to Pant-y-Byrsleys. At Kylhendry they were in Sorrow at the sicknes of a little child. wee pray'd but the lord was pleased not to hear, or at least not to grant w^t wee askt in kind for y^e child dyed—a forward child, nam'd Kath.

21. Mathew ill, we were afraid of him, & pray'd that the lord would not yet break y^e Knott of us, but hee is wise & his will bee done.

25. W. B. Zech. 4. 7. who art thou ô great mountayn; lord Jesus make playn the mountaynes of Opposition that are in the way of the churches salvation. This day was bury'd my dear Friend Mr. Griffith Roberts of Holt, an old servant of J. X^t. Hee left most of his estate to publike pious uses, and now sleepes in Jesus.

27. Mr. Lawrence Ill of y^e ague. lord purge us by thy fires & purely take away our dross & tin.

30. My good Friend Robert Bickley was drownd at Eaton-boat, riding late hee slept on horse-back & the Horse taking y^e water both sunk together. its sayd this very day 12. m. hee was in y^e same danger but escapt. Hee dy'd much in debt but hath left wherewithal to discharge it, if his son deal honestly.

April 2. I acquainted S^r Tho. Hanm^r & Mr. Hilton 1. that Billings his legacy of 66^{lb} 13^s 4^d for Hanmer Schools de-

* Evelyn wrote, October 6, 1660: "I paide the greate Tax of Poll Money levied for disbanding the Army till now kept up. I paid as an Esquire £10, and one shilling for every servant in my house."

volv'd to my wife as heir and I should bee responsible for it. 2. that y^e 40^{lb} to y^e poor given by Tho. Math. should bee made 100^{lb} because of Dan Math. intention to augm^t it. all which together might purchase some Tenem^t. S^r Tho. Hanm^r propos'd one of his in Orton.

3. My son John ill, the Measils came out & after a day or two disappear'd again and left a dulnes, præter-natural heat, & shortnes of breath upon him. wee sent for D^r Archer, who administred to him.

5. Wee thought hee had been dying, having many Symptomes of Death upon him, intermitten pulse, blacknes of nayles &c., but the lord repriev'd him.

7. ill still yet not without some hope. his head light, talking continually which spends his spirits, yet not a wicked word nor once taking the name of God in vain, but all his complaynt ô: dear. This morning dy'd John Figes an only son.

10. ill still yet not without some hope, though but little, unless in the absolute power of the infinite God, to whom prayer is made by many on his behalf.

12. At Sun-sett this day hee dy'd, our first born and the beginning of our strength, a forward child, manly, loving, patient under correction. ô: that I could now bee so under the correcting hand of my heavenly Father, lord wherefore is it that thou contendest, show mee, show mee. have I over-boasted, over-loved, over-prized—my heart bleeds, lord have mercy.

Immodicis brevis est ætas, et rara senectus,
Quicquid amas, cupias, non placuisse nimis.

14. I attended * on publike Ordinances though sad in Spirit, as Job who after all the evil tidings that were brought him, whereof Death of children was y^e last but not y^e least yet fell down & worshipped.

15. my dear child, now mine no longer, † was layd in the cold earth in y^e middle Ile in Witch. church betw. y^e Desk & chancel, not lost, but *soven* to bee raysd again a glorious body and I shall goe to him but hee shall not return to mee. Mr. Edwards, his school-master preacht. Text. Mar. 13. 35.

* What a fine example is this to those suffering in mind, body, or estate.

† See page 203.

16. A fire at Drayton, above 30 dwelling houses burnt. lord thy judgm^{ts} are in the land, ô: that the Inhabitants thereof might learn righteousnes! ô: that I might!

22. Sarah lawrence dyed, a hopeful may'd, giving good evidence of a work of grace wrought upon her soul, & ô: how willing may parents bee to p^t with such when y^e lord calls, they are not amissi but præmissi. lord thou hast made thy poor serv^{ts} that have been often companions in thy work now companions in tribulation, the very same tribulation, mee for my sin, him for his tryal. ô: let everlasting armes bee under, and come instead of dead children and bee our comforter. Dr. Fowl^r preacht. T. Ps. 116. 25.

29. my daughter Sarah yet ill of y^e Ague but wee hope better than shee hath been, lord spare the remnant.

30. Expectation of peace with Holland ô: that peace might bee with God!

May 3. If my dear child had liv'd to this day hee had been Six yeares of Age, but hee lives, I trust, a better life in the Armes of Jesus, accord. to the termes of the Covenant of grace. The day was then a day of rejoycing, now of mourning, but the same God both gave & took away, blessed bee his name.

5. Freinds flock in to us on Sabbath-Evenings, & to will is present, but to doe them the good I would I am not able, lord enable, and spin out this thred of opportunity, if it please thee!

6. Tho. Bickley had 16th of Dav. Philips for 6 months Roger Jenkins surety, either fame misrepresents him or hee takes ill courses, which I am sorry for, & y^e rather bec. religion suffers.

7. Alice, y^e daughter of Cosin Newton about 6. w. old was smother'd in bed by y^e nurse, a great affliction, greater than mine, though I the greater sinner, t'was their first & only one & the death untimely.

11. at A. *Zech.* 12. 10. sorrow for sin should bee like parents sorrow at such a time & w^t y^t is God hath let mee now by experience know, that I might teach others.

12. Covenants solemnly renew'd with God in Jesus X^t who is mine, mine, & I am his, and who shall separate!

14. G. W., in bitterness for sin, unbosom'd hims. to mee

Φ M. § and through mercy it did mee good and I spake that to him which through the same mercy did him good also, to God bee glory.

15. About this time my son Math. began his Accidence. bless lord, & let it bee sayd, uno avulso non deficit alter Aureus.

16. great zeal a while since in proceession, now much abated, bec. wants foundation.

19. Freinds forbear to come in to us bec. hee offended who should rather have rejoyced, if by any meanes the work might bee carryd on in his peoples soules.

21. At Bick. Ps. 145. 17. The lord is righteous in all his wayes, & holy in all his workes. That evening to Che^r where advis'd with Mr. Ratcl. concerning Bronington-Estate, who inform'd mee that in regard of a former Entayl by Tho. Mathewes which I shew'd him & no fine levyd upon it, for which I made search in the Office, the Feoffm^t made by my Father was void as to the land of Inheritance both in Bronn. & Willington, but remayn'd good as to w^t hee purchas'd of which advice given under his hand I may or may not make use as there is occasion.

28. upon payment of one hundred markes to and for Tho. Bickley hee seald unto mee this day with livery & seizin a morgage of two feilds in Mulsford called Kay glas, the rent expected from it is 4^{l^b} which I intend for y^e School-use, till some other way bee found out for y^e better disposing of it to y^e content of the Parish of Hann^r accord. to Mr. Billings his will.

About this time *d'y'd* y^e D. of Kendal * 2nd son of the D. of York, his eldest the D. of Cambridge not likely to recover, his only daughter either quite or almost blinded with the Kings Evil. lord, Shew the Family wherfore thou thus contendest with them.

June 5. a very cold wind & rayn, which caus'd the Death of many Sheep & other cattle.

yong Mr Yates childless, his wife also not like to live. marry'd since wee, hath had 4. children. and now they are not.

9. The Dutch † appear'd upon the English coasts, assaulted

* See Pepys' Diary for May 14, 1667, and Philip Henry's diary for 1671, April 1 (n.).

† Charles II. having received from his Parliament £1,500,000, which was insufficient to maintain his fleet and pay past debts, and trusting to the prospect of peace from negotiations opened at Breda, laid up several of the largest

the Isle of Shepey, burnt & sunk several of our best Ships, that lay in harbour, which caused great distraction in & about London, men's hearts generally fayling them through fear.

Papists promise thems. a day, lord, in the pit which they dig let their own foot bee taken. Amen.

12. I went with uncle Benyon to Boreatton, bought of Capt. Heneage a parcel of law-bookes for Cosin Daniel.

13. with Mr. Talants to Churton, became acquainted with Mr. Barnston & his wife, shee drouping & complayning. Lord lift up the light of thy countenance upon her soul & give her peace.

18. mourning ones shall bee marked ones, *Ezek.* 9. 4. *Ps.* 119. 136.

19. Mr. Tho. Porter* late Min^r of Whitch dy'd. at Shrewsbury

vessels. This was De Witt's opportunity for vengeance. He collected seventy ships, and the 13th of June saw the Dutch fleet advancing triumphantly up the river. They destroyed three large ships at Chatham, and did much mischief; for six weeks they insulted the English coast, attempting, but in vain, to burn the ships at Portsmouth, Plymouth, and Torbay. Macaulay writes, "Had there been a general election while the nation was smarting under so many disgraces and *misfortunes* [the plague and the fire], it is probable that the Roundheads would have regained ascendancy in the State."

* "Born in Northamptonshire and bred at Cambridge" (Calamy). There are three of this name in the Oxford register at the beginning of the seventeenth century, which leaves it doubtful whether he took an *ad eundem* degree in that university. On the 15th of March, 1625, he was presented to the living of Hanmer, in Flintshire, by Sir Thomas Hammer (so written in the Chester Diocesan Registry, but Sir Thomas was then only thirteen years of age), and remained there until the "heat of the war forced him to withdraw" (Calamy). It may be noticed that in the Hanmer register he signs himself "Vicar," or "Vic.," down to 1632, after which it is "Minister." The first time this title is put after his name, it is not in his own writing. His last signature is at the end of 1640, and his entries continue as far as March 20, 1641. He was presented to Whitechurch, in 1650, by Cromwell, according to tradition, and at the same time (as may be supposed) "took to himself the right of putting into Hanmer, and made Mr. Steele his deputy" ("Collections for Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy" (Bodleian), vol. i. No. 203). He "preached his farewell sermon at Whitechurch, August 28, 1660" (Philip Henry's diary).

In Dudleston, Salop, there were estates belonging to a family of Porter for several generations, and in 1726 they were in the possession of one of the same name: "Mr. Porter was so excellent a preacher, in Mr. Baxter's judgment, that he declared he thought few arrived to his degree that ever he had heard" (Calamy). He had two sons of the name of Jabez, one born at Hanmer in 1639, the other at Whitechurch in 1653, who died soon after their birth. "A son of his preached sometimes at Tilstock, one of his Chappels, but whether so long as his father remained at Whitechurch is uncertain: He went afterwards to Bunbury, and the Bⁿ of Chester would not (says Mr. Tallents) give him

in a good old age ; a man much honored by God with success in his ministry, there being many who call him Father—Hee was exercis'd long with payn upon his bed & y^e multitude of his bones with strong payn, so unsearchable are thy Judgm^{ts} ô: lord & thy wayes past finding out for if this bee done to the green tree, what shall bee done to the dry. His dying counsel to the lords people was, to stick to Christ & not to let him goe, tide life, tide death.

Trayned-soldiers cald in to Hanmer for 7 dayes, stay'd but three.

22. Robert wyn buried at Hanmer.

July. 11. Martha Yates bury'd who sleeps in Jesus. shee was a good woman & y^e death of such is precious in y^e sight of y^e lord & should bee so in ours.

12. Mr. Roger Puleston of Emeral dy'd, in y^e 31. y. of his age. Tis some trouble to mee y^t I have been so strange to him, but hee would not bee otherwise. God forgive to mee all my omissions of duty towards him. Amen.

14. Sealing-day, to God bee glory ! Thy vowes are upon mee ô: God. Stollen * waters are sweet.

17. wee removed from Whitch. to Broad-oke partly on my wife's account, who rather chuses to lay her yong in her old nest, partly on Harvest-account, that wee may the better oversee the getting of it in, partly on y^e children's account, the Small pox increasing in the Town, now the good lord bee with us here & preserve & bless us for his names sake.

Orders till he solemnly renounced his former Ordination from his Father and the Classis, *which he submitted to do.*"

These last words exhibit unpleasantly the spirit with which the Puritans met the invitation to be reconciled to the Church. It was *submission*, and they would not submit. If any individual was disposed to show a Christian humility, the leaders would hinder him if they could. Contrast with all this what Bede tells us of Chad (book iii. chap. xxviii.), that "he was consecrated Bishop of York by two bishops of the British nation, and by Wini, Bishop of the West Saxons, in A. D. 665 ;" that in 669, Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, upbraided him that he had not been properly consecrated (because it had been done according to the rites of the British Church, and by British bishops), to which he, with great humility, answered, "If you know I have not duly received episcopal ordination, I willingly resign the office, for I never thought myself worthy of it ; but though unworthy, in obedience, submitted to undertake it ;" and what Burnet (vol. i. pp. 139, 140, fol.) tells us of the heavenly-minded Leighton, who, having Presbyterian orders, submitted to be ordained deacon and priest before his consecration as bishop. *Si sic omnes.*

Mr. Porter had a saying which Philip Henry preserves : "He that prays most will preach best. Spiritual beggars are special preachers."

* Cf. Psalm xlii. 2 : "My soul thirsteth for God."

23. my wife was safe delivered of a daughter, blessed bee God who was present with her in that time of need.

July 27. the child was baptiz'd by Mr. Jonathan Edwards of Jesus Coll. Oxon. and named Eleanor, according to the appointm^t of her Grandfather Mathewes, who left her 100^{lb} by his will on that condition.

September. peace concluded about this time with y^e Dutch ; wee were secure before, God grant, wee bee not now much more !

Edw. Hide E. of Clarendon & lord Chancellor impeacht by y^e Commons of High Treason, the House of lords, his Freinds, delay'd prosecution, till hee fled.

To propagate Hathornes.

Between Michaelmas & Christmas take a quantity of ripe Hathorn-berryes & putt them in a hole in the Earth, either in a pott or vessel or without, and that time 12 month take them out, viz. y^e seeds, for the Huskes will be rotted off, then sow them, either in beds to bee shifted, or in the place where you will have a Hedge to bee.

JOHN HENRY.

Hee was born at Worthenbury in the County of Flint. May 3. 1661. being Friday, betwixt the howres of 5. and 6. in the evening, some dayes sooner then was expected, by reason whereof things were somewhat unready but God was gracious, and his Mother was deliver'd of him, before the midwife could come, though living but a mile off ; I was that day at Chester ; His complexion was observ'd then to bee sweet and ruddy, his countenance compleat, his eyes lively, which gave them occasion then to say, that hee would not live.

Hee was baptiz'd. May 12. by Mr. Georg Mainwaring, late of Malpas, who cal'd him ever after, his Boy ; I preacht. Text. Ps. 51. 5. My Father Mathewes being present would have his name to bee Henry Mathewes, I reply'd, his Sir-name must bee Henry, because it was mine, but whatever Christen name pleas'd him, hee should have ; but hee refusing to mention any other, hee was named John, the name of my Father, John Henry, and the name of his mother's Grand-father John Benyon and great Grand-father, John Howel, at which my father Mathewes took such offence

though in so small a matter, that from that time hee never darkned our doores after, to the day of his Death.

when hee was about 10. weekes old somewhat ayl'd him, which wee thought would have parted him from us then, but God had mercy. Though the nursing of him was somewhat tedious yet the lord enabled his Mother to undergo it until shee wean'd him which was in April. 1662. In September following wee remov'd to Broad-Oke to dwell by which time hee had in a great measure obtaynd both his feet & tongue.

In the beginning of 65. hee went to school to Mr. Sam. catheral at Whitwel chapel and by the end of that year had learnt to read English.

In the beginning of 66. hee began his Accidence, which hee dispatcht in that year, with some of his Grammar also. That Spring hee was dangerously ill of the chin-cough, and wee gave him up to God, who was pleas'd for a while to lend him to us again.

In January. 1666. wee remov'd to Whitch. in Shrop-shire, partly to satisfy the law, ptly to have convenient schooling for him & his Brother, in regard Mr. Cateral was appointed by S^r Orlando Bridgman to teach in Wigland in a House new-built by him for that purpose which was too far off us. I entred him at the Free school, being yet in Coates, w^{ch} had never been known there before.

Within 3. weekes his Grand-father dy'd, on which occasion hee was put into Breeches being to put on mourning.

Mar. 24. being Sabbath-day hee sickned of the measils, attended with a Feaver, whereof hee dy'd. Apl. 12. about sun-sett, and was bury'd the Munday after, towards the upper end of the Middle-Ile in Whitchurch church.

The Act requiring to bury in woolen, being then new, was generally observ'd though soon after layd aside, and hee wrapt in white flannen to satisfy the law.

Hee was remarkable for fowr things.

1. forwardnes in learning having all the three requisites, Apprehension, Judgment, memory, even beyond his Age, & withal a great love to it, never seeking at any time to stay from school. *præterquam ætatem nil puerile fuit.*

2. tenderness of disposition, apt to melt into teares at the least show of displeasure though but in a frown.

3. Patience under Correction, which hee had not often bec. hee did not often deserve it, and when hee did his pœnitence prevented it, if not altogether yet in the severity of it. And this consideration taught me something, by way of Instance, in bearing the will of God in taking him from mee.

4. love to his Brother and Sisters, when Mathew sickned first, hee went to bed with him of his own accord, sooner then ordinary, and wept over him.

He was of a strong healthy constitution, not smaying for cold in school, like other childrén, as his master hath told me. Hee was full of action, stirring ; always doing something, and what hee did, hee did with all his might His Grand-father made him sole Executor of his will & heir of his real estate, saying oft, I have a love for that child, and the law making mee his tutor and gardian, the dispose of things at least for present fell to mee besides Intention, and hee under God the Instrument, and when that was done, hee fell asleep. His sickness quickly took away the use of his understanding, hee talkt much, most of his Bookes & School fellowes, and once repeated distinctly the 4th commandm^t. Hee had learnt without book and would rehearse often the following verses, (printed in Mr. White's book of the power of Godlines.)

“ Not twice twelve yeares full told, a weary breath,
I have exchanged for a happy death.
Short was my life, the longer is my rest,
God takes them soonest whom hee loveth best,
Hee that is born to-day and dyes to-morrow,
Loses some howres of joy but monthes of sorrow ;
Other diseases often come to greive us,
Death strikes but once, and that stroke doth relieve us.”

My hope is, through the everlasting Covenant of mercy, that I shall meet him again with comfort, at the right hand of Jesus Christ at the last day.*

* See Evelyn's lament over his eldest son Richard, in the diary for 1658, January 27.

An exact and true Account of the Execution of the said last Will and Testament of Daniel Mathewes Gent. by mee Philip Henry Administrator in the right of my son John Henry sole executor thereof.

First the Body of the said Daniel Mathewes was decently interred in the Parish Church of Hanmer in the Middle Isle. Jan. 21. 1667. the Expences whereof were as followeth,

| | £ | s. | d. | |
|---|----|----|----|--|
| Impr. In dole to the Poor... .. | 8 | 11 | 6 | |
| It. To M ^r Hilton, y ^e Min ^r who preacht ... | 0 | 13 | 4 | |
| the clerk | 0 | 1 | 0 | |
| the sexton | 0 | 1 | 0 | |
| the Ringers | 0 | 14 | 0 | |
| It. For the Coffin | 0 | 8 | 0 | |
| for wine | 3 | 3 | 0 | |
| Sugar and spice | 0 | 17 | 4 | |
| Biskets and Cakes | 4 | 3 | 6 | |
| meat bought | 0 | 3 | 6 | |
| Beer in Hanmer spent | 0 | 4 | 6 | |
| To the church-wardens, payd, for burying in the church | 0 | 5 | 0 | |
| for ringing more then two peales | 0 | 2 | 0 | |
| To the Minister in the name of a Mortuary*... .. | 0 | 10 | 0 | —upon inquiry of Mr. |
| (Jone Wood's Coffin and Buryal, an ancient servant, buried the next day) | 0 | 13 | 8 | Porter formerly incumb- |
| For mourning clothes for myself, my wife, my son John, and Cosin Martha Warter, as was thought fit by the overseers of the will | 12 | 6 | 8 | hee had received it & the statute saith it shall bee payd there where it hath been accustomed to bee payd. |
| For six small Gold Rings given to the sayd over-seers, with this inscription, Daniel Mathewes. 1666 | 1 | 10 | 0 | |
| Payd to S ^r Thomas Hanmer as lord of Maylors in the name of a Relief or Herriot | 0 | 7 | 6 | |

* "A mortuary is a composition for oblations wrongly detained or forgotten tithes: a principal legacy or bequest for the soul of the dead made to the Church" (Walcott's "Sacred Archaeology," p. 362). "By the 21 Henry VIII. c. 6, this was commuted into money payments, but the Welsh bishoprics and the diocese of Chester were excepted at that time from the operation of the statute. At the death of any priest in the archdeaconry of Chester, the bishop had a mortuary of his best beast, saddle and bridle, and best gown or cloak, hat, and upper garment under the gown" (Jebb).

| | | | |
|---|---|----|---|
| For Probate of the Will, and letters of | | | |
| Tuition—and for journey to Chester ... | 2 | 15 | 6 |
| For a Grave-stone | 1 | 10 | 0 |

O—it was fetcht from Grinsel in Shropsh. layd down and afterward taken up again because too bigg, being made less it was layd the second time, Nov. 1. 1670. and certify'd in the Church-book that wee claym no peculiar right of burying there, it being Parish-ground.

Memorand.

Thomas Mathewes of Bronnington gent Father of Daniel Maniel Mathewes did in his life time for several yeares give the Interest of 40£. yearly to the poor of Hanmer parish and at his death left the sayd summ of 40£. for the same use for ever, as appeares in writing in a label of parchment written with his own hand though without name, date, or seal. . . . This is here inserted. 1. as an instance of the pious care of the donor Thomas Mathewes, 2. as a guid & rule to his heires from time to time in what manner to discharge the said trust in them reposed and not to shift it from themselves to others because of any trouble that doth or may accompany the same.

The said Thomas Mathewes did also before his Death provide by Will concerning the Gift aforesaid bearing Dec. 3. 1617. Executors Eleanor his wife and Daniel his son.

In a book of Accounts is this entry,

“Wee received no money for the poor untill after the Purificacōn viz. ye 11th of Febr. 1621. when wee received 50^s weekly untill the stock and use came up being 53£. which 3£. wee distributed at Easter 1622. the whole stock being 50£. lyeth in my hands

“ DANIEL MATHEWS.”

the same is also in another Book of accounts sett down by way of memorand. under the hand of Thomas Bedow.

In the table of memorials of pious charity kept in the church at Hanmer there is mention of 40£ only being given by Thomas Mathewes, nor was the other 10£ known of till I found the

aforesaid evidences thereof amongst the Papers of my Father in law Daniel Mathews aforesayd after his Death, but it appears hee did distribute 3*£*. being the present Interest of 50*£* at 6. p. cent. allow'd by the statute.

In January 1667 Mr. Daniel Mathews dy'd, at which time, the Trust aforesaid devolv'd to mee, P. H., in the right of Katharin my wife his Heir at law, wherein I purpose through God's Grace, whilst it so remaynes in mee, to bee faithful, and I desire and charge those of mine to whom it shall come hereafter, that they bee faithful also, and that for conscience sake towards God.

In that year accordingly I putt the sayd moneyes, being 50*£*. into the hands of Mr. Luke Lloyd of Bryn jun^r and took security from him for it in my own name, the Interest to bee payd in December yearly. His Father Mr. Luke Lloyd bound in the Bond with him.

Memorand. Sept. 3. 1670. Being cited to appear before the Bishops Court to give an account of the said trust I appear'd accordingly and satisfy'd them how it devolv'd to mee, and how, till then, I had perform'd it, promising also to see the same entred by way of memorandum for the satisfaction of the Parish in the church-book at Hanmer, which was accordingly done Sept. 12. by Mr. Rich. Hilton present Vicar there.

Apr. 26. 1686. Memorand. This Fifty pounds is and hath been for several yeares in the hands of Humphry Dymock of Willington Esq. for securing whereof hee hath morgaged to my son Matthew, in whom the Trust vested when hee came to the Age of one & twenty, a small Tenem^t in Iscoyd called Price's Tenem^t wherein Morgan Stant now dwels. [From Philip Henry's Day-book, in the possession of Matthew Henry Lee.]

1668.

The following notes are by his son Matthew Henry :—

He made the best of the Sermons he heard in Publick, It is a mercy, (saith he) we have Bread, though it be not as it hath been, of the finest of the Wheat. Those are froward children who throw away the Meat they have, if it be wholesome, because they have not what they would have. When he met with

Preaching that was weak, his Note is, That's a poor Sermon indeed, out of which no good Lesson may be learned. He had often Occasion to remember that verse of Mr. Herbert's

The worst speaks something good, if all want Sense,
God takes the Text, and preacheth Patience.

The world was told long since, by the Conformist's Plea, that the worthy Mr. Laurence (Mr. Henry's intimate Friend) when he was turn'd out of Baschurch, and (if he would have consulted with Flesh and Blood) having (as was said of one of the Martyrs) Eleven good Arguments against Suffering, viz. a Wife and Ten Children, was ask'd how he meant to maintain them all, and chearfully reply'd, they must all live on the 6th of Matthew, Take no thought for your Life etc. and he often sung with his Family, Psal. xxxvii. 16. And Mr. Henry hath noted concerning him in his Diary, some time after he was turn'd out, that he bore Witness to the Love and Care of our Heavenly Father,—providing for him and his present Condition beyond Expectation.

1667.

In February, 1667, Mr. Laurence and he were invited by some of their Friends to Betley in Staffordshire, and (there being some little publick *connisance* at that time) with the Consent of all concerned, they adventured to preach in the Church, one in the Morning, and the other in the Afternoon of the Lord's Day, very peaceably and profitably. This Action of theirs was presently after reported in the House of Commons, by a member of Parliament, with these Additions, that they tore the Common-Prayer Book, trampled the Surplice under their Feet, pull'd the Minister of the Place out of the Pulpit, &c. Reports which there was not the least Colour for. But that, with some other such like false Stories, produced an Address of the House of Commons to the King, to issue out a Proclamation, for the putting of the Laws in Execution against Papists and Nonconformists, which was issued out accordingly; tho' the King, at the opening of that Session, a little before, had declared his Desire, that course might be taken to compose the minds of his Protestant Subjects in Matters of

Religion ; which had raised the Expectation of some that there would be speedy Enlargement ; but Mr. Henry had noted upon it, We cannot expect too little from Man, nor too much from God.

1668.

In May 1668, he return'd again with his Family from Whitchurch to Broad-Oak which, through the good Hand of his God upon him, continued his settled Home, without any Remove from it, till he was removed to his long Home, above twenty-eight years after. The Edge of the Five Mile Act began now a little to *rebate*, at least in that country, & he was desirous to be more useful to the Neighbours, among whom God had given him an Estate, than he could be at a distance from them, by relieving the Poor, employing the Labourers, especially instructing the Ignorant, & helping as many as he could to Heaven. He made that Scripture his standing Rule, and wrote it in the Beginning of his Book of Accounts, Prov. iii. 9, 10. Honour the Lord with thy Substance, &c. And having set apart a Day of secret Prayer and Humiliation, to beg of God a wise and an understanding Heart, and to drop a Tear (as he expresseth it) over the sins of his Predecessors, formerly in that Estate, he laid out himself in doing Good. . . . He was very useful in the common Concernments of the Township and Country, in which he was a very prudent Counsellor; it was indeed a narrow Sphere of Activity, but (such as it was) to him as to Job, chap. xxix. 21, 22. Men gave ear and waited, and kept Silence at his Counsel; after his words they spake not again; and many of the Neighbours, who respected him not as a Minister, yet lov'd and honour'd him as a knowing, prudent and humble Neighbour. . . . Such was his Prudence, and such his Patience and Peaceableness, that all the Time he was at Broad-Oak, he never sued any, nor ever was sued; but was Instrumental to prevent many a vexatious Law-suit among his Neighbours. He used to say, There are four Rules to be duly observed in going to Law; (1) We must not go to Law for Trifles, as he did who said, he would rather spend a Hundred Pound in Law, than lose a Pennyworth of his Right, Matt. v. 39, 40, 41. (2) We must not be rash and hasty in it, but try all other Means possible to compose Differences; wherein he that yields most, as Abraham did to

Lot, is the better man, and there is nothing lost by it in the End, 1 Cor. vi. 1, 2. (3) We must see that it be without Malice or Desire of Revenge. If the Undoing of our Brother be the End of our going to Law, as it is with many, 'tis certainly Evil, and it speeds accordingly. (4) It must be with a Disposition to Peace, whenever it may be had, and an Ear open to all Overtures of that kind. The two Motto's proper for the great Guns are applicable to this, Ratio ultima Regum, and Sic quærimus Pacem. . . . He was noted for an extraordinary neat Husband about his House and Ground; which he would often say, he could not endure to see like the Field of the Slothful, and the Vineyard of the Man void of Understanding. And it was strange, how easily one that had been bred up utterly a Stranger to such things; yet when God so order'd his Lot, acquainted himself with, and accommodated himself to the Affairs of the Country, making it the Diversion of his vacant Hours, to over-see his Gardens and Fields; when he better understood that known Epode of Horace, *Beatus ille qui procul negotiis*, than he did when in his Youth he made an ingenious Translation of it. . . . Concerning Repentance, he hath sometimes said, "If I were to die in the Pulpit, I would desire to die preaching Repentance; as if I die out of the Pulpit, I would desire to die practising Repentance." And he had often this Saying concerning Repentance; He that repents every day, for the Sins of every day, when he comes to die will have the Sins but of one day to repent of. Even Reckonings make long Friends.

To these notes by his son may be added the following (though the date is uncertain) about Dr. Busby, who died at the age of eighty-nine, in 1695, and of whom it was said that when Charles I. visited Westminster School, he preceded the king covered, while the king followed uncovered. No sooner had they left the room than he begged his Majesty's pardon for his conduct, saying, "If the boys thought there was any one greater than me, I should not be able to manage them":—"I have heard him tell, how much he surprized the Doctor, the first time he waited upon him after he was turn'd out by the Act of Uniformity: For

when the Doctor ask'd him, Pry'thee Child, what made thee a nonconformist? Truly sir, saith Mr. Henry you made me one; for you taught me those things that hindred me from conforming."

The diary for 1669 belongs to Mr. Bunting, of Northampton, who kindly lent it for the purposes of this work.

Mr. Hugh McKail, one of y^e 35. executed in Scotland. Decemb. 1666. for y^e rising in Galloway, a Probationer for the Ministry, aged 26, say'd the night before hee suffred, If there were any th. in y^e world sadly and unwillingly to bee left, it were the reading of y^e Script. but where wee goe the lamb will bee instead of it. Hee sadly bewayld to his Father his transgressions of y^e 5th Comm. considering them in y^e power & pure light of y^e spiritual law of God, saying with many groans that through coming short of keeping the 5th comm. he had comm short of y^e promise of having his dayes prolonged upon earth.

I owe.

| | |
|--|---------|
| | lb |
| To y ^e poor of Hanmer. in Mr. luke lloyd's hands | 50 0 0 |
| To y ^e school of Hanmer. in Mr. lloyd of Halthton's hands | 66 13 4 |

January 27. William Robinson servant to Randle Tonna of Iscoyd-hall kild his fellow servant John Hall with the plow staff in the feild as hee was driving the plow, found by the Coroner's inquest to bee a misadventure for twas averd upon Oath, that hee threw the plow staff at the Oxen & that it recoyld from the Oxe upon the lad & hit him under the ear, wherwith hee dyd immediately. lord wash away the guilt of bloud from y^e soul of the yong man & from this Town & Countrey for Jesus sake. Amen.

March 1. This day, as is suppos'd, determines the Act against Conventicles, the Parliam^t being prorogu'd by Proclamation from this day to Oct. 19. which Prorogation makes a Session, and the Act was to continue for 3 yeares & to the end of y^e next Session after w^{ch} is this.

And blessed bee God, that hath let mee live to see it dye, * for though but few in these p^{ts} have suffred much by it yet some have, and to others it hath been as a Bridle of restraynt, hin-

* Another Conventicle Act was passed in 22 Charles II.

dring them in the free exercise of their duty, which is, as they have occasion to assemble thems. together for mutual ædification. wherby God hath had great dishonor and poor Soules no small loss in heavens way.

It seemes the lord hath inclin'd the King's * heart to this, which is in his hand and hee turneth it whithersoever hee pleaseth, to him bee glory.

I am somewhat fearful lest any ill use should bee made of this Indulgence by intemperate spirits, especially now at first, which God prevent for his own name, mercy, and Gospel-sake.

13. This day dyed John Jenings of Willington, an honest, upright man. I was with him several times some dayes before, and left him after some few conflicts with temptation, in the sweet possession of a well-grounded peace, which continu'd to his dissolution, and prov'd, I hope the fore-tasts and first-fruits of that full crop which hee is now reaping in glory with precious Jesus. Hee was bury'd *Mar.* 17. according to his own desire in the church-yard of Hanmer, by y^e side of Randle Key of Willington his neighbour and companion in Godliness.

16. This day not without some difficulty, through God's blessing I compos'd a difference between Mr. Grif Roberts and Nathan Cook of Chester Feoffees concern. his house & lands left to y^e Min^r of Holt, but for 4 y. put to another use by an incompetent will; they had entred suit at ludlow—agreed thus, 3 pounds pd. in hand to Nathan Cook for two Orphans of Mr Roberts kinred & other 3. pounds secur'd to bee payd by bill this time twelve-month, w^{ch} bill is in my hands, subscribd by Mr. Lewis, Mr. Speed & Mr. Crue, whereupon I went to Holt & saw him deliver the possession to Mr. Jeffreyes now Min^r

thanks bee to God! *Math.* 5. 9.

April 12. This day dy'd the worthy Col. Thomas Hunt † of

* Burnet (lib. ii. pp. 196, 197, fol.) affirms that Digby, Lord Bristol, knew in 1663, at the time that he was impeaching the chancellor, that the king was a pervert; but this is generally discredited. It was not till his death that he took that step.

† Colonel Thomas Hunt, of Shrewsbury and Betton Strange, descended from the Hunts of Longnor, Salop, was one of Cromwell's Ironsides, and a member of the Long Parliament for Shrewsbury, 1645; mayor, 1657; High Sheriff of Salop, 1656. His son, Rowland Hunt, obtained the estate of Boreatton, probably by composition with Sir Thomas Harries, Bart., in

Shrewsbury, a true Nathaniel, in whom was no guil, a Caleb that follow'd the lord fully, abounding in good workes, and his memory is blessed. His death was sudden, he was twice at publique Ordinances the day before, worshipt God with his Family in y^e evening, and went to bed well as at other times about two or three o'clock in y^e morning hee wake, was sick, and before five fell asleep in the lord.

13. I went to Shr. upon an appointm^t of his but God prevented, the newes of his Death mett mee by the way; lord, what is man!

15. hee was buried. Mr. Roberts preacht T. *Num.* 23. 10. let mee dye y^e death of y^e righteous, & let my last end bee like his. Amen.

The same day was two yeares dy'd & was buried my dear son John.

16. Fast kept in his house, now his no more, 'The lord fill up his place to all his relations & to thy poor church in these parts that hath lost a pillar.

14. About this time my dear sister Ann took her journey with the Earl of Middlesex * by the advice of Physicians to Montpelier in languedoc in France, they intended to goe all y^e way by Sea, God Almighty, who is lord of Sea & land bee her Sun & Sheild & bring her back to us again in due time, if it bee his will. Amen.

By reason of cross winds they were driven to Calice & from thence by land.

1664, and built the old hall there. In the "History of Myddle," p. 46, "George Clive, Esq., sells it to the Onslows: Sir Wm. Onslow sells it, 15 Jac. I., to Sir Thomas Harries." Sir Paul Harries, of Boreatton, Knt. and Bart., succeeded his father in 1629, espoused the king's cause, and died 1644. His son, Sir Thomas, compounded for his estates for £1642. In 1655 he was in the rising against Cromwell, and joined Ralf Kynaston in the unsuccessful attempt to seize Shrewsbury. In Blakeway's "Sheriffs of Salop," p. 118, Colonel Thomas Hunt is mentioned as having Boreatton in 1656. Newcome, who corresponds with the colonel on the subject of taking charge of the Shrewsbury Presbyterians in 1656, does not by any means speak of him in the glowing terms that Philip Henry does.

* Lionel Cranfield, second son of the first Earl of Middlesex, succeeded as third earl in 1651. He married Rachel, daughter of Francis, Earl of Westmorland, and widow of Henry, Earl of Bath, and died without issue in 1674, when the estates went to his nephew, Charles Sackville, son of his sister Frances, who had married Richard, fifth Earl of Dorset.

24. A commission at Whitch. on y^e behalf of Mr. Nevet ag^t Mr. Eyton, coroner, Lightwood. I own'd my hand as witness to y^e lease and release made by Judge Puleston to his son Thomas.

I testify'd my knowledge of some passages at the two Tryals at Shrewsbury & Flint as far as I could remember.

May 3. Flint Assize, where I was a witness in the Tryal betw. Mr. Eyton Plaintiff & Mr. Nevet Defendant concer. lightwood. t'was try'd May. 6. began betwixt 8. & 9. was ended about 2. I ownd my hand to Judge Puleston's lease & release to his son Thomas. I depos'd I had heard Judge Puleston say being askt why hee would leave it to his younger son seeing hee knew twould bee a matter of controversy, hee said, hee had made it so clear by a commission out of chancery for examination of witnessess that any one might defend it, nevertheless hee said he would charge his eldest son with a thousand pound for maintayning y^e sute which hee never did, bec. I believe hee thought there was no need.

I was askt whether I knew y^e reason why hee left this farm to this son, I answe^d I had heard him say, for his name's sake, in remembr. of his Uncle Thomas Puleston, who liv'd & dy'd there. As also to engage him the more to the study of the law which was the Profession hee had design'd him for.

Hereby twas thought I prejudict Mr. Nevet in saying hee would have 1000^{lb} & engage his son to study y^e law, which did intimate danger & difficulty in y^e case, but if I did, t'was Truth, for I have heard him say.

At the sitting of y^e Court in y^e afternoon betw. 4 & 5 a'clock the Jury brought in their verdict for Mr. Eyton. whereupon the Judge sayd, let it lye at your door. The same evening I came from Flint about 5 a'clock & came home betw. 10 & 11.

blessed bee God.

7. I visited Mr. Hamm^r of Fenns, ill, since Munday, his reason taken away.

10. at night hee dyed. in y^e 46 y. of his age. his son Thomas
21. two dayes after, a hopeful Gentleman, lord preserve him from y^e sins of his Age & Place. Amen.

18. buryd at Hanmer. D^r Fowler preacht 2. *Pet.* 3. 10.

July 13. A stone was layd on my Father in law his grave in

the middle Isle in Hammer church which would not be suffred by the then vicar Richard Hilton, but upon promise made that I would subscribe a certificate that I claym'd no peculiar right of burying there (for why should I, it being Parish ground) whereupon I subscrib'd a Certificate to that purpose. Sept. 17. adding moreover these words, though I judge this to bee more than needes, yet for the satisfaction of those who require it I subscribe my name. P. H.

This instead of satisfying provok't, whereup̄ Sept. 21. the Stone was taken up again and rear'd at the church door.

the church wardens were John Powa and Fabian Philips, who helpt both to lay it and to take it up again.

July 14. John Caldecott came to sojourn wth us, I to help him, hee to help the children, the lord bee our speed.

August 24. now 7 yeares past, a full Apprenticeship of re-straynt. lord, in thy time hasten our Freedom. Day of solemn fasting. *Zech.* 8. 19. shall bee joy & gladness & chearful feasts, theref. I will love the truth & peace.

September 13. going from home with Cosin Mārgt Hotchkis behind mee on horse-back, wee fell betw. the house & y^e broad-Oke, having no hurt through God's goodness by y^e fall, but after shee was down, the Horse in turning from us, trod upon y^e forepart of her head & hurt her sorely, but not so bad as might have been, blessed bee God!

lord, I see by this more than I saw before what need I have of thy presence & providence every day in my going out & coming in, for even this might have lodg'd us in eternity, if mercy had not prevented, blessed bee God.

Mary the Qu. Mother dy'd in this month in France. *Pallida mors æquo pulsat pede.*

October. About this time sister Sarah return'd wi' her lady, the lady Broghil, into England, safe and well, blessed bee God, whose is the earth and the fulness thereof.

18. This day my son Mathew is seven yeares old, the lord of Heaven bless him with spiritual blessings. Amen.

19. Parliamen^t meet, great expectations what they will doe— if they shall not make us better, lord let them not make us worse.

Mrs. Puleston of Emeral marry'd to Mr. John Trevor of Bryn-Kynault.

25. This day about noon dy'd Uncle Benyon of Ash, after more than 3 weekes sicknes which took away from the beginning the use of his reason & understanding for y^e most part.

27. hee was bury'd in the same place in Whitch. Church where my dear child was layd, whose Coffin was remov'd to make way for his, and then laid down again by his side, where they both Sleep in Jesus.

November. Sir Thomas Hanmer chosen Knight of the Shire for Flint-shire in the room of S^r Henry Conway deceased.

Reports abroad of great severity intended. Father if that bee the way to thy own glory thy will bee done! As for mee let Christ bee magnify'd in my Body living & dying.

17. Ill of y^e cold, which provok't other distempers, insomuch that for a time I despayr'd even of life. Apt to faint & what is Death but a very little more, lord I bless thee, that I can look death in y^e face with comfort, knowing that my redemption draweth nigh.

18. William Wickstead of Cholmley, Church-warden of Malpas, drown'd hims. in a Pit in his own ground, through melancholy and discontent.

28. I was abroad at Chap. recover'd blessed bee God. Mr. Green preacht T. luk. 19. 10. lord I have gone astray like a lost sheep seek mee and save mee that I may not forget thy præcepts.

December 8. sick day with my daughter Ann, freely given up to the will of God, lord, doe thy pleasure with mee & mine.

9. better again, thanks bee to God!

Admonition given to & prayer made in Family for David Philips as yet my servant, drunk yesterday at Malpas fayr & guilty of swearing, lord forgive & have mercy for Jesus sake.

18. Parliam^t prorogu'd till Feb. 14. to y^e^{ir} great displeasure & discontent, in regard being made a Session, they must begin all again at their next meeting & besides tis to their charge either to stay with them in london or to return home & y^{en} come up again. But it seemes a great mercy to us, a^gt whom a severe Act was in præparing, if not ready for Royal Assent, making it the 3rd time no less y^{en} Treason to preach in a Conventicle.

lord that ever such counsels should enter into a Christian Protestant Parliam^t but hee that hath, doth, and I trust will yet deliver.

25. I parted with David Philips, not unwillingly, though hims. first made the motion, prætending his Age disfitting him for service. God Almighty have pity on his soul, that that may be saved in the day of y^e lord Jesus.

Mar. 1. Roger Davy came to bee my servant—σὺν θεῷ. I am to give him 2^{lb} 2^s 0^d till Christmas. hee had 6^d earnest.

Dec. 25. I hird him for y^e year following at 2^{lb} 13^s 4^d wages.

— Put Conscience upon an Answer & not like Pilate only ask y^e Question & then goe away.

Philip Henry Lawrence, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn, has kindly sent me a copy of the diary for 1670, which belongs to him.

1670.

About the beginning of this year I heard of the death of Richard Tapping, whose mother lived in Wrexham where he was brought up under Mr. Lewis. being very hopeful. About the year 55 or 56 hee went to Oxford & was entered servitor at Ch. Ch. in y^e year 60. hee served Dr. Dolben, then Canon; about 62 being Master of Arts hee came down into the country and lived with Squire Mitton of Halston * & preached at his Chapel awhile, till growing dissatisfy'd with common prayer & Ceremonies about 64 hee resolv'd to cast them off & did so, I perswaded him to doe it in such a manner as that hee might still preserve the liberty of his Min^{try} that if possible he might bee doing good, which hee promis'd hee would. Not long after, being desired to preach at Wrexham, hee took for his text *Mat.* 15. 7. 8, and from thence took occasion to reprove the present way of worshipping God, w^{ch} gave great offence so that for a time hee was fayne to hide hims. In y^e beginning of 66 hee went to london with intention

* Hallestan, or Holy Stone, was from very early times a noted sanctuary (see Pennant's "Tours in Wales"). The Knights Hospitallers were introduced here before 1165. At the dissolution it came into the hands of Alan Horde, who exchanged it for other lands with Edward Mytton, of Habberley (Thomas's "Diocese of St. Asaph," 678).

for new England if it might bee. In September that year I receiv'd a letter from him bearing date the Tuesday in which london was burning by w^{ch} I understood hee was turned Quaker by whose pswasion or by w^t temptation I know not, but I imagine it might be through want & by the Instigation of . . . Buttars, his acquaintance. Here . . . wrote to him as soon as I could . . . him off, but t'was too late, hee was quickly settled upon the lees, and being naturally melancholy he was both the more capable & the more tenacious of the Impression. I wrote to him several times, but in vayn. In April 68 I saw him at Westminster in a poor condition, imployed to teach children & as I supposed to sell Bookes of their way & I doubt not but hee might bee otherwise of great use to them being a man of parts & learning; I reason'd with him but could doe no good; since then I hear hee is dead, without repentance that I know of for his great Apostasy from the truth, denying Babt. and lords supp. to bee Gosp. ordinances, expecting Justification by a righteousnes within him, as appears by a letter under his own hand. And what use to make of the whole I know not unless it bee to admire at the wayes of God in leaving a man of such parts & profession & I had hoped, Grace, to himself, therefore to cease from man, and though at present I think I stand yet to take heed lest I fall. Amen!

A daughter of Capt. Bartons* of Orton not long since, about 7 or 8 y. old, by a casual blow on y^e nose dy'd bleeding, not withst. all means imaginable us'd to stench it.

Mr. Sadler told of a child at ludlow born with y^e print of a horse-shoe with 7 nayles in it, y^e mother when big being frightened with a blow from a horse.

John Barker told of an Inn-fole mare which hee cutt up & saw in the colts navil green grass.

The E. of Pembrok at an entertaynment wth B^p Abbot † sayd,

* The family of Barton had been settled for many generations at Knolton in Overton Maddock in English Maelor. On their seat in Overton Church was carved "O[liver] C[romwell] P[rotector]," by whose authority probably they had invaded the chancel.

† "Abbot had been head of a small College at Oxford; was a man of morose manners and sour aspect, which in that time was called gravity; on the recommendation of the Earl of Dunbar, the king's first Scotch favourite, was preferred by James I. to the bishopric of Coventry and Lichfield, and presently after to London, before he had ever been parson, vicar, or curate of any

Peter & Paul never had such rich plate, hee reply'd, they never entertayn'd such noble ghests.

The Act against meetings which commenc't May 10. was carry'd on in the two Houses with much heat by the Bishops & their partisans. Mr. Waller spake agt. it to this purpose, Mr. Speaker, tis manifest that this Act is⁷ in your own Apprehension agt. the grayn with y^e people; else what mean these penalyes of 5^{lb} upon y^e constab. & 100^{lb} upon y^e Justices if they doe not execute it. wee have lawes agt. Felony & Murther & they can execute them readily & carefully & no such threatnings to inforce it, but—

Another said of it, that it pass'd accord. to the votes but agt. the reason of y^e house.

D^r Reynolds B^p of Norwich being sick sent his reasons agt. it, manag'd by D^r Wilkins B^p of Chester, D^r Cosins also of Durham against it & D^r Rainbow of Carlile.

Hard to the inhabitants of london that have no churches as yet built for publique worship & now must not meet in houses.

Monkes Epitaph.

Here lyes Monk*
Who dy'd Drunk
And left his Trunk
To his old Punk

'tis sayd he dy'd with cards in his hand, & that his last words were, who must have the stock?

parish church in England: and indeed was totally ignorant of the true constitution of the Church of England. He had scarcely performed any part of the office of a bishop in London when he was snatched from thence, and promoted to Canterbury, upon the never enough lamented death of Dr. Bancroft, that metropolitan who understood the Church excellently; and, if he had lived, would quickly have extinguished all that fire in England, which had been kindled at Geneva. . . . That temper in the archbishop [Abbot], whose house was a sanctuary to the most eminent of the factious party, and who licensed their most pernicious writings, left his successor [Laud] a very difficult work to do, to reform and reduce a Church into order that had been so long neglected."—Clarendon's "History of the Rebellion," i. 185-187.

* "It was the king's great happiness that he [Monk] never had it in his purpose to serve him till it fell to be in his power, and indeed till he had nothing else in his power to do. If he had resolved it sooner, he had been destroyed himself: the whole machine being so infinitely above his strength, that it could be only moved by a divine hand; and it is glory enough to his memory that he was instrumental in bringing those mighty things to pass, which he had neither wisdom to foresee, nor courage to attempt, nor understanding to contrive."—Clarendon's "Rebellion," xvi. 115. Evelyn mentions that he stayed in London during the plague.

Hee gather'd a great estate* in a short time, being possess'd at his death of 24000^{lb} p. Ann. & 200000^{lb} in ready money.

His wife was challeng'd after his death by another man,† a mean p. son, whose shee had been, before shee was his.

Quartus quintus qualis
Tota luna talis.

King James, always averse to latin poetry, made the following distich in his sleep.

Sexte, verere Deum, nam vitæ terminus instat,
Cum tuus ardenti flagrat carbunculus igne.

fulfil'd not long before his death, wth his hatt button'd up with a carbuncle, fell off his head, as hee sat sleeping, into y^e fire.

I am a slave to Reason, K. James was wont to say.

A Breviat of this yeares law in Engl.
agt. Conventicles.

[A blank of a page left here].

A Breviat of this yeares laws in
Scotland agt. Conventicles.

Aug. 3. 'Tis declar'd that all are oblig'd in conscience, duty, & by y^e Allegiance of subjects to declare their knowledge of all crimes agt. y^e lawes yet so as not to infer Punishment upon them.

* *Vide infra*, January 4, 1670, and Evelyn's diary for September 18, 1683, where he speaks of the "prodigious waste the son had made of his estates since the old man died."

† This story is given by Burke in his extinct "Baronetage": "The name of Monk's wife was Ann Clarges. Her brother Thomas was knighted at Breda, May 18, 1660, and afterwards made a baronet. He died 1695, at his house in Pall Mall (see vol. of 'Knights'—*Le Néves* pedigrees—published by Harl. Society, 1873). Christopher Monk succeeded as second duke, and died in 1688. In 1687 his share of a Spanish galloon had brought him some £90,000." On February 11, 1694, Evelyn writes, "Now was the greate trial of the appeal of Lord Bath and Lord Montagu before the Lords, for the estate of the late Duke of Albemarle:" and June 18, 1696: "The estate was £11,000 a year. £20,000 has been spent in several trials: the Earl of Bath was cast on evident forgery." "On May 10, 1700, was the trial between Sir Walter Clarges [son of Sir Thomas Clarges, the brother-in-law of George, first Duke of Albemarle] and Mr. Sherwin, concerning the legitimacy of the late Duke, on which depended an estate of £1500 a year. The verdict was given for Sir Walter."

Aug. 13. whereas the Assembling of his Ma^{tyes} subjects without his Ma^{tyes} warrant is a dangerous practise & prohibited by the lawes & yet divers such are under a pretence of religion, w^{ch} are the ordinary seminaries of separation & Rebellion, bee it enacted, that no outed Min^r not licenst by y^e council & no other pson not authoris'd or tolerated by y^e B^p of y^e Dioces, shall presume to preach, expound or pray in any meeting except in their own houses & there to those only of their own family, and that none shall bee present at any meeting without y^e family to w^{ch} y^ei belong where any such shall pray or preach, if they bee they are judg'd guilty of keeping Conventicles. The Preacher to be fin'd & imprison'd till y^ei find y^e Caution of 5000 marks not to doe the like hereafter, or else enact thems. to remove out of y^e kingdom never to return without his majesty's license. All present to bee fin'd & imprison'd at the Council's pleasure, those y^t have lands not exceeding a 4th pt. Tenants 20^{lb} Scotch, Cottars. 12. Servants a 4th pt. of their yearly fee, cheif tradesmen in burroughs not royal as Tenants, inferior as Cottars, in burroughs royal at y^e council's pleasure. All that meet in feilds or that stand without doors near a house, all y^t pray, expound, or preach there, or gather them together, to bee punished with death & confiscation of goods. Hee that apprehends any such is to have for each 500 marks out of y^e exchequer & is indemnify'd if any slaughter bee. All others present fined double to house meetings. All magistrates to see to this. To continue for three years, unless the K. continue it.

Aug. 17. If any have their children baptised except by y^e Min^r or some other establ. by the B^{ps} or Council, having lands he forfeits a 4th pt. of his yearly rent, others 100, 50 or 20^{lb} Scotch.

Aug. 20. If stay from Church 3 weekes wthout lawful hindrance having land loses an 8th pt, others 12. 6 or 2^{lb} Scotch.

If absent a year, then to appear before y^e council & seal Bond not to take Arms agt. his Ma^{ty} or countenance any that shall; if refuse this, their estates escheated to continue for 3 y. unless King continue it and this not to hinder y^e censures of the Church.

1670.

January 2. Vowes renew'd this day of better obedience. lord give a new heart this year that the life may be new also.

4. Georg Monk * Duke of Albemarle dyed. his son marry'd the Thursday before, his wife dy'd lords day fortnight after. This said hee warn'd the king on his death-bed to beware of y^e Fanatiques, lest y^ei cutt off his head as they did his Father's.

14. To Boreatton to bless God for his great mercy to the lady, for whom prayer was made in time of distress & danger. I will love the lord bec. hee hath heard the voice of my supplication & ô that I could learn to bee affected with other's miseryes & mercyes as with my own.

17. Great contest in Cheshire betw. Sir Philip Egerton & Mr. Tho. Cholmley of vale-royal for Knight of the shire, in y^e stead of y^e Baron of Kinderton deceas'd. They were polling 3 days. Mr. Cholmley carry'd it by many voices.

February. About this time the old lady Middlesex † dy'd, sister Ann absent from her in France with the Earl.

Clock from london, which cost 2^{lb} 9^s 0, besides 2^s 6^d y^e carriage.

12. This morning fell an extraordinary great snow, very deep in many places, about two foot upon the Pavement before the house door, much deeper elsewhere & not in drifts. lord how wonderful art thou in all thy workes, which show thy eternal power & Godhead.

14. Parliament met accord. to Prorogation. great expectation of what they will doe, lord thy will bee done.

16. Cause committed to God. Ps. 35. 20. his people are a quiet people in the land, & God continue them so, yet deceitful

* Sir George Smith was Sheriff of Exeter in 1583, and his daughter, by her marriage with Sir Thomas Monk, of Potheridge, became mother of the famous general (Burke's "Anecdotes of the Aristocracy," vol. i. p. 143, n.). "He died at Newhall, in Essex, after a languishing illness, æt. 62. He left a great estate of £15,000 a year in land, and £60,000 in money, acquired by the bounty of the King, and increased by his own frugality in his later years" (Hume's History). Cf. also Burnet's "History of his Own Time," vol. i. p. 98 (fol.).

† This would be Anne, daughter of James Brett, Esq., of Hoby, county Leicester. She was second wife of the first earl, and mother of the second and third earls.

matters are devis'd agt. them, o my God, make the devisers like a wheel!

28. This day Mrs. Lawrence was deliver'd of a son, named since Nathanael, safe and speedily, a mercy often beg'd on her behalf both alone & with others, lord, I thank thee. Behold, here's one more to bee mantayn'd out of y^e 6. of Math.

March 1. This day I began to bee not well, which afterwards prov'd an Ague.*

3. Ill again. Mr. Wood came to see mee who stay'd till after Sabbath & taught a few from *Ep̄h.* 1. 7. 8. accord. to the riches of his grace wherein hee hath abounded towards us.

7. Ill again, esp. the burning fit after wh. I sweat much—having the sentence of Death within myself that I might trust in the living God, who raises from the dead.

9. A worse fit than the former, reason distemper'd somewhat from vapors seizing on the head, yet of this also there was an end blessed bee God, whose everlasting Armes were under else the Spirit had fayld.

10. Well dayes not improved to spiritual advantages, my own or others.

11. This day William Farrar of Chorlton husband to Betty Puleston, coming from Whitechurch market in the evening in drink had a fall off his horse whereof hee dyed the next morning, hee fell at the corner of the Turf-house Croft neer to the Broad-Oak. Mar. 14 the Coroners Inquest past upon him, who found it a casualty. o that all that hear may fear & doe no more presumptuously! T'was within a few yards of the place where cosin Margt. Hotchkis & I fell y^e last year, shee was with us this night coming in but just before, the more to affect us with God's mercy to us, blessed bee his name.

14. This morning dy'd my worthy Freind Mr. Georg Mainwaring † a faithful min^r of Jesus Christ in a good old age, gatherd

* The frequent mention of ague shows how ill drained the country was. A century earlier, Leyland had written of Hammer, "There is a XL. Gentilmen yn this paroch y^t have praty landes: and every Gentilman hath there his fayre pooles." Every field also, till the middle of this century, had its proportion of rushes.

† During the ejection of Mr. Bridge from the higher rectory at Malpas, the office was served by George Mainwaring, a native of Wrenbury, and member of the University of Cambridge, chaplain to Sir Henry Delves, afterwards rector of Baddeley and chaplain to Sir T. Mainwaring.

as a shock of Corn is gatherd in his season. Hee left two sons Georg & Joseph, the one viciously inclin'd if grace prevent not, the other hopeful. I stand oblig'd by promise to have an eye to them, which I shall accordingly, for the dead-sake.

Mr. Mathew Jenkyn once min^r of Gresford, late of Stoke in Wyrall a conformist dy'd about the 9. of this month, a good man as I doe verily believe, but, through prevalying melancholy a p.fect Humorist, which made him burthensome to those with w^m hee had to doe. In lodging, diet, apparel, cynical below the calling of a Gospel min^r. Hee was long sick of a pining sickness but preacht to the very last, being carry'd in a chayr from his house to the pulpit. 'Tis sayd, hee told a freind of his in the 'Town not long before his death that his conformity was a trouble to him.

April 1. Much better; Ague, I hope, left mee, blessed bee God, and o: that I could say, it leaves me better then it found mee.

4. this day was bury'd at Elsmere my worthy freind Mr. John Adams, of Northwood Min^r of y^e Gospel, long in a declining weak condition, lord, thou com'st upon us with breach after breach, ô: stay thy hand and pluck no more stakes out of our hedge, for if the pillars fail, how can y^e house stand, but the truth is, thou hast no need of any of us; father, doe thy will.

8. After a weekes respite, through some cold taken, ill again; relapses into sin call for relapses into sickness.

9. I received the first volume of Mr. Poole's Synopsis, bound at Shrewsbury, which stands mee (besides 50^s payd to him) in 11^s. more for carriage & binding (binding 7^s). I am to pay at y^e receipt of y^e 2nd volume w^m finished. 15^s more, & of y^e 3^d 15^s more.

10. As sick a sabbath as to my best remembrance, I have known, but sinning sabbaths I have known many, & the lord is righteous.

14. better—blessed bee God! at whose dispose I am for health & sickness, life & death.

27. I visited Mr. Walter Adams, ill, yet walking about the house, pswaded him to set his house in order, wh. was undone, hee promised hee would speedily, saying, for his real estate, it was done already.

30. Duke of Albemarle bury'd* with great solemnity but small sorrow.

May 3. This day dy'd Mr. Walter Adams of Iscoyd an ingenuous & worthy neighbour & my good Freind. Hee made his will but y^e night before, leaving his land to Alice Tonna his neece only charging it with legacies considerable to her Parents, Brothers & sisters, & his Bookes much to y^e discretion of his executors which were D^r Fowler & Mr. Edw. Newton.

A little before his death hee burnt all his sermon-notes with his own hands, & in his will appointed that nothing should be said of him at his grave, both which I impute to his very great modesty & y^e mean thought hee had of himself which is a manifest argument of his true worth.

7. D^r Fowler preacht at his Buryal Text *Esa.* 57. 1. The first time I have been at Whitch. these 9 or 10 weekes.

10. This day commences y^e new Act of restraynt † made last session. but 4 to meet besides y^e family, if more, y^e preacher 20^{lb}, y^e house 20^{lb} each one present above 16 y. old, 5^s for y^e first offence, for y^e 2nd all double. One justice to execute by distress, penalties on him & Constable, if they doe not. No appeal: every th. to bee construed agt. y^e offender. Such wisd. in y^e contrivance y^t some can but admire, but hee that sits in heaven laughs & even this also shall bee for good. I hear since, this day was kept by many in London as a Day of fasting & prayer, lord hear in heaven & have mercy.

Sister Ann return'd in this month out of France, where shee hath been this 12 month wth the E. of Middlesex ‡ for health

* In Westminster Abbey.

† With these passages should be compared Evelyn's account of things during the Commonwealth. Under date August 3, 1656, he says, "I went to London to receive the B. Sacrament, the first time the Church of England was reduced to a chamber and conventicle, so sharp was the persecution. The Parish Churches were fill'd with Sectaries of all sorts, blasphemers and ignorant mechanics usurping the pulpits everywhere." And on Christmas Day in the same year, "as he was giving us the Holy Sacrament, the chapell was surrounded with souldiers, and all the communicants and assembly surpriz'd and kept prisoners by them . . . some they committed to the Marshall, some to prison." Ever since January 3, 1643, the use of the Book of Common Prayer, either in public or private, had been forbidden, and heavy penalties were added, August 23, 1645.

‡ Lionel Cranfield, third and last Earl of Middlesex, was one of the committee sent by Parliament to wait on Charles II. at the Hague, in 1660.

sake. K at Dover to meet his sister Henrietta * Dutchess of Orleance.

Mr. John Crew of Utkinton dy'd, a worthy patriot.

22. Mr. lawrence in trouble at Whitch. for a meeting this day, at Ralph Eddow's, upon pretence y^t Sarah Eddow lately comⁿ from Chester was none of her father's family.

27. Convented at Prees & fin'd by Justice Sandford & Justice Hill.

31. Distress made upon y^e^{er} Goods. Ralph Eddow 20^{lb} 5^s 0. Mr. lawrence 10^{lb}, John Bird & Thomas Kettle 5^{lb} apeice. Elis Yardly 5^s by Constables & Churchwardens.

The town & country full of noise about it. also many elsewhere in trouble on y^e like occasion, lord, preserve thy people in y^e way of peace & holiness, & lay not this sin to the enemyes charge.

Mrs. Martha Hunt at Broad-Oke, the worthy daughter of a worthy Father.

The Joyner had of mee for working up y^e long Table,† the Press in y^e parlor, & y^e skreen & two Skutcheon frames 14^s 2^d at 10^d a day & meat & drink.

June 1. With wife at Ash, where mett occasionally divers other Freinds, noys'd to bee a Conventicle, church-wardens & other officers came to search, but y^e company was gone before.

16. *Tithings paid.*—

| | | | | | |
|------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-------------------|
| 6 Cowes & Calves | ... | ... | ... | ... | 9 |
| 6 lambes | ... | ... | ... | ... | 3 |
| 7 Sheepes-fleece | ... | ... | ... | ... | 7 |
| Dove-house | ... | ... | ... | ... | 6 |
| Bees | ... | ... | ... | ... | 3 |
| Plow-share | ... | ... | ... | ... | 3 ^d |
| Offerings | ... | ... | ... | ... | 4 |
| | | | | | <hr/> |
| | | | | | 2 11 ^d |
| | | | | | <hr/> |

* The chief agent between the English and French courts was the beautiful, graceful, and intelligent Henrietta, Duchess of Orleans, sister of Charles, sister-in-law of Lewis, and a favourite with both (Macaulay's History, cap. ii.).

† It is curious to find here particulars of the manufacture of one of those old hall-tables, at which—twenty feet long or more—the whole family would assemble.

Poor london much distrest! The noise of war amongst them in time of peace, and their flight on the Sabbath day. Gards sett on their meeting places, divers disturb'd in praying, preaching, divers fin'd, divers imprisoned—Mr. Watson & Mr. Vincent charg'd with treason for using these words—*Heb.* 12. 4. yee have not yet resisted unto blood striving agt. sin.

A fire at y^e Savoy—12 or 14 houses burnt, the K. present at quenching of it, which was by blowing up a house or two with Gunpowder.

S^r Tho. Hanmer ill through a swelling between his neck & his shoulder, hard to bee rightly affected under such a providence, so as not to miss it either on y^e right hand or y^e left, lord lay not his sin to his charge.

Cosin Mary Benyon return'd to Ash, from london, far gone in consumption, lord how easy is it with thee to change our countenance, y^e youngest, y^e strongest, & send us away.

15. At Nantwich to visit dear Mr. Thomas, who hath been long under God's afflicting hand by pining sickness; my heart is hard & melts not, as I would it should, under a fellow-feeling of his Afflictions, wee sickned both at y^e same time, & I free & hee still in y^e furnace, & why so father, bec. it pleaseth thee, o spare a little that hee may recover strength!

24. Received 20^{lb} of W^m Butler, his last stage. I returned him the other 7^{lb} 10 0 in consideration of his bargain, which bec: it was not more hee would scarce so much as thank mee for, but no matter, I endeavour'd to doe it for conscience sake. I gave him up his Articles & bond, & both are well pleased that wee are p.ted.

I rejoyce in this that though the Rent bee less yet y^e House is now a House of prayer. *Mem.* hee is to pay a yeares chimney money which is behind, being 6^s.

Kings Sister * dead in France, suddenly, & as is supposed, by

* "She was seized with the malady upon drinking a glass of succory water. Strong suspicions of poison arose in the court of France, and were spread all over Europe. Charles himself, during some time, was entirely convinced of his guilt; but, upon receiving the attestation of physicians who, on opening her body, found no foundation for the general rumour, he was, or pretended to be, satisfied. The Duke of Orleans, indeed, did never in any other circumstance of his life betray such dispositions as might lead him to so criminal an action; and a lady, it is said, drank the remains of the glass without feeling any inconvenience" (Hume).

the means of a iealous husband, the D. of Orleance, brother to the King of France, lewis 14.—Her death much resented by the King, and God grant it may doe him good.

28. With wife at Shrewsb. where much made of, among Freinds, & Sundays opportunities of being good, but a barren heart mars all.

July 1. Whereas 100^{lb} of my childrens money, left them by their Grandfather, is in uncle Hotchkis hand by bond bearing date June 1667. for y^e first y^r I took no interest, for y^e 2nd 5th & now for ye 3^d other 5th, it is some trouble to mee, not knowing what to doe. On y^e one hand, hee is my Freind & relation near mee, on the other hand, tis my childrens money, who are nearer, & what account the world & they will expect from mee hereafter, I know not. The thing itself, with certayn cautions, which I shall endeavour to observe, I judge lawful, but for mee as Min^r phaps inexpedient & on that account, were it my own, I should refrayn, but being their's & so great a summ & so long in his hand & hee able & gaining by it in trade, upon advice from such as are judicious & godly, so much I have received, wayting for further light & convictions about it from y^e lord in y^e use of means according to which I shall either continue to receive it or else make restitution of what I have received already.

Peter Micklewright of Whitch. much in debt left house & calling unadvisedly, a great blemish to his Profession. he ow'd mee 3^{lb} which I lent him in Novemb. last, whereof I am never likely to see a farthing, yet still judge it my duty to lend *μηδεν ἀπελπίζων* *luk. 6* despayring noth.

14. Mr. Will. Heaths son of Shrewsb. came to table at cos. Jackson's, I promised to direct him in learning Hebrew.

3. Mr. John Adams dy'd, brother to Mr. Walter Adams of Iscoyd, bury'd at Hanmer.

In this month dy'd Robert Corbet eldest son of Tho. Corbet of Stanwardin, a hopeful child, at school at Newport with his uncle Edwards, of y^e small Pox. A great greif to y^e family, lord sanctify it for good.

My son John & hee were about an age, *Quicquid amas, cupias, non placuisse nimis.*

Many fires at london about y^{is} time. In one house behind ye

exchange, y^e master, a nurse, & two children were burnt in y^eir beds. Also 12 or 13 houses near y^e Georg Inn in Southwark.

August 7. Randle Tonna's eldest daughter marry'd to Mr. Deaves, somew^t too soon after her uncle Mr. Walter Adams' death, considering what mone shee seem'd to make for him.

8. to Torperly & home again, in safety, blessed be God; great miss of Mr. John Crew in that neighbourhood; John Read who marry'd his wive's neece under y^e Min^{rs} censure for it, who deny'd him y^e sacram^t. I wisht him to bee well advis'd in that case.

Seasonable harvest for y^e most pt., to God bee glory.

4. To Stanwardin as to a house of mourning, shall wee receive good at the hand of y^e lord, & shall wee not receive evil also?

22. I visited Mr. Andrew Ellis of y^e Wern, who thought himself past y^e worst but dy'd y^e second day after, an upright, peaceable, useful man in his place. Hee seemed to reflect with little comfort upon his conformity, telling mee, hee had forborn above two years. Hee left 5^{lb} by will to bee distributed by Mr. luke lloyd & mee among poor min^{rs}.

24. The black day of min^{rs} restraynt, now eight years, how long lord!

28. To Bo[reatton] where present Mr. Hampden & Mr. Swinfen two worthy members of Parliament.

September 3. I appeard at Malpas at y^e B^{rs} court, gave an account of Hanmer parish moneyes in my hands. charg 2^s 6^d.

5. Nag sold to cosin Benyon for 9^{lb} 5^s pd. 9^{lb}.

A sickly time, many sick & weak, many fallen asleep.

8. To Wrexh. lodg'd at Mr. lewis whose kindness to Mr. lawr. in keeping & teaching his son John I am concern'd to acknowl: & requite.

12. Memorandum entred in Hanmer p.ish book y^t 50^{lb} poores money & 100. mark. School-money are in my hand.

14. this day my worthy freind Mr. Zeck: Thomas fell asleep in y^e lord at Nantwich, whither hee return'd the week before from Shrewsb. where hee had been some time in y^e use of meanes in vayn. Hee dy'd of a Consumption; in y^e 41 y. of his age. Hee said to those about him on y^e Munday, that towards Wednesday hee should take his leave of them, w^{ch} was accordingly.

15. Mr. luke lloyd & his daugh. Mrs. Rushworth at Br. O. her husband plac't near Petworth, qui bene latuit, bene vixit.

16. At Nantw. at Mr. Tho: buryal, at Acton, Mr. Kirk preacht. gave him a worthy character, for uprightness, humility, moderation, prayer, faithfulness in reproving, patience under Affliction, and in saying hee was a true Israelite without guil, hee said all; lord make mee a follower! Amen!

17. W^m Heath dy'd at Salop, another true Nathaniel—Help lord for y^e faithful fail.

William Turner came to us in this month from Oxford to sojourn with us a while & to teach the children; hee is, I hope, the better, though some that went at the same time, the worse for the university.

Mr. Steel absolv'd at Hanmer, reports spread through mistake that hee had conform'd.

October 1. Cosin John Beddow sent 50^{lb} to mee to bee dispos'd of for the use of his sister Suckley & her 4. yonger children, 10^{lb} a peice, at my discretion, which trust I accepted of & shall endeavour to bee faithful in it accordingly.

2. Ralph Eddow, John Beard with others excommunicated at Whitch: D^r Fowler protesting hee did it unwillingly yet by his own procurement. They did not presently depart y^e congregation, whereupon hee sayd, unless y^ei did, hee would be gone, & so went forth his Desk.

5. Madam Penelope Pagett* marry'd at Boreatton to Mr. Philip Foley. 7. I went thither, shee sending for mee & spent y^e Sabbath with them there, at coming away shee sent my wife a 20^s peice of gold, y^e week after, they went to his Freinds in Worcester-sh. where I have promis'd to see them at Spring, if God permitt.

8. Mr. lawrence, Ralph Eddow &c. having su'd the Justices for recovery of their goods taken from them in June last, they endeavour their excommunication to prevent proceedings at law, the former hitherto escapes, not without a special providence; the lord bee seen in y^t affayr & putt a good issue to it, that the innocency of y^e innocent may bee cleared.

* She was daughter of the fifth Lord Paget, and sister to Francis Hunt's wife, of Boreatton, Salop.

Amongst other discourse D^r Hacket the present B^p told Mr. lawrence y^t y^{rs} proceedings of D^r Fowler would doe no good but hurt in his parish, that hee was 29 ys. min^r at St Andrewes in Holborn yet never presented one neither Papist nor Puritan in all that time.

24. Parliam^t mett, lord let their meeting bee not for y^e worse but for y^e better to thy poor Min^{rs} & people. Amen! 36 of their number dead since their last adjournm^t, ô: that the living might lay it to heart.

The occasion of their meeting, for raising of moneyes, the summ given, 2,100,000^{lb}.

November 1. Ralph Eddow, John Beard, Robert Benyon, & others lately excommunicated at Whitch. Mr. lawrence, ag^t whom especially the design was, by a special providence escap'd. Within a few days after B^p Hacket dy'd.

5. a day which ought to be remembered for ever, but is almost forgotten by these unthankful nations, which bodes ill in my eye, *ingentia beneficia, ingentia flagitia, ingentia supplicia.*

13. Ralph Eddow &c. absolv'd by S^r Walter littleton chancelour, Dr. Fowler refus'd to publish their absolutions, nevertheless they came to Church. The wound is wide there between Pastor and people, lord heal & help, & let contentions cease. Their absolution is but till Hilary Term next.

December. Sir Walter littleton, chancellor of lichfeild, dy'd about this time, within few weekes after the Bishop.

In a letter from a Freind after his being at Br. O.

—The observation of Gods goodness & Bounty towards you, hath occasioned mee (as 1 K. 10. the Qu. of Sheba) to praise the lord in your behalf, cheifly seeing how punctually his promise *Ps. 124. 3. 4.* is verify'd in your family. Truly God is to you not only a place of broad rivers & streames for your preservation, & safety, but also a river & stream for Plenty. o blessed are you & blessed bee his name for you.

R. F.

Hee is no fool who parts with that w^{ch} hee cannot keep to purchase that w^{ch} hee cannot lose—in works of charity.

Sept. 2. 1670. William Pen* & William Mead† were arraigned

* William Penn was born in London in 1644, and was the only son of

in the Old Baily for a Riot Aug. 14 caus'd by William Pen's preaching in Gracious Street to 3 or 400 psons. They pleaded not guilty in maner & form—two or three witnesses depos'd, they were present & saw William Pen speaking, but what hee sayd they knew not—Whereupon the Jury found William Pen guilty of speaking in Gracious Street—which verdict not satisfying y^e court, they were kept without meat, drink, fire, or tobacco from Friday to Munday & after appearing 5 times, & standing still to y^e same verdict & no other, they were fin'd 40 markes apeice & to lye in prison till payd—Also Pen & Mead fin'd 40 markes apeice for not putting off their hats in the court—As they came in, their hats were pul'd off by command & put on again.

present Thomas Howel recorder,

Sir Sam. Starling Mayor

Sir John Robinson, Sir Thomas Bludworth &c.

Recorder Howel sayd, well now I see cause to admire the wisdom of y^e Spanish Inquisition & twill never bee well in England, till some such thing bee stablisht here—Hee sayd also, the next session there will bee an Act of Parliament that none shall have y^e benefit of y^e law that will not conform.

A narrative of their tryal was printed, with some votes of y^e House of Commons *A.* 1667 wherby twas judg'd illegal in judge Keeling to fine & imprison Juryes & hee order'd to bee try'd for doing it.

Eight of y^e Jury payd their fine, the other four were imprison'd & had a hearing in Westm^r hall this Mich. Term.

William Penn, county Wilts, Vice-Admiral of England in the time of Cromwell, and afterwards knighted by King Charles II. for his successful services against the Dutch. He fell under the influence of Thomas Loe, an eminent preacher among the people called Quakers. In 1668 he first appeared as a preacher and an author. He was imprisoned in the Tower for seven months, during which he wrote "No Cross, No Crown." In 1670 the meetings of Dissenters were forbidden under heavy penalties, in spite of which he preached in Gracious Street on August 14th. In 1682 William Penn founded a colony, having previously obtained a charter from Charles II. He died in 1718. After more than one application, the State of Pennsylvania has, in 1881, again sought permission to transfer the bones of its founder from their quiet resting-place at Chalfont, Bucks, across the Atlantic.

† William Mead was a Dissenting minister, and father of Richard Mead, a celebrated physician, who was born at Stepney in 1673. Dr. Mead interested himself in the introduction of inoculation for the small-pox, and assisted in the preliminary experiments made on condemned criminals.

Magna Charta grants that no man shall be amerç'd but accord: to the offence, nor imprison'd ex^t by y^e Judgem^t of his peers.

Memor. From y^e 1st of January y^{is} year, 1670, I purpose to bestow 12^d out of every pound Rent w^{ch} I receive in charitable uses, having respect especially to my poor suffering brethren in the ministry & to y^e poor of Bronington, Willington & Iscoyd.

1671.

Ego cum homine tali nec amicitiam velim nec inimicitiam.
Erasm. Epist.

Tota vita mea nil aliud est quam peccatum et sterilitas.

Fortunam fatigo ferendo.

S^r Tho. Edwards of Salop visiting his old Tutor D^r Prideaux, after y^e wars, at parting, hee gave him his fatherly advice, for memory sake in three Scripture-names, Mishma. Dumah, and Massah—i.e. hearing, silence, bearing. this I had from Mr. John Bryan to w^m S^r Tho. related it.

Edward Francis, the old Pavier of Braden-heath, tis said, had the same pson for his Father, his Grandfather, his God-father and his uncle (his Grand-father & his reputed Father marrying two sisters).

All acknowledge there is at this day a number of sober * peaceable men both ministers and others among dissenters. but who either doth or saith anything to oblige them? who desires or endeavours to open the door to let in such? nay doe they not rather provoke them to run into the same extravagancies with others by making no difference, laying load on them as if they were as bad as the worst.

A libel set up in Westm^r hall.

—The Acts & Monum^{ts} of this present Parliam^t—wee have left undone those th. w^{ch} wee ought to have done & wee have done those th. w^{ch} wee ought not to have done, and there is no truth in us.

If all that had been said & written to prove prelacy Anti-

* “Noscitur a sociis.” It was the consequence of their not breaking away from the irreconcilables, whose fixed determination it was to reduce the English Church to the level of a Genevau sect.

Christian & the common prayer unlawful, had been to persuade Bishops to study & doe the Duty of Church-rulers in preaching & feeding the flock accord. to the word, and to persuade people to bee serious & inward & spiritual in the use of formes, it had been better with the church of God in England.

Spiritus Sanctus non residet super hominem mæstum— α common saying among the Jewish Rabbins.

2/ Mr. Ric. Hampden of Hampden finding a picture of the Trinity amongst his Grand-mother's goods, which fell to him & his sisters at her death, for which hee was bid 500^{lb}. rather threw it into the fire and burnt it.

Sides-men are so called qu. Synods-men.

The children of Norwich betw. 6 yeares old & 10. gain by working each year 12. thousand pounds more than mantaynes them. *Chamberl. present state.*

—ratio ultima regum—Henry 4 of France caus'd written on his great guns.

Of these things following this famous Isle is full,

Mountaynes, Fountaines, Bridges, churches, women, wool.

2. an unruly spirit let loose at london. Duke of Ormond * taken out of his Coach by Ruffians & indanger'd. St John Coventry † member of Parliam^t had his Nose cutt off, tis said for

* "Ossory soon after came to court, and seeing Buckingham stand by the king, his colour rose, and he could not forbear expressing himself to this purpose: 'My lord, I know well that you are at the bottom of this late attempt upon my father, but I give you warning if by any means he come to a violent end, I shall not be at a loss to know the author: I shall consider you as the assassin: I shall treat you as such: and wherever I meet you, I shall pistol you, though you stood behind the king's chair'" (Hume). The chief accomplice was "Blood, a disbanded officer of the Protector's, who had been engaged in a conspiracy in Ireland, for which he had been attainted and others executed. He meditated revenge upon Ormond, the lord lieutenant. Blood soon afterwards tried to carry off the crown and regalia from the Tower, and was not only pardoned by Charles II., but received a pension of £500 per annum. Thus, while old Edwards, who had been wounded in defending the regalia, was forgotten, this man, who deserved only to be detested as a monster, became a kind of favourite" (Hume).

† "Sir John Coventry had sneered at the profligacy of the court. In any former reign he would have been called before the Privy Council and committed to the Tower. A different course was now pursued. A gang of bullies was secretly sent to slit the nose of the offender. This ignoble revenge raised such a tempest, that the king was compelled to pass an Act which attainted the offenders, and took from him the power of pardoning them" (Macaulay).

words spoken in y^e house of Commons. Nel Gwin C. R. whipt & washt in y^e Chanel. one of y^e life gard upon his duty slayn by 3 Frenchmen, such doings bode ill.

12. Mr. Tho. Hanmer came to live at Fenns. Reported from Ireland by one present y^t a play being Acted in Dublin in derision of y^e fanatiques, y^e play-house fell, 7 kild, many hurt, the lord Deputy Berkly present, his son crusht.

30. brings to remembrance y^e horrid murder of the late King, deliver y^e nation from bloud-guiltines ó: God.

A very warm January—little or no frost or rayn, but great winds.

4. Having deliverd 20^s before, I deliverd other 10^s to James Jackson & took his Acquittance, for the use of Mr. Steele's children.* Sal's vest cost 11^s 10^d—in all 2^{lb} 1^s—10^d ex dono amicorum. received & delivered more—in all 2^{lb} 3^s 0— the vest on my account.

14. William Turner went from us towards Oxford, having sojourn'd with us for y^e most pt since August last, in which time hee entred Katy in reading English, & Sarah in Hebrew.

I pray God preserve him from university sins & snares. Amen !

March 15. buryd at London Mr. Wil. Bridg. of yarmouth in a good old age.

19. In Ise[œd] trans. D[œc]. A day in thy courts is better than a thousand.

22. I was at Shrops. Assize, summon'd thither to bee a witness for Mr. Nevet $\overline{\text{agt}}$ S^r John Trevor of Emral concer. lightwood, but it went not to tryal.

This day was heard before Judge Twisden the Whitchurch cause between Mr. Eddow & Mr. Lawrence & the Justices concer. their goods taken from y^m on pretence of a Conventicle in May last: y^e Qu. was whether Mr. Eddow's daughter was one of his family, as also whether John Beard's son a youth of 12 or 14 y. old, there present, though hee was not to be punisht yet might not make the meeting unlawful & so expose y^e rest to punishm^t. The former was made clear by y^e oath of several witnesses y^t shee came home intending to stay, concer. the later y^e Judge said hee

* These seem to have been presents made to Mr. Steel's children when their father had decided to go to London, where he remained working diligently to the end of his life.

would not declare his Judgment^t yⁿ with design y^t if y^e Jury did not find for the Justices yet however y^el should find specially. Mr. John Thomas late of Shrewsb. being one of y^e Jury stood it out on y^e Plaintiffs behalf ag^t y^e rest all night alledging hee was fully satisfyd y^e girl was of y^e Family, saying, hee would dye rather then yeild—in ye morning at Mr. lawrence's motion in private to y^e Judge by Mr. Birch it was referd to Serj. Jones & Serj. Baldwin. Mr. Thomas fin'd 10^{lb} & bound to y^e behaviour for words spoken to one of y^e Jurors.

There was great mercy y^t y^e Verdict was not brought ag^t them bec. of treble costs. &c. for which blessed bee God. though y^el are still like to bee losers till God plead y^eir cause.

31. Dutchess of York * dy'd.

April. In this month Mrs. Ward of Coton, formerly wife to Mr. Orlando Fogg, being 43 or 44. yeares of age was deliver'd of a daughter which old Mr. Fogg saying hee would bee bound to keep all the children that ever shee should have, I reply'd, should bee his ward.

May 5. to Boreatton—where God is still own'd and worshipt, & therein I rejoyce.

About this time the Crown &c. was attempted to bee stollen out of the Tower but recover'd again; the Persons, some of them Anabaptists, one Bloud,† another Perrott, a great preacher.

God in righteous judgm^t leaves men of corrupt principles to corrupt practises.

11. extra-ordinary great hayl in diverse places, some four. some five. nay six inches about, near Whitch.

15. This day dy'd cosin John Madocks of llynbedith ‡ in a

* Ann Hyde, the daughter of Edward, Earl of Clarendon, had been married to the Duke of York in 1660. In her last sickness she made open profession of the Romish religion. Both her daughters succeeded to the English throne. The sons both died in 1667, viz. James, born in 1663 and created Duke of Cambridge the same year, K.G. in 1666; and Henry Stuart, born and created Duke of Kendal in 1664.

† *Vide supra*, January 2. note.

‡ On the sides of this lake, some fields called "Holy Crofts" seem to mark the place where Bangor monks or St. Chad baptized their converts. A British road that crosses it seems to have been the cause of its being reduced by drainage from a mile and a quarter in length to its present small dimensions. It must originally have been of the size and shape of the lake at Combermere.

Llys-bedydd ("court of baptism") is the ancient name for the parish now called Bettisfield.

good old age. I wondered much, his will was to make, which hee dictated hims. this morning about 9. or 10. a clock, that done, I pray'd with him & about an hour or two after hee compos'd hims. in that posture wherein hee sweetly about 5. a clock gave up the Ghost & fell asleep in Jesus.

I hope Heaven growes rich by it, but I am sure Hanmer parish growes poor in men of piety & integrity—Help lord! *Ps.* 12. 1.

18. I accompanyd him to his grave. Mr. Green preacht—*T. Col.* 3. 4.

23. Mr. Steel with us. Mr. Fogg with him here; who with myself are all in Flint-sh. that suffer at this day for non-conformity, lord judge in that matter between us & our adversaryes. Amen!

26. About this time Mr. lawrence * remov'd with his Family from Whitch. tow. london; My great loss, lord, make it turn to his great gain.

June. 1. Great feares of scarcity approching prevented by a blessed change in y^e weather, thanks bee to our good God.

Mr. lawrence rob'd at london quickly after his coming thither of linnen &c. to y^e value of 6 or 7 pound.

his Freind & mine, Mr. Will Hayward of Chester dy'd in this month, hee had often obligd hims. to leave the substance of his estate to pious uses, & I often warn'd him to doe it, but I hear it was not done; many good purposes lye in the church-yard.

12. *Hempen* cloth bought at Whitch. fayr for sister Katharin
cost—1^{lb} 6^s 10^d
whitn.—0.

June 23. Mr. lawrence son Thomas came to sojourn with us a while—at first discontented but I hope by degrees it will wear off.

* Mr. Edward Lawrence, of Magdalen College, Cambridge, was born at Moston, Salop. He was ejected from Baschurch in 1662, and removed to London in 1671. Some of his sayings should be remembred: "Make no man angry nor sad;" "I adore the wisdom of God that hath not seen meet to trust me with riches." When he saw little children in the street, he would often lift up his heart to God in prayer for them. When a friend chose to ride the back way into town, he pleasantly checked him, saying his heart had often been refreshed when he had looked out at the window and "seen a good man go along the streets." He used to say that Cromwell did more real prejudice to religion by his hypoerisy than King Charles II., that never pretended to it. As also, that "he feared the sins of the land more than the French."

Oct. 3. hee went from us tow. london.

Jun. 26. Tithings.—

| | | | | | | | |
|--------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-------|---|---|
| A lamb out of 11. | ... | ... | ... | ... | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| A sheep out of 12 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| A goose out of 9 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 0 | 0 | 6 |
| Pigeon house | ... | ... | ... | ... | 0 | 0 | 6 |
| 3 Hives of Bees | ... | ... | ... | ... | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| 5 Kine & Calves | ... | ... | ... | ... | 0 | 0 | 7 |
| Smoke Garden & Offr. &c. | ... | ... | ... | ... | 0 | 0 | 8 |
| | | | | | <hr/> | | |
| | | | | | 0 | 6 | 0 |

Side of y^e old barn next the house—basted with stone—cost stone, lime & work about 20^s the rent of y^e said barn for the last year.

the rem^r of y^e other side—basted also—cost other 20^s. The whole in all heretofore and now about 4^{lb} besides carriage w^{ch} was by my own Team & neighbours.

23. I went towards Stafford, lodg'd this night at Drayton.

24. At Stafford by y^e invitation of Mr. John Hudson, Iron-monger; was lodg'd at Mr. Fowler's, an Inn, with comfortable accommodation, his wife a hearty freindly good woman.

25. In publ. Mr. Bayley Min^r. T. Math. 11. 28. I endeavour'd to pswade to bear with his weakness, which I judge duty rather y^{em} separate, esp. considering his Age & that tis probable his parts & gifts have been better & also that hee is quiet, but many there dissent.

In private in the Evening *Math.* 25. 29. an awakening word, lord bless & give repentance for misspent Talents.

I observe, there is oftentimes now a dayes a great deal of precious time lost among professors in discoursing of y^{eir} escapes & adventures, not to give God glory, but to set up self—also in telling how they met & such a one preacht & twas a good sermon, but no profiting by it. The lord in mercy make up our sad breaches at this day—is there no balm?

July. 1. Mr. Edwards about to purchase a Tenem^t or two that were lord Brereton's * in y^e Barony of Malpas.

* Evelyn frequently mentions Lord Brereton, and had a great respect for him. Owing to losses in the civil wars, he had sold his Cheshire estates. He was one of the founders of the Royal Society, and died 1679.

8. much rayn, judgm^t threatened, however guilt causes expectation of neither, but God had mercy.

12. with wife at Stanwardine *—much made of there but little good done, by reason of a vayn, unfixt, unfruitful heart.

I accompanied them in killing a Buck in their own park, far from being taken with any great delight or pleasure in y^e Sport. they sent part of him to Broad-Oke after us.

15. Smith. raynd most p^t of y^e day & week before, yet the next day fayr & fayr many^d dayes after, yet People will not be taken off their old groundless observances.

19. all night at Whitch. at uncle Hotchk. would doe good but cannot. Proposals of liberty, each one to pay y^e King 5^s p. ann. nomine pœnæ, for non-conformity—not likely nor feasible.

24. I visited Allen Sherott ill, face swollen—about two y. since hee had a wild wart on his lower lip, cutt off by Kenley woman, & heal'd, the humor falling lately in his teeth, hee had payn & drew two, after w^{ch} y^e holes never filling, y^e gumms swell'd & a sad spectacle hee is become—lord, pity, pardon, save!

28. Mr. Davis late of Jesus Coll. now Min^r in Carnarvonsh. having above 10 y. since at Worthenb. borrow'd 2^s. 6^d. of mee, came this day & very honestly brought it.

August 13. preacht on Jacob's vow. *Gen.* 28. 20 &c. with psonal application, saying, If God will be with mee in this way that I goe—then the lord shall bee my God—hee shall, hee shall, hee shall be my God.

14. I sett forward tow. london with cosin Darack & his wife, cosin Yates, cosin Rich. Hotchkis, wee lodg'd this night at Wolverhampton, whither wee came safe in good time. no hurt or hindrance by the way blessed bee God.

15. to Bromicham, thence to Coventry. At Bromicham Mrs. leather told mee of a neighbour of theirs, who dy'd suddenly in bed with his hand on his wife's breast, which shee feeling cold wakt & found him *dead*—Another strucken with an Apoplexy in his shop counting money.

* Thomas Corbet married Mary Gerard, of Stroton-in-the-West. Gough adds, in his "History of Myddle Parish" (A.D. 1700), "They are both liveing in the county of Worcester, for Stanwardine is sold to Sir John Win of Watstay." It is now (1881) the property of Mr. Sparling, of Petton. Cf. Newcome's diary (Chetham Society) for December, 1648, where an amusing account of his experience of deer-hunting is given.

16. To Daventry, thence to Stony Stratford, Eben-Ezer!

17. to Barnett. 18. to london. the wayes fayer and the weather favourable beyond expectation, blessed bee God—spent by the way self and horse 20^s.

19. to Kensington, sisters well there, tis in my heart to desire to do them good but to pform is not present.

20. Sabbath spent there, T. John 14. 6. via in qua, veritas pquam, vita ad quam, vera et vivens via.

21. Sister Sarah came to us, told mee several passages concerning her stay in Ireland. God that hath hitherto Kept her, Keep her still from all evil. Amen.

24. Solemn fast in remembrance of y^e sad day of Min^{rs} ejection, Kept at Countess of Exeter's, with some measure of holy meltings & inlargem^{ts}. lord, hear & heal, Amen! Dr. Jacomb, Mr. Steel, Mr. Mayo, Mr. Bull, Mr. Pool pray'd & preacht alternat^{im} T. Ps. 51. 4. 39. 9.

25. 26. refresht in y^e sight & society of Freinds. 27. Preacht at Mr. Doelittles meeting place T. Math. 25. 29. To him y^t hath—bless lord—28. saw sister Ann. spoke with lord Middlesex. 29. saw little child in Bartholom. fayr 5 y. old but 2 foot $\frac{1}{2}$ high. poor, lean.

30. preacht at Mr. St. T. 1 Cor. 10. 12. in much distraction, lord, pdon—that evening at Kensington—31. to Thistleworth—at night all 4 sisters together, pray'd & pted. I. D.

September. 1. This day dy'd the reverend & my truly worthy Freind & Brother Mr. Joshua Richardson,* late of Middle (as wee heard after, and this day I first heard y^e newes of his sicknes in a letter to Mr. I. & another to myself—though prayer came late from us yet God accepts, and he had then no need of it, blessed bee God for his holy life & happy death. Dr. Fowler preacht at his funeral Dan. 12. 2.) highly praising him, as hee deserv'd, for

* Joshua Richardson, M.A., was son of Mr. Joshua Richardson of Broughton. "He was an able and laborious minister, whose *whoale* employment was about the concernes of his ministry . . . he would willingly have conformed to the discipline and constitution of the Church of England, but could not with a safe conscience subscribe to the declaration against the Covenant. He came to live at Alkinton neare Witchurch, exercising himself in religious duties and teaching his own and some of his relations' children in good literature" (R. Gough's "Myddle," p. 19).

wisdom, piety, & peaceableness yet wth black reflections upon others, who deserve it not. This evening I was ill, at Cosin Darack's, where I lodg'd all y^e while I was in london—much distemper'd all night.

2. attempted to keep y^e Annual fast this day in remembr. of y^e dreadful fire of london. *A.* 66. but strength fail'd. to will was present, to doe was not.

Thankes is also to bee given for ye Strange & wonderful rebuilding of it in so short a time, which but that my eyes saw, I could hardly have believ'd—Night worse distemperd y^{en} before, burning, sweating, in payn, so y^t I had y^e sentence of Death within mys. & was in some measure willing to it, at that time & in y^t place, though a stranger, had God seen good, but a reprevie came the next day, better.

3. I should have preacht & communicated with Dr. Ansley but prævented—*Multa cadunt inter*—Time was when I might & did not, now I would & might not.

4. still a prisoner to house though not to bed, prayers of friends heard for mee, blessed bee God, lord, let mee live to thee & for thee.

5. I went abroad—accompany'd cosin Benyon to Southwark, spake with Mr. White concer. his daughter, who yeilded far, only was loth shee should goe so far from him as Shropsh. which I could not prevayl with him for & so left him.

6. passing by accidentally I saw five lusty men in the way to Execution, & thought what a difference is there betw. suffering this as evil-doers & for righteousness sake.

7. To Islington where was bury'd Mr. Burghess a non-Conformist min^r of y^e west-countray, there were present 100 or 6 score Min^{rs} & I blest God y^t for one dead there were so many living, but it greived mee to see y^m divided, p^t staying y^e office for y^e dead, p^t going out. Here I saw Mr. Senior, Mr. Bull, Mr. Rowles, form^r acquaintance.

8. Advis'd with D^r Nath. Hodges * concer. y^e pain in my breast, who judg'd the cause of it to bee, y^e reliques of D^r Alport's

* Dr. N. Hodges was a contemporary of Philip Henry at Westminster and at Oxford. His father was buried August 27, 1672, at Kensington, of which parish he was rector, as well as Dean of Hereford.

mercurial Vomit, & præscrib'd accordingly, D^r Needham differ'd.
 10. Sabb. kept with Mr. Doelittle. T. John 8. 36. pswading
 sinners to bee willing to bee made free. In y^e aftern. several Bills
 to beg prayers for psons inclining to bee willing.

11. much rayn—to Kensington with sist^r Kath. Saw Dean
 Hodges, pswading to conform, but I dare not on such Termes.
 12. more rayn. 13. return'd to london. 14. sett forwrd
 homewards with Cosin Madocks—Hockley. 15. to Coventry.
 16. to Prestwood. to Mr. Phil. Foley, his lady lately deliverd of a
 daughter. 17. Sabbath spent there. 18. Home, where found
 all well, blessed bee God, who by promise shall bee my God.

3. Sad fire in Thames Street—sugar house burnt—20000^{lb}
 loss awakening.

8. Fast at Mr. Johnsons. D^r Ansley, Mr. Needler—Mr.
 Grimes. 2 Sam. 23. 5. Thankes given for my late recovery.

9. Mr. Humph. Aldersea promis'd to build a school house
 for Hanmer.

October 23. Thankes return'd to God with two or three at
 Cos. Ben. Ps. 68. 5. wee remembred this day 30 y. was the break-
 ing forth of y^e rebellion. in Ireland, this day 29 y. was y^e day
 of Edge-hill battle.*

26. I discours'd wth S^r Th. Hanmer concer. Mr. Aldersea's
 purpose of building a school-house, the Rowrey y^e place, but y^e
 form yet unresolved on & the manner of conveyance of y^e ground.

30. John Jackson Keeper of Emral had a dangerous fall
 anenst great Barn & off a horse, in drink. taken up for dead but
 recoverd. M. D.

November. 9. london Min^{rs} with y^e King, D^r Annesley, Mr.
 Watson, Mr. Whitaker & y^e two Vincents, to w^m hee said, hee was
 sensible of their straits & would endeavour their enlargm^t. Amen.
 hee said, as hee would not willingly bee psecuted hims. for his
 own Religion, so neither did hee like to psecute others for theirs. †

* This was the rebellion under Sir P. O'Neil, which was said by some to
 be contrived by the king, or at least by the queen. See Clarendon, iv. 31,
 with Bishop Warburton's comments.

† In 1660 the preachers of the City "desired that such things might not be
 pressed upon them in God's worship which in their judgment were indifferent."
 The king spake very kindly to them, and said that he had no purpose to
 impose hard conditions upon them. "But . . . they told him that the Book of

22. Mr. Sam. Hanmer came to see mee, a conformist, but I suppose, not *ex toto corde*; hee told mee formerly hee stood out a good while, and I then said, I like it never the better. I persuade mys. there are many more in his condicōn who would bee heartily glad things were otherwise, but the stream is too hard for them, God unite us in the truth and in true love one to another.

December 20. I lent 10^{lb} to Mr. Hanmer of Fenns til ladyday next, sent by his Groom, whom hee sent for it, with a note from Mr. Yate. I lent this same day 10^{lb} to Cosin Benyon sent by his man John w^m hee sent for it.

Texts intended (God willing & enabling) to bee preacht upon.

Esa. 8. 18. behold I & y^e children for signs & wonders!

Hos. 11. 7. my children are bent to backslide from mee.

This summer Assizes in Denbigh-shire were hang'd 2 brothers twins for murthering a man, who had taken a Tith over their heads.

Since Mich. was brought into Oxford Gaol a man who kild his mother, calling her out of y^e house suddenly to y^e barn & saying there were theeves stealing her corn, shee came hastily forth & there hee stabd her, and then cry'd for help saying, the Theeves had murther'd his Mother. Tis sayd, a neighbour gentleman by a dream was y^e occasion of bringing this to light, who charging him upon suspition, hee confest. A murther of a child drown'd in a Pit near Cock-shot was discovr'd in *Octob.* by a bundle swimming on y^e water, which being taken up was found to bee a womans riding hood in y^e Town who had lent it to y^e Murtherer not knowing his intent to lap y^e child in a week or fortnight old, to carry to nurse in a rainy night. the mans name Hinkes. the child a bastard child, y^e mother not consenting. *Novemb. 12.* or thereabouts a child in Hamptons-wood 3. y. old was found dead lying with his face on y^e Ice & his hands spread abroad, near y^e house, whither not half an houre before hee had com'n. for bread to his Mother.

Dec. 27. Mr. Aston Min^r of Acham coming to Witch. to see his son lately entertain'd curate to Dr. Fowler, & being at his Inn

Common Prayer had been long discontinued in England [*i.e.* since 1644], and it would be much wondered at if the king should revive the use of it in his own chapel." The king told them with some warmth that whilst he gave them liberty, he would not have his own taken from him (Clarendon's "Rebellion," xvi. 242, 243).

the George, his wife with him, cal'd for wine to drink to Mrs. Fowler, who was com'n up from the Parsonage to his Inn with him where hee meant to lodge all night, suddenly before it came, turning his head on one side, as hee sate in his chayr, dy'd without word, sigh, or grone : aged 63. y. tis sayd, hee had often told his wife, hee did beleive hee should dye in that year of his age, being his great Climacterique ; lord teach mee to number my dayes that I may bee alwayes ready. Amen !

A prayer of y^e afflicted when hee is overwhelmed & poures out his complaint before the lord.

Remember, lord, what thou hast been, ever thinking of, even from everlasting, thoughts of peace & mercy to us-ward & the number of them cannot bee told, which thou hast been ever thinking, with the greatest of delights, as hee tells us that was in thy bosom & was thy counsellor, *Prov.* 8. 31. and are they all now on y^e sudden restrayned, forgotten, laid aside, as if they had not been. hast thou forgotten thy name, gracious and merciful, abundant in kindnes, Did the very intent of shewing mercy so infinitely before-hand possess thee with delights & now when thou shouldst come to put it in execucon, & hast so fair an opportunity of doing it, to a soul as full of misery, as even was any, hast thou now no heart, no mind to it ?

lord, I have notice given mee of an infinite & alsufficient righteousnes in thy Son, laid up in him & that by thy own procurem^t whereof thy son never had nor can have any need hims. being God blessed for ever, & for whom was it then appointed but for the sons of men, those who are wounded, weary, sick, broken, lost, these thy son hath put into his will, who still lives to bee his own executor ;

lord I hear also that his Spirit is y^e Comforter, a God of comforts & that thy Son hath bought y^m all, his whole shop & all his Cordials.

Memor. For this year, as for y^e former I have bestow'd 12^d out of every pound rent which I have receiv'd, being the lord's tribute, having special resp. to my dear Fellow Min^{rs} & to y^e poor of Iscoyd, Bronn. & Will.

Accept lord, what is of thine own in Christ Jesus ! Amen.

Dec. 31. 1671.

1672.

Aug. D^r Fowler said & spread y^e report of it, which I have also under his hand, that Mr. Hilton told him, that Mr. Green told him, that I said, if God bee God wee—*i.e.* the Church of Engl. could not prosper. I askt Mr. Green if hee told any such th. to Mr. Hilton, hee said, no, hee did not; I askt Mr. Hilton if hee told any such th. to D^r Fowler, hee said no, hee did not. A lying tongue is but for a moment. I hope some good is done, bec. y^e Devil is angry.

Not long after I said to Mrs. Figes in my own house, speaking of y^e offence taken at the meeting place in Wrexham being a barn, that wheat in a barn is better than chaff in a church, her brother Stephen Morhal, hearing told some, that told some, that told D^r Fowler, who a sabbath or two after took notice of it in the Pulpit & said, There are some who in the abundance of their humility have said lately, there is noth. but chaff in churches, whereas chaff is rather to bee lookt for in barnes, or to that purpose.

wherby I see how words innocently spoke may bee pverted, but I as a deaf man, heard not, for I said, lord thou hearest.

The proper posture for prayer is kneeling, yet lawful to sit * or stand, but what if Magistrate should command mee alwayes to sit in publique prayer, else not suffer'd to join in publique prayer.

ought I not to refuse, bec. though lawful yet when impos'd. in exclusion of that gesture which is most fitting, doe I not by my submission to that imposition, harden him & justify him in it.

Quære. if the case bee not the same concer. Kneeling at the Sacram^t; suppose I judge y^e proper gesture to bee sitting, as most agreeable to the example of X^t & his Apostles & most suteable to y^e nature of the Ordinance, as a supper—yet lawful to kneel or stand,

but wⁿ y^e Magistrate peremptorily injoynes Kneeling, in exclusion of sitting, the most proper gesture, ought I not rather to forbear it then by submission justify his imposition.

* Sitting was not a posture of devotion in the ancient Church (Bingham's "Antiquities," lib. xiii. cap. viii. 7). In 2 Chron. xvii. 16, we find "David the king came and sat before the Lord," but that was to commune, not to pray.

But what if the Magistrate leave it free, as hee doth in prayer, to use what gesture I please,

quære—may I not, though I doe ordinarily sit at ye Sacram^t as best, yet somet. at liberty either Kneel or Stand, judging it lawful, as I doe now ordinarily Kneel in prayer yet somet. either stand or sit.

All or most of the Conformity have said, they could not deny us Min^{rs} but not Min^{rs} of the Church of England without Episcopal Ordination.*

By a Min^r of y^e Church of England can bee meant no other than a Min^r of Christ authoriz'd to preach in the church of England.

Now suppose a Dutch or French Protestant Min^r come into England to preach, hee is not reordayn'd but only licenst.

* To the claim of presbyters to "ordain" the answer is, "We have no such custom, neither the Churches of God." When they had thrown off the yoke of prelaticism and begun to consider their position, "Calvin, Bullinger, and others wrote in 1549 to King Edward VI., offering to make him their defender, and to have bishops in their churches as there were in England." This letter fell into the hands of the Romish bishops, who, writing as if from the Reformed divines of those times, checked and slighted the proposal. This correspondence was not discovered until or about the 6 Elizabeth, and Her Majesty much lamented it was not found sooner." See Stryne's "Life of Archbishop Parker," p. 140. How wonderful are the dealings of Providence in thus permitting the author of all evil to separate those who desired a pure Christian worship! Since that time those Christians who had no bishops have tried to justify their position by various pleas: 1. By denying to the Apostles or to their immediate successors any authority that is not expressly specified in the New Testament: that is to say, that the men who were permitted by the head of the Church to appoint the order of deacons (Acts vi. 6) and of deaconesses (Rom. xvi. 1), confirmation of those baptized (Acts viii. 17), and the order of elders (Acts xiv. 23), to meet in council for Church purposes (Acts xv.), to supplement the Lord's words by *baptizing infants*, to displace the Jewish Sabbath by the Christian Lord's day, to appoint one of their presbyters as the angel or bishop over respective Churches (Rev. ii. and iii.), and finally to arrange and to close the Canon of the New Testament—that these men may be snuffed at by us whenever we want to do something contrary to their appointments. The second plea is that the Apostles were presbyters (1 Pet. v. 1). That is true, as it is true that every bishop is a presbyter now, but every presbyter was not an apostle. In the pastoral epistles we find the words *ἐπίσκοποι* and *πρεσβυτέρου* applied to the order of elders, the heads of Churches bearing the title of *ἄγγελοι* (Rev. ii.). The third plea is from antiquity. This, however, breaks down altogether. One of the last suggestions, that in the Church of the West, and under the monastic system, the bishop and presbyter were identical, has been shown by Mr. W. F. Skene, in "Celtic Scotland," vol. ii., to be an entire mistake. The bishop was always what he was from the beginning, and what he is now.

All the power to bee own'd in Bishops is derived to them from the King * & in those th. wherein the King hath power in Church matters, in those th. wee may obey the Bishops as his Delegates & Substitutes.

In King James time wⁿ 4. scotch presbyters were to bee consecrated Bishops at Lambeth t'was mov'd they might bee first ordaynd Presbyters again, but over-rul'd, t'was without need. †

In our case the King immediately without Bishops, which is y^e better, gives us liberty being already Min^{rs} of X^t to preach in his Dominions, where hee appoints.

The law calls the King Patron general of England. His appointing mee to preach supposes I must have hearers & those of necessity out of some Parish or other.

What wee doe is to serve the present necessity and not of choyce. There are many amongst us debar'd by impositions from communicating with freedom in publick in y^e lord's supper, the King takes pity of them, authorises mee or another to give it, in a way wherein they are satisfyd & why not?

(Sept.) many soldiers fetcht out of Ireland—70. drown'd in one vessel within few roods of Harbour.

(Sept. 6. 1672.) Having receiv'd 20^{lb} from Mr. Aldersea it was thus dispos'd of towards the erecting of a School at Hanmer.

| | | | | |
|---|-----|-----|-----|---|
| For 50. thousand of Brick ... | ... | 14. | 8. | 8 |
| for 10. thous ^d of Slate at quarry ... | ... | 2. | 10. | 0 |
| In p ^t of Carriage .. | ... | 1. | 5. | 4 |
| To y ^e Carpenter squaring—&c. ... | ... | 1. | 16. | 0 |

concer. the truth of w^{ch} account Mr. Lloyd & Mr. Hilton certify'd under their hands this day.

Nov. 3. Ri. Steel writes

I am now Father to ten sons (the 10th born this day) five plac't in Heaven & five un plac't on earth.

January 1. Exchequer stopt from issuing forth moneyes to pay debts for this year, a snub to trade, many concern'd, esp. merchants who find them. aggrev'd at it.

* Their spiritual powers are derived from the Lord's commission to the Apostles.

† *Vide supra*, the case of Archbishop Leighton, who was re-ordained deacon and priest in 1661 (Burnet's "History of his Own Time," lib. i. 139, 140 fol.).

9. To Drayton with Cosin Jennings, where wee mett Mr. Buckley, with his Kinsmen Georg & Joseph Mainwaring. I advis'd that Joseph being ready might bee hastned to th' university, 30th p ann. will bee had for him, I promis'd his good Father to befreind him in that matter & shall, God willing, accordingly to my power, & that out of conscience towards God. At Stych that night. 10. home again, in much mercy, but a barren, dead, unprofitable heart is stil my burthen.

15. to Wrexham, at y^e request of Mr. P. whose daughter being marryd to Mr. Dolb. & some unkindness growing between them, they have been pted neer a twelve month, shee complains of sin & want of assurance, I advis'd to rectify the former matter, return into God's way, else in vayn to expect peace. Her Freinds against it, but I am very confident it will prove so.

It gave occasion to bless God for my own conjugal comforts, marry'd neer twelve yeares & never yet reconcil^d bec. no need of 't.

I heard, not long after, the wound was heald and they came together again.

February. Ten pounds receiv'd by return from Mr. Humphry Aldersea of london tow. y^e erecting of a School-house at Hanmer, wherein I promis'd him to bee Assistant to my power in the laying of it out, as also what hee yet further intends (layd out accordingly).

9. Old Mrs. Whitehal of Witch. bury'd, a good woman & which is not ordinary, continu'd in her usefulness to the last.

27. Joseph. Mainw. went with W^m Turner tow. Oxford, also John Eddow at same time, the lord prosper their studies & keep them from present sins & snares! Amen!

16. came forth the K. Declaration for Indulgence,* the Church of Engl. establisht, pœnal lawes suspended āgt. all non-conf. & Recusants, separate places promis'd to bee licens'd, Papists to meet in private houses only; The reason rendred is, the ineffectualnes of rigor for divers yeares & to invite strangers.

* "Meanwhile rapid strides were made towards despotism. Proclamations enjoining what only Parliament could enjoin, appeared in rapid succession. Of these edicts the most important was the Declaration of Indulgence. By this instrument the penal laws against Roman Catholics were set aside, and that the real object of the measure might not be perceived, the laws against Protestant Nonconformists were also suspended."—Macaulay's "History of England," chap. ii.

A thing diversly resented, as men's Interest leads them. the Conformists generally displeas'd at it, the Presb. glad, the Indep. very glad, the Papists triumph.

That the K. hath power herein should seem from his Supremacy in church matters esp. since recogniz'd by late Act \bar{a} gt. Conventicles, however if the lawes hereby suspended as to non-conf. were, as some say, wicked lawes *ab initio*, then to lay y^m aside, such think is more clear—The danger is, lest y^e allowing of separate places help to overthrow our Parish-order which God hath own'd, & beget divisions & animosities amongst us which no honest heart but would rather should bee heal'd.

The way were for those in place to admit y^e sober non-conf. to preach somet. occasionally in their Pulpits,* which would in time wear off præjudices & mutually strengthen each others hands \bar{a} gt. y^e common enemy y^e Papist, who will fish best in troubled waters—wee are put hereby to a Trilemma either to turn flat Independents, or to strike in with y^e conformists, or to sit down in former silence & sufferings, till the lord shall open a more effectual door.

April. preachd. at Cockshut, being thereto desir'd; Mr. Mainwaring the Min^r read Prayers. Ps. 119. 67. bless, lord! This, if it might bee, I would chuse rather than a separate place but—*quos perdere vult Deus, eos dementat.*

8. to Boreatt. Mr. Hunt present Sheriff of Shropsh. 9. to Shrewsb. *Gen.* 22. 1. in much weaknes & straitnes, wherby my God humbles mee.

17. Publique Fast in ref. to Dutch war begun, concer. which that which satisfyes mee is 1. that the K. at least now hath a declared power in these matters concer. war & peace. 2. that the reasons given are of consequence, *viz.* their breach of late Treaty, refusing to acknowl. our power in y^e narrow Seas, fishing herein without our license, & allowing scandalous pictures, medals

* This had been tried before and failed. In the eighteenth century an amusing story is told of a Presbyterian obtaining permission to preach in the chapel of his brother, who was a Socinian, on condition that he did not touch upon disputed points, and beginning his address with these words: "Now that I have by what may be called a holy stratagem got possession of this pulpit, I am determin'd not to leave it until you have for once heard the Gospel," and then, etc.

&c. āgt his Ma^{ties} honor. *May* 3. 3. that our duty is to seek y^e good of our own people, though it were a Babylon. 4. that even y^e long Parl. did wage war with them on these occasions, nay on worse, one offence being that they harbour'd the K's exild Freinds, wherein wee think now they did well. But they are Protestants, hinc illæ lachrymæ, thou God of peace, make peace, if not, thou lord of hosts cover our Armyes in the day of battle, bee a wall of fire round about us & y^e glory in the midst of us. Amen!

4. with John Bill to Stafford, good discourse by the way, no hurt or hindrance, blessed bee God.

5. preacht twice. Pro. 14. 9. betwixt 12 & 2, & betwixt 4 & 6. also twice hearing in publike, Mr. Bailey y^e Min. T. *Ezek.* 33. 12. *Jam.* 5. 18. this I thought fit to doe, with ref. to some freinds doing otherwise there, if phaps my example may bee moving to any, however certainly the contrary would have y^m in that wherein I judge they are to blame, though indeed the Min^r bee a very aged weak man.

6. wee return'd homewards, cal'd at Okeley, Mr. Chetwood's, thence to Stych.

7. This day I receiv'd my license* unsought and unexpected. procur'd by Mr. Steel, sent in a post letter to Mr. Yates, who had

* The original is now in the possession of E. M. Williams, Esq., of Hale Cliff, Liverpool.

“CHARLES R,

“Charles by the Grace of God King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith &c. to all Mayors, Bayliffs, Constables, and other our Offices and Ministers, Civil and Military, whom it may concern, Greeting—In pursuance of Our Declaration of the 15th of March 167½ We have allowed, and We do hereby allow of a Roome, or Roomes in the house of Philip Henry in Malpas Parish Flintshire to be a place for the use of such as do not conform to the Church of England who are of the Perswasion commonly called Presbyterien to meet and assemble in, in order to their Publick Worship and Devotion. And all and singular our Officers and Ministers Ecclesiastical, Civil and Military, whom it may concern, are to take due notice hereof: And they, and every of them, are hereby strictly charged and required to hinder any tumult or disturbance, and to protect them in their said Meetings and Assemblies.

“Given at our Court at Whitehall, the 30th day of April, in the 24th year of Our Reign, 1572.

“By His Majesties Command,

“Meeting Place
in Malpas Parish.”

“ARLINGTON.

publisht it before I knew it, else my intention was to have said nothing, a while.

11. to Torporley, 12. where wee spent the sabb. Mr. Sheret askt, without my privity, to let mee preach in publ. but refus'd, Evening. *Gen.* 22. 1.

21. met Mr. Grimes als Chambers from london going with his Family tow. Dublyn to his congregation there, from whence long exil'd. that night with Mr. Malden to Nantwych.

22. a handful of seed sown, bless lord. *Math.* 25. 29. cald at Deerfold.

June 1. Newes came of the late bloody fight betw. us and the Dutch, near our own costs.* E. of Sandwych slain & all his men near 1000. in y^e royal Katharin, which was burnt, his body afterw. found floting in y^e water & honorably bury'd at his Majesty's charges, brought by water from Deptford to Westm^r many ships disabld & many men wounded & slain.

2. At Cap. Taylors, a Sac^t. T. aftern. Heb. 13. 9. tis a good th. y^t y^e heart bee stablisht with gr.—lord, establish my heart for tis very loose and wavering to & in my duty. The good Gentlewoman there ill, I am afraid not like to be long in the land of the living, but twill bee well with her, the loss will be theirs that must stay behind.

3. Home in safety, where all well, blessed bee God. Mrs. Gardiner came with mee & stay'd till that day sennight, told mee by the way of what various afflictions God had exercis'd her with in y^e Death of many children and afterw^{rds} her husband in leicestersh. a country where shee was a stranger, but under all the lord sustaynd her.

Strange reports of the success of the French agt y^e Dutch, many Townes taken with small resistance.

though wee are to love our own nation better than any nation

* This was the battle of Solebay, on May 28th. The English and French fleets lay in a very negligent posture, and Sandwich, an experienced officer, having given the Duke of York warning of the danger, was told in reply that there was more of caution than courage in his apprehensions. He killed Van Ghent, a Dutch admiral, and beat off his ship; he sunk another ship, which ventured to lay him aboard; he sunk three fireships. His vessel was torn in pieces with shot, and of a thousand men she contained, near six hundred were laid dead upon the deck; another fireship having laid hold of his vessel, he refused to make his escape and bravely embraced death (Hume).

in the world yet tis matter of lamentation that a Tribe should fall in our Protestant Israel.

lord, by whom shall the Protestant Israel arise for it is low?

Mr. John Griffith marry'd at Dyches to Mrs. Sarah Richardson by Mr. Mainwaring, I gave them afterw. an exhortation sutable to the occasion. *1 Cor. 7. 39. only in ye lord!* lord, give thy blessing. They were troubl'd by the Bish. Court, that twas done in a house.

Three fires in london within few dayes, one at S^t Katharines near the Tower, another in the Minoryes, another in Bishops-gate-street. the lord is still calling to contend by fire, how long, lord!

licenses still freely granted into all p^{ts} to all partyes. There are many thoughts of heart about them, what may be in the end thereof, but let us mind our duty & let God alone to order events which are his work & not our's. I have often said, hee that observes the winds shall not sow & hee that regards the clouds shall not reap.

Some think by accepting of y^{em} wee give y^e King a power above the lawes, so wee doe above such bad lawes as y^t of uniformity. Others think twill end in a severe Tax upon licens'd meetings & p.sons distinct from others: Others in a Massacre, it being now known where such people may bee mett with, as if they all had but one neck.

24. I preacht at Marton in Shrops. where was a great appearance of people. T. Act 9. 11. behold hee prayeth—*D.* tis evermore the companion of true conversion to sett people a praying. The lord was pleas'd to give his gracious assistance. blessed bee his name, & if any one soul were but truly set praying I have abundant recompence of my poor paines. Having been long without rayn wee prayed earnestly for that mercy, & the lord was pleas'd to answer immediately & for several dayes after, his holy name bee praised for it.

I went that evening to Boreatton & was refreshed there.

25. thence to Stanwardine, where wee were at noon feasted, present, Mr. Hunt, Sheriff &c. and Min^{rs} Mr. Bateman, once of Harrow, near london, Mr. Bee, now near Plash, Mr. Taylor, Mr. Sam. Edwards & my self. that night home & all well, blessed bee God!

This day Sarah went to Table at uncle Hotchkis to goe to school to Sarah Micklewright, for a while during this summer, the lord in mercy preserve her there & prosper y^e meanes of her education & give her & y^e rest of them that better p^t that shall never bee taken away from them. Amen!

July 1. About this time Cosin Kirk bringing her 6 children, little ones to Bryn, one fell sick there of small pox, y^e rest return'd & all had it whereof two, an only son & a daughter dy'd & were bury'd together, Bryn-children also all sick, and mine spar'd, blessed bee God!

3. I preacht at Wrexhā at Mr. Hughs house having first show'd both his license & mine to the Justices, who endors'd their names on the Back-side; T. *Luk.* 7. 31. &c. I repeated again at Even. 7. a clock & hope, some good was done.

4. to Chester. 5. discourst with Mr. lawr. Fogg touching Conformity, declaring the reasons of my dissent, which are. 1. I *scruple* to bee reordayn'd, however in y^e present way. 2. to declare my assent & consent to y^e liturgy. 3. to renounce y^e Covenant as an oath in its. unlawful, which are the common stumbling stones to mee with others. Wee reason'd long but neither hee proselyted to mee nor I to him—Home that night late in safety, blessed bee God!

9. Cosin Tho. Hotchkis & his wife & two daughters with us from London.

15. Mr. Randle Shenton's house, Kill & Barnes were burnt at noon-day, near Nant-wych, through the carelessness of servants drying Hemp upon y^e Kyll; Hee was then at Coventry & saith about 1 a clock y^t morning hee arose affrighted with a light shining in at window, w^{ch} was a star extra-ordinary, supposing y^e Town had been on fire, & that meeting one of his neighb. in his way homewards, one of his first qu. was, is my house safe from fire—His loss is generally computed to neer 400^{lb} in building, goods, malt, chees, tow—&c.

lord, what poor th. are these which a spark of fire extra-ordinary may take away from us.

This day, I wayted on S^r Tho. Hanmer to shew him my license, who perus'd it but said little.

31. I preacht the second lecture at Wrexham at John Hughs

house. *T. luk.* 17. 26. &c. security & sensuality like to bee raining sins in Gosp. times—lord, awaken people to see it, lest the day come upon them at unawares—Mr. Goodwin of Bolton had preacht before in y^e morn. & repeated again in the evening.

August 1. At Marchwiell at the Buryal of my dear & precious freind Mrs. Kath. Taylor, of Plas-dio, who sleepeth in Jesus. A great miss like to bee of her both in House and neighbourhood, help, lord.

4. Tis good for mee to draw near to God! the oftener & the nearer, the better. lord, how sweet is Heaven indeed, if Heaven upon earth have so much sweetness in it.

8. I preacht y^e 1st lecture at Mr. Yate's house in Whitch. *T. Heb.* 12. 15. looking diligently lest any man fayl of y^e grace of Cod.

9. I receiv'd other 10^{lb} from Mr. Aldersea, towards the erecting of Hanmer-school, the former being dispos'd of in making a Kyl of Brick & part of this also. See an account how elsewhere.

20. Some dampes in my work, help, lord, thy poor servant that my faith fail not. I doe not know that I ever saw my way clearer, why then art thou cast down ô my soul!

September 2. I said, my present lesson that I am learning is to redeeme time, lord, teach mee and enable mee so to doe.

My team went to Kenwick park for a load of Timber towards Hanmer new school-house.

5. Mr. Sadler at Alkinton, *Gen.* 3. 9. *Adam where art thou!* Sin will certainly find us out. Daughter Ann not well all day, it may bee the small Pockes, lord, fit us for thy will & bee our Portion, for ever! I contracted Georg Webb to Mary Wolrych *i.e.* receiv'd from them before witness a declaration of their intention to marry each other in convenient time, withal exhorting them & praying with them & for them.—the lord hear & have mercy.

12. I exhorted. *lev.* 10. 3. & prayd with Rich. Taylor of Norman's Heath & his wife with some few others on occasion of y^e sad condition of their daughter Mary, whose Arraignm^t approaches for supposed murder of a bastard child that God would give her repentance & them patience to undergoe such a sad Providence. Amen. Shee suffer'd afterw. Oct. 2, & gave hopes

of true Remorse, lord, let others hear & fear & doe no more præsumptuously.

17. To Dyches that night, where I lodg'd. 18. to Marton. T. Act. 16. 9. Mr. Nevet clos'd. Act. 3. 1. and pronounc't the blessing, which somet. hee hath not done. hee spoke by way of dislike of y^e ordinary names of y^e dayes of y^e week, bec. deriv'd from Saxon Idols, Tuisco, Woden. Thor, Friga, which I beleive but few present knew before. that night to Dyches again.

21. Son Mathew sickned.

26. to Nantwyth, full of cares & feares concer. my dear Child, but I roll mys. upon the Almighty, saying, lord, I goe in thy name to doe thy work abroad. doe thou mine at home, Amen. T. Act. 16. 9. I visited Mrs. Bronchal dying & prayd with her, lord, hear & help—Sweet mettings of soul in the night season, sin confest & bewayld, attonem^t receiv'd, resignation made of son & all to y^e will of God without Reserve, yet crying. lord, spare!

27. homewards early betw. hope & fear but God had mercy, Son better, blessed bee his name!

17. Secr. m. pr. omitted through hast & carelesnes, bewayld. pdon'd, not bec. seldom guilty that way but bec. X^t dyed.

October. 1. To Drayton. Pr. 17. 16. Mr. Cox his house licens't, an encouraging Auditory, several Persons of quality, 'tis not the Poor only that receive y^e Gosp. blessed bee God!

2. I discourst with Mr. Millington y^e Min^r who distasted their liberty, prætending it was, bec. they had not first askt his advice, brought Mr. Cox to him, who acknowledgd they had done better if they had, which skin'd the sore at present but I expect twill break out again, for his Heart is not with it—I din'd at Stych, thence home in safety, blessed bee God. 3. At Alkinton—Mr. Taylor T. Phil. 3. 20. I learnd that our entrance into Heaven is in this present life at conversion as Heaven is a State. not as tis a place of blessedness: lord, acquaint mee more & more with that blessed life. 6. a very wett season, much of harvest out yet in many places, also seedness hindred—lord hear prayers & pdon sin & in the midst of wrath remember mercy. 10. feares of being made high Constable but it prov'd otherw.

15. at Bryn. to bless God for y^e recovery of that good Gentleman. Exod. 23. 25. tis God that takes sickness away from y^r midst of us.

27. Mr. leigh at chap. *Ps.* 130. 4. There is forgiveness with thee. Mr. Jenings son William baptiz'd. the first of 7 or 8 that lives.

November 5. a day of thankful remembr. of God's great mercy to these nations—*ibid.* command deliverances for Jacob.

8. Præpar. F. at Bo. *Ps.* 51. 17. concerning brokenness of Heart. Newes came of y^e death of lady Pagett, which was y^e better born, after a praying day, blessed bee God who times all th.

11. home by Stanw. & Whottal in much mercy, to God bee glory. Most people look upon marriage only as a license to lye together, which they might not before, and not as an Ordinance of God, which hee blesses for the making of two one, for the endearing of hearts & affections & for the bringing forth of a godly seed.

I conceive it is a fault in freeholders that are wise & honest that they doe not appear as they ought at Assizes & Sessions, which would prævent many wrong verdicts—Tis a Duty they owe their countrey—Reprove for y^e neglect of it & exhort to it. Mr. Palmer of Wanlip in leicestsh. told mee hee had the following narrative from the mouth of S^r Francis Nethersole, who was a Courtier and servant to Pr. Henry at y^e time of y^e Powder treason, *A.* 1605. namely, that K. James knew of y^e Design all along, being discoverd to him by Hen. 4. of France, to whom a Jesuite declar'd it, hoping for his Assistance, but hee pceiving y^e Spaniard chief & fearing it might make him too great, chose rather to discover it. That the King did purposely prorogue the Parliam^t once & again, to give y^e Plotters the more space to draw in others to them. That the letter was written by Cecil & sent to lord Monteaagle purposely to try his loyalty, That it was the reason of y^e murther of Hen. 4. by a Jesuite hand not long after.

Hee told mee of one Barrowdale a sadler in lutterworth in leicestersh. a wicked liver, lately, since Mich. 72. who heard a voice saying to him as hee lay in his bed, goe to Mr. Cross, as Non-conf. Min^r in y^e Town, wth hee delaying to doe, it bid him again y^e 2nd time, then hee went. heard him preach, & is become a reformed man. this hee had a fortnight since from Mr. Cross hims. *Nov.* 8. 1672. *Nov.* 9. a whale at Shrewsb. taken in

Severn not far from Gloucester, six yards long—seen by multitudes.

Mem. lent this year to the lord 12^d in every pound receiv'd.

| | | viz. | | | |
|------------------------|-----|------|----------------------|--------|---|
| from Iscoyd ... | ... | ... | 38 ^{lb} ... | ... | whereof 1 ^{lb} 18 ^s 0 |
| from Bron. & Will. ... | ... | ... | 65 ^{lb} ... | ... | whereof 3 ^{lb} 5 ^s 0 |
| | | 103 | | 5 03 0 | |

Of thine own lord doe I give thee.

| | | lb. | s. | d. |
|--|-----|-----|----|----|
| to the School of Hammer in Mr. lloyds hands of Halghton | ... | 60 | 13 | 4 |
| with interest for 7 y—s ending Mich. 1671—bating 6 ^s 8 ^d | ... | 6 | 13 | 4 |

The diary for 1673* belongs to the Rev. Alfred James, Rector of Burwarton, Salop, who has kindly allowed me to take a copy of it.

1673.

A Knight of Cheshire lately being importun'd by a poor widow to forgive her ten groats of Rent, which shee was behind, was pswaded to it by one y stood by, saying, S^r shee's a poor widow, use her well & shee'l pray for you. hee answ. doe you use her well & let her pray for you. this I had from R. B. a tenant of his who heard him.

Fib. 10. At Chester, chusing a new Burghess upon the Death

* Written at beginning of this volume :

“ 1673.

An original vol. of the Rev^d Philip Henry's Diary in his own handwriting given to me at Worcester by Mrs. Osborn July. 1815.

J. B. WILLIAMS.

Lot 104 Books.
Sotheby. March. 1853.

W. TITE.

Bought at Sir W. Tite's sale in 1874 for 15/6

A. JAMES.”

of worthy Mr. Ratcliff, 10 men were trod to Death, coming down a payr of Staires. Col. Worden & Mr. Williams stood for it.

Mar. 20. Dr. Burrel chancellor of York & Durham, Parliam^t man for Rippon, made a bitter speech in the House of Commons agt the intended liberty, wherein hee reproched Calvin, calling him Jack Calvin; That night hee dyed suddenly in his chair in his lodgings. This is certain. (letter from Mr. E. 1.).

Remember, that if trouble come for what wee doe now in the use of present liberty, I neither shrink from it nor sink under it, for I doe therein approve my selfe to God & to my own Conscience in truth & uprightnes, who can & will certainly both bear mee out & bring mee off with comfort in the end; I say, remember & forget it not; this 24th day of March 167³.

May. Mr. John Taylor Min^r near Dudley in Staffordsh. having been for a while a Non-conf. afterw. did all & was praesented to a living by y^e lord Ward, upon y^e marriage of a second wife with whom tis said hee had 1500^{lb}. hee was a very covettuous, penurious man, wrote deeds & bonds & took y^e common pay for doing it. This man in this month came to his Brother's house in Blimhll parish near Weston and there hangd hins. in the chamber where hee lay, with a hat-band upon a Bucks-horn, A paper was left by him upon y^e Table with y^e words therein written, Blame no man for my Death, you know my hand-writing, So I cease to bee, John Taylor. I have been an evil doer but hope to find mercy with God for Christ his sake. 'Tis said having skil in the law, hee had so disposd of his psonal estate, being 3000^{lb}, y^t y^e law could take no hold of it.

this I had from Mr. Malden who had it from Mr. Wood, who was there and saw him hang in the place.

A passage in a letter of D^r Fowlers to Mr. Morgan of Whitch. Feb. 3. 167³ upon occasion of his desiring him to give way y^t his child might bee baptiz'd without the Cross and God-fathers, if hee would not doe it hims. both which hee refus'd.—For my part I freely profess my thoughts, that the strict urging of indifferent Cæremonyes hath done more harm then good, and possibly (had all men been left to their liberty therein) there might have been much more unity & not much less uniformity, But w^t power have I to dispense with mys. being now under the

Obligation of a law & an oath.—I am much greived at the unhappy Condition of mys. & other Min^{rs} who must either lose their Parishioners love, if y^e doe not comply with them. or else break their solemn Obligations to please them——

January 1. At Moston at John Lawrence's. Col. 1. 18. That in all th. hee might have y^e præminence, lord Jesus, thine it is, I give it thee this day, beginning the year with thee, lord, make it to mee a year of mercy.

11. Mrs. Richardson, her son Joshua, Mr. John Shenton with ns, shee is motion'd to marry Steward Jebb of Wem, I pray God direct her, y^t shee may doe noth. to greive her freinds, to reflect upon her first husb. or that may prove an occasion of bitterness to hers.

13. To Sweeney alone but God was with mee. 14. preacht there *T. Heb.* 12. 15. looking diligently least any man fayl of y^e gr. of God, lord if it bee thy will, let none fayl y^t heard mee. 15. home-wards, dropped a word at Elsmere at Fran. Woofes. *Rom.* 19. 11. *knowing y^e times*, lord bless.

21. to Capt. Taylors. where I miss the good Gentlewoman who sleepes in Jesus. 22. to Wrexham. *Luk.* 19. 44. tis an undoing sin not to know y^e time of our Visitation. 23. homewards, cald at Mr. Joseph Hanmer's, content but not pleasd in our present liberty.

30. wee remembred this day y^e death of Charl. I. with greif & prayer that God would please to forgive it. *Exod.* 20. 5. *visiting y^e iniquity*.

Feb. 1. *Ps.* 82 in course expounded, a seasonable word in this juncture, God standeth in the congregation of the mighty. 3. a letter sent to Oxon. to John Weld, I pray God to give it good speed, for his freinds' & for his soul's sake. 4. to Boreatton, full of the goodness of the lord & not without some inward sense of it, though not such as I would—5. preacht at Marton, *Rom.* 2. 4. I hear of good done there, since y^e lecture came amongst them, wherein I greatly rejoyce & let God have the glory; In y^e evening I spake with one woman, under trouble, who saith, shee will never doe as shee hath done: back y^t night to Boreatton, where I stayed till Sabb. day desiring to doe good, but the good which I would doe I doe it not, I am

sure I receive good. 7. Mrs. Richardson marry'd Mr. Jebb of Wem, contrary to the advice of most of her Freinds, hee being a pson quite of other principles from her former husband but hee promises fayr, & if what hee hath bee cheif in her aym, either God will cross her in it or hee goes out of his ordinary road. 9. At Bo. covenants seal'd afresh with the lord, Amen! Aftern. in pulp. at Petton—full of distractions but bewayld, the lord p'don, & water the seed! That night to Cousin Chamber's. my Sabbath even. are best to mee at home.

13. To Wrexham. lodgd at Mr. Mainw. 14. Solemn fast* there. T. *lam.* 3. 38. 15. Safe home, with some sweet meltings of soul by the way, for w^{ch} God bee praised. 16. Mr. leigh at chap. discourse at noon not altogether suteable to y^e Sabb. concer. cærem. but someth. sayd in publ. led to it, *viz.* y^t y^e Magistr. hath power in imposing gestures & vestures. *Neg.* 19. home, cald at Stych, chode with Mr. Millingt. with more heat than such th. are worth. 20. Mr. Malden at Alkinton. *John* 5. 40. yee will not come, lord I will, I doe come to y^{ee} y^t I may have life.

26. at linea. T. *Math.* 24. 44. bee yee also ready, hee that's ready to dye is fit to live. 27. at Willingt. Mr. Keeling. *Pr.* 3. 6. glad to see many of my old Parishioners from Worthenb. there, for whom I have a dear love & whose welfare I desire with my whole heart; but, which is my greif, I cannot bee to them what I would. Mr. Keel. this morning baptizd a child of Tho. Jackson named Georg. at home, four present, somew. irregular but better so than worse. 'Tis like they may hear of it again, When time serves.

3. Reports of Indulgence intended by y^e Parl. but not in the way as now it is. *Pro.* 19. 21. 'Tis somew^t to see y^e same psons who awhile since layd on y^e yoke now yeilding, at least in p^t, to take it off again.

10. Difference high betw. K. & Parl. touching Papists, y^e King yeilded, the lawes ag^t them should be put in execution.

12. Mr. Roger Hanm^r dyd.† Ps. 39. 6.

* Why was this self-appointed fast a *solemn* one, while "the season of Lent has no warrant from the Word, to justify its observance"? Cf. diary for 1065, February 12. The answer is always the same—disregard of authority.

† This was, perhaps, son to the Roger Hanmer—buried at Overton Maddock. August 19, 1664—who left Gredington to his grand-nephew, Sir John Hanmer, by whom it was sold to Vicar Hylton.

15. at home each night this week & last, not usual of late. time not fill'd up, lord p'don ! This day twelve-month y^e Indulgence bare date, & wee hear now, the broad seal is taken off from it again at the Parliament's desire. Out of y^e mouth of y^e most high proceedeth not evil & good?—Great mercy that Health hath been thus long in my family, to God bee glory ! 16. Mr. leigh at chap. *Mar.* 8. 26. what loss is comparable to y^e loss of the soul or what gain can countervail it? lord, w^ever I lose, let my soul bee saved in y^e day of X^t J. 17. Reports affrighten as if an after reckoning must come for y^e use of past liberty, the will of the lord bee done, Amen !

18. Mr. Roger Hann^r bury'd, uncertain who shall enjoy what hee hath left behind him. relations striving already about it—19. At home in quiet undisturbed study, blessed bee God. 20. At Wem & Drayton, I hear their lecture this week fell for fear, Procl. agt Papists but wee not mention'd. 21. at night, several troubles from dreames, lord save mee from the hands of those that hate mee & more now than ever. 23. A precious Sabb. & Sacr. day. perhaps the last, Father thy will bee done, tis good for us to be at such uncertaintyes for now wee receive our liberty from the hand of our Father fresh every day. which is best & sweetest of all. 25. Fast at Cos. Bennett's. Mr. Malden preacht. T. *Eccles.* 7. 14. God hath set the one over agt the other, prosperity over agt Adversity. sweetly intermixing the one with the other & all for y^e good of his chosen. Amen ! 26. To Nantwich. *Ex.* 23. 25. tis a great mercy w^h God takes sickness away from y^e midst of us. 27. by Deerfold* & Acton. 29. Parliam^t prorogu'd till Oct. 20 next. A bill of ease prepar'd, not finisht ; Act past to incapacitate Papists from Offices of power & profit.

April. 1. Great scarcity of Fodder, many sustain'd great losses in cattle. The weather extra-ordinary Cold & wett, spring backward, lord, thy hand is lifted up & I see it, ô contend not with us in thine anger.

4. letter from london wth saith, it is suppos'd wee are to take no notice of any th. but may plead our licences till revok'd. In y^e present juncture wee are at great uncertaintyes but for my part I have given up all to the will of God & am in this further con-

* The name is now corrupted into Dorfold.

firm'd by w^t y^e Parl. did, that tis now it seemes their Opinion, that tis fit wee should have liberty to preach, at least for a year & if y^e Quarter-sessions grant it.

9. Robert Benyon troubled at Quarter Sess. by D^r F. procurem^t, touching accounts for highw. 7 or 8. y. since,—the accounts found & found true, to his credit & his Adversaryes shame. their spight tow. him is much bec. his house a licenst house, but if so & his ends therein bee right they cannot hurt him.

23. To Newport, alone, but y^e lord was with mee & I had often sweet communion with him by the way which is my strength & song.

24. preachd there—*Ps.* 9. 17. concerning hell, I trust not in vayne, many seem'd to be affected esp. at some reflections upon y^e late great fire in their town, lord, work with the word—home that night after alone. but weary, lord thou tellest my footsteps. At Whitch. I mett a letter of encouragem^t y^t y^e K. & council had order'd a letter to y^e Justices to forbear disturbing. lord, thou keepest us at uncertaintyes y^t our hope might bee in thee.

May. 1. Mr. Malden at Whitch. *T. Ps.* 4. 6. there bee many that say, who will shew us any good, lord, lift thou up y^e light of thy countenance upon mee. Amen! that night with wife to Ash, where comforted to see Religion uppermost.

7. At Bryn—Mr. Keeling—*T. Math.* 19. 22. worldly possessions keep many from X^t & salvation, lord, let not mee bee kept by them. wife ill at our return, but God had mercy.

12. Mr. Delaval of Wormbridge in prison for a small debt at Shrewsb. 25^s sent tow. his relief.

15. Mr. Malden at Alkint. that the soul is a man's principal one. theref. to bee car'd for above all & by no meanes to bee neglected. that night to Stych, Mr. Clive, ill lately, but at present upon recovery—*laus Deo.*

19. Alice Turner ill, pray'd with her, next day shee dy'd; It troubles mee, that by reason of going so oft from home & being so much in study wⁿ I am at home, I have so little time to visit neighbours, either sick or well.

26. To Oswestry, lodg'd at Mr. Nevets, whom though in some th. hee differ from mee, yet I greatly honor in y^e lord.

27. preachd in much weakness & distraction, more than

ordinary ; lord, to mee belongs shame. I see it is not in him y^t willeth nor in him y^t runneth but in God that sheweth mercy. The wind blowes where it lists. 'Tis somet. so when I preach a Sermon y^t I have preacht before, esp. if any be present who had heard it ; Is noth of s. at bottom. lord p^don.

30. to Coo-lane, upon an errand from Cosin Benyon. son Mathew not well, given up sweetly, had again.

June. 1. Mr. Green at chap. seem'd to say someth. with reflection, mark them that cause divisions, serving their own belly—lord, I can only appeal to thee & say, if I seek mys. in what I doe or my own th. & not the good of soules, and the advancem^t of thy glory, if I doe it in any resp. to divide, then fill my face wth shame & let my enemyes have power over mee, but if otherw. lord take my p^t & plead my cause & clear my integrity for thy mercy sake.

3. To Weston, where I heard y^e worthy Mr. Berisford, once Min^r of Derby, now living in Salop. *Phil.* 2. 15. holding forth the word of life. Cosin Tho. Jackson ill, lord, spare, if possible.

4. at Bryn-rynnen. *Math.* 13. 33. with sweet enlargem^{ts} in my poor measure & manner, lord, p^don & heal & help & leven y^e country with thy holy Gosp. Amen.

12. It pleasd God to call my dear Freind & kinsman & neighbour Thomas Jackson of Bron : I was several times with him in his sickness and prayd with him, but his distemper was such as took away his speech from him, so that hee could not give his Testimony as a dying Christian should to the good way wherein he had walked, but God's will was it should bee so, wherein I acquiesce. 'Twas well, hee had nothing of his great work to doe then, for if hee had, I know not how it would have been done. His distemper workt also into a continual drowsines for several dayes & nights before hee dy'd, w^{ch} though it may bee it was to him a meanes of ease from payn, yet it was to those about him very uncomfortable.

26. Cosin Mitchel came to us out of Ireland, had not seen him in more than 20 y.

27. At Ash. *Exod.* 23. 25. Bond deliver'd up whereby I was bound with Cosin Benyon to Mr. Edwards for 100th payd.

I am now in Bonds for no man & no man for mee—a great mercy, blessed bee God.

July. 8. Cosin Mitchel went towards london, I lent him horse, saddle. Buskins, & 20^s, in lieu whereof hee left here—his Horse & Saddle & Boots.

little Nag cost 1^{lb} 10^s—saddle 6^s 0—sold for as much.

August 24. This day compleats y^e 42^d year of my age; As was sayd by Sir Rob. Harley, I would bee loth to live it over again, lest instead of making it better, I should make it worse, and besides, every year & day Spent on earth is lost in heaven.

About this time my dear Sister Kath. was marry'd to Mr. Tobias Ellis, and I wisht her as much comfort in the marry'd State as I had found before her and more shee need not desire.

October. Rich. lewnes of Alkinton wood, having taken a hard bargain, distrusted the divine Providence, & went from his house, not telling whither hee went, they suppos'd hee had made away hims. but at the weekes end hee return'd, but could give no account where hee had been, only sayd, wandring; hee was almost spent through cold, hunger, & watching, but after a week or 10 dayes recover'd again, din'd wth mee Nov. 5. & I verily intended some discourse with him concerning his affayres, but had not opportunity that day & so put it off; within few dayes after hee fell sick & dy'd.

lord help all thy people agt their evil heart of unbelief, & mee, esp. mee, lord! Amen!

November 24. Cosin Mitchel went from us towards Ireland, I hope, better than when hee came; I had much comfort & refreshment by him in talking over the passages of my Infant age & childhood, wherein hee brought many things to my remembrance, which I had forgotten, and in lieu thereof I heartily endeavour'd the good of his soul; hee went hee said, resolv'd for God & for Religion bewayling past miscarriages, one espec. from which the lord in mercy cleanse him, by the blood-shedding of precious Jesus.

I payd him five pounds for his horse which with 20^s lent before, made six pounds, and took a note from him of the receipt of it.

December. 9. this day Mr. Jenning's wife of y^e Wych was bury'd,

at Malpas, shee dy'd of the Small Pox. They had been marry'd 10 yeares in May last & shee had had 10 children all dead before her & now with child of the 11th.

24. Beatrice Rees, having been my servant 13 yeares, was marry'd this day to Francis Wolf of Elsmere—my hearts desire & prayer to God for them is, that they may prosper in this new relation & condition, but cheifly with Soul Prosperity—I judge y^m both as far as I can discern to bee psons fearing God, & so joyntly interested in y^e everlasting Covenant w^{ch} is y^e foundation of all true happines. Hee seald a writing whereby hee obliges hims. to settle on her 20^{lb} & half his psonal estate by his last will.

Shee had better y^{en} 20^{lb} of her own, to which I added a yeare's wages, being 1^{lb} 16^s 0.

31. to Nantw. through fowl wayes & much danger, but the lord was with mee. 1 Cor. 7. 29. 30.

1674.

Jan^y 13. To Sweeny. Rom. 6. 14. my soul hath oft been refreshed with that sweet word, wee are not under the law, but under grace—& I may say concern^d it tis all my salvation & all my desire, although Hee should not make my house to grow.

March 26. Cos. Mitchel return'd to us again out of Ireland, where hee met with troubles—his wife refus'd to leave her Mother to goe elsewhere from Boyle, to some other Town, there to live with him, whereupon he resolves now for Holland.

April 15. Cosin Dan Benyon was marry'd to Mrs. Ellen Ridgway, daug^r of Mr. Will. Ridgway of Cool lane—her portion 1100^{lb} wherewith hee discharged all or near all his debts. 800^{lb} being due to his 4 sisters—I heartily beg of God, wisdom & grace for them both, that they may live together as heires of y^e grace of life, & that I also may have comfort in it, as I was in a special manner instrumental in bringing it to pass, through some difficultys, judging it likely for their mutual good.

May 1. Susan Porter came to us from Wem to teach the children, the two elder to sew, the two young^r to read, for which, blessed bee God, they have capacity—Her wages to bee 40^s p^a ann. Lord make it a mercy to her as well as to our dear children.

July 1. Fast of W. B. of Br.—Mr. Nevett preacht. John 19. Thine they were, and Thou gavest them mee.—God the Father & God y^e Son, did from all Eternity conclude in a blessed covenant between them, concern^d the salvation of a Remnant of mankind—Lord what is man that Thou wert mindful of him? what am I? This distinguishing love cuts the sinews of Pride & calls for choice returns of thankfulness & obedience—Amen!—Mem. It had not rayn'd of many weekes before, & there was great drought, insomuch y^t y^e grass in many places was quite burnt up & the corn languisht—we sought unto the Lord in our trouble, & cryd unto him & hee heard us, even whilst wee were speaking, and gave us refreshing rayn that Ev^g & next day, for which for ever blessed be his holy name Ps. 116. 1. 2.

2. To Whettal where I met Mr. Lawrence with whose good company I would be filld. but the world to come, not this, is the filling world, with the Serv^{ts} of y^e Lord.

6. To Hardwick, where I met him again; at Mr. Clive's, now Sheriff, we lodg'd together that night at Maston, pray'd & preacht together next day Ps. 119. 132. *Acts* 18. 6. thanks bee to God & so parted.

Aug' 23. Mr. Ridgway of Cool-lane dy'd—It pleased God to enable him in his sickness to give an affectionate testimony to Religion—also to bear his payn with patience. & to yeild himself willingly to the stroke of death, in hope of a better life after.

Before he dy'd, he desired much to have seen his daug^r Benyon, then at London. but shee came too late.

He sealed a Request to his Son Will which was given into the hands of Mr. Cole, that he would, whⁿ Coo-lane Estate came to him, pay 300^{lb} to Mr. Will^m Dod of Blechley & mee, for the use of Cos. Benyon & their younger Children.

Every B^p dying is bound by law to leave to the King. 6 th. 1. his best horse or Palfrey with Bridle & saddle. 2. a cloke with a cape. 3. a cup wth a Cover. 4. a Bason & ewre. 5. a ring of Gold. 6. his Kennel of hounds. Cook.

1674. There bee 3 th: for which I am never the worse—but am often worse for their contraries.

1. I am never the worse for Abstinence, but often am for Fulness.

2. I am never the worse for heat from too many clothes, but often am from cold, when too few.

3. I am never the worse for silence but often am for speaking.

There are three things which I would not for a world have against me.

1. My own Conscience. 2. The word of God. 3. Y^r prayers of good people.

May 3. Mr. Beal, one of the Auditors of Revenue, having been long afflicted with greivous melancholy, threw himself out of his garret-window, into his garden, & dy'd immediately of the Fall. Hee was a good man & feared God above many—An astonishing Providence—Lord! how terrible art Thou sometimes to thine own children—Some drew this Inference from it, If Religion lead people to this, wee will never be religious. Others contra. If this bee done in the green tree, what shall be done in the dry!

Mr. Baxter, kissing the dead Body sayd, he did believe his soul to be as happy, as he did desire his own soul to bee.

One that had stolen a horse being taken was brought to Shrews^r Gaol, going over the bridge at the Abbey fore^d he leapt into Severn & swame thinking to make his escape, which, when hee saw hee could not hee drowned himself.

At the summer Assizes this year at Salop (Mr. Clive of Stych Sheriff) Mr. Keeling told mee, hee was with one condemned to dye, for stealing a horse, who before his Execution desired of him & Mr. Talents to give him the Sacra^t. which they endeavoured to satisfy him was not necessary, whereupon hee cal'd for bread & wine & himself took, eat, & drank, in remembrance that X^t dyed for him.

I have read a passage to like purpose of one in the book of Martyrs at S^t Albans.

June 25. Two youths drowned at Chester, bath^e themselves; they were fellow-apprentices & one near out of his time.

In an interesting manuscript, dated February 16, 167⁴/₅, he gives full particulars of a farm in Iscoyd, called "Estwick's

Tenement," which he bought from his friend Mr. Luke Lloyd, of the Bryn in Hanmer, being their ancient inheritance, as a younger branch of the Lloyds of Willington, from their progenitor, Tudor Trevor. The particulars enumerated in this manuscript, which covers twenty-four pages of a half octavo, are more suitable for a county history than for this book, but a few items may be given.

The Bargain concluded, &c., I. they sufficiently to convey to me ye sayd Farm wth th' appurtenances, as also a Rent of 5^s yearly issuing our of ye Hen-vayes &c. II. I to pay to them for y^e same y^e summ of 670^{lbs} viz. 165^{lb} before y^e Assize, at sealing the writings, 165^{lb} at y^e Assize y^e Fine &c. & the Remayning 340^{lb} at Midsummer following.

Feb. 22 up to Jun. 25. payd accordingly.

Apr. 19. At the Assize holden at Flint Luke Lloyd Sen^r Luke Lloyd Jun and Esther his wife and John Pryce acknowledg'd a fine before S^r Job Charlton.

For Council's expenses—Mr. John Hunt did all gratis, only I gave him a sett of Golden-hand-buttons worth about 15^s.

I had of Mr. Lloyd from Bryn. 6. Timber-trees which was part of bargain, out of which the place on y^e Green was rayl'd in &c.

I gave Oct. 28. 1675 more y^{em} bargain to Mrs. Lloyd Sen^r & to Mrs. Lloyd jun^r & to Cosin Robert Lloyd, to each of y^{em} a broad twenty shilling peice of Gold, & 5^s a peice to y^e two daught^{rs} Katharine & Sarah.

The reason why Mrs. Lloyd the elder joynd not in the Fine was because her husband by his Father's settlement was but Tenant for life to y^{es} lands &c. &c.

Mem^{dum}. The long Table which stands in the House was given to me by Mr. Lloyd Sen^r. Oct. 25. 1675.

Apr. 9. 1675. Thomas Ratcliff then payd to Tho. Burroughs servant to y^e lord Cholmley 1^s 8^d for y^e half year ending at lady day last, for w^{ch} hee gave acquittance. I to allow it in his Rent.

Mem^{dum}. This Rent of 3^s 4^d p. ann^m hath been long payd by

Mr. Lloyd and his Ancestors to lord Cholmley & his Ancest^{rs}, but for what, why or wherefore doth not appear, only y^e Ancient Deeds call it a Rent payable out of the Demeanes of Iscoyd.

Mem^{dm}—Y^e Baily refus'd to give Acquittance, bec. 'tis not us'd to other Tenants.

This seems to show how those Welshmen that retained their lands paid a poll-tax to the Norman lord at Malpas in and after A.D. 1066. Luke Lloyd's ancestor, Rhys Sais, was so called because he Saxon-ized, thereby saving his lands, when the Mercians overran the country. This poll-tax paid by Philip Henry to Lord Cholmondeley had its origin in the submission of Rhys Sais. But the princes of Powys claimed a lordship over the same lands, and (as we have seen) their rights were made over to the family of Lestrangle, and their representatives were the chief lords in English Maclor.

1675. Mem^{dm}. Widow Ratcliff holds y^e sayd Farm for this present year at the rent of 32^{lb}, to bee payd at Midsummer and Martinmas by equal portions. I to allow for all leyes and Taxes, except hearth money.

May 4. I then received from Thomas Nixon, 2^s 6^d being due at lady-day last from the Hen-vayes.

1680. Apr. 17. Rec^d the same—Thomas Nixon told mee this day that there is mention in his lease of this five shillings p. ann. payable out of his Tenem^t.

1682. Dec^r 8. Rec^d of Mr. Hanm^r of Fenns 5^s 0 being lady day & Mich. rent last past (hee proposes to buy it off, I yeilded hee should have it for 5^{lb}, as much as it cost mee) a lease was made of y^e Tenem^t to Widow Nixon this time twelve month for 21 yeares at 29^{lb} p. ann^m, but no mention made in it of this rent charge of mine; yet 'twas payd.

Mr. Hanm^r gave mee 5^{lb} for it. Apr. 27. 1688.

The following notice is also put in:—

Aug^t 11th 1681. This day the Widow Hamnett of Blacka. declar'd in the hearing of Peter Estwick, Thomas Ratcliff, and

Richard Hamnett that shee dwelt wth Sir Tho. Brereton above 50 y. agoe, at which time there dwelt in Mr. Lloyd's house one Randle Beckett who was appointed by Mr. Lloyd to secure his seat in the church belonging to the sayd house, and that upon a Whitsunday the widow Mullock came forcibly into the sayd seat and satt down upon the sayd Randle Beckett's lap whereupon Ann Ratcliff, being in the next seat behind the sayd Widow Hamnett, sayd to her, what needs this wrangling for they (meaning y^e widow Mullock & her family) have but one seat in this form. Sir Tho Brereton having a lease of the sayd Farm did appoint his servants to sitt in Mr. Lloyd's right in that seat together with Randle Beckett the under tenant ; shee also sayes shee had heard other folkes say that the higher part of the sayd Form did belong to Mr. Lloyd.

The manuscript contains also the particulars of the purchase of another small tenement :

from this time forward Sept. 14. 1687. it becomes my son's, and the Rent is to bee payd to him, viz. this Mich. Stage & so forward. God bless it to him. Amen.

I having received from him of his marriage portion 600^{lb} did resign to him this Tenem^t of Robinson's & Francis Huxley's on the Hall Green : both wth cost mee to Mr. Lloyd and David Estwick 750^{lb}.

The rents arising from Mr. Daniel Matthews' lands in Bronington and Willington were also held in trust for his son by Philip Henry, as appears elsewhere.

The diary for 1676 belongs to Mrs. Bunnell, of Croydon, to whom I am much indebted for permission to copy it.

—to know how to pass away our time is more useful then to know how our time passes away. Mr. Boyl. Occas. Refl.

Apr. 28. dy'd Mr. John Lancaster of Chester Iron-monger who by his last will & Testam^t gave a legacy of 40^{li} p. ann. for 14 y. next ensuing to poor Min^{rs}—ye words of ye will concer. that matter are as followeth—the Feoffees' names George Booth Esq.

John Wittar Apothec. Randle Dicas Linnen Draper, Jonathan Godson, mercer, Randle Wilson. Dyer. John Ludlow Apothec.

the profits of such a Tenem^t in the County of Denbigh, after repayres, being then sett for ye yearly Rent of 41^{li} 6^s 8^d

—shal give and distribute yearly according to their discretion to and among godly preaching Min^{rs} of the Gosp. which want and stand in need of relief from the charity of others, wherein my mind and will is that they shall have a special respect unto and care of such Ministers as shal be silenced or displaced for orby reason of his or their non-conformity to the Cæremonyes required by the Book of Common-prayer. And after the expiration of 14 y. then to the Maior and Sheriffs of ye city of Chester for ye time being for ye Releif of poor & aged Tradesmen of the said City—&c.

January. Cosin Benyon & his wife went from us after a year & quarter's sojourning with us, I hope to our mutual benefit and advantage; ô: what a blessed state is that which is reserved for us in the t'other world, when wee shal bee together for ever and with the lord, & each one wth his graces pfect & no mixture of sin or folly; *usque quo Domine!*

30. This day dy'd at london suddenly Mr. Edward West my very worthy good Freind pupil to Mr. Cole at Ch. Ch. & Tutor to Mr. Tho. Puleston at St. Mary-hall, 'twas Sabbath-day & hee had preacht twice at his meeting place. Hee was a pson of great ability for learning & of great prudence in conduct of Affayres.

February. 1. Cosin Ellen Benyon was delivered of her first born child, a daughter, named afterwards, Mary. the lord give her Mary's part. Both Cosin Benyon's mother & also his wife's mother was named Mary Knight, the one of Salop, the other of Barthomley in Cheshire.

Mar. 17. S^r Tho. Hanmer told mee, that hee and S^r Tho. Brereton* were Justices together in Maylors, which S^r Tho.

* Sir Thomas Brereton was brother of the last Sir Randle Brereton of Malpas. He lived at Wolvesacre Hall, in Iscoyd, and was high sheriff for the county of Flint in 1625. "The funerall of the Lady Alice his wyffe had been ryally solemnized y^e 14th of Sept^r 1622. nocte," at Malpas, and he was also buried there in 1643. In the Patent Rolls (Chester) of 12 Charles I. the fact of his having lately lived at Wolvesacre is mentioned. Sir Thomas Hanmer, who was godfather to him, died in 1545, and the Sir Thomas Hanmer who is

Brereton had for his God-father one S^r Tho. Hanmer that was among the Ancestors of the present S^r Thomas the Sixth upwards, So that either S^r Tho. Hanmer was then a very yong Justice, hee sayd about 20. or S^r Tho. Brereton very old, or the Hammers his predecessors lived but awhile. Hee said his father S^r John Hanmer dy'd at 33.

In March one Banister quarrelling on the way in lancash. with a servant of S^r Ralph Ashton's, ran him through the Body, whereupon, hee drew the sword hims. out of his own Body & ran Banister through with the same sword, who dy'd presently after, the other liv'd two or three dayes. and then dy'd also.

This Mr. Green told, it being near where Mr. Holland lives in lancashire.

I have received the five Volumes of Mr. Poole's Synopsis and doe acknowledge my self therewith super-abundantly satisfyd, returning hearty thanks to him for his worthy paynes & hearty praise to God for his gracious assistance, without which it could not have been brought to pass.

for Mr. Pool

P. H.

Oct. 31. 76.

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

1678.

Jan^y 28. The K. in Parl. declar'd his purp. of war with France in ayd of the Dutch. 29. voted a supply of 100 thous^d pounds p. mensem for 12 months.

Feb^y 26. Earl of Shaftesbury upon his submission after a y^{rs} speaking to Philip Henry is said to have been twelve years and fifty-six days old at his father's death in 1624.

* Cf. Appendix, p. 395.

Imprisonment in y^e Tower * was released. his crime was mayntayning that the Parl. was legally dissolved by an overlong prorogation, which hee acknowledg'd was an ill advised Action, as also his appealing upon a Habeas corpus to the K. Bench.

5. This day was remembered the sad & lamentable fire at Wem † which was about y^s time twelve-month, though it bee rising again out of its ashes, yet the burning of it sh^d not bee forgotten, esp. not the sin that kindled it. *Prov.* 3. 33.

6. Upon this day 33 y^r my dear Mother dy'd. When Mother forsook mee, the Lord took mee up—the thought whereof refresht mee this morn^g.

7. I planted an orchard at Tybr: house with my own hand 11 trees most of them, of my own grafting—now the Lord in mercy make y^m to prosper.

—Drums beating at Whit^h & elsewhere for Volunteers in order to a war w^h France, few but such listed themselves as might be well spared.

Poll-money granted by y^e Parl^t to carry on y^e war.

March 20. This day Mr. David Morrice of Pennabont J:P. in Montgom: & Denb: was drown'd in Tannat near his own house being on horse-back & in y^e daytime, & not drunk: not found quickly. when found, much bruised, his horse had thrown him in the water—Hee had been very bitter towards dissenters & severe in fining them. 'twas hee y^t prosecuted Mr. Kinaston & Mr. Barnett for y^e meeting 2 yeares since at Brangwyn and fin'd Mr. Barnett 20^{lb} for *preaching*, when he had only pray'd and read his Text (because that was a sign he intended to preach) and cast them in an appeal. Hee was indited last Assize at Denbigh by his fellow Justices for knavery in converting y^e poore's part of y^e fine to his own use. it is not long since hee said as I hear, that he would mend his course of life, but did not.

April 24. publique Fast, kept by command from authority, to implore a blessing upon his Majesty's person & government, & to avert those judgments that are justly due unto us, for our great

* When the Parliament met in February, 1677, it had been prorogued for a year and three months. Buckingham, Salisbury, and Wharton were also committed to the Tower, but, having apologized, were released after a few months' imprisonment.

† See Garbett's "History of Wem, Salop."

& crying provocations—Mr. Malden helpt us. at Br. O. T. *Mat.* 5. 47. Also Dan. 9. 17. Lord hear in heaven thy dwelling place & when thou hearest, forgive & have mercy & cause thy face to shine upon thy sanctuary which is desolate, for the Lord's sake!

9. The wall was begun betw. y^e hayhouse & sheepecote along the lane about 42 y^{ds}.^{*} The Lord give good speed in y^e undertaking, for except Ps. 127. 1.

21. The wall was finisht, blessed be God nor hurt done, nor that I know of never an oath sworn—It cost, y^e work men's wages at 4^d p. y^l, 2^{lb} 7^s 0^d.

October 1. Rumours of a Plot discovered agst the life of the King by papists.†

6. Sir Thomas Hanmer ‡ dy'd at Red-hall.

9. Mr. Chetwood of Oteley in Staff^{sh}.

10. Sir Peter Leicester in Chesh^r.

11. I wayted on Sir John Trevor at Emral, dined with him. had a deal of discourse both concerning publique affairs & other

* This is the sole relic of Philip Henry at Broad Oak, if we except the oak staircase and other fittings of the present farmhouse, with the pulpit cushion and some plain brass buttons.

† Humiliated as he was by the mortifying ceremony of begging pardon of the House of Lords and the king on his knees, the Popish plot gave Lord Shaftesbury the opportunity he had panted for, and before Parliament met in October of that year, he was himself again. "Such men as Shaftesbury and Buckingham doubtless perceived that the whole was a romance. But it was a romance that served their turn; and to their seared consciences the death of an innocent man gave no more uneasiness than the death of a partridge" (Macaulay). But compare 2 Kings xxiii. 26, 27, and xxiv. 3, 4.

‡ Sir Thomas Hanmer was the second baronet. He had been a page in the court of Charles I., and married, before he was of age, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Thomas Whittingham, in Suffolk, who was one of the maids of honour. At first he was on the king's side; but when the king began to treat with the Scots, he communicated the matter to the Parliament (see Thurloc Papers, iv. 319, Bodleian). In 1655 he was fined £1637 3s. 4d., and received acquittance from the Protector. Two of his houses had been held for the king during the wars, and Hanmer Hall had suffered so much that on his return he lived at the Red Hall (now Bettisfield Park), so called to distinguish it from Llys-bedydd, or Bettisfield Hall, which stood in the same township, and had gone by an heiress to the Fowler family. In Betham's "Baronetage," iii. 430, n., it is stated that Charles II., among other marks of royal favour, bestowed upon him an extensive coal-mine grant (on the Flintshire coast). Evelyn notes: "1657, April 21. Came Sir Thomas Hanmer of Hanmer in Wales to see me" (both took great interest in their flower gardens), and "1685, Jan. 24. I din'd at Lord Newport's, who had some excellent pictures, especially that of Sir Thos. Hanmer, by Van Dyke, one of the best he ever painted."

matters : He allow'd a lease made by Judge Puleston of the Govern^rs Tenem^t in Worthen^r to Rob^t Bickley & his Assigns.

A month of great transactions in our high places. The Parliam^t sitting, more & more discovereyes made about the Popish plot by Oats and Bedlow : Mr. Coleman * had his tryal in Westminster hall, was found guilty & executed ; five Jesuits & preists Whitbread Fenwick Grove Pickering Ireland try'd in the Old Bailey, y^e two former acquitted, bec. but one witness agst them. the three last found guilty & condemned, not as Priests but Plotters.

20. One Harcourt a Priest taken about Stoke was examined at Whit^h by the Justices & committed to Shrews^r—A stranger coming in, knew him by the token y^t y^{cy} had played together one Sab. day at a Gent^{ns} house at cards for prayers, by the same token, hee thought much to stake his prayers agst the Gentⁿ being a Protestant, unless a Gentⁿ standing by being a Papist would be his surety & second.

The Treasurer impeached in his articles. Sir Thos. Osborn, now Earl of Danby, for obstructing the discovery of Popish Traytors. for engaging the King in unnecessary expences, for appropriating to himself several parcels of y^e Crown inheritance, for subverting the Govern^t & seeking to set up a standing army, hindering its disbanding, & tampering with Embassadors, Hee made his defence in the house of Peers.

Dec^r 24. This morn dy'd Mr. Morgan of Whit^h suddenly, a good Man, but of a melancholy spi^t. 2 or 3 yeares since hee complain'd to mee of a bad smell hee had about him & which hee could by no means get rid of. I imputed it to his fancy, but doe now begin to think that there might be something more in it, since I underst^d such sudden deaths are often the effects of damps arising within y^e body, like those which arise in pits in the Earth, upon which follows suffocation.

Dec. 28. This day I heard of the death of my good friend Mrs. Elenor Horsey of Ionston in Pemb^r who dy'd of cancer in the breast about a month since. Mr. Arthur Owen, Memb. of Parl^t who had sojourned with her many years dy'd in her house,

* Philip Henry said that "the country was swarming with Jesuits," and so, in naming Coleman, Oates seems to have made a lucky hit.

about a month before her. Shee left only one daughter Elizth marry'd to Mr. Owen, nephew to the said Mr. Arthur Owen.

I doe not conform to the liturgy &c. as a Min^r to read it that I may bear my testimony agst Prelacy.

I doe conform to y^e liturgy as a private person to hear it in public Assembly that I may bear my Testimony agst Independency. —looking upon both of them as by paths, the one on the left hand, the other on the right, and *the truth* * between them.

I hear that D^r Stern Archb: of York, hath founded 15 Scholarships in Jesus Coll. Camb^r. 15th a peice p ann. for Ministers' Sons whose fathers are dead.

Three things I doe not like in the Independent way.

1. That they unchurch the nation.
2. That they pluck up the hedge of Parish order.
3. That they throw the Ministry common & allow persons to preach who are unordayned.

In 2 things they are to be commended—1. That they keep up discipline among them.

2. that they love, & correspond with one another.

If I were an Independent, I must be an Anabaptist, for if Baptism bee the door into the Christian-church & I am no church-Member till I embody in that way, then I must come in by that door.

Sept^r 10. I rece^d from Mr. Bury 12 of his books viz.

6. of occasl. meditations
- 6 ags^t Drunkenness.

for which I sent him 20^s Oct^r 12.

[Dormant window to the entry-chamber May 20.]

The diary for 1679 belongs to Thomas Lawrence, Esq., of Birmingham, to whom I am indebted for the loan of it.

1679.

Mr. Baxter sayes, the Parish of S^t Martins in which hee preacht & S^t Giles in which hee liv'd. A. 1676. are supposed to have

* To the inquiry of a papist, "Where was your Church before the Reformation?" an Episcopalian wittily replied by another, "Where was your face to-day before you washed it?" But if "the truth" lies between Episcopacy and Independency, it had no dwelling-place amongst men until the sixteenth century.

1000000. soules or near, of which it is supposed that not above 6000. can heare in the Parish churches at the most—In his Reply to Danvers. an o. I suppose too much *p.* 55.

At Drayton this summer a swarm of Bees knit upon a horse back in the Pinfold & stung him to Death. Hee that impounded the Horse is like to pay the price of him, because hee put a bridle in his head & rode him thither from y^e ground in which hee took him, which it seemes hee ought not to have done.

January. The beginning of this year was rough and unpleasant, as to publique Affayres; The Parliam^t suddenly prorog'd till Feb. 4. in the midst of their pursuits, touching y^e late Plot, the impeachm^t of y^e Treasurer, y^e E. of Danby.* Twas sayd y^e K. had pleased three, the D. of York, the Dutchess of Portsmouth, & y^e Papists & displeas'd three, England, Scotl. & Irel. by doing this.

Deborah Brookfield went from us after two yeares continuance with us, I wish I could say, proportionably better; Sarah Probart came again to live with us in her stead, lord, let her soul live in thy sight!

9. I had a great deal of mercy in my preservation within sight of home upon y^e little green, my mare threw mee & w^a I was down, in getting up trode upon mee with 3 of her feet, one on y^e smal of my back, another on my right arm, y^e third upon my head, from each of which I felt payn for several dayes but nothing to w^t might have been. blessed bee God! All my bones shal say, lord, who is like unto y^e.

* Macaulay (chap. ii.) says, "The French court, which knew Danby to be its mortal enemy, artfully contrived to ruin him by making him pass for its friend: . . . proofs laid before the House of Commons that the Treasurer had been concerned in an application made by the court of Whitehall to the court of Versailles for a sum of money produced their natural effects. In their view he was the broker who had sold England to France." What we now know, that Charles and James were mere pensioners of the French king, was scarcely suspected at that time. Macaulay continues: ". . . to such a temper had eighteen years of misgovernment brought the most loyal Parliament that had ever met in England. It was thought that a dissolution would put a stop to the prosecution of the Lord Treasurer. Accordingly, in January, 1679, the Parliament, which had been in existence ever since the beginning of the year 1661, was dissolved, and writs issued for a general election." "In 1684 Danby had been five years in the Tower, and had moved often for being let out upon bail. At last Jeffreys bailed him: and upon the same grounds all the Popish lords were also bailed" (Burnet, i. 591, fol.).

March. 6. new Parl^t mett, chose their speaker. Mr. Seymor, not approv'd of by y^e K. which caused a stumble at the Threshold.

17. I set strait wth Mr. Hanmer of Fenns having payd 8^{lb} 15^s 0. for him to Cosin Darrack in July left for clover-seed, the last 3 stages of Rent for Iscoyd Tenem^t & Mâs Newtons, with Rent hens & Average, being 2^{lb} 14 8^d a stage, was stopt, & 11^s remaying, which hee then payd mee.

May. In this month at Mr. Wil Figes of Ash a draw wel being in the sinking, one of y^e workmen was below fetching up near y^e last basket of earth, in order to laying the stone, wⁿ on y^e sudden y^e wind blew down an Apple-tree, growing not far off, & together with it a great quantity of earth into the Pit. It so pleas'd God y^t the man standing up close in one corner of y^e pit was sav'd under one of the planks which lay a-cross. Two of Mr. Morhals children being hard by saw y^e fall but receiv'd no hurt. They assur'd, the man was underneath, whereupon they fell to dig, not imagining in y^e least that the man could bee alive, twas 6 or 7 houres ere they could come at him to get him out, & a great p^t of that time ere they could hear his voice shouting or hee their's, hee stood up near to y^e middle in the earth, & yet receiv'd no hurt, only complayn'd a little of one foot. This is truth, I saw y^e man afterw. & spake with him. lord, how wonderful are thy workes, let y^e man, y^e family never, never, never forget it!

June. barb^r q^r 5^s

July. 17. At the sessions in y^e old Bailey Sir George Wake-man, Marshal, Corker, and one Jesuite more acquitted, the evidence not being sufficient, as the Judge declar'd.

19. 21. About this time were executed two Priests, condemn'd the last Assize by S^r Job Charlton, the one at Denbigh, the other at Chester,—they were hang'd, drawn, & quarter'd—as were also several others in other Countyes.

22. a child of George Pugh of Willingt. 9. y. old, his only son, fell off y^e cop of y^e cart, near Odford, his father driving the cart, & was kild, yet tis sayd no appearance that the wheel had gone over him.

September. barb q^r 5^s.

October. Owen Brown was accepted to serve for mee as high-Constable of Maylors for y^e ensuing year, Mr. Hanm^r of Fenns

gave him y^e oath which was to doe y^e office of high-Const. to the best of his Knowl. & skil accord. to law; I undertaking to bee responsible for all moneyes falling under his charge. Next to not having been putt on, I was glad to bee thus taken off.

November 2. dy'd the good lady Wilbraham of Woodhey in a good old age. No sickness but a payn in one heel, for 6 dayes, which after her death was found black—bury'd Nov. 13. Mr. Edgeley preacht. T. 2 Cor. 13. 11. which was as is reported one of three Texts shee desir'd.

Novr. 29, 1678. Thomas Lewis' Will of Bronington.

It/ I give the summ of five pounds tow. y^e mayntenance of some poor scholars in Hanmer School w^{ch} sayd summ I would have payd into the hands of y^e Feoffees of y^e said school at or before lady day next to bee for the sayd use for ever.

It/ I give y^e summ of five pounds for y^e poor of Hanmer p^{ish}. which sayd summ is to bee putt into the hands of Mr. luke lloyd * of y^e Bryn & the other Feoffees at or before May next to bee for the sayd use for ever.

Memd. Thom. lewis. Jun. seald a Bond, dated Apr. 1. 79 to y^e school Feoffees for 5^{li} for six months.

Also another, dated Apr. 30. to y^e poor Feoffees for other 5^{li} for six months, deliverd by mee to Mr. luke lloyd sen.

the former is in y^e Box wth School writings.

1680.

Jan. 1. At Ash—at Cos. Benyon's, ego et omnes mei mecum, in peace & safety, blessed bee God.

? if a woman, who broke a piece of silver with a yong man & sayd shee meant to marry him, their Friends being agreed & writings seal'd, upon motion made by another, may refuse y^r former without his consent. *A.* I suppose not, but were I as hee I should release her. I read Mr. Dangerfeild's, alias Day's, alias Willowby's account of y^e late Plot † of a design by Presby-

* Mr. Luke Lloyd, of the Bryn in Hanmer, represented one of the six families of that name in English Maclor, of which four were in Hanmer parish, and were descended from Tudor Trevor. He had fought on the side of the Parliament.

† Burnet (i. 475-6, fol.) writes: "Dangerfield, a false coiner, undertook now to coin a plot for the ends of the papists . . . he was carried to the Countess

terians & others to raise forces to change the Governm^t wherby had it succeeded many innocent Persons had been undone, but God prevented—That night to Whitch. to Cosin Madocks, the house where my son John dy'd, at which time, I remember well, Mathew & Sarah being sick also, that Script. *lam.* 3. 1. was in my heart and mouth, I am the man that hath seen Afflic. by y^e rod of his wrath, & this night that chapt. fell in course to bee read & expounded in the family—I read Mr. Mansfelds * account of y^e sayd Plot—the person in whose chamber divers dangerous Papers had been put by the above-mentioned Willoughby —lady Powis a principal Agent in it was comitted by y^e Council to y^e Tower & several others to other Prisons—I heard of y^e Death of Hobs y^e Atheist, formerly y^e Kings Tutor in Mathematiques— by the recommendation of y^e university of Oxf. The Author of y^e leviathan, † a poysonous book, esp. among y^e Gentry.

Children return'd home, all well, to God bee glory, they begin more now then ever yet to bee the bearers of our cares & feares, the lord preserve them without spot & blameless.

5. †. Mic. 2. 10. Arise, *deft.*, this is not your Rest—no rest for a soul, no where, in no thing under y^e Sun, therf. get loose, my soul, from these th. & sitt loose to them, & long for that Rest that remaynes.

7. sett in y^e Kitchin garden 13. wall trees. *viz.*, 1. by the stable a whiten warden. 2. a French warden. 3. a pound payr. (4. a Boreatt. p^r) 5. a Mons^r John payr. 6. a mids. Burgamy. 7. a winter Burgamy. (8. three pears from chest^r last year) 9. an Apre-cock. (besides vines). 10. three cherries—1. Heart. 2. May. 3. Amber cher. 11. three plums. 1. plum morden. 2. Qu. Moth^r. 3. Malg. the thirteen cost. 10^s from Wil. Broom of y^e Wych. whether I may live to eat the Fruit of any of these God knowes !

of Powis, a zealous, managing papist, and after he had laid matters with her, was carried first to the duke and then to the king. He made up a bundle of seditious but ill-contrived letters, and laid them in a dark corner of his room, and some searchers were sent from the custom-house to look for forbidden goods. There were no goods there, but they found the letters; and when, upon inquiry, it appeared they were counterfeited, they searched into all Dangerfield's haunts, and in a meal tub found a paper that contained the scheme of the whole fiction: hence it was called 'the meal-tub plot.'

* Burnet speaks of him as Colonel Mansel.

† In 1653, February 1, Evelyn writes: "Old Alex. Rosse (author of 'Virgilius Evangelizans' and many other little bookes) presented me with his book against Mr. Hobbs' 'Leviathan.'"

9. sett in y^e Hall-garden, along y^e North-hedge, three black cherry trees & one in y^e Pigeon yard—cost. 1^s 6^d.

10. Fallen two Oak trees in the Turf-house-croft near y^e lane growing out of y^e hedge, intended for the fire, but prov'd good Timber for use—(How many that promise little & wee think are for Hell yet wil prove for Heaven—et contra—) ditch bank puld down & sett with Hathernes. 6 Hundred cost 2^s.

11. *§. Gal. 5. 6.* Faith working by love is a main matter in Christianity, lord, increase my Faith, no good wil bee done without it.

12. Children at Book again, under Mr. Sam. lewis, viz. Tho. Hunt. John Thomas, Wil. Ridgway,* let their profiting appear—I visited Mrs. Il. of Wil. Cr. ill y^e last week, but now better, bewayling y^e change in resp. to meanes, having liv'd formerly in chester, I endeavour'd to satisfy her, that her Duty is to bee content & the less good shee is in a capacity of receiving the more good shee should doe, which is y^e more blessed of y^e two.

14. a Horse of John Vaughan's of y^e little Green kild by y^e Fall of a Bough out of a Tree in y^e wind, standing under it to shelter him.

18. There is now a quarter past since the meeting at linea for which Mr. Kinaston threatened prosecution, the act sayes the Offender must be prosecuted within 3. months. A warrant sign'd at quarter sess: by 5. Justices to levy £15. for repayr of high-ways near Rudland was sent hither directed to mee (not knowing that Owen Brown serves High-Const. for mee) the neighb. Justices forbid obedience to it.

17. Five Garrisons order'd to be dismantl'd, whereof Chester one. £60000 p Ann. it cost y^e King for divers yeares upon y^e Corn Act. (w^{ch} gives 2^s p meas. for each meas. of wheat transported w^a Corn is under 6^s p. meas. in y^e Market). Hee receiv'd £150000 p Ann. from y^e Custom of French Commodities imported. The Excise brought in in y^e E. of Danbys Treasure-ship.

* They seem to have been brought up under Philip Henry's care, and for the benefit of his example, much in the same way as at the beginning of the century young men were sent to the great houses, with a view to preferment. In Gough's "History of Myddle," p. 46, we read, "Robert Corbett of Stanwardine, Salop, was a Justice of the Peace, and a Master in Chancery. Under him I had my education for many yeares, and served him as his clarke."

£600,000 p. Ann. Hearth-money. £162000. p. Ann. The Irish revenue. £242000 p. Ann. From Easter. 1673. to March 1679. there is accounted for in y^e Excheq^r as appeares by y^e Polls expended. 8276767. The K. hath spent of late, one year with another for secret service by Privy Seales £80000. p. Ann. this is out of y^e E. of Danby's case impartially stated.

18. §. ¶ *Cant.* 1. 7. 8. *Job.* 13. 26. Evil tidings beyond expectation prevented, ô: how good is it to trust in God, who never fayles those that doe so.

19. last week a petition was presented to y^e K. for y^e sitting of y^e Parlm^t with 60.000 hands in a scrol of Parchm^t 300 foot long by S^r Gilb. Gerard, Mr. Charlton, & Mr. Ashurst, & 6. more—E. of Shaftsb., E. of Huntington, lord Howard, lord Grey, &c. subscribers The K., as is sayd, told S^r Gilb. hee thought hee had been a more prudent p.son then to appear in y^e head of such a Faction, who answerd hee had an Engl. spit & a loyal heart & what hee did hee did with that—&c. the K. granted not their request then.

20. Purse low, supply'd by a seasonable income, though due some time since, yet cannot but obs. y^e divine Providence, which is good & doth Good.

21. Sister Ellis ill, her husb. unkind, which addes affliction to y^e afflicted. †Wh: *Exod.* 4. *Rom.* 8. 17. if children then heires.

22. Mrs. Welsh & Mrs. Esth. Taylor with us. y^e former near 80. came on foot from Wrexh. & returnd on foot againe,* her soul also in good plight, to God bee Glory! The later y^e only child of many undisposed of but y^e lord takes up.

23. Strange weather for this time of year warm and dry, liker Apr. than January.

24. David Estwick bury'd this day at Witch. aged 85. y. Oats & Bedlow impeach S^r W. Scrog. at which no qu. y^e Papists are glad, more Priests condemn'd in y^e old Baily, Marshal, Corker. &c. but not executed.

25. an oak, a day, & a man are unknown what they are till they are try'd. Welsh Proverb.

26. yearly remembr. of K. death, concer. which my opinion is, with all due reverence to y^e law makers, y^t y^{er} is no warrant or

* Nearly fourteen miles.

president for such an observation in y^e word of God, there is of Thanksgiving dayes for mercyes receiv'd as those of Purim, but not of Humiliation dayes for sin committed, esp. not after y^e Judgm^t caus'd by that sin is at an end—*Zech.* 8. 19. *Heb.* 10. 2. 3. I saw y^e blow given but abhor the Fact upon every *remembr.* yet like not y^e annual commemoration of it, though phaps many good men doe. *Rom.* 14. 6.

Feb. 1. No praying to Acceptation without Faith, believing that God is & y^t hee is y^e rewarder of those that diligently seek him.

2. I read Mr. Math: Ward's Simple Cobler, wherein are many th. exceeding savory, though in an uncouth strayn—partic. this, that the worst condicōn an Hypocrite can bee in in this world is to bee a Church-member under pure Ordinances with an impure heart—&c.

4. invited with my wife to Willingt[on]. Mr. Dymock lately marry'd to Mrs. Sarah Houghton, daughter to lady Houghton of lancash. the lord make her a blessing to y^e Family & a wise repayer of all the Breaches of it.

5. wee enter'd upon y^e wood-ground cal'd Key-Shon-Morris much overgrown with wett & shadow, which to rectify wil bee chargeable but tis our own, the lord Bless?

11. At the same time I receiv'd a letter from sister Sarah, wherein she wrote mee word of the Death of my dear sister Ellis, who finisht her course on Friday. Feb. 6. in Holborn, to bee bury'd on the Sabb. following at St. Andrew's Church—Shee wrote that Mr. Baxter pray'd with her, that day—Her husb. has been very unkind not to her only but to us all, wth Shee forgave him & so doe I, the lord forgive him! Of all my dear Sisters I had for many yeares the most constant & sweet correspondence with her, till of late yeares, y^t hee forbad her, either to send letter to mee or to receive letter from mee. The evil tidings hereof mett mee in y^e close of a solemn fasting day—*Job.* 13. 26. after a discourse suteable.

12. Yorkist & Anti-yorkist like to bee y^e Termes of controversy amongst us, lord secure the Interest that is thine own.

16. Mary Moody serv. to Margt. Adams formerly admitted to communion with us, joynd 4 times, now fallen off & turned

quaker ; Shee & her fellow serv^t of that way came to mee, in discourse with y^m I found fault with their casting of y^e lords supp. hee sayd, twas to last but til X. came in the spirit, whereas his coming in y^e spirit was long before that, to w^{ch} hee had noth. to reply. I chargd her with breach of promise at her admission w^{ch} was, if she saw ought amiss to tell, shee sayd, shee found no good by y^c Ordin. & therof. left it : if I reason'd with more earnestnes then was meet——

Feb. 21. Cos. Wil. Ridgway had this week 3. fits of y^e Ague, to-day hee mist, blessed bee God. This week my Neighb^r Ralph Nixon had three sheep worry'd to death in one night in Kay Shon Morris & Mr. W^m Eddow one & twenty in one night in Tybr.

27. I began of y^e Ague, lord fit mee for what is before mee, health not priz'd, not improv'd brings sicknes.

29. A sick Sabb. yet not a silent Sabb. the lord was pleas'd to give strength in y^e midst of weakness—I quakt of y^e Ague from 8. to 11. yet preached, neither eat nor drank betw.. y^e afternoon better, ô that I might see of the Travel of my soul, y^{en} should I hee satisfy'd.

Mar. 1. I had a very ill fitt of y^e Ague, but y^e lord was pleas'd in the midst of wrath to remember mercy—tis now about 10 y. *de die in diem* since I last began of y^e Ague, a long day of Reprieve.

6. little more than bare remembrance of the distemper, lord. if health & strength bee returning let it bee in mercy, & if I must out of y^e furnace, let all y^e dross bee left behind.

9. extraordinary blustering windy weather for many dayes, phaps a mercy to sweep & cleanse the air instead of Frosts.

11. listlessness to that which is good ; the old grief, lord, when shal it bee otherwise.

14. Faith the best shield for quenching the fiery darts of Satan's Temptations:

15. Report of reconciliation betw. the two Dukes, York & Monmouth, lord reconcile them both unto thysf. & to thy People.

19. dy'd cosin John Beddow of Tybr. of a lingring distemper. the last of his Father's children. I heard of y^e death of y^e worthy Mr. Hugh Rogers formerly min^r of Newtown in Montg. a worthy faithful min^r of J. X^t bury'd at Welshpool on Wednesd. last.

Ps. 12. 1.

a lecture in london at 5. cl. sabb. even, carry'd on by a combinacōn of young men,—Probacōners for y^e Min^{ty}.

Mr. Baxter preaches every 4th Thursday, esp. to yong people. If God will bless endeavours to rayse up good yong Min^{rs} & good yong people, there will bee hopes for y^e next generacōn, whatever becomes of this.

23. at buryal of Cos. John Beddow at Hanmer hee forbad the Min^r Mr. Hilton (his Execu^r to bury him only) to say any th. of him, left his goods & cattle to his servant Benj. Venables, £100 to Hanm^r poor &c. *ut fertur*. John Brookf. told mee hee appointed y^e candle should not goe out in y^e chamber where hee lay, till hee was carryd out.

24. at W—h—Cant. 1. 7. 8. tis good to draw near to God. Ps. 73. 1. & that in X^{ti}an communion as wee have opportunity.

26. dy'd Mrs. Hanmer of Fenns, after few dayes sickness, in her best state. lord, what is man.

27. John Smith upon his Death bed repented that hee had taken so much Tobacco.

31. Mrs. Hanmer bury'd at Hanmer, Mr. Bridge preacht. *Ezek.* 24. 16.

Apr. 2. Mr. Hunt & his lady return'd from london whither they went in y^e beginning of Febr.—Many at work at Tybr. *ex otio negotium*. tis so with the soul, neglects bring decayes, much adoe to keep the heart in anything like good repayr, lord keep mine for mee, above all Keepings.

10. Tomy Hunt went home, not well, having had 3 or 4 fits of the Ague; at home hee had no more—An exceeding forward spring, after an exceeding favourable winter, two great mercyes. considering the scarcity of Fodder, how oft doth y^e lord prevent us with the blessings, of his goodness.

Col. Robinsons sister a mayden, who was at the buryal of Mrs. Hanmer. Mar. 31. dy'd about a fortnight after, in her best state, & a sister of her's a widow in Southwales dy'd the very same day with her & was bury'd there, as it hapned, the very same day, & the messengers that went from each to each of the surviving Relations with tidings & mourning mett in the mid-way—This Mr. lloyd of Bryn told mee, of a truth, a Providence not ordinarily hapning.

A Fox taken in Fenns Park. with yong ones, 6. weekes old. The old one lying dead, One of y^e yong ones playing by they put his mouth to one of y^e Teats of his dead dam, whereupon immediately hee fell a quaking, stagger'd a while, & dy'd.

Mal Yates this month ill, after being here; I know not that I have been of late so earnest with the lord for any temporal mercy, as for her life, and the lord was pleas'd to hear Prayer, ô: w^t shal I render! I wil love y^e lord bec. hee hath heard y^e voice of my supplic.

19. John Thomas went home not well of y^e Ague. I wrote to his Father, that whereas at several times there had been disbursd for his use about 47^s if hee pleasd I should bee glad if hee would bestow it on a steel-malt-mill for mee.

22. Flint-quarter-sess. Owen Brown went as high Constable, I lent him a horse & offred him money, hee sayd, I should have account of all his expences together at the end of the year.

Will. Ridgway return'd after two or three weekes absence, taking Physique.

Parliam^t chosen in Octob. last. never mett to sitt yet, being adjourn'd & prorogu'd from time to time.

24. Tho. Moor came to live at Tybr. it hath cost mee much to new sill & thatch & dawb & glase the house & to make a back house & Oven, but if God bee with him there, I shal rejoyce; ô: y^t every house in y^e Neighborhood, esp. the few that are mine were, as that is, a house of pray^r.

Apr. 26. This day wee have been marry'd twenty yeares, in which time wee have receivd more than twenty thousand mercyes, to God bee Glory.

Reports of one Justice Arnold of Monmsh. assaulted April. 15. in Chancery lane & dangerously wounded, bid by those y^t did it, to remember Father lewis, a priest hang'd there last Summ^r.

30. W^m lawrence of Wem brought y^e £5. wth I lent him 3. y. since, whereof I took the one half & lent him the other for another year.

May 2. Supply expected at chapel fayled, *Act.* 17. 30. bec. there is to bee a day of Judgm^t theref. all men every where should repent.

3. If my son John had liv'd to this day, hee had been 17. y.

of age, but God prevented yet I desire to bee thankful that I had such a son.

4. unresolvedness in choyce of subj. to Pr. on, hath been long & still is my great fault much to bee bewayled.

5. Should have mett at D. but rather then provoke authority was defer'd. There is a mean, if wee could alwayes hitt it, betw. fool-hardiness & faint-heartedness. Hee that flyes may fight again.

A son & daughter of my old good Friend Capt. Gerard Barber of Wrexha. were at Mr. Whitch., hopeful, wherein I greatly rejoyce; pity, grace should not run in the bloud always, but God is a free agent & tis his own.

26. Thomas Moor, for what reasons I doe not well know, left the Tenem^t at Tybr., having stay'd there little above a month; seeing him sett upon it, I consented to it, hoping, it may not tend much to my prejudice, though if I could have foreseen it, I think, I should not have been at so much charge about it. I have y^e Testimony of my Conscience. y^t y^e th. I did rejoyce in was that it was likely to be a house of Prayer, and what it may bee now, I know not. I see, the best of men are but men, inconstant, mutable, not knowing their own minds; then cease from man. Three th. did concur which look like his reasons, 1. his disappointm^t of Marriage with Mrs. Tr. 2. his daughter Mary's unacceptableness to him, 3. his being not wel. which I imputed to the disturbance of his mind & not only to his coming into somew^t a green house.

May 30. One Brookes of Nantwych aged about 55, a sawy^r, a loose pson, went with others on this day being Sabb. day in 'the afternoon to Chorley hay to steal a pole for a May-pole, having agreed with a fiddler to attend y^e setting of it up next day; After hee had given a few strokes with an Axe towards y^e falling of it, it pleas'd God, hee was struck down hims^t & dy'd immediately without speaking one word in y^e very same place. ô that all who hear, might fear, & doe no more so wickedly!

June 1. I went with my wife to Willington whither Mr. Dymock hath brought a yong wife, the daughter of lady Houghton of lancashire, & wth her I hope Religion & Restoration to his long declining house & family. The lord in mercy confirm those hopes & make her like Rachel & like Leah which two did build the house of Israel & let him doe worthily in his place & day.

7. John Probart dy'd, the most able & sufficient tenant wee had; his disease was long & lingring, the black Jaundice, & I trust hee did make a good use of his time in making ready, ô what a poor vayn thing is this world, the more wee gripe & grasp it the sooner it slips away through our fingers, lord, lift up upon us the light of thy Countenance. Children this first fortnight in June at Boreatton, my care & fear is, lest converse with such so far above them, though of y^e best, should have influence upon them to lift them up, when I had rather they should bee kept low.

Things now in doing as to Publ. Affayres are clearing the Illegitimation of y^e D. of Monmouth,* against which a printed sheet declares by several circumstances it was not so, for in it the King publisht a manifesto wherein hee avowes again & again as before, that hee was never marry'd to any woman but Q. Kath. at this the Papists sing Io Pæan, but God sees. Tangier in danger to bee lost. D^r Stillingfl. preacht May. 2. before lord May^r to prove the present separation sinful both in Min^{rs} & people.

June. 2. dy'd Mr. Moses Steel after ten weeks marriage, six weekes weakness, & ten dayes languishm^t, in the beginning of his work, in the beginning of his dayes, much desired, much lamented—lord, w^t is man! Ten pound left to my dispose by Wil. Probyn of Wem his last wil for needy min^{rs} whereof

Mr. Sam. Taylor had £5.

Mr. Josh. Barnet † —£1.

Mr. Fran. Keeling—£1.

Mr. Edw. Bury—£1.

D^r George long—£1.

Mr. John Malden ‡ —£1.

June 8. 9. 10. Trayn-bands cald in to Orton for these 3. dayes, which cost mee for my two soldiers 8. shillings.

28. Nehemiah the son of my worthy friend Mr. Hugh Rogers formerly Min^r of Newtown, who dyed lately at Welshpool, brought a paper written by his Father, wherein hee requests Mr. Benyon,

* Mr. M. Bloxam, who has looked into the evidence *pro* and *con*, is inclined to think that Lucy Walters was lawfully married to Charles II. The direct descendant of the Duke of Monmouth is the Duke of Buccleugh and Queensberry. See *Archæologia Cambrensis* for October, 1874, Appendix.

† There was a family of this name living at Penley Hall in English Maclor.

‡ Ejected from Newport, Salop, in 1662.

Mr. Madocks & mys^f to take a catalogue of Bookes left at Whitch. in a Trunk & to sell them for the use of Hugh the son of this Nehemiah, an Infant, aged 7. yeares; This day accordingly wee view'd & priz'd y^e Bookes, which amount in y^e whole to about £7. sold for £6. 2.

29. I relinquished the executorship of my good Friend Ann Davis of Worthenb. though likely to have been to my considerable advantage, yet bec. out of my way & might have been a hindrance in better th. however would have made a great noise in y^e Countrey, I freely wav'd it & shee made her neice Ann Clark Exc. & mee overseer.

July 3. this day & yesterday brought tidings of y^e Death of Mr. Heanes late of Salop, Wem, & new chap. in Westmin^r a worthy conformist & I believe gone to Heaven, also Mr. Rich. Edwards late of Oswestree, an honest, peaceable, good man & of y^e same Spirit, who did conform but with regret, both of them myworthy Friends, lord rayse up others in their room to bee & doe better.

Also D^r Barrow B^p of St Asaph. an insignificant Cypher,* hee forbad extemp. pray^r in all his Diocess, reprov'd D^r H. for using it in his Family, appointed to bee bury'd in the church porch bec. observ'd poor people praying. Box of clothes sent to london for Math. & Cos. Robt. carr. p^d 4^s whereof Cos. Robt. pay'd 2^s. also £20. payd to Georg Payn who gave a Bill to receive as much July. 20. of Mr. Robt. Rowles without Bish.gate at y^e sign of y^e Dolphin.

Threatnings breathed out agt our present libertyes here, but hee that hath, doth, & I trust will deliver.

25. Tho. Hunt, John Thomas & Wil Ridgway went all home, for fear of Infection by my son Mathew, who came this day from london.

** Fran. Flan. consurgent, simul Hispan. viribus urgent,
Scotus vastabit sed Wallus suppeditabit,
Heresis ob crimen mendax Anglus fugitabit,
Ob fidei meritum sed Wallicus ipse manebit.

* The great Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, wished to be buried in the porch, so that the Whitchurch (Salop) men, who had followed him in so many battles, might think of him as they passed over his grave; accordingly, his heart was laid there. Many others have expressed a similar wish. If, however, it is because of his wish to be remembered in their prayers that Philip Henry condemns the bishop so strongly, he should first produce a passage from Holy Scripture forbidding the Church militant to pray for their brethren that have crossed the flood.

Nec Carolus Magnus, nec Carolus quintus,
Sed Carolus Agnus, hic jacet intus."

Mr. Pryn's dream of a Pilot forcing a ship into a narrow Creek when there was a fayre haven just by, the ship sunk.

Archy sayd, hee would change caps with K. James for letting his son goe into Spain, who answer'd, hee hop'd his return, nay then sayd hee, Ile change caps with the K. of Spain.

Omnes introeuntes hoc Templum Dei, domum orationis, orate pro conservo vestro Isaaco Barrow,* ut misericordiam inveniat in Die Domini—this is sayd to have been y^e Epitaph found written in D^r Barrow's own hand, Bish. of St. Asaph, who dy'd in Salop this present June. 1680. & was carry'd from thence to St. Asaph to bee bury'd, appointed to bee written on his Grave-stone & his Grave to bee in or near y^e church porch.

D^r Herbert Thorndike, as Mr. Mareil reports in his Rehersall transpoz'd, appointed his to bee and is in Westminster Abbey.

—requiem ei in Christo et beatam resurrectionem precare. or to that purpose.

Shropsh. Min^{rs} Non-conformists dead since Aug. 24. 1662.

| | | |
|-----------------|-------------|--------------|
| Mr. Hildersham. | Mr. Malden. | Mr. Nevet. |
| Mr. Heath. | Mr. ley. | Mr. Hopkin. |
| Mr. Froysal. | Mr. Porter. | Mr. Campion. |
| Mr. Haughton. | Mr. Wright. | Mr. Sadler. |
| Mr. Adams. | Mr. York. | |
| Mr. Richardson. | Mr. Thomas. | |

July 12. wee sett forth from Br. Oak. towards london, mys^d, Rob. Bosyer, Math., & Roger,—wee lay y^e first night at Hampton, y^e 2nd at Stretford, y^e 3rd at Oxford, y^e 4th at Wickham, y^e 5th at london. the lord was exceeding good to us by y^e way, wee had no hurt or hindrance, but a great deal of mercy in every step.

the charges of the journey in all was about 10^s a piece; and while wee lodg'd at the Inn, which was from Friday night till Tuesday morning, about 5. or 6^s apiece more, one with another.

21. Cosin Robert & Mathew lodg'd first at Islington at Mr. Dool[tittle] house, who cheerfully undertook the Care & Tutorage of y^m. Mr. Baxter told mee, I could not have plac'd him better.

* The famous Dr. Isaac Barrow, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1672-1677. was nephew to this bishop, and died May 4, 1677. in his forty-seventh year.

lord bless. Their Bed, Bedstead, Bed-clothes. &c. cost in all. £6. 13. 10.—for w^{ch} y^{ey} payd equally.

Mr. Hearn sayd, at two yeares end hee would take y^e bedding again at 5^s loss. The 3. Sabb. y^t I was in Town, I preacht, y^e 1st at Mr. Dool.—lam. 3. 22. y^e 2nd at Mr. St. twice—Phil. 2. 21. y^e 3^d at Mr. lawr. Phil. 4. 11. in the midst of many weaknesses, lord accept & bless. I bought while there a few Bookes, exchang'd y^e old silver Tankard, which weigh'd about 47^s for a new silver cup.* which weigh'd about 50^s. bought candle st. for Math.

Aug. 2. I set forward homeward in y^e Chester coach my fare £1. 15. 0. travelling charges about 12^s.

13. I went to Bo[reatton] where l^d Paget y^{en} was & his lady.. Mr. Foley & his lady, & Mr. Swinfen, I stay'd with them there til Aug. 24. an unprofitable servant, oblig'd to doe good but falling short.

16. brought tidings of Math. having had a fit of y^e Ague & his being not wel, it began the Thursday before.

17. wife came to Bo[reatton]. brought a letter from Cos. Rob. Bosyer, wherein hee wrote y^t Math. continued ill—I went that day to Sw. & return'd at night, in health, blessed bee God!

18. 19. read Mr. Cheney agt Mr. Baxt. whose opinion is y^t all requir'd is to bee done rather y^m quit our Min^{ry}, as also Mr. Baxt^r's reply which is calm, & Mr. Alsop's which is somewhat rough, but both convincing.

19. 20. I read Mr. Rushworth's collections, esp. his history of y^e tryal of y^e Earl of Strafford, which is an Instance of y^e Fall of a great Man, run down by Popular disaffection.

21. life of Mr. Marshal, written by an enemy to disgrace his Memory, near upon 30. yeares after his Death;

21. If all the faults & failings of y^e best of men & those only bee thus heap'd together, hee wil bee far from appearing the best

* This cup, which is of elegant design, belongs to Joseph H. Lee, Esq., of Redbrook and has upon it the following inscription:—

“ P. II.
 SION'S GOD BE
 THY GLORY, HIS
 GRACE AND MERCY
 THY DEFENCE, PEACE
 AND TRUTH IN LOVE
 BY CHRIST JESUS
 WHO IS ALL
 IN ALL.”

of men ; But God judgeth not as man judgeth—I have good reason for my part to honor his name, for, under God, his Ministry was often instrumental of much good to my soul, betwixt the age of 12. & 15. at Margaret's Westmin^r.

20. heard from Math. that hee was better, y^t his Ague had left him, though hee remayned feeble & indispos'd.

24. At coming home wee receiv'd another letter from Math. dated Aug. 21. wherein hee writes hee was then very well, & falling to his book which good tidings prevented our feares & gave no occasion to say, it is not in vayne to seek the lord.

27. a letter came from Cos. Robert Boyser dated on Bartholomew day, his Birthday, as mine, hee is now 23. y. old, in which as to him^s hee takes notice of Gods Goodness with Thank^s of his own badness with Penitence, yet saying, I am now more likely y^m ever to bring forth some kind of fruit ; As to Math. hee relates his relapse into further illness, which was read with teares, As to newes, y^t E. Pembr.* had Kild one if not two at Turnham green, on y^e 18th instant, y^o kept watch & that hee was fled.

29. Another letter dictated by Math. written by Cos. Robt, which acquainted us with y^e continuance of his distemp. & that hee was taking Phys. of Cos[in] Tho. Hotchkis, & had a mind to come home.

Sept. 9. (as wee heard afterw. Cos. Robert Bos: began to bee not well at least so as to yeild to his distemper, for hee had been out of order since Sept. 4. yet was at y^e meeting Sept. 5. where hee heard a funeral sermon on Cant. l[ast] l[ast] at y^e death of Mrs. Buckingham who had been a communic. with Mr. Dool. since shee was 13. y. old—aged now 33. y^e last sermon hee heard.

10. Cos. Tho. Hotchk. was sent for to him, who found him in a high Feaver, sent for D^r Hawes afterw. D^r Sampson sent for, but y^e Disease prevayl'd & all meanes were ineffectual at y^e same time divers others sickned in y^e house, divers fell asleep in Isl. & london—y^e weeke's bill about 800.

13. about 12. at night hee finisht his course, a hopeful yong man, serious & religious, to the great grief & disappointm^t of

* Evelyn does not notice this : but on July 4, 1696, says that he subscribed £500 (as Lord Privy Seal) towards Greenwich Hospital.

Relations & Friends, who had promis'd thems^f much Comfort in him, but blessed bee God for y^e good hope that wee have through grace that hee is in heaven.

14. hee was bury'd in y^e new church yard near y^e Artillery ground. And now my dear child his Alter Idem is left in widowhood & besides, not well, when wee heard y^e tidings which was (17th) at y^e time of morning Family worship, it caus'd a wett prayer amongst us, after many dry ones, lord, shew us wherof. thou hast thus contended with us.

Hee made his will before hee went, leaving his Grandmother Aldersey & mee his Execut^{rs}.

25. Our dear child return'd again to Br. O. by Chester Coach, wee were in care concerning him, lest hee should not bee able to pform y^e journey & fayn would but could not cast all our care upon y^e lord, nevertheless hee had mercy for his own name sake. Thus in a short time was y^e lord pleas'd to ruffle and overturn what wee had long purpos'd & design'd hoping it might have been for good, but hee gives not account of any of his matters.

Oct. 4. I joynd with Mrs. Aldersey in proving Cos. Robt's. wil at Malpas. cost in all 19^s 10^d.

6. day of prayer with a few at W. where a strange Providence hath befallen y^e yong lady there, Who being with child hath for several weekes past been depriv'd of sight, lord, shew her mercy, as shee needs. it is prov'd not with child.

7. Rich. Wilcockson's rent from Over was receiv'd, to bee sent to london, to discharge dues there £28. 10. 6. whereof 20^s was sent to Mr. Bosyer towards repayr of y^e grave stones of their Ancestors at Over.

Novr. 1. to y^e church-w. of Malpas for relief of captive slaves—8^s.

26. I lent Mr. Dymock £30. by Randle Keay w^{ch} I purpose to make up £50. as soon as I can receive it & to allot it for Hanmer-poor.

Dec. 24. made up & lent accordingly.

Oct. 21. after many prorogations, the Parliam^t mett, Mr. William Williams,* Recorder of Chester, chosen speaker.

* He was fined £10,000 for having appointed the printing of Dangerfield's information. The joy which Judge Jeffreys showed on the acquittal of the

Nov. a Bill past to disable y^e D. of y.^e* from inheriting the Impial Crown of Engl. & Irel. refus'd by y^e house of lords.

Dec. William Viscount Stafford † try'd in Westminster Hall by his Peeres for y^e late plot found guilty by 56 to 30 & sentenc'd.

10. wee first saw y^e tayl of y^e Comet, ‡ smal. 15. y^e Comet its^t playn, y^e tayl large, from y^e Horizon westw. almost to y^e Zenith, its motion from south to north, after 8. at night not appearing. The middlemost star in y^e *Vultur Volans* was near y^e middle of y^e Comet's tayl for an hour or more.

seven bishops in 1688, was because of the disappointment his rival Williams had by it. He, being then Solicitor-general, prosecuted them.

* Burnet (i. 481, fol.) says, "In the winter, eighty, the king resolved to hold a session of Parliament. He sent the duke to Scotland a few days before their meeting" (chap. 482). "The Bill of Exclusion was quickly brought up to the Lords. The earls of Essex and Shaftesbury argued most for it, and the Earl of Halifax was the champion on the other side. He gained great honour in the debate; and had a visible superiority to Lord Shaftesbury in the opinion of the whole House, and that was to him triumph enough. In conclusion the bill was thrown out upon the first reading."

† Younger son to the old Earl of Arundell, and so uncle to the Duke of Norfolk (Burnet, i. 488, fol.). Evelyn writes, November 30: "The trial was in Westminster Hall before the King, Lords, and Commons just in the same manner as 40 yeares past the greate and wise Earle of Strafford (there being but one letter differing their names) receiv'd his trial for pretended ill government in Ireland. . . . My Lord Stafford's two daughters, the Marchionesse of Winchester being one, were beside him. . . . One thing my Lord said as to Oates, which I confesse did exceedingly affect me, that a person who should brag that though he went over to the Church of Rome, yet he was never a Papist, nor of their religion, . . . but only as a spie; tho' he confess'd he took their sacrament, worshipp'd images, went through all their oathes and discipline of their proselytes, &c. &c. that the witness of such a profligate wretch should be admitted against the life of a Peere, this my Lord looked upon as a monstrous thing." Burnet (i. 492, fol.) says, "When it came to the judgment above fifty of the peers gave it against Lord Stafford, and above thirty acquitted him: four of the Howards his kinsmen condemned him; Lord Arundell, afterwards Duke of Norfolk, though in enmity with him did acquit him" (Lord Arundell had been called up to the House of Lords, by writ, in the barony of Mowbray).

‡ On the 12th of December, Evelyn writes: "I saw a meteor of an obscure bright colour, in shape like the blade of a sword. . . . Such another I remember to have seen in 1640, aboute the Triall of the greate Earle of Strafford. preceding our bloody Rebellion. I pray God avert his judgements." In the parish register of Crowhurst, Sussex, is recorded, "A blazinge Starre appeared in y^e Kthdom, in ye yeare 1680. it did first shew itself 10th of December y^e 80, which did stream from y^e south west to y^e middle of y^e heaven broader yⁿ a Rainebow by farre, and continued till y^e latter end of February." At East Hoathly, Sussex, is written, "A parheliion on each side of the sun was seene by many, with a bow over the true sun, with the ends upwards in the morning, in this forme" (a representation given).

Jan. 13. it appears stil but more dim then before, the matter being almost spent.*

Dec. 29. lord Stafford was executed on Tower-hil—a printed speech in his name denyes all. A vote past in y^e House of Commons on y^e day of their dissolution, that the putting of the pœnal laws in execution against dissenters at this time is unseasonable and a meanes to strengthen the Popish Interest, or to that purpose. In opposition to which there came out in April a Declaration by the K. signif. his dislike of it & saying hee hop'd the Justices would make more conscience of their oaths binding them to put the lawes in execution, then of the aforesd vote of the house of Commons to the contrary. accordingly S^r Thomas Vernon at Weston was pleas'd to discourse June. 14. comparing y^e s^t H. of commons with that which took away the Kings life.

Hic situs est.

Robertus Bosyer gener de Over in Comitatu, Cestr. qui ad Ingenij cultum huc adveniens, post bimestre spatium mortem præmaturam obiit, optimæ Spei Juvenis. Sept. 13. 1680. An. .Æt. 24. This was written upon his Grave-stone in the new church yard london. Cost £2. 2. 2.

1681.

January 13. As to publ. Affayres, many Bills in Parl. prepar'd, not as yet sign'd, The K. would have y^e succession secur'd in y^e lineal descent, y^e Commons would have y^e D. of y. disabled, but his children to have it, wherein unless the K. will gratify them. (Jan. 7.) y^{es} voted no money to relieve Tangier.

10. The Parl. was prorog'd for 10. d. Bil about Irish cattle

* The *Christian Herald* gives the following prediction of the comet, which has lately appeared (August, 1881), by Demetris L'Ardottini, the celebrated astronomer of Northern Italy, in 1683: "Wherefore, whence these erratic luminaries come and whither they go none can tell, and least of all can I, who am but a poor mortal, seeking to learn what I may of the wonders of creation. The comet we lately saw in the heavens for the space of twelve nights has gone, never to return in our lifetime. I gather from the writings of great men, long since dust, that this same fiery messenger was last seen of mortals in 1481. during the reign of John of Mantua, and was accompanied by floods, tempests, and earthquakes, and a universal war of the elements. It will not again revisit earth till 1881, but whether it be thus followed by floods and calamities or not I cannot tell."

& woollen-burying pass'd—whether y^e shal meet at y^e time appointed is uncertayn. but the lord reignes & his counsel shal stand.

20. It pleas'd y^e K. to dissolve y^m & to appoint another to meet at Oxford Mar. 21. next. The Chichester Burghesses were mett by y^e inhabitants on Foot & thank't & promis'd to bee chose again.

Feb. 1. My sister Sarah Henry was marry'd to Mr. Bryan Wade servant * to the lord Anglesey lord Privy Seal.

26. I wrote a letter to him wherby I oblig'd mys^t to pay him for y^e 3. next yeares beginning at Candlemas last £7. 10. 0. p Ann. as a small token of my love, if shee or any issue from her so long live. payd.—I had given £20 before to sister Dyer. Sister Ann, I suppose, made y^e same promise on y^e same termes to Mr. Wade.

Apr. 9. Mr. Tho. Yong of Croxton † dy'd—hee was 10^s in my debt, borrow'd. like to lose it. Mr. Ri. Deaves—hee sued Mr. Yates of Hanmer for £6. being a y. interest for £100. w^{ch} hee pleaded hee had payd—first in common law y^{en} in chancery & recover'd & was order'd paym^t of y^e sayd £6. & £18. charges, all w^{ch} Mr. Deaves had together with £4 odd money more. Also his charges of a sute with Mr. Yates & John Ratcliff about Timber from which hee had noth. Mr. Deaves' Bil came to £14 odd money—love is cheap law is dear. upon account hee abated him in the whole, six pounds.

June 21. I put 50. tench frey & 9. carp into the pond in y^e Orchard sent by Mr. David Eddow, I gave the two Messengers 1^s apiece.

Jan. 28. 1681^o. Hugh Jenings the Catchpole was kild in Whitch. by one Booth of Grindley brook whom hee had arrested for a debt of ten pounds at the sute of an Attorney in Nantw. Hee stabd him in y^e nose with a Dagger—the Coroners inquest found it wilful murther.

Mar. election in Chester, with great Contest between Mr.

* Query, served him in the sense of being his secretary. Burnet notices of this earl that when giving his vote to condemn Lord Stafford, he imprudently added that "he did not believe the witnesses" (i. 492, fol.).

† Yonge of Croxton was the name of an ancient family in Hanmer parish, descended, like most others in English Maelor, from Tudor Trevor. A branch of the family is settled at Kingerby, county Lincoln.

Booth & S^r Rob. Cotton & Sir Phil. Egerton & S^r Rob. Lester—the two former chosen. for Chester Mr. Williams & Col. Whitley. for Denb.sh. S^r John Trevor, not Mr. Middleton. for Flint Sh. S^r John Hanmer & Mr. Whitley jun. for Shropsh. Mr. leveson Gower & Mr. Newport. Mar. 21. they met at Oxford. Mar. 28. they were sent home again dissolv'd. The reason suppos'd to bee bec. they would not wave the busines of disabling y^e D[uke] of Y[ork]. Mr. Williams y^e Speaker first brought y^e newes to Whitch. y^{is} day.

Mar. 30. coming from Oxf. post.

Mar. 31. Edw. langf. bury'd. Whereas Malpas church is now pew'd & mine at 3^s 6^d p y^m came to 11^s 8^d my wife this day paid it to Tho. Sherinton of Wigl. church-warden—the pew is in y^e North Isle.

Apr. 12. this day was 14. y., about sun-sett, the lord took my first horn son from mee, the beginning of my strength. with a stroke; In y^e rememb. whereof my heart melted this evening. I beg'd pdon for y^e Jonah y^t rayseed that storm, I bless'd y^e lord that hath spar'd the rest. I beg'd mercy, mercy for every one of them. & absolutely & unreservedly, devoted, & dedicated them, myself, my whole self, estate, Interest, life, to the will & service of that God from w^m I receiv'd all: Father. hallowed bee thy name, thy Kingdom come!

May. 16. it pleasd God to call for old Mr. John Hotchkis, aged 76. up & as well as usually the day before but infirm. The first that has dy'd out of that house for above 40. y. Hims^f his Father & his son three Johns. Drapers. eminent in their time, beyond many, for fewness of words, smalnes of gain, & punctual dealing in bargaining.

May. 23. deceased at Alkinton my worthy Friend Mr. John Malden late of Newport who as hee liv'd so hee dy'd low in his own eyes, esteeming hims^f good for noth. though really good for every th., a great hindrance visibly both to his own comfort & to his usefulness to others. Hee sayd hee was far from repenting his being a sufferer āgt Conformity. Hee left by his will, that there should bee no sermon nor no ringing of Bells, no more there was not—so much learning, piety, & humility, I have not seen this great while layd in a grave: But blessed bee God, wee had such a one so long.

May. 29. Sab. a general rayling day in all the churches & chapels round about, which I am wel assured the lord himsf wil in due time reckon for *Jam. 5. 7.*

June 2. a time of great drought * for many weekes, scarcity threatened, this day a day of prayer, at W. B^e many petitions put up for rayn, this evening a speedy Answer in a comfortable showr. praised bee God. past away quickly, like our goodness.

3. lord Cholmley bury'd at Malpas, dy'd at london. D^r Wil. lloyd, † B^p of St. Asaph preacht, being Parson of S^t Martyns, where hee dy'd : y^e same y^t preacht at y^e buryal of S^r Edm. bury-Godfrey.

7. Henry James cut his own throat at Hanmer having purloyned 20^s of his M^r a Butcher in Salop & being pursu'd & taken & his M^r saying to him hee would hang him if hee could, hee did it with a razor.

9. my son Math was with him & pray'd wth him.

10. hee sent Rich. Pova's wife to mee to desire mee to pray for him. 15. I went to Braden-heath to see him, found him weak having let noth. down neither wet nor dry the passage being cutt, yet sayd, hee was not hungry, nor had not been since hee struck the stroke. Hee sayd, hee repented & was sorry for that & for all his sins. but was ignorant of X^t as y^e Mediator, w^m as wel as y^e lord enabled mee I preached to him & prayed with him (I gave him 2^s). 17. hee dyed.

14. being invited to preach at Tho. Millington's at Weston beyond Prees. I went & preached there Ps. 66. 18. was interrupted by two Justices, S^r Tho. Vernon & Mr. Charles Manwaring, who took our names, 143. or thereabouts & threatned us with the Execution of y^e law ; Father thy wil bee done ! while tis for well-doing that wee suffer, they cannot harm us.

26. wee heard the sad tidings of y^e Death of Cos. Sarah Hotchkis, at london in child-bed. a choyce bough of Ash-Tree, ‡ but very ripe for heaven—Also the same howr wee heard of y^e Death of Widow Trim at Tilstock, my wife's nurse.

* May 25, 1681, Evelyn says, "There had scarce fallen any raine since Christmas ;" and June 12, "It still continued so great a drought as had never been known in England, and it was said to be universal."

† He was one of the seven bishops sent to the Tower in 1688 by James II., for maintaining the liberties of the English Church. There is frequent mention of him in Burnet and by Evelyn. He was afterwards translated to Lichfield, and thence to Worcester. See Appendix.

‡ Probably she was a Benyon of Ash, Salop.

27. in expectation of the distresse Threatned but it comes not. some would have us to submit & petition, others to remove our goods & secure y^m from it. I rather incline to let them doe their pleasure, knowing that God is able to make it up again, whatever loss I sustayn, & besides twil bee a meanes of discovering Friends & Foes, & also help to fill the measure & to wipe off the reproach as if wee dreaded suffering; I have often sayd little good would appear from our preaching til it bee seald to & if this bee the occasion, welcom the wil of God! twas an extraordinary dry season, God hath since then sent sweet & seasonable rayn, to his name bee the glory.

July 1. Plunket & Fitz-harris* executed, y^e former deny'd all. the later refer'd hims^f to a paper left with Mr. Hawkins chapl. of y^e Tower. 2. E. of Shaftesb.† committed by K. & Counsel to the Tower for high Treason.

4. 5. &c. workmen rough-casting y^e pigeon house & pointing the slates, both needful though chargeable; it cost in all about 28^s.

8. I deliverd into the hands of Ann Davis from amongst her writings which shee left with mee a bond for £18. due to her from Mrs. Alice Puleston & her son Thomas. I heard yesterday, that at Worthenb. there is more bowing at y^e name of Jesus in the Creed then in any other congregacōn in the neighborhood, & this day I heard that most Sabbaths in Wallington there is publ. playing at 9. pins, w^{ch} I am griev'd to hear. Roger Th. told mee hearing a Min^r at Malpas at y^e end of y^e wars pressing to Charity, it being a publ. fast, & hee having noth. in his purse to give was grievously terrifyd in y^e reflection how much hee had often spent idly, gott up to goe into y^e Town to borrow, in his way forth in y^e Isle found a groat, return'd to his seat again, gave 2^d of it to the Collection & the other 2^d to a poor woman at y^e Wych. A Duke of Saxony, quarreling with a neighb. B^p, sent to proclaim war agt

* Burnet (i. 497, fol.) says, "A few days before the king went to Oxford. Fitzharris, an Irish papist, was taken up for framing a malicious and treasonable libel against the king and his whole family." "Plunkett was the popish primate of Armagh" (i. 502, fol.).

† On reaching the Tower, some of the Roman Catholic Peers, confined there, expressed surprise that he had now come to join them; his reply was that he had been ordered a course of Jesuit powders.

him, inquir'd w^t hee was doing towards it, A. "preaching, praying, reforming his Diocess."* Dæmon illum invadat. non ego.

11. to B. where I saw my worthy Fr^d Mr. F. T. heard of y^e Death of Mrs. B^r in a Phrensy, crying Fire, Fire, † to y^e last, yet a gracious good woman.

12. quart^r Sessions at Salop, I saw y^e copy of a warrant under y^e hands & seales of S^r Tho. Vernon & Mr. Mainwaring. wherby John Lawrence is oblig'd to pay 20^s for hims^f his wife & two daughters & 40^s p^t of Tho. Millingtons fine being in all £25. whereof £20. for his house, £5. as Constable. only 10. is layd on him, for w^{ch} they took cheese & y^e rest on others, W^m Benyon of Whicks. £3. Arthur Hinks 30^s Joseph Higginson. 40^s &c.

22. I heard of y^e Distress made upon Mr. Berry for teaching & praying at Th. Mil. £20. whereas hee sayd not one word but w^t hee sayd in pray^r. they took 10. p^t of sheets, 10. dishes, Bookes, two Beds, whereof one that which hee lay upon, with several other th. & made Procl. on Sab. day in 3. churches to invite people to buy.

Addresse sent to the K. from q^r sess. in Salop oppos'd by S^r Ed. Acton, another from Major of Shrewsb. but in Chesh. none. Col. Dan. saying hee knew what belong'd to Dressing & Undressing but not to Addressing. ‡

25. Edw. Wilk. & Thom. Pemb. & Rande churt. being y^e High. Const. & Overs. brought a warr^t under y^e hands of Will-Hann^r & Th. Hann^r Esq. to distreyn upon mee for £40 for Weston business & upon Math. for 5^s for being assembled on y^e

* This parable is equally suitable for the English Church in 1881. While the pure Word of God is preached and the sacraments are duly administered by a lawfully ordained ministry, we are to remember that "the ark of God is still in the midst of the camp," and that it "will not be moved."

† "Thy judgments are like a great deep." In the "Pilgrim's Progress" the conversation between Ignorance and Christian shows the great experience of the writer, who was not deceived because the man of the world has often *no bands in his death*, while the saint sometimes *walks in darkness*.

‡ The king had set out a declaration, in which he reckoned up all the hard and undutiful things that had been done by the three last Parliaments, but assured his good subjects that nothing should ever alter his affection to the Protestant religion, as established by law, nor his love to Parliaments, etc. This declaration raised over England a humour of making addresses to the king, as it were in answer to it. Many of those who brought these up were knighted upon it; and all were well treated at court. Lord Halifax could not restrain himself from showing his contempt of it in a saying that was much repeated: he said, "The petitioners for a parliament spit in the king's face, but the addressers spit in his mouth" (Burnet, i. 501, fol.).

16. of June with others at W[eston] the distress & Sale to bee made on y^e 25. of July—T. P. went into y^e feilds, saw 6. Kine y^{er}, chargd E. W. & R. C. with them & went his way, they stay'd a considerable time waiting his return, hee returning not, they went away, in their absence wee fetcht y^e Kine away & lockt them up, about 12. a clock, after 3. houres absence hee came, brought John Stocton & his son & y^{er} cart John Simson & his son & Randle Stocton. w^m hee press'd from their occasions to assist him (concer. which neither Act nor Warrant sayes noth.) finding y^e Kine gone, hee chid tow. E. W. they went to B. to Mr. W. H. who threatned E. W. with imprisonm^t & a Fine (for his wilful neglect) of £5. note, the day in y^e warr^t is mistaken, 16 for 14.

26. newes from Salop Assize y^t y^e K. had sent to y^e Judges not to put the lawes in execution ag^t Protestant Dissenters, but that his pleasure was they should bee left to his mercy. A sudden change, like that in Esther, which wee are reading this week in the Family. sic parvis componere magna solemus.

27. Kine & horses in feild again, not secure, but wee are wayting upon y^e lord, his wil bee done; Kindness from Jou. T^r. & Ro. Th. & Sam.—all concern'd in present trouble. w^{ch} God will recompence.

25. The Indulgence spoken of by y^e Judges was only with ref. to y^e execution of y^e Act of 35. Eliz.

29. Friends Sympathising with us in our p^sent feares, blessed bee God—*bene agere et male pati vere Christianum est.* Three eldest children went to see Relations in cheshire, the good lord preserve y^m from y^e lusts & vanities of youth.

31. abs. Sab. B. a poor barren fig-tree, deserving to bee cutt down.

Aug. 1. I acqu. Mr. T. H. with my doubts concer. proceedings in present distress but the stream is strong y^e other way. Our Smal dairy, to begin with, broken up, the Kine scatterd several wayes. How oft have wee sayd are not changes at y^e door! God bee prais'd it hath no sting.

4. another Warrant sign'd by y^e two Mr. H^c amended in changing y^e day, leaving out charges, no time limited for y^e force of it, wⁿ part had must bee payd to y^e Shropsh. Justices.

8. Tho. Pemerten & John Yong came early to execute it.

but found noth. in y^e feilds & y^e House doors shut, searcht y^e Outhouses & took an Inventory of w^t y^{ey} saw, stay'd til near 11. clock, & return'd re infectâ. Winter Corn out of Key Nants & Turf h. croft carry'd in, some by night, it did not use to bee so. tow. Midnight they return'd again, to fetch w^t y^{ey} left, partic. 4. heifers, but they were otherwise dispos'd of, by a special Providence, before; they intended also to have watcht y^e first opening of y^e House doors in y^e morning & so to have rush'd in, but in that too were prevented—Wee are beholden to our Fr^{ds} yea & to our enemyes for warning given, but especi. & above all to our good God.

10. Parl^t sitting about y^{is} time in Scotl. chancelor Rothes dyed. several lords abjur'd y^e Coven^t. D. of y. there, Pr. of Orange at London.

Nov. 28. John Roberts told mee, hee saw a Boy of 18. y. old but very little, with his feet on y^e ground, bend so far backward as to take up fowr pins stuck upon the ground with his Eye-lids, two in one & two in t'other. The Boy was at my door this day for an Almes. Mr. Roswel a N.C. found guilty of Treasonable words but not condemn'd. Mr. Best fin'd £1000. & stood in y^e Pillory for drinking a health to y^e pious memory of his Friend Stephen Colledge. Richard Jackson y^e son of Farmer Jackson of Ash shot hims^f into y^e head with a pistol & dy'd immediately at yong Mr. Starkeys house near Hodnet, whether volens or nolens appears not—bury'd this day. Dec. 4. about 18. y. old is prentice to a Gunsmith in Witch. whose name is Robinson. One suspected to have done it, but ag^t his wil, is bound over to y^e Assize.

25. Daughter Eleanor continues under y^e quartan Ague since Sept. 9. not missing once. lord, weaken y^e disease & strengthen y^e nature & pardon & kil sin in her & us.

24. was bury'd Mr. Zech. Cawdrey* Min^r of Bart[homley] in Chesh^r a worthy moderate Divine, for his Moderation much clowded of late, though formerly a great sufferer. his Book of Preparation for Martyrdom gave great Offence, as also his Zeal in keeping up the monthly lecture at Nantwyche & Tarvin.

* Henry Newcome was his pupil. "I was admitted," he says, "in the very heat of the wars, May 10th, 1644, of St. John's College in Cambridge, pupil to that ingenious, learned, and pious man Mr. Zachary Cawdrey, fellow of that college."

After some time of fayr open weather, a great mercy, now frost & snow which threatens, if continued, Fodder being very scarce.

June 21. was bury'd my good Friend Mrs. Whitehal of Witch. sister to Mr. Broughton of Broughton a pious gentlewoman, of exemplary meekness & patience under long & sore tryals.

24. was bury'd Mr. Joshua Barnett formerly of Ironbridge. lately preacher in Chesh. who marry'd Mrs. Cowper, widow, of Wem & now a widow the second time.

July. 4. dy'd at Chester Mr. William Cook, an aged, painful, faithful Min^r of J. Xⁱ. his sickness cut short & easy, his Death sweet & comfortable.

12. to Randle Stocton two dayes pay, at his going forth to Bangor to trayn. *22.* fowr dayes pay more at his going to meet y^r D. of Beaufort.* John Green's mayd at Mens Kild with a Cow's horn goring her in y^e Throat—shee liv'd 4. dayes.

Sam. Hughs at Salop Assize condemn'd for stealing a mare but favor'd to bee transported. A fire at Salop in Kil lane in a stable, one Roger Evans burn'd to death, in y^e Assize week there. A mayd living incontinently with her M^r & they agreeing to poyson y^e M^r she was condemn'd to bee burn'd & hee to hang in chaines. *30.* a very quick harvest—our winter corn all in.

Aug. 7. was bury'd my dear Friend & Kinsmⁿ W^m Bennett. his wife was bury'd in y^e Spring-Assize-week, & hee in y^e summer Assize-week—aged. 71—a Jacob in prayer, great miss of such—his natural temper hasty & fearful, which betray'd him to some miscarriages both tow. God & man, but this was eminent in him y^t wⁿ offence was given to either, hee could not rest or sleep til reconciliation made. Of late hee hath express'd prevayling doubts & feares touching his sincerity & Salvation, but in his sickness hee told mee they were all gone.

Sept. 3. Upon Saturday last dy'd at london Mrs. Deborah church, wife to Mr. James Church. daughter to my good Friend Joseph Ridgway of Shockl. a holy gracious good woman. finisht well, as was signify'd by letter from Mr. Thomas Taylor Min^r of

* Henry Somerset, Marquis of Worcester. and in 1682 created Duke of Beaufort, did not make his grand progress through the Welsh Marches until 1684. In the year 1672 he was appointed Lord President and Lord-Lieutenant of North and South Wales and the Marches, and held the office till 1688-89. when he was succeeded by Charles Gerard, Earl of Macclesfield.

y^e Gosp. who was with her in her sickness—Praysed bee God !
laudandus Deus in sanctis.

In y^e Flash in y^e higher Feild next to W^m Kirkam, seeking for
firwood, wee found a strait Oke 16. yards long,* besides y^e two
ends left in the ground, of considerable Bulk, cloven into Bars for
gates. 9. foot long.

18. William Hughs of Bron. bury'd. the 23rd in that Township
since this time 12. month.

26. To Felton, to y^e Interm^t of my dear & precious Freind
Mr. Jonathan Roberts a true Nathaniel, an Israelite indeed. His
Brother Timothy in y^e Plague year dy'd & was bury'd in y^e
high way at Ness clyff three miles off, none taking him into
House, because hee came from london, a learned faithful Min^r
of J. C.

Sicut piscis ad hamum, ubi vitam quærimus sæpe mortem
invenimus.

My dear Brother Jonathan before mentioned, for 3. weekes
before hee sickned had drunk water, to prevent infection by
y^e Smal Pocks having never had them, & at y^e 3. weekes end
immediately upon his drinking a draught of malt drink at Osw.
betwixt that & Felton became not wel, went cold, as in an Ague
& so continued, without burning & sweating as is usual for 10.
dayes, & then dy'd, with comfort in his non-conformity & with
confidence of a return of mercy in Gods due time. Hee had bin
at Oxf. Cambr. & london this summer, where hee heard & saw
that w^{ch} much confirm'd him in his dissents. leiftenant Williams
of llangollen in Denb. having layn in prison some time upon the
writ de excom. cap. was sick & had favor by y^e B^p to return home
awhile & dy'd & after 10. dayes lying in y^e church yard was, by
Commissary Edwards order, taken up & bury'd by his Friends in
his garden. Having no Coffin,† it was y^e more offensive to y^e
sexton, who fel sick upon it.

Fowr th. given in charge by B^p Barlow of lincoln to Mr.

* In the Fens Moss, hard by, which is reckoned twelve miles round, such
finds are not uncommon, and still more frequently the charred stump of a large
tree, showing how Edward I. cleared the country before him when invading
Wales.

† Coffins and tombstones, as in common usage now, are modern. See
J. H. Burn's "History of Parish Registers" (*passim*).

Kelsole at his remove from Cheswardin to Quarrington—1. to look to his Conversacōn that 'twere accord. to his Doctr. 2. Not to quarrel with his Parishioners for smal matters in Tiths. 3. to carry it mildly tow. dissenters. 4. to Catechise y^e youth.

Oct. 1. was bury'd at london worthy Mr. Andr. Parsons, formerly Min^r of Wem. the same day dy'd here Thomas Morgan of this Town, wel at Chapel three dayes before. lord teach us to Number. My Daughter Eleanor afflicted for more then three weekes past with a quartan Ague ; lord, cease this controversy.

I have several times observ'd, when my Purse hath been low & empty, seasonable supplies have come, by special Providence. L[aus] D[eo.]

Oct. 3. Mr. Tallent's Tables of History came forth about this time, a work of much labor & cost. I read one which hee bestow'd on mee, with fowr more to bee dispos'd of as wee can.—One of them he order'd for Cos. Benyon.

Oct. 16. I receiv'd the tidings of old Ann Davis death & was y^e next day at her Buryal at Worthenb. in transitu. where I have not been these many yeares—shee was aged 86. y., blind, but had her memory good. A sickly season stil, many snatcht away old & yong. 22. Mr. Tilston Bruen* of Stapleford. many in trouble at London & elsewhere both ministers and others. *Job.* 10. 2. I sayd, ô lord doe not condemn us, shew us wherfore thou contendest with us.—About this time a daughter was born at Broughton to Mr. John Whitehal, who marry'd S^r Andrew Hacket's daughter and had the Reversion of Broughton estate settled upon him. S^r Roger Puleston also lately marry'd to Mrs. Kath. Edwards of chirk, settling at Emeral. lord let these two Familyes bee like the two Familyes of Ephraim & Manassee which the lord did bless. Cosin Benyon at london in the use of means for health & recovery, which God make effectual, that his Age may not pass away in restraynt & uselessness.

Nov. 17. Meeting at Malpas, claym layd to y^e Pew, belonging

* The Bruen family gave their name to a Cheshire manor, showing thereby their extreme antiquity. They were probably descended from Brwyn (a son of Cunedda Wledig) in the fifth century, and the house called the Brunett in Hammer marks their tenure in the Welsh March, from whence they were driven by Llewelyn. In Ormerod's "Cheshire" there is reference made to the saintly life of Mr. John Bruen, of whom a memoir was written in 1641.

to Isc. teneim^t by y^e Ratcl. for lord cholmley, noth. done. Mr. Lloyd sayes it was his.

Aug. 29. This day Mr. Pem. & Jo. y. came again wth y^e same warrant as before & distraynd upon y^e Coles, y^e Hay, y^e Muck-Cart. and wheels, the great Slead, & y^e Feild of Barley, hee distrayned also upon y^e Tith-Corn in y^e old Barn, & would fayn have gone into y^e great Barn but was prevented. In the afternoon they came again & to make sure distraynd again on the same th. the second time. Hee brought also a warrant to y^e Constables of Isc[oyd] to take charge of y^{os} Goods distraynd on and to watch them night & day til such time as they should bee remov'd; which they did accordingly, warning in divers of y^e neighb^{rs} for that purp. by two & two, night & day, all that week from Munday til Saturday. (The Constables were Tho. Morgan, Mr. Jenings' Tenant at y^e Wych, & John Ratcliff, our own Tenant at Isc. Green.) *Note.* notwithst. their watching in the lane wee might have secur'd y^e Coles, & the Cart, & y^e wheeles, and y^e slead. & w^t wee had pleased of y^e Hay, but wee did not. *Sept. 1.* being Thursday, they began to carry; the gate next y^e lane being lockt & they not desiring to have it opened, it put them to y^e more Trouble. From y^e lower Hay-bay & Tavelett they pitcht it & carry'd it on Pikehills to y^e Carts, Six Teames carry'd it away, to Mr. Yong's of Croxton. Mr. Will. Hamm^{rs} Team carry'd y^e first load, being as was supposed about 14. hundred. (Hay scarce this year; Wid. Payn present sayd, she ehad given 30^s for about y^e like quantity a few dayes before) John Davyes, James Higginbotam, Tho. Madocks. each of y^m 12. hundred, Tho. Woods & Benyon's together—about 10. hundred—in all six load, being 60. hundred. The pitchers & Carryers were Griffith Jones John Cartwright, John Roberts, Craven Clutton, Rodenhurst—who were promis'd 12^d a peice. In y^e Afternoon three of y^m came again & carry'd each of them a load of Coles, viz. Mr. H^r Davy's & Higginbotams, valu'd y^e first to 13^s 4^d y^e other to 10^s apeice, being great loads. Also 4. other load by 4. Teames press'd for y^e purp. upon the Road in y^e King's name, Mr. Pem. shewing them the old warrant with two hands & seales, wherein not a word mentioning any such power given to him, which frightened them to doe it. Fran. Clark's. Wid. of Bangor. Wil.

Holloway. Rich. Booth. valu'd one with another to 7 6^d or 8 each load. *Sept.* 2. They sett in to carry y^e Barley out of y^e Oakfeild (Twas leyes, four times plow'd & sow'd with 20. measures. John Hall by Mr. Pem. order puld the Hay,) Thornes away from y^e Gap under the Broad-Oke* at which the Teames entred, carrying that day. Humphr. Swanwick's, John Philips' of y^e feilds, John Prideon's of y^e Wych, Edw. Dewy's & Tho. Hognett's, each of them two loads to Mr. Yong's Barn at Croxton—Y^e rakers were, John Hal, John Roberts, Grif. Jones, John Lloyd, Wil. Simson, John Williams, Roger Gonsh. Roger Fox, Edw. Owen's son. The Afternoon three Teames from Orton having bin at Whitch. with Pigs of Iron were press'd as before in their return & carry'd each of them a load of Coles, valu'd one with another to 6^s 8^d apeice. one of them was named Edw. Roberts, the other two would not tell their names.

Sept. 3. made an end. Croxton's Team, & John Philips' & Luke Row's, carry'd each of them a load of Barley, my neighbor Ralph Nixon carry'd a load, pt of Hay & pt of Barley—my neighb^r John Simson carry'd a load of Coles, John Yong another. Croxton another, & Wil. Jarvis another. The wheelles were carry'd by —, the Tumbrel Draughts & Slead by Mr. Tho. Hanmer's Team of y^e Fenns. In all 24. Teames. 12. Assistants. In Octob. following they began to thresh the barley, having sold it to Mr. Fairbrace a malster near Orton at the rate of 3^s p measure. as wee hear, only 2^d p meas. to bee allowed for his fetching it. About the time wⁿ they began Mr. Wil. Yong owner of Croxton-house cutt his own Throat near london. About the middle of Novemb. they made an end, tis sayd there was 118. meas. besides the light corn, which was not a little.

Novr. 14. Mr. Mainwaring's Kill of Ightfeild was burnt, with considerable loss.

[*Apr.* 16. 82. Mr. Witherings dy'd. The Barley was sold to Mr. Fairgrace of Orton, the straw to Ja. Higginbot., Tho. Philips the Hay, Mr. W. H. of Bettisf. the Coles, S^r J. H. the wheelles: Tumbrel, & slead Rich. Pova.]

Sept. 19. began Flint Assize, where Wilkinson's business was heard & hee entred his Traverse. Mr. Wil. Hanmer being Fore-

* This seems to identify the site of the great tree, which must have been at the opening where three roads meet, and a younger oak is now growing.

man of y^e Grand Jury presented lady Houghton & her daughter Mrs. Dymock for not coming to Church for a Twelve-month & Tho. Pemerton the high Constable presented Wil. Turner for not coming to the Sacram^t & Wil. Benet & Mary Cartwr. for not coming to divine service & mee for Keeping a Conventicle at my house & for saying the law ag^t conventicles was not to be obey'd. & that there is never a word of God &c. in it. If all this was done without malice (accord. as the oath taken expresses) let God, who knowes pfectly for hee searches the heart, bee judge !

Sept. 26. I mett Cos. Madocks at Alkintⁿ where wee view'd & priz'd Mr. Malden's Bookes, which came to about £24.

Sept. 27. I went to Osw[estry] where discourse was had with B^p lloyd & Mr. Dodwel by Mr. Jonathan Roberts, Mr. James Owen, & mys^e conser. our Ordination by Presbyters, without a Diocesan B^p, which wee endeavoured to justify. It continued from betw. 2. & 3. til 7. & 8. at night in y^e Town-hall—Wⁿ I disir'd to bee excus'd from conser. mys^e at that time & in those circumstances, being of another Diocess, hee sayd, it was the common cause of Religion & I must concern mys^e.

On the Thursday following I receiv'd a letter from him to desire mee to meet him at Wr[exham] on Friday, which I did, where discourse past to the same purpose, but hee no better satisfied with my Arguings than I with his. Hee sayd hee did not look upon mee as σχισματικὸς but only as παρασυνάγωγος. And that if I were in his Diocess, hee did not question, but hee should find out some way to make mee useful. Many reports past far and near conser. this Conference; for my own part upon reflection I find, I have great reason to bee asham'd of my manifold infirmities & imperfections, & yet doe bless God, that seeing I could manage it no better to doe the Truth more service, there was not more sayd & done to its disservice, to God bee glory.

Dec. 29. I sent 55^s to Cos. Jane Higginson, by order from Cos. Rich. Hotchkis, which Cos. Darrack was cozen'd of by a Counterfeit letter in my name by S. P.

15. Receiv'd from Mr. Ralph Weld † of Wrexh. being a legacy

* Full particulars of this discussion are given in Sir John Williams's "Life of Philip Henry."

† The Welds had married with the Wolryches, Lady Puleston's family.

left to mee by his Uncle Mr. Ralph Weld my good Friend, who dyed this summer past—£5. — —. 16. Philip Bickley went towards london, I gave him 2^s 6^d & for y^e 3. 10. 0. which I owe him, hee was desirous it should remayn stil in my hands, y^o lord bless him & keep him from evil, esp. from the evil.

23. Recd from Mrs. Aldersey £3. to pay for Cos. Bosyer's Grave stone. it cost 42^s. I return'd £2. (of w^t shee sent) back again, it being equal that I should bear the one half with her.

Dec. 2. 81. Dr. John Roan B^p of Killaloo in Ireland writes in these words to his Bro^r Richard—you writt to mee that there was some dispute betwixt the B^p of S^t Asaph & some Presbyterian Min^{rs} concer. that point of Reordination. B^p Bromhal, our late Primate, did, as I conceive, make use of such a way as could not well be rejected by any dissenter that desired the peace of the church & brought in many of y^m as I wel know; If Mr. Henry please to consult his Book & therein in the narrative of his life hee may find what was the tenor of his letters of Orders. one instance is as followeth—non annihilantes priores Ordines (si quos habuit) nec validitatem aut invaliditatem eorundem determinantes, multò minùs omnes Ordines sacros Ecclesiarij forinsecarii condemnantes quos proprio Judici relinquimus sed solummodò supplentes quicquid priùs defuit per Canones Ecclesiæ Anglicane requisitum et providentes paci Eccl^{iæ} ut Schismatis tollatur occasio et conscientijs fidelium satisfiat nec ullo modo dubitent de ejus ordinatione aut actus suos presbyteriales tanquam invalidos avertentur. In cujus rei Testimonium &c. If this might be observ'd. I understand not what ground of scruple might bee left them.

Ego T. P. Art[ium] Mag[ister] et. curat. Eccl^{iæ} parochialis de T. in Comit. Cestr. prætensas meas Ordinationum literas à quibusdam Presbyteris olim obtentas jam penitus renuncio et dimitto pro vanis, humiliter supplicans quatenus Rev. in X^{to} pater et D^{ns} D^{ns} Georg. Permissione divina Cestr. Episc. me ad sacrum Diaconatus Ordinem juxta morem et ritus Ecclesiæ Anglicane dignaretur Admittere. A.D. 1662.

Jan. 5. 168 $\frac{1}{2}$. I went to Hampton Post concer. y^e Seat in y^e South side of Malpas church belonging to Iscoyd Tenem^t challeng'd by y^e Ratcliff's, where I discours'd with Mr. Adams steward

to y^e yong lord Cholmley & propos'd (to silence all future disputes about it, which have lasted, as some alive remember by fits, these 50. y.) that it might bee divided, I to have the one Moity, the other, either to Mullock's house or y^e Bank house, as lord Cholmley y^e landlord should appoint. accord. to w^{ch} agreem^t it was so entred in the Church book (a draught of y^e whole in Parchm^t being designed, as a record for future) & I payd to John Bostock y^e late churchwarden seven shillings, being y^e one Moity of what it was charg'd with for y^e wainscoting of it. The same day was buryed old Thomas Nixon of the Hen-vayes at Malpas, Mr. Brookes preacht. Phil. 1. 21. to dye is gain.

16. I went to Chester, my son Mathew wth mee, though some danger by reason of wind & water, at the invitation of B^p W. lloyd of S^t Asaph, with w^m I discoursed in his chamber several howrs concer. many th. in difference, but after all am not pswaded to be reordayned & to conform. The Min^{rs} in Chester are at present restrayn'd from meeting so publiquely as heretofore, the B^p Dr. Peirson moderate, also y^e Mayor & Recorder, Mainwaring & Williams, but—

18. a dead child found in S^t Johns church-y. under a heap of stones, the Mother soon discover'd & confess'd—afterw. executed. There have been 6. or 7. executed at Chester, the two last Assises for this Wickedness, three for one child, the Father, the Mother & the Grand-mother. Great harm done this week by Flouds both of Dee & Severn: also by the Wind in divers places—warnings, warnings. Feb. 2. I cancel'd my Bond for £60. to Sister Ann, putting £20. to Mary Prob^t & £40. to Francis Probart & taking Bond from them to her use. So that now I am in bonds to no one nor no one in Bonds to mee y^t I know of, which was more then I could say these two & twenty yeares. Old Dan Kempster of Alkinton dy'd this last month, as did also, soon after him, his two sons Daniel & William, the one often reckoning what hee would doe when his Father was dead, but liv'd to doe nothing. An ancient woman in Witch. nam'd Mārgt. Ashton poysond hers^f with Arsenick, aged 85.

Feb. 12. being Sabb. at 8. at night, Squire Thyn * was kild in

* Evelyn writes, March 10, 1682: "This day was executed Coll. Vvrats, and some of his accomplices for the execrable murder of Mr. Thyn, set on

pel mel, coming out of his coach by Forrainers as is sayd hir'd to doe it by Count Conigsmark, his Rival for y^e lady Ogle, daughter to y^e E. of Northumb. now in Holland, three were taken Mar. 3. News came y^t y^e Count was acquitted & y^e 3 condemned—marryd in May to y^e Duke of Somersett.

15. wee found 16. old pigeons dead in the pigeon house, wee think poyson'd, Sam. Moyl said on Thursday Mar. 9. in the hearing of W^m Robarts & mine that hee would take a Course with them for eating his Fitches. Thou, lord, seest ! hee acknowledged hee had done it & would doe it again. The law takes Cognizance of such matters but I forbear to complain, lest y^e remedy bee worse than y^e disease & because I trust in God. 23. Hugh Dyas bury'd, Elis. Morton dy'd, the longest in dying that ever I saw or knew any. 29. Cos. Dan. Hotchkis dy'd, by whose Death wee have one life the less in the lease of Brereton's Croft & might have had also in Orton's lease if God in his Providence had not order'd otherwise. 30. This day I payd £6. to Mr. Catheral Schoolm^r of Hanmer, due in January was twelvemonth, & took his acquittance, I receiv'd it yesterday of Randle Key by order of Mr. John lloyd of Willington, being y^e Interest of £100. which Mr. Jenings gave, for securing of w^{ch} Horsmas Tenem^t is in Morgage. Hee owes yet for the last year ending in Jan. last. I gave Randle Key an Acquittance, Cos. luke lloyd is concern'd with mee, but acts not. Apr. 1. Stuff suit & Cloth Cote for Math. £4. 9. 0.

1682. May. 5. Mr. John Kynaston of lee, Barrister at law, going homewards in the evening from Hanmer Hal was kild by a Fall off his horse upon the Rowrey, near to Tho. Yong's house. To Jo. Wil. for mending y^e Causey to y^e turf-bank belonging to Tenem^t on Isc. green, my pt. 1^s 6^d, pt.ners Mr. Deaves & John Wyn.—May 6. the D. of York narrowly escap'd drowning in his passage from london to Scotland,* many of the Passengers that were with him were drown'd : some say 200. others 250.

by the Konigsmark. . . . Never man went so unconcerned for his sad fate." There is a marble monument in Westminster Abbey, south aisle of the choir, pourtraying the scene of the murder.

* "The duke had leave given him to come to the king at Newmarket ; and there he prevailed for leave to come up again and live at court. As he was going back to bring the duchess, the *Gloucester* frigate that carried him struck on a bank of sand" (Burnet, i. 523, fol.). The bishop says that a

May. 17. George Richardson an old man was drown'd in a ditch near y^e Twinleys, going over a foot-bridg with a smal burthen of stickes on his back which caught in an Owler bough bended for a rayl & pul'd him backward, as was suppos'd. Many psons in trouble up & down y^e nation, meetings disturb'd, divers imprison'd upon writs de excomm. cap. ô: lord God, cease I beseech y^e. S^r William Jones* dy'd in this month, a zealous stickler agt popery & about ye succession. B^p Bridgman† dy'd in this month, B^p of Man, Dean of Chester, Præbend of York, Parson of Bangor Orton, Worthenbury, Barrow, &c. Hee had a son born a little before his Death, named, William John Henry Bridgman, his own, y^e E. of Derby's & the B^p of Chesters Prænomena—dy'd in December following.

Mr. Church (to w^m his Grandf. lately left a considerable estate, near £1600.) sent £3. to bee given by mee to poor Min^{rs}. given accordingly to Mr. Taylor. 20^s to Mr. Roberts 20^s to Mr. Owen 20^s.

22. The last week one David Griffith of Tilstock being apprehended in the stealing of some sheep near Didlisson, & having sold y^m at Drayton, as was suppos'd in fear of further prosecution, poyson'd hims^f & dy'd after much purging & vomiting on y^e 18. instant.

24. Mr. Hanmer's second son Thomas of the Fenn dy'd after 3 dayes sickness, as was supposed by the Measils—the lord sanctify y^e sudden stroke to y^e Father & to y^e Family—bury'd Jun. 25. Jun. 5. my worthy dear Friend, Mr. Sam. Jones Min^r. of

hundred and fifty persons perished, and he reflects strongly upon the inhumanity of the Duke of York. Lord Dartmouth says the duke would not leave the ship till pressed to do so several times by the captain; he then "ordered a strong box to be lifted into the boat, which, besides being extremely weighty, took up a great deal of time as well as room. My father asked him with some warmth, if there was anything in it worth a man's life; to which he replied there were things of so great consequence both to the king and himself, that he would hazard his own rather than it should be lost."

* Sir William Jones summed up the evidence against Lord Stafford. Burnet had been required to give up his friendship as a condition of court favour. He was a very learned man.

† This was Philip Henry's former opponent, with respect to whom he seems afterwards to have thought that he could not then have done otherwise than he did. Dr. Henry Bridgman was appointed to Bangor Monachorum in 1640, and Mr. Fogg was his chaplain during the Commonwealth. See Appendix.

X^t in Glamorgan-shire came to see mee, with w^m I had y^e sweet converse of a few howres, which was sweet indeed, ô: what wil it bee wⁿ wee meet together & no corruption or darkness cleaving to us, in y^e presence of our Father, to pt no more. *June. 25.* Mr. Brooks preacht at chapel two bitter sermons, after the first it was wonderd I would come to hear the second, but though hee doth not know his Duty, I thank God, I know mine & can gather Honey from a dead carkass. July, 1. endeavours to out Mr. Rich. Catheral from being School-M^r. of Hammer & to put in Mr. John Burroughs, a Certificate subscrib'd to that purp. by the cheif of y^e Parish.

6. a most dreadful night of Thunder & lightning, but no hurt done that I hear of, blessed bee God! two oxen kild near Orton. a Barn burnt near Sturbr. Contests at london concer. y^e choyce of new Sheriffs, the Mayor claymes a power of nominating one, which is deny'd him, the old sheriffs committed to y^e Tower. Shute & Pilkinton; out again upon Bayl. Papillon & Du Boys after several Polls chose before North & Box by several Hundreds—10. I went with Math. tow. Prestw. in Staff. near Sturbr. lodg'd at Hales at Mr. Woodh. dropt a handful of seed. *Pro. 14. 9.* lord bless. 11. to Prestw. safe and wel. to God bee glory. Madam Foley lyes in of a Daughter named Penelope—I was there wⁿ shee lay in of her eldest daughter & not since til now. Mr. H. & his lady & Mis Betty there—A good & great Family wel order'd. would there were more such.

12. to Swinver. & Sturbr. saw y^e Hospital, y^e gift of Mr. Tho. Foley, a noble Foundat̄on. 60. childr. taught for Prentices—saw Mr. Wilsby an aged N.C., weak. 13. to Bridgn. saw Mr. John Nevet & his wife & mother (Mrs. Baker first, Mrs. Hill last) a sister of Mr. Th. Foley. with a Family of Daughters, w^m God bless!

14. pr. *Ps. 31.* 15. home by Enf[ield]. saw my old Friends Mr. Hen. Grey & his wife childless—y^e first House I lay in in y^{is} Countrey in my way from Oxf. in Sept. 1653.—16. pr. *lam. 3. 26.* heard D^r Ford Min^r of Swinford—my Acqu. in Oxf. hee Censor, I an undergrad. hee then a Roundh. I a Cavaleir, as y^e names of Distinction then were, now contrā. 17. to Rushal near Walsal to Mr. Hen. leigh.

18. home in peace & all wel there. to God bee Glory!

July. 9. one Wood of Arcal Parish, aged 60. Kild his wife aged 85. with a blow on her neck with a Pestle—they had quarrel'd about some moneyes & a bed, try'd & acquitted, as distracted.

17. one Hanka of Orton, a poor man, often at the door begging on Horseback being lame, hang'd himsf.

Mr. Steele & his wife with us in whose company wee were refresh't. as were also many more, how sweet is Heaven, where are all Saints and those pfect & none but such.

3. I promised Ralph Nixon that Tho. Merrick should remove from Roger's Back-house after a month from this day, hee was unwilling hee should come in, though Mr. H. desir'd it, I told him, hee did a worse th. at his desire the last year.

Aug. 5. Sat. in y^e Even. my dear wife was not wel, the first Sympt. of a Feaver did then appear; that night shee burn'd but slept.

6. Sab. shee was pretty wel & below stayres but slept little that night.

7. Mund. D^r Brereton came to her (a special providence that hee was in y^e Country).

8. Tuesd. shee was refresh't, gott up and walkt about y^e chamber & rested pretty well at night. 9. Wed. shee was in patient sweet frame all y^e day; though often saying, sick, sick, never so sick, yet by & by, now I am better, the lord is good & doth good.

10. Th. shee sayd, I repent of all my sins esp. of my unprofitableness under y^e meanes of grace, which God forgive in X^t Jesus & I know Death cannot hurt me, I wil endeavor to keep my eye upon my Christ & my Crown.

11. Fr. 7. a clock, shee shook & was chil for about half an hour, then burn'd & sweat, often saying sick, sick—at night refreshed.

12. Sat. a better day. many prayers made by Friends for us, lord, hear & have mercy:

13. Sab. about 4. a clock in y^e morning y^e Fitt return'd, D^r Brereton (lodgd in y^e House) rose then.

14. Mund. shee was pretty wel but weak, left all other meanes but a little Dioscordium at night to help sleep.

15. Tuesd. the Fitt began about y^e same time in y^e morn. & continu'd after the same manner, shee sate up a good pt of y^e aftern. 18. Fr. should have been her better day but prov'd otherwise, fears return'd, but God had mercy, the night following shee slept well til about midnight, about which time shee began to bee cold for one hour, then burn'd another, then sweat another, then slept & was refreshed. 19. Sat. she sate up all day & was chearful. wee heard of the death of old Aunt Aldersey, Grandmother to Cosin Robert Bosyer, who dy'd yesterday morning at Wollarton.

20. Sab. my wife being up in the chamber heard y^e Sermons from below & the word was sweet to her; had an easy Fitt y^e night following about midnight. It may be the lord wil please to look upon us & to grant us a Reprive. 21. Mund. a better day, that night wee slept together again, the first night after a fortnight's separation, to God bee glory! 22. Tuesd. not well but better than other ill dayes. 23. I went to Bo[reatton] the occasion extraordinary, else I should not have left my dear wife in her present circumstances. a mind to discourse lord Paget & Mr. Swinfen. concer. publique affayres, by them both I underst. no hope but upwards.

7. Mr. Tho. Bridge * Min^r of y^e higher Parsonage of Malpas near 58. y. aged 82 y. was bury'd this day. Mr. Green preacht. Text. 1 *Tim.* i. 16. told what he had declared to him in a late fit which hee had concer. his Repentance; towards his later end very charitable, a taking, popular, good preacher, preacht often & to the last, could read y^e smallest print without spectacles, having us'd glasses in private ever since 40.

Aug. 24. now twenty years since wee have bin lamenting after y^e lord, in the want of publique liberty to preach X^{ts} everlasting Gosp.

25. Mr. O. & Mr. J. with mee at Bo. expecting a congress with B. II. I advised it rather by writing.

* He died aged eighty-two, having been rector nearly fifty-eight years. A fine portrait of him was in possession of his descendant, Ralph Bridge, who in 1816 had been curate of Malpas for forty years. The family seem to have held lands in Hanmer parish. Mr. Richard Bridge being rated in 1687 for the Farm, and Mr. Thomas Bridge for the Brunett, both in the township of Tybroughton.

26. Tomy Hunt not well. but much alter'd in seriousness, lord, let these early blossoms bee good Fruit in due time.

27. *Col.* iii. 11. X^t is all & in all—for Justific. Acceptation, salvation. I took him this day to bee so to mee, heartily, unfaynedly. Amen!

28. to Shw. saw my worthy Fr^d Mr. Tal. heard of the Death of Duke lauderdale. 29. Home in much mercy. found wife better, noth. but work for God in such circumst. could have kept mee so long from her. 30. lord Anglesey about this time removed from being lord Privy seal by y^e prosecution of y^e D. of Ormond, for giving other accounts of y^e Irish wars yⁿ hee would have had him—Wil[lington] Cr[oss]. *Ps.* 145. 17. y^e lord is righteous in all his wayes. *Sept.* 4. about 2. clock in y^e morning dy'd Cosin Wil Ridgway at Nantwyeh suddenly. hee eat his supper well & went wel to bed (only for some weekes troubled with a Cough) but then rose out of his bed, went to y^e chamber where Mrs. Cartw. lay, cry'd, Mother, Mother, & dy'd bleeding at y^e mouth, without saying one other word. I hope, God did his soul good while hee was with us here & since. Hee is y^e 5th of our sojourners y^t hath dy'd yong, yet none of y^m. with us, John Dickin, John Caldcott, John Eddow, Robin Bosyer & now hee. 6. bury'd at Audlem—Mr. Cole preacht. *Ecl.* 7. 2. 9. D. of Monm.* past through Nantw. tow. Chest^r—some applauding others vilifying—*studia in contraria vulgus*—Mr. W^m Han^r with his Family went tow. london, Mr. Cath. not thought sufficient for Hanm^r Sch. proposal made to divide y^e mayntenance betw. him & another that shal teach latine, not accepted by him. many kind visits from Friends & neighbours congratulating my dear wifes recovery.

12. At Ash all night. a difference fear'd betw. Cos. B[enyon] & Mrs. C[artwright] concer. W. R. affayres, how much better is one handful with quietness yⁿ both hands full with strife. 14. at Bry. *Eph.* 2. 13. I would desire to bee of that people y^t are near to God, here & for ever. 15. a great apple-year in most places, which hath influence upon y^e Corn-markt to keep it down. Assize this week at Wr[exham] next at Holt. a mercy y^t wee are quiet. D. of Monmouth in y^e Countrey slighted by some, respected

* Called for distinction "The Protestant Duke."

by others. Trouble threatned to those that respected him— Winning the race at Wallisee & being Godf. to y^e Maior of Chester's child Mr. Mainwaring, hee gave it y^e plate won, valud to 65. Pound.

19. y^e Pit in y^e Ortyard begun to bee fil'd, y^e fish not prospering for want of vent for y^e water, too fat for y^m (so prosperity & fulness doth hurt)—in a week's time finisht by 4. men & one cart, more done afterw. 22—Saw Mr. Finch, Min^r near Manchester & was refresht; Cos. Benyon & his wife seal'd a lease to mee of certayn lands in Ash for 9. y. to pay his debts & provide for his youngest child. I am not pleas'd to bee concern'd in such matters, but hee would have it so, & besides I have been using his name in a like matter.

28. Assize week in Chester—strict inquiryes after y^{os} y^t shew'd Kindness to y^e D. of M., their names to bee returnd to the council, hims^t sent for by a Pursevant, & committed, as is reported, but out again upon Bayl. Stirs at london concer. sheriffs & Maior.* for y^e next year, y^e majority chuse on one side, y^e Court and Court-party on y^e other, & at y^{os} flames our Common enemyes sit by & warm their fingers—The lord in mercy prevent w^t wee have cause to fear.

Sept. 29. deliver'd to my wife. £5. for household expences, as long as it wil last [not done]. To my 4. daughters to husband in lesser matters of Apparel for them^s til lady-day, & that they may learn to deal for them., beginning with a little. God give y^m wisdom for Heaven & y^e better p^t y^t shal never bee taken away from them.

Oct. 14. In y^e repayr of a draw-wel at Hanm^r hal, two men were kild by y^e earth falling upon them. Rich. Bloor & — Ankhurst. jun. Also one man kild travelling on y^e road near Mr. Tannat's of Broxton (now S^r Phil. Egerton's), a guid to Mr. Bostock of Whicks. into a pit newly made for marle, steep but dry & near the High-way; his Horse fell not.

29. The two men bury'd in y^e Well pit were bury'd indeed there, it being thought dangerous to the Hall to sink again to take them thence.

Nov. 4. Reports from london of more trouble to the Min^{rs}

* They were carried by the court: the sheriffs were North and Rich.

upon y^e 5. mile Act. several in Prison, several flying—Prichard declar'd Maior.

22. several meetings & many arguings betw. Mrs. C. & Cos. B. concer. W. Ridgway's estate—my desire & endeavour hath been & is, if it may bee, to compose it, that they may not goe to law. for fear of charge, trouble, & guilt to thems. & scandal to profession, but hitherto I cannot prevayl. lord, sett in & effect it!

24. Talk of the K^{ts} resigning the crown in his life time to prevent effusion of Blood. Mr. Bold of Dorsetsh. suspended for his sermon about persecution. A lamentable Fire at Wapping wherein many houses burn'd & many persons destroy'd, it began on Sabb. night. Nov. 19. 30. Orders publisht in churches in Cheshire to present all that come not to church & to the Sacr^t if above 16. Mr. Tho. Hamm^r prickt for sheriff of Flint. (gott off. Mr. Ll[o]yd on.)

1683.—Events.

Jan. 1. The year began with mercy, present health, & opportunity to God bee glory. 3. twenty Bibles distributed in Hanmer Parish, sent by Mr. St. in Br[onington] 4. Tybr[oughton] 3. by mee—in Han[mer] 5. Wil[lington] 3. by Ja. Jacks. in Bet[tisfield] 2. in Hal[ghton] 3. by Ri. Roan. 5th. Sanders. cheif Just. instead of Pemerton, Pemerton Com. Pl. instead of North, North Keeper instead of Finch, dead. 8. Cosin Benyon's son & daughter went from us, lord, form X^t in them. Difference not compos'd with Mrs. Cartwr. but widening rather. There dy'd this month of our Neighbours & acquaintance, Mrs. Ellen Bromley, daught^r of Mr. Rich. Whitehal of Witch. a virtuous woman. Also John Evans, servant wth I liv'd at Emeral to Mr. Roger Puleston & since to his son, now S^r Roger. Also Rich. Roan of Hanmer, a good man. Also Mr. Edw. Kinaston* of Bradenheath, who wasted his estate by sin & dy'd a Beggar.

Feb^r 1. About this time there was a conjunction of Saturn & Jupiter in Cancer. † D^r Dove agt Atheism sayes the like was

* His house—the Ashes—is still standing, and the story is still told that, having sold it, he had been known to beg at his own door.

† This year, 1881, there has been a conjunction of Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, and Venus in Aries.

6. y. before y^e death of X^t spoken of by Astrologers then as a Prognostique of the alteration of Religion in y^e world. I doe not much heed such th. but I mett with it accidentally in his Book written long since, as I read it last week.

Feb. 8. I brought to y^e lady Trevor of Emeral a Silver cup & patten given to mee long since by her predecessor the lady Elizab. Puleston to bee disposed of as I should see good. I intended to have joynd it to y^e like at Worthenb. & to have made one of Both for communion use, but by my removal was prevented. Since then it hath layn by mee, but was never lookt upon as mine. Perhaps it was my Fault & may turn to my Reproach y^t I kept it so long, but no one in the world knew of my having it, & I think I have done wel, to bring it to light at last.

14. Tidings of great trouble to Min^{rs} & people both at london & elsewhere, how long, lord! howbeit thou art just—*ô quam justa sunt judicia tua, Domine!*

27. Cos. Benyon went from us after 22. weekes being here for which hee left £6. Our Converse was not so comfortable as it might have been bec. of the troublesom business with Mrs. Cartwr. which often discompos'd. *ô*: how sweet wil heaven bee where none of these th. shal disquiet. last week dy'd my good Fr^d W^m lach of Dodleston in Cheshire, a star amongst Christians of y^e first Magnitude, eminent in gifts, parts, grace, & usefulness. try'd in trying times. few such of my Acquaintance. time to cry. help lord.

last month dy'd in london Edw. Bickley son of my old Friend Robert Bickley, no son left now but Philip.

Mar. 16. Broughton-house rob'd last week, the Theif taken, hang'd.—Margt. Bedward robd. Mar. 16. the things sold at the Higher Wych, retreiv'd there. 24. Min^{rs} presented at Salop-Assize by y^e Grand-Jury, as also in other places. Betty Shilling fin'd for words. notice given in churches in london that all above 16. must communicate at Easter or else bee prosecuted.

Apr. 4. newes of D. of y. made Admiral, lord Hide Treasurer. lord Dartmouth leift. of the tower—&c.

Wrexham Assize this week, where many presented for not coming to church & Sacram^t. S^r John Trevor cast in a Suit by Egerton—yong Mr. Jeffryes of Acton. Sheriff. 9. Flint Assize,

Mr. lloyd of Halghton, Sheriff—Three condemn'd, one for Robbing Mr. Broughton's house, another an old woman æt. 70. for Killing her Grandchild two yeares' old upon the loss of a sum of money put out for it, at the mediation of B^p lloyd repriv'd as being distracted, a third for stealing a Mare, brought in on Friday, try'd on Saturday, & condemn'd, but transported.

15. Restraynts in all places, righteous art thou ô: lord, yet let us plead with y^{ce}. Wee heard, my wife & I & many more are presented at Flint Assize for not coming to the Sacram^t. Dy'd of our Neighb^s & acquaintance y^{is} month Mr. Hervey Min^r of Wrenbury, suddenly, preacht twice on Sabb. & dy'd on Tuesd.—17th Rich. Heath—Hugh. Suckley—Mrs. Povey. Mrs. Gregory (Owen Taylors daughter) coming from london to see her Father, sickned at Newp. a week after carry'd to london to bee bury'd.

May. 2. Francis Huxley came to Iscoyd not with a staff but with two Bands, the God of Jacob bee with him there. I am wel pleasd, it is like to bee a house of Pray^r. 29. W^m Turner bought a Mare for mee at Elsmar fayr—cost—£4. 9. 0.

In Decemb. last Mr. St. sent 20. Bibles for Hanmer pish thus dispos'd of—Han^mr by Rich. Roan, to W^m Wright Wid. Jones Wid. Corbichley, Dor. Bradshaw, Abel Owen. Betsf. by Rich. Roan to John Peat. & Halgh. by Mr. lloyd to Wid. leigh. Eliz. Mackenel & Joseph Hayward. Wil. by James Jacks. to Sam. weaver, to Hannah large to Mārg^t. Paynter. Bron. by P. H., Mary Mathewes Rowl. Yong. Sarah Madocks' daught^r Mārg^t Hunt.

Tybr. by P. H., W^m Owen, Mary Eddow, Tho. Butler's son.

May. 31. a Rheam of Paper at 6^s 6^d Carr. 8^d from Witch. 41.

Jun. 2. Sadler mending Saddles 12^d a day & meat & drink—new stirrup leather. 9. other stuff 9^d, in all 2^s 6^d—Rich. Allen.

Dy'd in August Cos. Harry Swinerton—Aug. 24. D^r Owen. — in Sept. Mrs. Touchett. of Whitley—Mr. Jeffry Williams of Wrexh.—in Oct. Ann Nixon—Nov. 24 old Ralph Nixon. *A. æt.* 69. John Barker jun. D^r Math. Fowler. Dec. 26.

1684.

Jan. 1. A new Nature beg'd of God for a new year for my s & all mine, that old th. may pass away & all th. become new. I

heard that a month since one of y^e mayn Beames of y^e Roof of Nantwyck church falling, beat y^e Pulpit & desk all to peices, not past half an hour after the Min^r Mr. Stringer & y^e congregation were gone out from morning pray^r on a Tuesday.

2. Writings seald with my son, dated Oct. 30. Hee to enter on Bron. estate, discharging mee for time past. Witn. Mr. Hool. of Bunbury, Edw. Peirs & Francis Huxley.—3. D^r Fowler* appointed to bee bury'd in linnen & left five pounds in dole to the poor in consideration thereof [Er]go: either hee thought under-going the Penalty satisfyes the law or hee dy'd in disobedience. D^r Zanchy succeeds.—11. one John Wyn of Penley brake his neck by a Fall out of a Tree, cropping.—18. I heard of y^e Death of Mrs. Baker of Sweeney concer. w^m this was remarkable, y^t being in debt & in a too much expensive way of living it pleas'd God about 3. y. since to lay upon her such a distemper of Body as disfitted her for busines, caused her to retire into privacy so y^t by this time, I suppose her Debts are near if not quite payd. The heyr of Sw. estate is now Mr. Brown y^e Grandchild of a worthy pious Grand-father—19. a very sharp season, long frost & snow, Fuel scarce in many Families, wee comfortably provided for, to God bee prayse. I heard that in Wem, since y^e fire, w^{ch} in March next wil bee 7. y. since, there have dy'd 4. score Widowes, wives, & Husbands that were Heads of Families.

Upon Dec. 25. last, there were bury'd 3. at Malpas, two men & one woman, whose ages together made betwixt 13. & 14. score. Roger Burroughs our Neighbor y^e yongest of y^e Three.

Feb. 1. great frost for divers weekes past, the Thames frozen over, booths built on it. 40 Coaches seen on it at a time—a hard time with many poor workmen. Divers Oaks cleft in divers places, some in my own ground. Frost fayr at lond. 5. it began to thaw; a great mercy. *M. D.*

6. I gave 30^s to Math. tow. his Watch. 15. I heard of y^e Death of Mr. Jo. Tho. of Winnington after several yeares disablem^t for business, a man formerly y^e most eager & unwearied in worldly pursuits that I ever saw. *Ps.* 39. 6. 49. 6. Tho. llewellyn's son 4. y. old standing by him as hee drew hay, was Kild by y^e fall of the stack & his own leg broke with the Pole.

* Rector of Whitechurch. There is an epitaph to him in the north aisle of he church.

20. I heard of a murther near Salop on Sabb. day y^e 10. instant, a woman fathering a conception on a Milner was Kild by him in a feild, her Body lay there many dayes by reason of y^e Coroner's absence.

23. S^r Tho. Middleton bury'd this week at Chirk, brought from London: Mr. Crew of Crew dead. Mr. John Hanmer of Fenns bury'd this day. Greatnes is no security from the Stroke of Death but Grace is from the Sting. I heard of 6. gentlemen in Lancashire, whereof Mr. Hollond's only son one, who drank unto excess in a frolique upon the Ice, three or four of y^m dead. Mr. Newcom's son, Mr. leigh, Mr. Byrom. To one who sayd, I have no plea but one, Guilty, it was answnd yea but one other th. must bee pleaded & that is a Surety; The former by Repentance, the later by beleiving—Those two wil doe. Mar. 7. my loving Tenant & Neighbor under the oke John Morton finisht his course & I trust is at rest in the lord. His children whom Father & Mother have forsaken, y^e lord wil take up. John & Margt. John had a dangerous fal a few dayes since out of y^e mayd's armes going up y^e ladder into y^e loft, but no hurt God bee praysd. their Uncle Rich. Morton execut^r. Hee left in money and goods above £100. whereof 50. to his daughter, the rest to John. 13. dy'd Mr. John Tilston of Alkint. a knowing good man & a stout defender of Absolute free election.* aged. 77. 21. Ill of a payn in my left shoulder. 23. a Bed-Sabbath, few such, cup'd & blister'd by Jo. Barker, wherby ease given, to God bee the praise. 27. dyed my dear Friend and Sister in X^t Jane Bennet, a holy gracious good woman who feared God above many. A. Æt. 72. April 21. dy'd William Figes of Ash, also Mary Kirkham, of Iscoyd, Capt. Cartwright within less y^m a week after hee had assisted in laying Mr. Figes in his Grave. Cos. Brayn's daughter who marry'd Mr. Payn's Son of Edstaston had a child born about this time, to w^m its grandmother Brayn gave suck & which had then living three Great Grand Mothers, Mrs. Payn, Mrs. Brayn

* On May 28, 1682, Evelyn writes: "At the Rolls Chapell preached the famous Dr. Burnet on 2 Peter i. 10, describing excellently well what was meant by election, viz. not the effect of any irreversable decree, but so call'd because they embraced the Gospel readily, by which they became elect or precious to God. It would be very needlesse to make our calling and election sure were they irreversable and what the rigid Presbyterians pretend."

& Mrs. Eddow. Rye in y^e Oke-feild observ'd y^e Best within many miles, much having miss'd. l[aus] D[eo]. twas y^e Feild out of which y^e Barley was taken. *A.* 81. Repayres at Bronington, &c.

(Memorand. William Jones had a fayr scape for his life through God's mercy, falling off y^e ladder, the staff breaking, as hee was carrying a very big slate before him, it falling one way & hee another, on his Back, upon the Stone at the house door, to God bee glory.) A peice of new wainscot set up in the Parlor at Br. O. July. 2. y^e pannels & rayles my own, made by W^m Edge— 6. yⁿ^{ts} in all at 12^d p yard—6^s.

1682-1693.

1682.

Soon after this, was the Assizes for Flintshire, held at Mold, where Sir George Jeffries, afterwards Lord Chancellor, then Chief Justice of Chester, sat Judge. He did not in private Conversation seem to applaud what was done in this Matter, so as was expected; whether out of a private Pique against some that had been active in it, or for what other Reason is not known; but it was said, he pleasantly ask'd some of the Gentlemen, by what new Law they pressed Carts, as they passed upon their Occasions along the Road, to carry away Goods distrain'd for a Conventicle? It was also said, that he spoke with some Respect of Mr. Henry; saying, he knew him and his Character well, and that he was a great Friend of his Mother's, (Mrs. Jeffries of Acton near Wrexham, a very pious, good Woman) and that sometimes, at his Mother's Request, Mr. Henry had examin'd him in his Learning, when he was a School-Boy, and had commended his Proficiency. And it was much wonder'd at by many, that of all the times Sir George Jeffries went that Circuit (tho' tis well enough known what was his temper, and what the Temper of that time) yet he never sought any Occasion against Mr. Henry, nor took the Occasions that were offer'd, nor countenanced any Trouble intended him, tho' he was the only Nonconformist in Flintshire. . . . It seems there are some Men, whose Ways so please the Lord, that he makes even their Enemies to be at Peace with them; and there is nothing

lost by trusting in God. . . . In this time of treading down, and of Perplexity, he stirred little abroad, being forced (as he used to express it) to throw the plow under the Hedge; but he preached constantly at home without Disturbance; and often comforted himself with this, When we cannot do what we would, if we do what we can, God will accept of us; when we cannot keep open shop, we must drive a secret Trade. And he would say, There is a Mean, if we could hit it, between Fool-hardiness and Faint-Heartedness. While he had some Opportunity of being useful at Home, he was afraid lest he should prejudice that by venturing Abroad. One of his Friends in London, earnestly soliciting him to make a Visit thither in this time of restraint in the Country, he thus wrote I should be glad once more to kiss my Native Soil, tho' it were but with a Kiss of Valediction; but my indisposedness to travel, and the small Prospect there is of doing Good to countervail the Pains, are my prevailing Arguments against it. I am here ('tis true) buried alive, but I am quiet in my Grave, and have no mind to be a walking Ghost. We rejoice, and desire to be thankful, that God hath given us a home, and continued it to us, when so many, better than we, have not where to lay their Head, having no certain dwelling-Place. . . .

1685.

At the time of the Duke of Monmouth's Descent, and the Insurrection in the West, in the Year 1685, Mr. Henry, as many others (pursuant to a general Order of the Lord Lieutenant, for securing all suspected Persons, and particularly all Nonconformist Ministers,) were taken up, by a Warrant, from the Deputy Lieutenants and sent under a Guard to Chester Castle where he was about three Weeks a close Prisoner. He was lodg'd with some Gentlemen and Ministers that were fetch'd there out of Lancashire, who were all Strangers to him; but he had great Comfort in the Acquaintance and Society of many of them.

He oftspoke of this Imprisonment, not as Matter of Complaint, but of thanksgiving, and blessed God he was in nothing uneasy all the while. In a Sermon to his Family, the Day after he came home, he largely and affectionately recounted the Mercies of that

Providence : As for Instance ; “ That his Imprisonment was for no Cause ; tis Guilt that makes a prison : That it was his Security in a dangerous time : That he had good Company in his Sufferings, who pray’d together, and read the Scriptures together, and discoursed to their mutual Edification : That he had Health there, not Sick and in Prison : That he was visited and pray’d for by his Friends : That he was very chearful and easy in his Spirit, many a time asleep and quiet, when his adversaries were disturb’d and unquiet : That his enlargement was speedy and unsought for ; and that it gave Occasion to the Magistrates who committed him, to give it under their Hands, that they had nothing in particular to lay to his Charge ; and especially that it was without a snare, which was the thing he fear’d more than anything else.

It was a Surprize to some that visited him in his Imprisonment, and were big with the Expectations of the Duke of Monmouth’s Success, to hear him say, I would not have you to flatter yourselves with such Hopes, for God will not do his Work for us in these Nations, by that Man ; but our Deliverance and Salvation will arise some other way. . . .

It was the latter end of the Year 1685, when the Stream ran so very strong against the Dissenters ; that Mr. Henry being in Discourse with a very great man of the Church of England, mentioned King Charles’s Indulgence in 1672, as that which gave Rise to his stated Preaching in a separate Assembly ; and added, if the present King James should, in like manner, give me Leave I would do the same again. To which that great Man reply’d “ Never expect any such thing from him ; for take my word for it, he hates you Nonconformists in his heart.” Truly (said Mr. Henry) I believe it, and I think he doth not love you of the Church of England, neither. . . .

1687.

However the Indulgence granted to Dissenters in April 1687. must needs be a Reviving to those who for so many Years had lain buried in Silence & Restraint ; nor can any, who will allow themselves the Liberty of supposing the Case their own. wonder they should rejoice in it, though the Design of it being manifest they

could not choose but rejoice with trembling. Mr. Henry's sentiments of it were Whatever Men's Ends are in it, I believe God's End in it is to do us good.

When King James came his Progress into that country in September 1687, to court the Compliments of the People, Mr. Henry joined with several others, in & about Whitchurch, Nantwich & Wem, in an address to him, which was presented when he lay at Whitchurch, the Purport of which was, not to Sacrifice their Lives and Fortunes to him & his Interest, but only to return him thanks for the Liberty they had, with a promise to demean themselves quietly in the use of it.

Some time after Commissioners were sent abroad into the Country, to enquire after the Trouble Dissenters had sustain'd by the Penal Laws; & how the money that was levy'd upon them was disposed of; little of it being found in the Exchequer; they sent to Mr. Henry to have an Account from him of his sufferings; he return'd Answer by Letter, that he had indeed been Fined some Years for a Conventicle & distrain'd upon & his Goods carried away; which all the Country knew, & to which he referred himself. But being required to give a particular Account of it upon Oath; though he said he could be glad to see such instruments of Trouble legally removed; yet he declined giving any further Information concerning it; having (as he wrote to the Commissioners) long since, from his Heart, forgiven all the Agents. Instruments, & Occasions of it; & having purposed never to say anything more of it.

1688.

In May, 1688, a new Commission of the Peace came down for the County of Flint, in which (by whose Interest or Procurement was not known) Mr. Henry was nominated a Justice of Peace for that County. It was no small Surprise to him, to receive a letter from the Clerk of the Peace, directed to Philip Henry Esquire, acquainting him with it, and appointing him when and whither to come to be sworn. To which he return'd Answer, that he was very sensible of his Unworthiness of the Honour, and his Unfitness for the Office which he was nominated to, and therefore desir'd to

be excused ; and he was so, and did what he could, that it might not be spoken of in the Country. . . .

Another tribute to his character must have been paid him about this time by Riley,* the painter, in associating his name with that of Dr. Busby.† The history of the picture, which hangs in Christ Church Hall, seems forgotten, but the fact remains that *Busby's favourite pupil* is represented standing beside his old master, and helping him, as we are told he did, in collecting words for his dictionary.

For two years after this Liberty began, Mr. Henry still continued his Attendance, as Usual, at Whitwell chappell, whenever there was preaching there; and he preached at his own House only when there was no supply there, and in the Evening of those Days that there was. For doing thus he was greatly clamour'd against by some of the rigid Separatists, and called a Dissembler, and one that halted between two and the like. Thus (as he notes in his Diary) one side told him, he was the Author of all the Mischief, in drawing People from the Church; and the other side told him, he was the Author of all the Mischief, in drawing People to the Church: And which of these, saith he, shall I seek to please? Lord, neither, but thyself alone, and my own Conscience, and while I can do that, I have enough.

In a Sermon at Whitwell-Chappel one Lord's Day in the Afternoon, where he and his Family, and many of the Congregation were attending, much was said with some keen Reflections, to prove the Dissenters Schismaticks, and in a damnable State. When he came immediately after to preach at his own House, before he begun his Sermon, he expressed himself to this Purpose; Perhaps some of you may expect now that I should say something in Answer to what we have heard by which we have been so severely charged; but truly I have something else to do; and so, without any farther Notice taken of it, went on to preach Jesus Christ, and him crucified.

It was not without some Fear and Trembling, that Mr. Henry received the Tidings of the Prince of Orange's Landing, in

* John Riley was born in London, 1646, and died 1691.

† Dr. Busby died 1695, aged 89.

November 1688, as being somewhat in the Dark concerning the Clearness of his Call, and dreading what might be the Consequence of it. He used to say, Give Peace in our Time, O Lord, was a Prayer that he would heartily set his Amen to. But when secret Things are brought to Light, and a regular Course was taken to fill the Throne with such a King and such a Queen, none rejoiced in it more heartily than he did. He celebrated the National Thanksgiving for that great Deliverance, with an excellent Sermon on that Text, Rom. viii. 31. What shall we then say to these things? If God be for us, who can be against us? . . .

In June 1689 was the Act of Indulgence, which not only tolerated, but allowed the Dissenters' Meetings, and took them under the Protection of the Government. Soon after which, though he never in the least changed his Judgment, as to the Lawfulness of joining in the Common-Prayer, but was still ready to do it occasionally; yet the Ministers that preached at Whitwell-Chappel, being often uncertain in their coming, which kept his Meeting at Broad-Oak at like Uncertainties, to the frequent Disappointment of many of his Hearers that came from far, he was at last prevailed with to preach at publick time every Lord's Day, which he continued to do while he lived, much to his own Satisfaction and the Satisfaction of his Friends. An eminent Minister in Lancashire, who did in like Manner alter his Practice about that time, gave this for a Reason, That he had been for Twenty seven Years striving to please a Generation of Men, who, after all, would not be pleased; and therefore he would no longer endeavour it as he had done.

5. He preached a great many Lectures in the Country about, some stated, some occasional in supplying of which he was very indefatigable. He hath sometimes preached a Lecture, ridden eight or nine Miles, & preached another and the next Day two more. To quicken himself to Diligence, he would often say our Opportunities are passing away and we must work while it is Day, for the Night cometh. Once having very wet and foul weather to go thro, to preach a Lecture, he said he comforted himself with two Scriptures; one was 2 Tim. ii. 3. Endure hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ; the other (because he exposed and

hazarded his Health, for which some blamed him) was 2 Sam. vi. 21. It was before the Lord.

Lastly. As he was an excellent Preacher himself, so he was an exemplary Hearer of the Word, when others preached, though every way his inferiors; so Reverent, Serious and Attentive was he in hearing, and so Observant of what was spoken.

I have heard him say he knew one (and I suppose it was as Paul knew a Man in Christ), who could truly say, to the Glory of God, that for Forty Years he had never slept at 1^r sermon. He was Diligent also to improve what he heard afterwards by Meditation, Repetition, Prayer & Discourse, and he was a very great Incourager of young Ministers, that were humble and serious, though their Abilities & Performances were but mean. He hath noted in his Diary (as that which affected him) this Saying of a Godly Man a Hearer of his "I find it easier to go six Miles to hear a Sermon, than to spend one quarter of an Hour in meditating and Praying over it in secret (as I should) when I go Home."

As to the Circumstances of his Family in these last nine Years of his Life, they were somewhat different from what they had been; but the same Candle of God which had shined upon his Tabernacle, continued still to do so. In the Years 1687, and 1688, he married all his five Children; the three eldest in four Months time, in the year 1687, and the other two in a Year and a half after; so many Swarms (as he us'd to call them) out of his Hive; and all not only with his full Consent, but to his abundant Comfort and Satisfaction. He would say, he thought it the Duty of Parents to study to oblige their Children in that Affair. And though never could Children be more easy and at rest in a Father's House than his were, yet he would sometimes say concerning them, as Naomi to Ruth, Ruth iii. 1. Shall I not seek rest for thee?

Two Advices he us'd to give, both to his Children and Others, in their Choice of that Relation: One was, Keep within the bounds of Profession, such as one may charitably hope is from a good Principle. The other was, look at Suitableness, in Age, Quality, Education, Temper, Etc. He us'd to observe from Gen. ii. 18. I will make him a Help meet for him; that where there is

not Meetness, there will not be much Help. And he would commonly say to his Children, with reference to that choice. Please God and please yourselves, and you shall never displease me; and greatly blamed those Parents. who conclude Matches for their Children, and do not ask Counsel at their Mouth. He never aim'd at great things in the World for his Children, but sought for them in the first place the Kingdom of God, and the Righteousness thereof. He used to mention sometimes the Saying of a pious Gentlewoman, that had many Daughters: The Care of most People, is how to get good Husbands for their Daughters; but *my care is to fit my Daughters to be good Wives*, and then let God provide for them. In this, as in other things, Mr. Henry steered by that Principle; That a man's Life consisteth not in the abundance of the things that he possesseth. And it pleased God so to order it, that all his Children were disposed of, into Circumstances very agreeable and Comfortable, both for Life and Godliness. He was greatly affected with the Goodness of God to him herein, without any forecast or contrivance of his own. The Country (saith he in his Diary) takes notice of it, and what then shall I render? Surely this is a Token for good.

All his four Daughters were married at Whitwell-Chappel, and he preach'd a Wedding Sermon for each of them, in his own Family after; he would often tell his Friends, that those who desire, in the married Condition, to live in the Favour of God. must enter upon that Condition in the Fear of God. For it's an ill Omen to stumble at the Threshold; and an Error in the first Concoction, is seldom amended in the second.

His youngest Daughter was married April 26, 1688, the same Day of the Year (as he observes in his Diary), and the same Day of the week, and in the same place, that he was married to his dear Wife, Twenty-eight Years before; upon which this is his Remark. I cannot desire from them, that they should receive more from God than we have received, in that Relation and Condition; but I would desire, and I do desire, that they may do more for God in it than we have done. His usual Compliment to his New-married Friends, was, others wish you all Happiness, I wish you all Holiness, and then there is no doubt but you will have all Happiness. When the Marriage of the last of his Daughters was

about to be concluded on, he thus writes ; but is Joseph gone, and Simeon gone, and must Benjamin go also? And when, some time after she was married, he parted with her to the House of her Husband, he thus writes ; We have sent her away, not as Laban said he would have sent his Daughters away, with Mirth, and with Songs, with Tabret, and with Harp, but with Prayers and Tears, and hearty good Wishes : And now, (saith he in his Diary) we are alone again as we were in our Beginning ; God be better to us than twenty Children. Upon the same Occasion he thus writes to a dear Relation ; We are now left as we were, One and One, and yet but one One ; the Lord, I trust, that has brought us thus far, will enable us to finish well ; and then all will be well, and not till then.

The greatest Affliction he saw in his Family, was the Death of his dear Daughter-in-Law, Katherine, the only Daughter of Samuel Hardware, Esq. ; who about a Year and a half after she was transplanted into his Family (to which she was the greatest Comfort and Ornament imaginable) died of the Small-Pox in Child-Bed, upon the Thanksgiving Day for King William's coming in. She died but a few weeks after Mr. Henry had married the last of his Daughters, upon which marriage she had said, Now we have a full Lease, God only knows which life will drop first. She comforted herself in the Extremity of her Illness with this Word Well, when I come to Heaven, I shall see that I could not have been without this Affliction.

He had in Eight Years time, Twenty-four Grand-Children born, some by each of his Children ; concerning whom he would often bless God, that they were all the sealed ones of the God of Heaven, and enrolled among his Lambs.

It was not long after his Children were married from him, but his House was fill'd again with the Children of several of his Friends, whom he was, by much Importunity, perswaded to take to table with him. All that knew him, thought it a thousand Pities, that such a Master of a Family should have but a small Family, and should not have many to sit down under his Shadow. He was at first almost necessitated to it, by the Death of his dear Friend and Kinsman, Mr. Benyon of Ash, who left his Children to his Care. Some he took gratis, or for small Con-

sideration ; And when by Reason of the Advances of Age, he could not go about so much as he had done, doing Good, he laid out himself to do the more at home. He kept a Teacher to attend their School-Learning ; and they had the Benefit not only of his Inspection in that, but (which was much more) his Family Worship, Sabbath Instructions, Catechizing, and daily Converse, in which his Tongue was as choice Silver, and his Lips fed many. Nothing but the Hopes of doing some Good to the rising Generation, could have prevailed with him to take the Trouble upon him. He would often say, We have a busy House. but there is a Rest remaining. We must be doing Something in the World while we are in it ; but this Fashion will not last long, methinks I see it passing away . . .

Sometimes he had such with him as had gone through their Course of University Learning at private Academies, & desired to spend some time in his Family, before their Entrance upon the Ministry. that they might have the Benefit not only of his Publick & Family Instruction but of his Learning and pious Converse, in which, as he was thoroughly furnish'd for every good Word & work, so he was very Free & Communicative. The great thing which he used to press upon those who intended the Ministry, was to study the Scriptures and make them familiar. *Bonus Textuarius est bonus Theologus* was a Maxim he often minded them of. For this Purpose he recommended to them the Study of the Hebrew, that they might be able to search the Scriptures in the Original. He also advised to the Use of an Interleaved Bible. wherein to insert such Expositions or Observations, as occur occasionally in Sermons or other Books, which he would say, are more happy and considerable sometimes, than those that are found in the professed Commentators. When some young Men desired the Happiness of coming into his Family, he would tell them, You come to me as Naaman did to Elisha expecting that I should do this & t'other for you, and alas ! I can but say as he did "Go wash in Jordan" Go, study the Scriptures. I profess to teach no other Learning but Scripture Learning. It was but a little before he died that in reading Isa. i. he observed from *v. 4.* "The Lord God hath given me the Tongue of the Learned" &c., That the true Learning of the Gospel Minister

consists not in being able to speak Latin fluently, and to dispute in Philosophy, but in being able to speak a Word in Season to weary Souls. He that knows how to do that well is a Learned Minister.

The following letters, formerly belonging to Miss Bache, of Great Malvern, and bound up in one volume, have been kindly lent for the purposes of this work by W. R. Anstice, Esq., of Ironbridge, Salop. One or two of them that belong to other gentlemen or ladies are separately endorsed.

1.

Mr. Henry to his son, at Mr. Doolitol's, Islington—Etat. 18.

MY DEAR CHILD,

Your letter to me I rec^d & y^r mother also her's, in the former an account of your being busy, at which we were glad, in the later of your being not well, & that troubles us, but wee are in hope, that this night's post will bring us better tidings, that it proves not an Ague, as you fear, but a sudden ake the effect of your being wett in the show'r & not shifting more then your shoes when you came to Isl.¹ however wee desire to acquiesce in the will of God in whose hand our times are, and at whose dispose are all our wayes, who doth always that which is just & righteous, & always that which is best to those that love him. I am at the writing of this at Boreatt[on] where I expected your mother this morning, as wee appointed, but instead of coming herself, shee sends Roger with your two letters, & her dezire to mee to answer them from hence by the way of Shrewsb. they are all well, blessed bee God, both there & here, my Lord Paget intended to have gone from hence tomorrow, which hastned mee hither a week sooner than I expected & caus'd a fayleur at home yesterday, on Chapel-day, but his stay now is till next week; I am comforted that you acknowledge God in your distemper, and are prepar'd to receive with patience what he appoints; The two last subjects wee were upon when you left Br. O., Faith & Repentance, I hope were made profitable to you; hee that truly Repents of sin and truly

believes in the Lord J. X^t nothing can come amiss to him, things present are his, things to come are his, Life, Death, this world and t'other world ; Though you are at distance from us, you are near to him who according to his promise is a present help to those that fear him in every time of need ; our poor prayers for you, you may bee sure are not, shal not bee wanting, that if the Lord please you may have health to ply the work you came about, that you may serve the will of God in your generation, if otherwise, that you may be satisfied, in what hee doth, and so wee by his grace shal endeavour to bee also. Commend us to Mr. Doolitol & his wife, whose tender love to you & care concerning you, wee shal alwayes acknowledge with all thankfulness ; also to Cozin Robt, who I know wil help to bear your Burthen ; The Lord Almighty bless you, my dear child, and cause his face to shine upon you, and send us good newes in your next concerning you. Amen. This from

Yr. Loving Father

P. H.

Aug. 16. 1680.

2.

MY LORD,

The experience which I have had of your very great Candor, together with the particular leave you were pleas'd to give mee of Applying myself to you, as there might bee occasion of this nature, are my encouragem^t to trouble your Lordship with these few lines. I understand, there are several Protestant Dissenters of your Diocess, that being excommunicate, are in danger of being cast into Prison by writs remayning in the Sheriffs hands for that purpose ; concerning whom, when I was with you at Chester, you were pleas'd to say, it was not for their meer non-conformity but for withholding their Church dues ; having made Inquiry about it, I doo find that there are but few of them chargeable with that neglect, & of those few, there is one William David of Myvod on whose behalf the Min^r of the Place hath written the inclosed, whereby it wil appear, that his default therein was not wilful & usual but meerly accidental, which when your Lordship sees, I hope, it wil prevayl to obtayn from you his discharge. And for the rest, who suffer for not conforming, I have personal acquaintance with divers of them, both about

Wrexham in Montgom-shire, particularly with Mr. Walter Griffiths & Richard Gardiner, & Evan Roberts, and have reason to believe concerning them, that they are Religious, sober, peaceable men, though under Dissatisfactions in the things imposed, and being such, I would intreat your lordship on their behalf that your lenity may be extended towards them, and the rather considering, that the casting of them into the Jayl is like to be the Ruine both of themselves and of their Families as to this world, which I am confident can be no way pleasing to you in the Reflection. Besides, the Proc^{ds} agt them, if I bee not misinform'd, are upon Presentm^{ts} made in your Predecessor's dayes long since, and if in other cases, the Action dyes with the Person it were but reasonable it should in this also. Would your Lordship please, to forbear but for a while highest Act of Severity towarde them, it may be upon further conference w. them and knowledge of them you wil find them other Persons then they are Represented to you to bee. I humbly beg your lordship's pardon for my Boldness with you herein and subscribe myself.

My Lord,
Your servant much obliged,
PHILIP HENRY.

Mar. 25. 1682.

For the Right Reverend
W^m lord Bishop of S^t Asaph.*

4

Mr. Henry's first letter to his son on going to Gray's Inn.

For Mr. Matthew Henry to bee left with Mr. Darrack at the Golden Trumpet within Aldersgate. London.

SON MATTHEW,

I received both your letters, the one on Friday, the other yesterday, rejoicing to understand thereby the great

* Dr. William Lloyd was one of those who attended the English court in France in 1651, called by Evelyn "one of the most deepe learned divines of this nation in all sorts of literature," and in 1680 spoken of as Dean of Bangor and Vicar of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields. Afterwards Bishop of St. Asaph, Bishop of Lichfield, and Bishop of Worcester, frequently mentioned by Burnet.

goodness of God to you in your journey, & particularly that your Company prov'd no worse, than it seemes it did, which wee were much afrayd of. I hope you wil now in the first place *σὴν θεῶν* make a business of fixing somewhere, so as may best conduct to your great end in going, wherein wee beg direction for you from Heaven, which appoints the bounds of our Habitation ; forget not the rules given you, consult health & wholesomness, conveniency & honesty, your next I trust wil tel us you are so fitted. The Omens you mention doe little affect mee, supposing them all true, which I much question, but perhaps they doe others ; I would be now glad of a fuller account of the Substantials, as far as they are yet or may bee known. Wee remayn as yet, thanks bee to God, in the same circumstances of Mercy in which you left us, wishing you some of our sweet aire, which is now more then at other times of the year perfum'd, instead of your offensive town-smels, against which you have need to arm your self, especially at first til you are us'd to them.

Your loving Father.

May 4. .85. 6. cl.

P. H.

7.

SON MATH.

My jealousy over you was the effect of my dear love to you and the account you give mee of your company comforts mee, for I apprehended & doe so stil, that your Danger in London wil lye much that way, therof stil keep up your watch & bee strong in the grace of J. X^t. for when you trust to sf. you are gone. I like it wel that you spent last Tuesday as you did, only supposing Dr. T.'s lecture to bee in the Aftern. I understand not where you din^d ; if with Dr. Humph. it was not wel, for fasting & esp. going so into Assemblies may bee very prejudicial to your health ere you are aware, therof by no means use it not. I shal long to hear from your Aunt Ann, how you pformed in that journey, & what shee thinkes as to her coming hither ; might you not cast to come down together, either in Coach or on Horseback, either from London (you coming back from Oxf. thither to have her company) or from Oxf. I sending a double Horse &

shee coming by Coach thither, or how else yⁿ can contrive it between yⁿ, for the truth is, I much desire to see her.

Our good God, that orders all, orders it for good to them accord to his wil. last night was bury'd in Whitch. Mr. Ralph Tushingam, who broke his neck by a fal from his Horse, no body with him, betw. Wrenb. mil & Bromhal Green, coming from an Ale house at Wrenb. where Mr. Star. Mr. Widden & hee had drunk hard; there is talk that many are like to lose much by him; Mr. Corb^t sends to mee to write to you to hearken them out a min^r. for Cockshute either at London or Oxf. you know their circumstances & what a one wil please them. Wee did not goe to Rhuabon on Wednesd. in regard of the discomposures that were in the Neighborhood, which are now allay'd, upon occas. of the D. of M^s invasion & the proclayming of him Trayt^r which the Post before brought tidings of; I keep home, hear little, & say less; 'Tis our unhappiness, to bee suspected p.sons without cause & to be expos'd accordingly, though quiet in the land, but God is righteous & wise & good, & knowes how to bring glory to hins. & good to the remnant out of all events whatsoever, even out of the eater meat, & out y^e strong sweetness, & out of the lyon's carkass, honey. This night wee expect to see Cos. Th. Bowker & his new Bride. Have you not taken a turn at Whitehal yet, to see the nest in the Ortyard, whence your poor Father came? your uncles either of them or your Aunts, would accompany you. Commend us all to them; I write not, because by you they hear of us. Wee hear that Chester Fayr is forbidden which is a disappointm^t to many landoners & others. Your Mother gives you her Blessing, your Sisters their kind love. I suppose by this time, you are in the Hal again in commons, where you must bee careful to behave yours. with all soberness, for many eyes are upon you; you want your Supper-companion, your individuus comes there, to whom we desire to bee remembered, beseeching the lord to direct your way in everything & to keep you humble, & serious, & in his fear alwayes, which is the daily prayer of

Yr. Affec. lov. Fa^r

Jun. 20. .85.

P. H.

8.

To Philip Henry in Chester Castle from M. H.

HON^D SIR,

We receiv'd y^{rs} last night by Ann Huxley, and though it troubles us to think y^t y^{rs} are there * (and 'tis the more grievous because you have us'd to bee so little abroad) yet the account you give of your circumstances, doth somewhat comfort us, wee can see the cup mix't, and cannot but acknowledg the goodness of y^t God y^t mixes it, and especially that puts hony upon y^e Rod, hoping that as afflictions abound, consolations will abound. no Bars nor bolts nor guards can exclude him. I am very sorry I cannot come to see you, indeed many of my friends are against it and therefore I submit, hoping and praying & waiting for a comfortable meeting in God's due time, and yet am apt to think I could come without danger. My Mother is just now gone to Hanmer to y^e Burial of old Aunt Maddocks, who dy'd on Sat. night. Cosin Benyon call'd of her, and left her service to you. We are all well (blessed bee God) Sis. El^{ps} ague returns not. My Mother thinks to send Sister Sarah to see you, upon Thursday, if room will be had in the Chester Coach, if not, it must be defer'd till there is, but shee is overjoy'd to think of seeing you. Wee think to send this week for my Sisters, and I think to go y^e day before, and so bring y^m home with mee, if Mr. H. & my Lady would let y^r daught^{rs} or (w^{ch} phaps would bee better at y^s time) some one of y^m come hither, wee could send (for one) with my sisters, if wee have orders fr^m y^u by y^e Bearer Owen Brown & should bee glad of it. Wee expect y^e chimney-men here to-day, for y^{ey} are come into our Town, y^{ey} gave an account of y^eir bu^zness to y^e Justices yesterday, who for ought I understand could not or would not gainsay them, & so there's no remedy but patience. Edw. Pears has paid for y^e Bak-house chimney at Bron: They are now carrying y^e last load out of y^e little meadow. 5 Load in all. No more but affectionate love, duty, service from us all as due

* In Chester Castle.

wishing the eternal God may bee y^r Refuge & underneath may bee
y^e Everlasting Arms I rest

Y^r ever dutiful son,

M. H.

July 7. .85.

I forgot to tel y^u y^t I was yesterd. at Will. Cross, my Lady* talks
of going to see her friends in Bonds but when I know not, shee
offers to take my Mo. along wth her in her Coach at any time.

You are enquir'd for by fr^{nds} & neighb^{rs} wth no small con-
cernedness. The Chimney men are just now gone : and are pay'd
4^{sh} for y^e Kill-chimney. and much adoe I had to save Tho.
Matthews' Bake house.

9.

From Philip Henry in Chester Castle to Mrs. Henry
at Broad Oke.

July. 8. 1685.

DEAR HEART,

I continue very well, at present, thankes bee to
God! and feel nothing yet of the Inconveniencies of a prison ;
we are better accommodated, as I acquainted you in my last, then
wee could have expected, though wee must pay for it. Just now
six Min^{rs} N. C. are brought in hither from Lancashire, more than
before, so far are wee from enlargm^t, but our times are in God's
hand, who hath sent us hither, I am confident, for good, though
how or which way or wherein I know not, but hee is faithful that
hath promis'd. My Chamber fellows & I differ someth. in our
apprehensions of things past, which wil not bee helpt, but for the
unseen th. that are to come that are Eternal, wee are all one.
Our Afternoones, til late, are filld with visitants, who love us &
wish us wel & are kind to us, but wee cannot doe with them what
wee would. Cos. Crue hath been an hour with mee this morning
shee brought mee a quart of Aqu. Mirab. which I would have
had her take back again, til more need, but shee would not. I
have not yet opened y^t little bottle I brought with mee, since I
came, not wanting it, & being more afrayd of what might heat.

* This was Mrs. Lloyd of Willington.

mee, in regard wee have no drink but strong (unless very seldom) neither morning, noon, nor night, w^{ch} may turn to Feavorish distempers, wanting exercise—I have not trodden on the ground since Sat. which using mys. to in mornings I thought y^e want of it might bee prejudicial, but hitherto it is not; I have not tasted Butter yet with bread since I came from home. This dinner wee had Beanes and Bacon, Sammon &c. but I am careful w^t I eat, not Fishes & Fleshes. Mrs. Wenlock was to see mee yesterday & brought mee a bottle of wine. I bestow all of that kind in Common, my Companions strangers here. This Aftern. y^e Citizens meet on Rood-dee with Halberts, they think to take the Oath. Mrs. Clive is here, Mr. Woodh. I hope recovers, & wⁿ wel comes in again. I have seen Mr. H. but 'tis at distance. Let mee hear from you, how you doe & the children &c. as oft as you can. Shew not my letters. When you think fit to send for them from Salop, Send love to Matth. Our Gards change every howr, which makes it so very hard to come to us, else wee might oblige them. I would gladly see him, but when or how I know not, I think there's little danger of any harm to him here, if there bee none at home, at his return. Love to Sarah & El'nor, & to Ann D. & to all y^e rest of you, doe w^t you can to get to heaven your selves & to help one another thither. Prepare for further Sufferings, to which it may bee these th. are but the Preamble but all is well that ends everlastingly well. Thanks for all y^r love & faithfulness to mee, & Patience with mee; the lord wil reward it. One of my Fellow Prisoners last night receiv'd a letter from his wife subscrib'd—so I rest dear Husband in all Duty & Obedience your Obedient wife—Such is lancashire kindness, but deeds exceed words—I am in short most intirely & most affectionately thine.

P. H.

10.

To Matthew Henry at Gray's Inn.

SON MATTHEW,

Wee are glad to hear of Gods goodness to you in your journey, going out & coming in, & of the pleasing circumstances which hee hath brought you to in the place where you are, concerning which you doe wel not to call it settlement, for our

present state here below is & must be a Tabernacle-state, wee are but strangers & pilgrims, as all our Fathers were, the world is our Inn,* & the place wherein you are, bearing that name, it should mind you daily, what your condition is in it; you are to count upon being there but a while & to manage your self, your time, your Affections, your conversation accordingly; whilst you reckon, you have no continuing City here, you are the more concern'd to make one sure that is to come. It pleases God to lengthen out his displeasure towards us in this neighbourhood in the continuance of the Smal Pox which hath taken away many, our's are yet preserv'd, to his name bee the praise, in whose hand our times are & at whose dispose are all our wayes.

Tho. Hensh. was here to-day, paying his Rent, honestly; the rest I hope, will bee had ere long, but the general complaint is, that nothing takes money, The price of Cattle & Corn is low, & pity 'tis that Plenty should bee a grievance; 'tis but a little while, I am sure, since the complaint was high & low'd, the other way. God in mercy secure the Gospel to us, though he feed us with the Bread of Adversity & give us Teares to drink in other matters! The D^r gave them a good Sermon. Nov. 5. from 2 Cor. I. 10. There was generally in all the Country hereabouts, especially on the Welsh side, greater expressions of joy then ordinary, & many Pulpits ful of sharp Reflections upon the People concern'd, only one I hear of whose Text was, Goe teach all nations Baptizing them—what he infer'd from thence sutable to the occasion I know not. My love to your chamber-fellow unknown, help one another what you can especially for heaven, remembering wherein two are better then one. When you have leasure and can conveniently, goe see your Aunts, but not by water, lest you catch cold, however write to them, if there bee such a way thither, by the Peny-post. What if you should call sometime at new Serj. Inn on Serj. Rig^{by} or accost him, if you see him in Westm^r hal, only to tel him who you are & what circumstances you are in, & to present my service to him & to inquire of the health & welfare of our fellow-Prisoners, as far as known to him. This is not to cutt you out impertinent work, nor to engage you in inconveniences, but to intimate to you what you may doe, as there is occasion & if it fall in your way.

* Cf. Archbishop Leighton.

your Mother gives you her love and Blessing, your Father also his, The lord bee gracious to thee, my Son! Should you not pay respect some time to our land-lord?

S^r Roger Pu. went hence on Munday, his sister marry'd to Mr. Thelw. Bryn & Bron. are commended to you. Bee careful of your health, remember the rule *venienti occurrere*—but esp. neglect not the mayn matter, the Soul is the man, if that doe well, all's wel.

Your letter escaped opening, write, but bee cautious what & how.—*Nov.* 13. 85.

P. H.

[this letter answered *Nov.* 17/85.]

II.

Decr 11. ..85.

SON MATTHEW,

I imagine, your present circumstances make it more difficult to your Friends to find you, else you would have more Visitants. 'Twas a good Item written over a studious Person's study door *Amice, quisquis*—Commend mee to Mr. law^r. what you appoint, as to your Debt to him, shal bee observ'd, but as to the other Affayr, which hims^f writes about, I can give no encouraging Answer, for several reasons, some of which, his own Consideration though not Affection, may suggest. Wee have hearty Sympathy with our Afflicted Friends in their Afflictions, weeping with those that weep, as being our selves also in the Body, Natural, Mystical. T'was a good Prayer of luther's when Melanct. & hee were entering the Place of Meeting at Spire, Domine Jesu, Tu ipse prospice Rebus tuis! In reading Beza's Epist, I find, about 120. y. since, things were much at the same pass in the same climate, hee that hath deliver'd, doth deliver, & I trust, wil. Amen! wee are thoughtful where & how you wil spend this cold, dark, long vacation, without prejudice to . . . your studyes, your health; Our Prayer to God for you is that of Jabez for hims^f daily, that the lord would bee with you & bless you indeed & enlarge your coast & keep you from the evil, from all evil, that it may not hurt you, even that the lord would preserve & keep your Soul! Amen & Amen! *Dec.* 11. .85.

12.

SON MATTHEW,

Mr. Hann^r hath distrayn'd upon Mr. Aldersey for his 7^s Relief & hee hath replevyd & sayes, hee wil stand suit, which if he doe, I know, who wil get the better. Though few visitants knock at your door, I hope, you find sufficient company within ; a good Book is a good companion at any time, but especially a good God, who is always ready to hold communion with those that desire & seek communion with him. Keep low & humble in your thoughts & opinion of yours^f but aym high in your desires & expectations, even as high as the Kingdom of Heaven, & resolve to take up with nothing short of it. Wee Both give you our love & Blessing, beseeching the lord to go in & out before you in all your wayes & to preserve you blameless to his heavenly Kingdom. Amen ! *Nov. 27. 10. at night 1685.*

[answered by M. H. Dec^r 1. 1685.]

13.

In reply to his son's of December 15th.

Dec^r. 18/85.

SON MATTHEW,

Your's came safe to hand & in due time this forenoon, finds us all in health, prayesd be God, & is as welcom to us, as our's can possibly be to you ; They flock about it, as bees about a honey-comb, & are as much refreshed by it. I like not to have mine double-charg'd to you & to bee as dear as your dinner^r; had they been all in one sheet without slitting, I suppose, it had been otherwise. I am glad you have satisfy'd your curiosity in the sight of the Jewes' worship, but more that you make such improvem^t of it for the ends of true Piety ; They are, certainly, to bee pity'd by us, being under the sad influences of a dismal curse & judicial hardning, which yet there is hope wil in due time, & therefore room for prayer, that it may, bee taken off when Popish Idolatry & Protestant Profaness, the great bars that hinder, shal come to an end, which God hasten for his mercy sake, & for their sake ! Wil you write a letter by the Post to Mr. Charles Williams

of Newp^t in Monmouthshire to know of him, how 'tis with him & whether his Son bee bound 'Prentice, if hee bee, to whom & for what, & where a legacy may bee payd in london for his use, giving a legal release; desire a line or two from him directed to you at Gr. Inn. Mr. W. H^r sent his Servant to mee this week, for an old Acquittance I had of a Releif or herriot p^l to y^e E. of Derby 64. yeares since, which I sent him, whereby hee sayes I have much oblig'd him & I am very glad to doe it. Mr. Al. intends to stand suit with him, but I think, your counsel were better, to make peace; His Sister Mary is ill at present of the Smal Pox, so are many more both in Town & Country, & our's yet spar'd, blessed bee the lord for it! his mercy to us therein is singular. Old Mrs. Bruerton, of Bella hil, Mr. Tho. Dod's Mother, dy'd on Sabb. day last, her son is expected from London at her Interm^t defer'd til Tuesday next, as wee hear. Our usual yearly distribution is wel perform'd & an account taken; that which puts the true value on it, is divine Acceptance, which is not wanting where there is uprightness; tis a good work, as Mr. Herbert sayd, when hee had built a church, if it bee sprinkled with the Bloud of J. X^t without which all is nothing; See your need of him more & more & live upon him; no life like it, so sweet, so safe; *christus meus mihi in omnia*; Wee cannot be discharged from the Guilt of any evil wee doe, without his Merit to satisfy; wee cannot move in the performance of any Good requir'd, without his S.pit & grace to assist & enable for it, & when wee have done all, that all is nothing, without his Mediation & Intercession to make it Acceptable, so that every day in every th. hee is All in All.

Now the lord God everlasting bee your Sun & Shield in all your wayes; see time hasting away apace towards eternity, & the Judge soon at the door, & work accordingly; wherever you are, alone or in company, bee alwayes either doing or getting good, sowing or reaping. As for mee, I make no other reckoning but that the time of my departure is at hand & what Trouble I may meet with before, I know not, the wil of the lord bee done; One of my cheif cares is, that no Iniquity of mine may bee layd up for you, which God grant for his mercy Sake in Christ Jesus. Amen!

[Answered Dec' 22. 1685.]

SON MATH.,

. . . Both of us, to Whitch. to meet the Tidings of your letter & found it as we desir'd & hop'd, & at our return home this evening your sisters had it after patient expectation all day & wee are now rejoycing together; And must it bee thus always! Shal wee never bee moved? doth our mountayn stand so strong! wee must not think so, nor say, to morrow shal bee as this day & much more abundant, because wee know not what a day may bring forth; The highest degree of bodily health is the next step to sickness, & so of peace to trouble, 'tis good therefore to rejoyce with trembling, & to bee making ready for changes, esp. when the cup is passing round; *Ille hodie, ego cras*; Wee have yet a living Son, & you a living Father & Mother, but how soon it may bee otherwise wee know not, but this wee know, wee have here no continuing city, our Breath is in our Nostrils, our time hasting away apace & as time goes Eternity comes, & what then? then what thy hand finds to doe, doe it, work while it is light, walk while it is day, blessed is that servant, whom his lord when hee comes shal find watching! I read your ingenious Proof of the S^{ts} Perseverance from Gosp. grounds in law Termes with some delight & pleasure, not only as to the Doctrin itself, which is, *Articulus stantis et cadentis solatij christiani*, but also to see, that you make so good use of Cook & littleton, that you keep the handmaid in such due subserviency to the Mistris, Hagar to Sarah, goe on stil to doe so, bring all your Egyptian Jewels & ear-rings to adorn the lord's Tabernacle; use your studies in humane learning as the captive mayd, when to bee made a wife, was to be us'd, her head was to be shav'd & her nailes par'd, & then shee was to bee taken home to house; *Omnes libri Scripti sunt, ut unus intelligatur*; have that rule often in your eye & steer accordingly; If you proceed in learning the French language, I am in hope it may be of use to you, in reading their Authors, & for that reason, I give my consent & wish you good speed; How glad would I have been lately of so much skil in it, as to have been able to have read & understood their church-catechism when the B^p of S^t A[saph] urg'd, that in one of the Dimanches there, they doe assert, that to deny or disuse the Sacr^{ts} is sufficient to denomi-

nate a man no christian, which I had a great desire to see in their own words, but could not spel it from them, though I had the Book by mee & so was forced to take it as represented. If you sett your mind to it, I hope it wil bee no work of time to conquer it, esp. having a good Teacher & so good company to learn with you, however, to conquer so much of the difficulty of it, as wil make it easy to you to proceed in it your self afterwards but remember alwayes, *Omnia s̄v̄r̄ θ̄ε̄ω̄*. One Turner a Bayliff was kild this week near Whitch. in arresting a man at his suit, by a third Person, who is fled which is some trouble to him, though hee did particularly give order that that Person should not bee imploy'd in doing it. 'Tis likely at present to be a Match betw. Mis. Fra[ncis Hunt] & Mr. John Hardware, (not Trevice, as you suppos'd,) a hopeful yong Gentleman, of your year, & the Termes not altogether to bee mislik'd; If the th. proceed from the lord, my prayer is, that there may bee spoken *āgt* it neither good nor bad. You write no more in this than in your last concer. your Aunts, that is, just nothing, which makes mee either to hope 'tis wel with them, or to fear, you are too much out of the way of inquiry after them. I would not have you by any meanes to venture yet upon the water, as warm & tempting as the weather is, lest you catch cold, but you may write a line or two now & then by the Peny-post, without that danger, if it bee only to let them know, that you hear from us, that wee are wel, & would bee glad to hear that they are so too. The Smal Pocks continues yet in Whitch. Mrs. Morgan bury'd a child of it lately, our's are yet preserv'd, blessed bee God! 'tis on the other hand of us also at H^r & elsewhere. The Hathorn hedge anenst the Hal window hath not only Buds but green leaves appearing, which is not usual; I hear of the like in other places. I make no apology for writing so much to you, nor tel you not, I wil bee no longer tedious, bec. I think not the longest of your's too long, & suppose you think the same of mine. Shal I now conclude with much in a little? Worship God in the Spirit, rejoyce in X^t J. & have no confidence in the Flesh; Use things below, but enjoy the things that are above; Love the Book of God above all Bookes, the Day of God above all Dayes, & the People of God above all People; While you live, live to God, & then when you dye, you'l dye to God, & bee receiv'd to live

for ever with him in everlasting mansions, which hee grant that dearly lov'd us & dearly bought us, Jesus Christ the Righteous. Amen!

Your Mother sends you her love & blessing.

Jan. 15. 1688.

The original of this belongs to H. W. Tyndall, Esq.

15.

May. 21 1686.

SON MATTHEW,

The contents of your last doe a little trouble us, not so much that you were let Bloud, though I think it might have been better had it been done sooner, as that you did mis-manage yourself after, both in going in the morning to lawrence Jury & in writing so much both to us & to Bo[reatton] in the Evening, it being convenient after Blood-letting to bee sedate & compos'd for some time til Nature bee come to itself again; Therefore in your next I shal expect to hear, that you were worse after it, & that the Feebleness & Dulness you mention were the immediate Symptoms of it, which God in mercy prevent! Wee are all wel here, thanks bee to God! The Divine Providence watching about our tabernacle, and compassing us about with Favor as with a Sheild. Our great Inquiry is, what shal we render! Alas, our rendrings are nothing to our receivings; wee are like the Barren field, on which much cost is bestow'd, but the Crop is not accordingly; Our heavenly Father is Loding us with his Benefits & wee are Loding him with our sins, greiving him that comforts us, & how long, how long shal it be so! ô: that it might bee otherwise! that our Mercyes might bee as Oyl to the wheeles, to make us so much the more active & lively in our Master's work. especi. considering how it is with our fellow-servants; They empty & wee ful, they Marah, & wee Naomi. Our dear Friends Mr. Ja. Ow. at Osw[estry] & Mr. Jo. Wils. at Nantw[ich] upon beds of sickness, & in the valley of the shadow of death, & wee well; They had hopes, when wee heard last, of the recovery of both of them though remayning dangerously ill. I am glad to hear your Aunts are in health, but sorry they are in any thing uneasy,

this is not the world, wherein wee must have everything that wee would have, but there is such a state before us, the happiness whereof eye hath not seen nor ear heard neither hath it enter'd into the heart of man to conceive; I would have you, as you have opportunity to bee a Comforter & a Counsellor to them, & as you can to help their Burthens. Tel Cos. Hobs. wee shal supply her son with such clothes as hee hath need of, & are fit for him, though shee hath not mention'd it; you know your mother's way, shee suffers nothing to spoyl for want of mending in time. I saw Mrs. Tils. the other day, shee heare's her son's Intentions for Holland are diverted for present, and y^t hee wil not bee at London till August; It seemes, hee is unfixt, what should bee the reason? Her Sister Ben. seemes to bee in a declining condition & I fear wil not bee long in this world, but hath good hopes through grace of a better. Mr. Corbet had thoughts of sending his Horses back again, if so, it might doe some Friend a kindness that looks toward the Countrey, if you know of any such, & them no unkindness, to embrace the Opportunity, tho hee was not resolv'd. Hearty renewed respects to the worthy Trios of approv'd Friends mention'd in my last, whom I pray God to continue in their Integrity & Usefulness. There may a day come when it may cost dear to be honest, but after all, to fear god & keep his Commandm^{ts} is the whole duty of man. I therefore commend it to you, & you to God, who is a shield & Buckler to them that fear him. *Ερρωσο!*

Though wee have not yet receiv'd Cos. Hobsen's token, yet pray give her Thanks for it: Her son is wel in health & learns his Catech. hee can say about half the first part & creepes on by degrees; wee should bee glad, if hee might get some good here, that might stick by him, Hee rode your Mare on Wednesd. (with your Sister Sarah on the little mare) to Ash & perform'd very wel & last night hee rode to Whitch: & fetch'd your letter, which pleases him; Hee is glad to hear of his Mother & grandmother & hopes by this time they wil have received his by Mr. Lawrence, who went hence, wee think on Munday. Mr. Corbet goes not till Tuesday next; Mr. Tong promises to cal on you; 'Tis now Vacation time, & though *nulla dies sine Linea*, yet *Arcum non*

* Farewell.

semper tendit Apollo suum. 'Tis not for mee to sit here & prescribe neither when, nor how much, nor how long, but remember the counsel of my last, to bee always either doing, or getting good; you'l find his Company savory, else I should not commend it to you, for I know you doe not want Company & I hope not good ones. Mr. Bentley was here yester-morning, told mee hee saw you & sate a while with you; 'Tis Mercy wee may doe so in peace, *si non data ultra*: Mr. Birch came not to Wil. last night, as expected, but at Preston hee say'd hee must bee, God willing, on Sabbath day.

16.

May 7. 1686.

S. M.—

wee read this morning in course, when wee had just newly experienc'd the Truth of it, by the receipt of your letter (for wee sent early to Whit. for it) Prov. 25. 25. As cold waters to a thirsty soul, so are good newes from a far country. Since Friday last wee have been in æquilibrium, between hope & fear, not knowing what to think, that wee heard not from you; sometimes wee thought all was not wel & then wee fear'd, expecting stil by each Post some evil tidings, but when both Sat. & Mund. night brought noth. wee then began to conclude & hope it was, as it proves, but a miscarriage; But one, did I say? I am loth to determine where to fix it, neither can I, but as the Club-footed Philosopher whose shoes were stollen from him, only wisht they might fit him that had them, so, not as hee intended but as the wish innocently seem'd to mean at first hearing, I really innocently wish him that intercepted it this kindness, that the good sermons in it may doe his soul good, & that nothing else in it may doe you or us any hurt. It's being the first made it somewhat the worse. I am glad of the account you give of Westmin^r Election, being pleas'd with the story of it cold, tho' not as you were, who had it hot; Only one thing I miss, & that is the mention of my old Master, who us'd to bee the Principal verb, whether hee bee yet in vivis; I don't remember that the second day was wont to bee like the first & theref. your loss thereof was the less, esp.

having so good a sermon in exchange for it. 'Twere not amiss if Ph. Bickl. would present hims. in propria persona to S^r Rog^r Puleston at the Rolls for his Satisfaction for 'tis certainly believ'd here that hee is dead, & two Tenem^{ts} in which his life alone is, are, the one actually seiz'd on & the profits detayn'd for these two yeares past, the other which is John Griffiths of Addavellyn * is threaten'd in like manner. John Griff. is so much concern'd, that a Friend of his told mee, hee would give Phil. a good peice of money could hee but see his Face. 'Tis reported here, that S^r Job is for Chester again, is it so? Wee missed y^e changes in y^e Hal, besides all the rest. As to your Journey to Sussex, I know not what to say, bec. I know not how you are dispos'd; Is there a flying Coach thither? if so it may bee that were better than to hire a Horse; What company can you promise your s^f? alone I would not have you, by no meanes, to venture in a strange country; The weather also is to bee consider'd, if it should continue dropping, the wayes would bee bad there, either for Coach or Horse; so that after all, I must refer it to your s^f; only Acknowledge God in all your wayes & hee shal direct your steps; His Father talkes sometimes of a Journey into Suffolk to lady H^r & so to Sussex all under one, but I see little likelihood of it. By this time, I suppose, Mr. Tⁿ is with you from Oxōn. remember to bee like fire-stickes together, provoking one another to love & to good workes, & to study at studying times, that your profiting may appear to all men. I am heartily sorry for the Death of the worthy Doctor, *i.e.* for the church's loss in him, as for hims. hee is now no longer a stranger in a strange land; but at rest at home in his Father's house. Bee sure improve your Munday-evenings wel & wisely, by sucking hard & pumping hard; you have not such Breasts every day & are to have those but a while, for our fashion passes away; If a wish would doe, I would be with you the very next, but it will not; Give my most Affectionate respects there however & to Mr. St. & Mr. l. & their yoke-fellowes. Your Father & Mother send you their Blessing, your sisters wil some of them tel you them. what they send you on the other side. Lord Del[amere] was at another Race last week at Farn, as I hear,

* *Aditus* = the approach; *welyn* = mill. Trevalyn in Denbighshire, and Trevelyan in Cornwall, are both of them Mill-town (Mil-ton).

where hee won considerably of Squire Egerton: His Fr^d doe much wonder at the humor of it, & I think I told you formerly what the old woman sayd. What Fruit wee are like to have this summer upon the Trees, I cannot tel, they are yet but in Blossom, & Blossoms you know are not Fruit, but a sad Face of Barrenness is upon our Congregations, many waxing worse & worse. few better better, And is the Axe layd to the Root? lord, let it alone this year also! Seeing your letters are so expos'd. I need not renew the former caution to bee careful what you write; yet glad wee are to hear how it fares with the poor people of God in this gloomy day, who are our *συνκληρονόμοι καὶ σύσσωμοι*, that wee may rejoyce with them when they rejoyce & weep with them when they weep. As for any thing else, tho' wee are suspected to bee Men of Design. the Troublers. &c. our rejoycing is this. the Testimony—and let God alone in his way & time to clear the truth.

P. H.

[Answered May 11. 1686.]

17.

To M. Henry at Gray's Inn.

May. 11. ..86.

SON MATH.

The weather hath been wett here of late. as it seemes it hath been with you, but these two dayes last past have been fayr & Summer-like & they that can are busy, tho' it bee late, sowing barley; were there the same care taken of the soul, in doing what wee can, when wee cannot doe what wee would, & to observe the Rule, better late than never, how wel were it. Mr. Church went hence on Munday last, whom I suppose by this time you may have seen, hee took a letter for you & a Ginney, supposing you might have occasion. The chees-market is quite dead at present; something ayles the londoners with Cheshire. thus to punish them. The Collection for y^e Fr[ench] Prot[estants] hath not reacht us yet, but I suppose is coming; I saw the Narrative & could not chuse but think, that things were made the worst of, for though I know what manner of spirit the people are of. yet

there were some passages, that would hardly consist with meer Humanity. I saw also the answer to the three Papers, & suppose by y^e style its Author to bee D^r Sh. It confirms that which you have somet. heard a Friend of your's say, that there are some men, on whom if it should please Authority to Frown but half so much and half so long, as it hath done on some of their Neighbors, they would hardly hold their hand, so as they have done, however not their Tongues & Pens. Our God in all these events is bringing to pass his own wil & counsel, which is for certain the advancem^t of his own Kingdom & Glory, All which is prayd for in the three first Petitions of the lord's Prayer, to which all that love him wil most heartily say, Amen! Though you have nothing of mine in y^r hand now wherewithal to doe it, yet you must not forget to bring with you, if not to send before you on my account some smal charity-Bookes (the *quid* esp.) for I am now quite out of stock, I gave 6^d for one at Salop, whereas of Brome hims. I bought 6. for 7 groats. Also some smal Bibles—I can buy them here for 2^s 10^d which is e'en cheap enough, but they are ill bound. I have not been in England this long time but purpose a salley shortly, God willing! Wee had a report of some disturbance in Coventry last Sabb. upon occasion of mass there, what truth is in it or what the circumstances were, wee hear not: 'Tis like Mr. Ch. may inform you, who was there a day or two after. You say no more of Pr^{ce}, was the report of his Conf[ormity] true or false? Wee both send you our Blessing, your sisters & all y^e rest their love & service. You have yet a Home here, & dear Relations together & not scatter'd nor broken up, how long it may bee so, God only knowes, our times are in his hand, wee shal begin shortly to doe as the lads at Westm^r were won't to doe, & it may bee do stil, by the word Electio. Macte virtute, mi Fili, et vale! Dominus tecum!

[This letter answered May 18, 1686.]

19.

SON MAT.

we receiv'd y^e tidings this morning of God's Goodness to you in y^r Journey, for which wee desire to bee thankful; also a

further account of the late Fire & your loss therein & doe bless God it was no worse. If your Gown had been burnt, it might have been lookt upon as a tacit *super Sedæas* to your further Progress in those studies, but 'tis wel it was not, however every Providence hath a voice & sayes something. Your kind entertainm^t with Mr. A. at your first coming up must not divert you from your former methods, but get as soon as you can into the geares, *volat irrevocabilis hora*. As to the Ch^r business, I can say no more then I sayed both to them & to you together, when you were here, w^{ch} was, that for the present you are under an engagem^t another way; what may bee hereafter, God only knowes; Tis not at all likely, that I should doe as you mention in the mean time, but if there bee a door of Opportunity I know none so fit to make use of it, as hee who is already with them upon the place, who knowes them & is known of them. Ann walkt a-foot to Malpas to the buryal of Widow Brinley & back again; when shee was dying, shee askt, was the money & y^e Candle ready, the one whereof was put in the one hand & the other lighted in the other, at the time of her departure; they also sprinkl'd her & y^e Bed & room with their holy water & fel a sweeping y^e room with besoms, as hard as they could, to sweep all her sins away; ô that ever there should bee such darkness in the midst so much light! wee hear, the new lord Deputy was in some danger in his passage to Beaumaris, but escap'd. The Whitchurch Curate took occasion on Munday last in his sermon to reflect upon the worth Mr. Baxter by name. One of our greatest Clergy-men lately being reprov'd for Associating hims. so much with Papists. answer'd, To inquire what Religion a man is of is as rude as to ask him, what money hee hath in his Pocket. rememb^r us to Mr. Thomas Hunt, also tel him hee must bee busy, for now is his gathering time. Wee Both send you our dear love & Blessing, making mention of you in daily Prayer that you may bee serious & sincere, humble & fruitful! Amen!

Feby. 4. 8^ç.

20.

SON MATH.

Wee have at present a Calm here, all the noyse is concenter. many who are com'n lately out of Ireland; Two, who have brought their stock with them have bin bidding this week for Wil[lington] Cross, whether a Bargain or no I know not. One Moor is expected to bee made Provost of y^e College at Dublin, upon the lord Tyrconel's arrival. I thought Mr. Tyls[ton] would have defer'd his Journey North-ward til nearer April, in regard the winter is not yet over; These two or three last dayes have been very cold here. I do not apprehend a D^s-ship likely to bee of any great advantage to him as yet, til hee hath yeares for it & more experience, but tis hard to get to bee mortify'd to a thing cald worldly honor, though it bee indeed but a shadow. Wee all remember service to Mr. Thomas Hunt; tell him what Elizabeth Parsons sayd to Geor. Illidge about the Picture, turn away mine eyes from beholding vanity. The more dead hee is to the gay nothings of the Town, the more alive hee will bee to God & to his Duty. Mind him of what the Angel sayd to Elijah, what dost thou here Elijah? Wee are much beholden to Mr. As^t for his great kindness in so befriending you, but tis neither Portion nor relation, I would have you so much to look at in that matter, as the Person, that, as much as may bee, shee be sutable & try'd, wherein wee pray to God to direct you. There are more wil have to say to you, as an Inns-of-Court Gentleman, then either as an N. C. M. or the son of one. Give my affectionate remembrance to the worthy Mr. Tal. & bee as oft with him, as you have opportunity, while you stay in Town: hee that walkes with wise men shal bee wise. No tidings of late in any of your letters, as formerly, from Westm^r Hal, I suppose, the reason to bee your not being in commons & therof. not in a Gown; who succeeds cheif J. Bedingf.? 'Tis reported here that S^r Tho. Jones doth, his Predecessor & his successor. Wee send you our Blessing, commending you to him, who Blesses indeed, in whose Favor life is. Amen!

Feby. 18. .86.

To M. H. at Gray's Inn.

Feb. 11.

SON MATH.

Tho the ingagem^t was not for once a week as formerly.. yet til there bee some *ocassional* Reason for the contrary, wee are willing to keep up the old wont. Thankes bee to God, wee are as yet as you left us, only the Ague hath changd places & instead of El'nor, shakes at present your Sister Ann, who hath had a fit or two, not in extremity, prayd bee God. Since the receipt of your's this morning I sent to Bo[reatton] & just now receive answer. 8. clock, they are all wel & I understand you have thoughts of removing to y^r T.; is it, that you may bee utriusque Academiae Magister? I have noth. to object, but pray God, y^t wherever you are, you may doe wel. I wish the ayr of the water may not bee to your prejudice, 'twas not to your F^r who breath'd his first Breath just close by it.

P. H. to M. H.

Apr. 29. 1687.

SON MATTH.

Your's came to us last night in our return from the Wood, where wee had been to see your Sister, whom wee found & left, I hope wel pleas'd in the goodness of God to her in present Circumstances; not that any place is Heaven on this Side Heaven. for all things under the Sun are both mixed & uncertain, & therefore both wee & shee must rejoyce with trembling, but as God hath order'd it for her her lines are fallen in a pleasant place & shee hath love with it, which helps to sweeten it; your Sister Ann is yet with her, the other two are now at home. There went with us Mr. Hardware & his wife, who expected a letter also in answer to their last & were a little disappointed, that they had none. Every place and condition is that to us which God makes it to bee, but I see no other likelihood but it may bee comfortable to her. Her Husband is very affectionately kind & tender towards her, and I doubt not but other Relations will see it to be their wisdom & their Duty to further their mutual comfort by being so too. Shee visits the child most dayes & sometimes hee is brought

hither to her, & great delight shee takes in him; hee comes on apace; give my service to Mr. Hunt & my lady & acquaint them herewith, that god may have prayse, who is the god & giver of all our Merceyes. I went on Sat. to Mr. H^r & acquainted him with my Intention & desir'd a certificate from him of my so doing, which hee gave mee, so that now—— . . . Mrs. Figes hath enter'd her house at Whit. for one to meet at, else I hear of no other hereabouts; what should wee doe with Candle Sticks without candles, or Bells without clappers? *περὶ χ*. I doe most heartily wish you good speed in the way you mention, seeing wee must doe what wee can, when wee cannot doe what wee would.

May 14 1687.

SUN MATH.

I took all the two last to my Sf but now I shal have help for ye filling vp of a half sheet. I rejoyce in what you heard & felt & saw of God on Munday last, & hope it hath left upon you a truly indelible character & such impressions as no time nor any thing else shall be able to wear out. Remember, Assisted by thy strength, ô God I wil—— As to the manner & circumstances of your return, wee cannot order them here but must leave it to yoursf. to doe, as you shal see cause, beseeching the Lord in every th. to make your way playn before you, but as to the th. itsf. wee rejoyce in hopes, it wil not bee long now, ere wee shal see you here (tho *multa cadunt inter*—) and I must not say, bee filled with your company, for this is not the world that wee must bee together in; your Dear Mother hath no great joy in the thoughts of your closing with them at Chester upon the termes propos'd, her reasons are weighty, & in other th. have many times sway'd with mee against my own, & it hath done wel, what they are in this matter you shal hear immediately from hersf. As to your North^h affayr wee are no little concern'd about it, making mention of it, in every prayer, to our heavenly Father, who wee have learn'd, besides a common Providence hath a special hand in such disposals—*Prov.* 19. 14. And wee say, if you of all the other should miss 'twould—*Gen.* 26. 35—Mr. Bentley had not his 20. til Thursday last, hee is now among the mountaynes but wee

expect him here to morrow. I attended Mr. Sh^m on Wed. last to his grave & heard Mr. Ma. there declare concer. him to this purpose, y^t though hee had a favor for those of the separation yet the humor was wearing off & not long before his Death, hee express'd a Kindness for the Church of Eng^d as hee was inform'd, by whom & wherein. & how far, & why, I know not.—Should you not leave some smal token of grateful remembr. a Book or a Spoon or some th. in the hands of your worthy Fr^{ds} that—— The Clergy in Ch[eshire] & Shr[opshire] are hammering an Address of Thankes but divers of them wil not strike—They begin to feel now for their oaths' sake, & by our law he ought—Our love & Blessing is all here's room for and *Εὐχόωσο! *Εὐχόωσο! twice, within—without.

For Mr. Matthew Henry at Moldsworth about to bee ordained by the Presbytery, and—the following week to be married to Kath. d. of Samuel Hardware of Bromborough. Esquire.*

Jul. 1687.

SON MATH.

I am very much concern'd. that Two such great Affayres are at this time mett together upon your hand, that of the next Sabb. & that of the week after; you know which of the two should fil you most, & I hope it wil accordingly, & if it doe, you may the more comfortably expect a Blessing upon the other for ever. Since I knew anything in those matters, I have found it true that when I have been most careful in doing God's work, God hath been most faithful in doing mine.—I have not seal'd but subscrib'd a Draught of Articles with Mr. Hardware, drawn after a fashion, but so, as may direct a better Pen, yet not without your help, & 'tis wel you are so near to give it, for it seemes to mee so intricate as to some things, that a stranger who knows us not nor our circumstances may very easily mistake; Therefore see to it, as near as you can, that there bee none; Mr. H^r declares his meaning to bee that the 6 months bee mention'd, yet the Portion shal bee reckon'd, as due from the day of Marriage. on which account, consideration is to bee had as to the Rent of the land. Wee were together yesterday at each place and upon view found every

* The original is in the possession of R. P. Greg. Esq., of Coles Park, Herts..

thing, not worse, but rather better then represented. I have mov'd but cannot prevayl, that seeing tis so much insisted on that competency should bee for the heir, that Probart's & Paynter's, should bee so allotted, besides w^{ch} if y^e 10th p. ann. from Broad-Oke become payable there wil bee a ful hundred, as wee reckon it, for ye joynture. Peirs & Hughs & Henshaw—50. Huxley & Robinson 40. & y^e new feild & chapfeilds w^{ch} Huxley may use—10 & y^e 400 : & w^t more you think fit of the 600 for yonger children : But by all meanes let that bee plainly & clearly express'd, that it shal bee dispos'd of at such times & in such proportions to y^r children, as you shal think fit, with our Advice ; for Paternal Authority must bee preserv'd. As to time & Place of sealing, I would meet half way on Munday, but Wednesd. being the first day appointed at Hanmer, I must needs attend that. If you would not think it too long to defer til the week after, i.e. to y^e 19th instant, I should hope by that time (your next Sabb. work & your Warrington journey & our engagem^{ts} here being all over) there would bee much more of clearness & freeness without hurry as to each circumstance. but I must not move it, however not insist on it, lest the heart bee made sick ; therefore doe as you see cause, only in everything take God along with you & doe all in the name of the lord Jesus. Give my kind respect to your good Friend, whom I hope to cal by another name shortly. The lord Bless you Both, & first fit you for & then give you to each other in much Mercy ! Amen !

Mr. M. Henry was married July 19th.

Advice.

From a Pious Aged Father to his Son a Minister
newly marryd. 1687.

Dear Pair, whom God hath now of two made One
Suffer a Father's exhortation.

In the first Place see that with joynt indeavor—
You set yourselves to serve the Lord together,
You are yoakt to work but for work Wages write,
His yoak is easie, & his burden light,
Love one another, Pray oft together, and see,
You never both together Angry bee—

If one speak fire t'other with water come,
 Is one provok'd be tother soft or dumb—
 Walk low, but aim high, spotles be your life
 You are a Minister, and a Minister's Wife
 Therefore as Beacons set upon a Hill—
 To Angels and to men a spectacle—
 Your slips will falls be calld, your falls each one
 Will be a blemish to Religion—
 Do good to all, bee affable and meek
 Your converse must be Preaching all the week—
 Your Garb & Dress must not be vain or Gay,
 Reckon good works your richest, best array—
 Your House must be a Bethel, and your Door
 Always stand open to releive the Poor
 Call your estate God's, not your own, ingrave
 Holines to the Lord on all you have,
 Count upon suffering, or you count amis,
 Sufficient to each day its evil is,
 All are born once to trouble, but saints twice,
 And as experience shews Min^{rs} thrice,
 But if you suffer with and for your Lord,
 You'l reign with him according to his Word.

34.

For Mr. Matthew Henry in Chester.

Nov. 28. 1087.

MY DEAR SON,

Wee were glad to hear by both your last, concerning
 your's & my Daughter's health in your new habitation, beseeching
 God to continue it to you, to your mutual comfort; wee also
 & our's here, are at present wel, God bee prayesd! What you
 wrote concerning the Ordinacon at Warrington was welcom
 newes, & wee rejoyce in it, both that yong ones are laying their
 hands at this time of day to the Gosp. plough & that the Gosp.
 way of their Admission to it is so publicly own'd; I hear of two
 elsewhere that are in like circumstances & heartily pray the lord
 of the Harvest to thrust forth more & more, tho' there bee that
 thrust hard agt them. Shortly I expect Mr. Ashurst's son here,
 may wee not hope, you wil give him & us a visit, when hee comes,
 being the younger & better hors'd then I am at present. I goe,
 God willing, in the morning to Wem, to a Fast there, & whether
 thence to Boreatton, or to Hampton, where D^r Long is to bee on

Wednesday, I am not yet resolv'd—The wayes are yet so exceeding bad for Women's travel that wee send not your sister Ann as you expect & shee desires. I am troubl'd you have not more of the Bookes, my horse's weakness, & y^e wayes' fowlness agree not, & that's y^e reason—you must digest those you have the better; esp. the Book of Bookes; Study that most & your own heart & the People's circumstances, & that wil doe much.

51.

To Mr. Matthew Henry at Chester.

June 7. 1688.

MY DEAR SON,

The Tidings of your growing illness, which mett mee at my return, abated much of the Comfort, which was wont, after a Journey, to make Home welcom, but blessed bee God, though Trouble & Fear lasted for the night, yet Joy came in the morning by my Son Hulton, who first told us of your being better; God in mercy perfect what hee hath begun, and sure you should bee careful of yourself, for Prayers ought to be seconded with endeavors; I doe not mean, you should spare yours. in the sense in which the Satan spake to Peter, for I see our Opportunities passing away, & I cannot say whatever others think, that you doe too much & should abate; but one thing, which I gave you a hint of, when with you, I again mind you of, & that is, in the loose you take, in your earnestness, keep the reines upon it & let it neither run too far, nor last too long, for I have mys. by experience found some prejudice by it, especially in my sight; And another thing, as to your Health, is, that being subject to Feavors as you are, I think you should not when you are warm'd with preaching, either drink smal Beer, which is an error on one hand, or Sack which is commonly offer'd, on the other, but both together, not a ful draught but a little at a time, by degrees, & a little warm'd not hott, which I find doth best, & I believe so wil you; As to your daily dyet, your Brother T. I perceive, hath advis'd you, but remember your sister S. & take heed of the extream, which I believe shee is stil the worse for; Shee is your sister. Thence to Newp. on Munday, where the Nett cast (& again at Weston on Tuesday) over many Fish, in hope; to God bee glory.

56.

Sept. 26. 88.

MY DEAR SON,

I have herewith, after twice reading them, return'd you your Papers concerning Schism, and I am fully of your mind, that that's it, which you define to bee so, namely, breach of love, only tis to bee consider'd whether, what some others adde, bee not also to bee taken into the constitution of it, viz. that it bee breach of love towards those that are of the same numerical Body or communion with mee, and that breach of love towards others is to bee cal'd properly by another Name.

62.

June. 1. 89.

MY DEAR SON,

I doe willingly neglect no opportunity of writing to you, nor doe not you to mee, though Paper bee growing dearer. Son Radf. (for whose safe return wee bless God) shoves mee the new Act of Indulgence, directed to you, concer. which I say, as wee us'd to say at School. when a whole play-day was expected & wee could have but an afternoon, est aliquid prodire tenus, si non datur ultra. There are several th. in it very acceptable. partic. freedom from Juryes & Offices. &c. but 'tis a great way from hence to Flint & how long wee may bee made to attend there, I know not; The quarrel is, wil you let my people goe, that they may serve mee; wee wil, but let them not goe very far away, the men but not the women & children; the women & children but not the cattle, but let not Pharoh deal deceitfully any more: When God judges, hee wil overcome. When you write to any of our law-makers, acknowl. their kindness & paines in procuring it with all thankfulness, but til the Sacramental Test bee taken off, our Business is not done. 'Tis off by sea, I hear, why not by land also? I publisht last Sabb. the Paper from S^r Pa. Ward. &c. concer. the Irish Collection, adding I could say no more to inforce it then is sayd there, for tis wel pen'd, but our Parish-Officers either have not the Breif or are slow in reading it: for I doe not hear that any thing is done as yet, in pursuance of it. I should

adde more but the Bearer's hast forbids—Our love & Blessing to you all, God fitt us for parting Providences, by one for another ! Amen !

63.

June. 20. 89.

MY DEAR SON,

Your Mother, I thank God, mends but tis but fair & softly, shee is very weak stil—Old Mr. lloyd is fallen down, of much the same distemper. I was to see him this afternoon & doe fear him : I pray. forget him not at the Throne of Grace, for if God call for him, wee lose a Mnason. I have sent by W^m Turner 5^s wherewith procure, if it bee to bee had, the new Edition of the Greek Epigrams, & send mee some wafers—Wee hear last night of the surrender of Edinb. Castle, is it so ? And what tidings from Derry ? Next Tu. Lord Del[amere] is expected at Nantw. which wil have some influence upon the Wood,* yet however, if you have not a Prohibition, you are expected there according to appointm^t. let not your little sister with you want your comforting, encouraging help in her present perils ; cal on her, to cast her Burthen on him. who cals for it & who wil sustain her—Send the Greek Catechism. God assist y^r studies & work. Amen !

64.

MY DEAR SON,

I bless God, I have no evil tidings to send you concerning your Mother but rather good : Shee is, wee hope, creeping up the hil again & gathering by degrees a little strength & wee must not despise the day of the smallest things, it being greater & better then wee deserve. I did not think in the least to have widen'd our Family, but I know not how, it proves, wee doe. Sa. Wats. is come to us, besides Cos. Ben^s I askt her Father, whether if Mr. P. came, hee might have freedom with her, hee sayd, hee could not yet reconcile his mind to it, in regard of her Age ; I sayd little to pswade him now, having sayd enough formerly ; that comes best that comes freely ; nothing against the grayn ; the world is wide. Wee heard of your sally to the Wood. &c. this

* Wrenbury Wood, in Cheshire.

week & shal bee glad to hear a journal of it, especially that you are wel after it, this soultry, sickly season. The Com^{rs} have thought fit I should commence "Gent." though the Sessors return'd mee otherwise; The old spirit of enmity remaynes & workes stil, as far as there is Opportunity, & whilst they that hate us bear Rule over us, tis easy to tel what wee must look for, but blessed bee God the tedder is anything shortned! I hear, the Bil of Compreh. is on foot again, & much prosecuted by some, both Friends & Foes, the rather bec. it breakes the neck of the Sacramental Test. God, I hope, will turn all for good yet. Your Sist^r T[ilston] is here yet, whether to stay til shee is lighter, they are not yet resolv'd. Her Husb^d is gone this even. to Boreatton. Farewel!

P. H.

Jun. 27. .89.

66.

July 12. 89.

MY DEAR SON,

Wee had not heard, when I wrote last by James, of the Death of your good Friend Mr. Edw^d Greg; I hope you are learning by it to cease from man, whose Breath is in his Nostrils. & to rest & stay your self on God only, who is the rock of Ages, & who alone lives for ever. Hee is both Jachin & Boaz too, our Creature-props are neither. Your Mother hath been afflicted this night wth a Bee-sting* yester-evening in her cheek, which not only made her face swel, but affected her all over, as you were once, not without but within also, for shee was perfectly sick with it; I have not seen the like; how great a matter a little Fire kindles, wⁿ arm'd with a Commission—I hear from Salop, not that the Min^{rs} there, but many others, are dissatisfy'd with y^e Articles: wee must never all bee of a mind, till wee come to Heaven; The 3. 8. & 16 have someth. in y^m which without a candid construction would somewhat scruple mee, so would the Bible its. strictly taken & in the letter, in those places which seem contradictory, were it not for such an Interpretation; yet I could wish it had not been requir'd, bec. it divides us.

Can you not send mee word by Mr. Booth or Mr. Parry's

* Query, if she tried the remedy of cutting a raw onion and rubbing briskly the wound, after first removing the sting itself.

information, when our Sessions are? I hear your's is past & all done. I goe tomorrow, God willing, to Oswestry.

P. H.

For Mrs. Katherin Henry at Chester.

Apr. 20. 1693. 1. clock.

MY DEAR HEART,

Every day a letter would bee a Book in time. I wrote yesterday by Son Tylst. which I hope you receiv'd; I forgot to tel you the malt is ready for my Son, but no Barley bought yet for ours. the reason is the dearness; 8 groats y^e least in Whitch. did not I hear Mr. Bolland say, hee had in Chester for 2. 3^d? if so might not the same Horses bring us 20 of Barley from thence, that brings y^e 20 of Malt from hence, if so & you please, get it bought on Sat. Two swine John bought at Whitch. & Hempseed, to day hee begins to sow Barley; I am more & more for son Tylst. pulling the old house down, rather y^m repaying it, a new one wil bee cheaper then hee thinkes & I am sure much more inviting to a Tenant, esp. for warmth upon that wet & cold bank, 'twil need no repaying, a little wil fit what wil bee needful while 'tis as 'tis; the rest by degrees at leasure. 50. thous. of brick 10^{lb}, 4 cart-load of lime, the workman tels mee to day wil lay y^m which is 20^s, besides y^e carriage, & 10^{lb} the workmanship, which wil bee the wals. The old Timber wil most of it serve (the rest may bee sold) joysts, doores, Boards, y^e carpenters' work about it cannot bee, for present 15^{lb} & the Covering not 15. more, which is all, besides glazing what is to bee us'd, the rest brick't up. A trusty man, such as Randle Catheral, to oversee both pulling down and rearing would bee had for a little, summering there or thereabouts. The building 10. yards square, & 8. yth high, for 3 storyes besides y^e Cellar, would bee a mean; You know, who sayd, I only propose. yester-morning in the same hour 5. clock, wⁿ Mr. Bradley departed, a grand-son was born to his Daughter Mathewes. I am told they are to have one of the hundreds. The church-warden at Whitch. sent for leave to bury him to morrow in the burying place of y^e Family, w^{ch} I, supposing my son will not deny. granted. John K . . . went yesterday to

Oxford with a Troup of Whitch. Minims, but would have my leave first. My bones are not yet eas'd of yesterd. riding, else God bee prayesd, wel. love & blessing to all & each, again & again & again.

P. H.

Sarah Green's little one is ill. Sisters' love to you & to all y^e rest. I hope, John may bee with you by 9. or 10. clock, which wil bee as soon as you wil bee ready. Mr. Wright comes in stead of Sam. Wayt : Farewel, The God of love & peace bee with you. Amen !

Q. Whether a stinted liturgy or set form of Prayer, publique or private bee lawful—Mr. Ball's Tryal.

A. It is. 1/ Bec. all things essential to Prayer may bee observ'd in it, desires poured forth to God in y^e name of X^t. for things agreeable to his will.

2. tis the breach of no Commandm^t neither direct nor by consequent—if of any of the second, but not of y^e second bec. no false worship, being a matter of order only.

3. if it bee lawful to sing Psalms in a stinted form, why not to pray—both are parts of divine worship, to bee pform'd accord. to y^e will of God.

4. the script. in several cases præscribes forms both Jewish & Xtian.

Obj. 1. Devices of men are not to bee brought into y^e worship of God. God did never command nor promise to accept this way.

2. Script. forms mentioned were only for partic. occasions, drawn up by men divinely inspir'd

3. it stints the spirit—derogates from y^e honor of X^t's Ascension in y^e benefits of it, viz. giving gifts to men

4. Pray^r should bee various accord. to present emergencyes

5. it makes the Ministry idle

6. as twere a ridiculous th. for a child to pen a form of words to his Father & read it out of a paper—so

7. book prayer is generally layd aside in y^e families of y^e best Christians.

Q/ whether people may be present at a stinted liturgy.

A. they may 1/ bec. noth. hinders but y^e may follow in

heart & say Amen in faith. 2/ the Jewes had a liturgy & X^t resorted to their Synagogues. 3/ to separate is schism, X^t goes not before us.

Q/ whether people may bee present at such a liturgy as is faulty, & defective & which tis unlawf. for y^e Min^r to use.

A. they may—supposing y^e faults not in fundam^{ts} nor in th. bordering thereupon, but such th. as may bee tolerated amongst Brethren—tis one th. to approve, another th. to tolerate—suppose a chapter unlitly divided, ill translated—the Minist^r in conceiv'd prayer may utter unfitting expressions, w^{ch} the people's presence doth not approve — to joyn in publique prayer is duty, y^e faults are but accidental—how was it in y^e primitive times, w^h liturgies were not without their defects, yet y^e faithfull withdrew not—Obj. the defects are foreknown, so yei are not in conceiv'd prayer. A. y^ei may bee, & yet wee are to pray for Reformation & to endeavour it in our places. but not for want of it to separate.

TOUCHING THE OATH OF SUPREMACY.

As for Oaths in general they are things lawful but not desirable, & it were to bee wisht there were no need of them among Christians.

This Oath for the kind of it is partly promissory and partly assertory, & partly renunciatory.

1. it asserts the king to bee supream Governor in his dominions in all causes, & over all psons as well Spiritual as civil.

by causes, & persons spiritual are meant causes and Persons ecclesiastical.

2. it promises to defend him to our power in the exercise of that Authority which it asserts hee hath in all causes & over all psons as well ecclesiastical as civil.

3. it renounces all forrayn Jurisdiction of the Pope or of any other clayming under him in any cause or over any pson in the King's Dominions.

The Original of this Oath was in the reign of King Henry 8th & was intended to bee a discovery of such as were disaffected to the Reformation & would continue subject to y^e Church of Rome and to the Pope's supremacy.

It was then refus'd to bee taken by many.

S^r Tho. More & B^p Fisher chose rather to dye then take it.

The Convocation of York Province wrote two letters to K. Henry declaring the reasons of their dissent concerning it—(Edw. lee, a virulent Papist, being Arch B^p—) to which hee return'd Answer, explainning in what sense hee stiled hims. supreme head of y^e Church, namely, clayming nothing more thereby, then what X^{tian} Princes in the primitive times assumed to thems. in their own Dominions,

whereupon, for ought appeares, they yeelded & took it.

Since then wee read & hear of none but Papists that refused it, all Ministers taking it at their Ordination, Scholars at taking their Degrees &c.

But only now of late, many fearing God, & no Freinds but unfayned enemyes to the Pope & Popery, & no Enemyes but unfayned Freinds to the King's Majesty & his just Authority, are found scrupling at it.

As to myself. I. I think it is not to bee doubted but that the Power of the Civil Magistrate extends to matters of Religion.

proved. 1. Paul appealed to Cæsar in a controversy about Religion.

2. Hee is God's minister to us for good. Rom. 13. indefinitely for all good.

3. Tis Propheseyed of Gosp. times that Kings should bee nursing Fathers.

4. Kings amongst the Jewes did govern in Church Affayres.

5. Wee are to pray for Kings that wee may live under them, not only in honesty but in Godlines.

II. I think the Power of the Civil Magistrate in matters of Religion is not Absolute & universal but bounded & limited.

1. There is someth. which hee may not doe.

1. Hee can not appoint any new office or officer or ordinance in the church other then X^t. hath appoynted.

2. Hee can not limit any Office or Officer of X^t's appoyntm^t. bounding y^e^m how far to act & how far not.

3. Hee can not hims. execute the Office of any Church Officer, as Baptize &c.

which hee might, if they were all virtually in him & did all hold from him, as from their proper Head.

2. There is someth. which hee may & ought to doe in Church affayres

as. 1. Defend & protect y^e church & members thereof removing all external Impediments whether psons or th[ings] countenancing & encouraging the publike exercise of God's Ordinances.

2. Order & regulate Church matters in a Political way. reforming y^e church when corrupted calling Synods, ratifying their just decrees & enjoying their observation under civil penaltyes judging & determining definitively with a Consequent Political Judgm^t concer. th. antecedently judged by y^e Church.

causing Ecclesiastical Persons to doe their Duty.

3. compel, correct, punish with political punishm^t all psons delinquent in any th. conc. religion. being custos utriusq. Tabulæ. circa sacra, but not in sacris.

Yet Note, the lawes hee makes for ordering the church are not binding to ye Conscience so as X^vs lawes are, being theref. to bee obeyed bec. commanded—but if w^t y^et command hee left undone, 1/ without contempt & scandal. 2/ with submission to Penalty, Conscience is free before God.

Rom. 13. 5. tis not said obey, but bee subject for Conscience sake not resisting.

Obj. 1. How can wee say y^e King is supream ?

A. The word expressly saith so. 1 Pet. 2.

Obj. 2. How can wee say hee is y^e Head—

A. 1. the Oath calls him not so, but only Governor.

2. how is y^e Husband head of his wife. 1 Cor. 11.

luther, Calvin & others were much offended at y^{is} Term, the King is head neither as X^t is, nor as ye Pope clayms to bee—hoc me semper graviter vulneravit—Calv.—D^r Reyn answ^{nt} him.

Obj. 3. The King clayms power in placing & displacing Bishops.

A. So did Salomon & other Kings in placing and displacing Preists under y^e law.

Obj. 4. The King not competent Judge in case of appeals.

A. hee may judge as to matter of fact whether wrong bee done or no—as if a Physician question^d for poysoning a man may judge him though hims. no Physician.

The great contention in this last age of y^e Church is like to bee about the Head-ship of X^t in resp. of Rule & Government—which is layd down but darkly in Script. the better to make way for Anti-X^o's incroachment—and Xtians may possibly suffer most about it, bec. it seemes but a small matter.

Anti-Christ is one that sets up hims. instead of Xt. (Χάριν ἀντὶ Χάριτος).

There can not bee a Ministerial Head of ye Church, Christ is alwayes present.

there can not bee a Delegation of Power in Ecclesiastical as in Civil Jurisdictions, the civil power is by way of Coaction, the ecclesiastical hath to doe with Conscience.—Burroughs on Hos. i. 11.

One Smith subscribing to y^e 39 Articles (so far forth as y^e same were agreeable to y^e word of God) it was resolved by all the Judges of England that this subscription was not according to the statute, w^{ch} requires absolute & not conditional subscription. Cook, Wray, Dyer.

Wee subscribe not to Acts of State w^{ch} yet wee obey, wey then to Canons—&c.

The Articles are in some th. Doubtful
in many th. Defective.

We are told that Philip Henry did not think it right to destroy sermon notes. There were therefore large stores of them at his death, and few of his descendants but possess one or more copies. He seems always to have preached from notes (which he carefully prepared), not, as he says in one passage, “because we need it, but for the sake of our hearers.” He gave no encouragement, therefore, to

the so-called extempore addresses that are popular in some quarters. The Rev. S. S. Lewis, of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, is the fortunate possessor of a little volume of such sermon notes that were written in 1691-92. Inside the book, on the first page, is written as follows:—“What Christ is made of God to true Believers in forty real Benefits.”

“Preached at his Meeting place at Broad Oke in Flintshire by my Honored Father, Mr. Henry, thus written with his own dear hand and left to mee S[arah] S[avage] by his last will to the end I may learn Christ, and love Christ, and live Christ, and be eternally happy with him. Amen.”

The interest and value of this volume, not merely to those who love the memory of Philip Henry, but to all lovers of godliness, can hardly be over-estimated.

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| Righteousness. Jer. xxiii. 6. | Sun. Mal. iv. 6. | Temple. Rev. xxi. 22. |
| Light. Joh. xii. 46. | Shield. Mal. v. 1. | Ark. Heb. xi. 7. |
| Life. Col. iii. 4. | Strength. Phil. iv. 13. | Altar.* Heb. xiii. 10. |
| Peace. Eph. ii. 14. | Song. Psal. cxviii. 4. | All. Col. iii. 11. |
| Passover. 1 Cor. v. 7. | Horn. Luke i. 69. | |
| Portion. Lam. iii. 24. | Honor. 1 Pet. ii. 7. | |
| Propitiation. 1 John iv. 10. | Sanctification. 1 Cor. i. 30. | |
| Freedom. John viii. 36. | | |

The following is a specimen of Philip Henry's sermon notes, and though the charm of the original is much diminished by its reproduction in print, yet the teaching remains the same. It will be seen that even Philip Henry sometimes condescended to old sermons, this one having

* This was not Richard Baxter's interpretation, who writes (“Christian Institutes,” i. p. 304): “We have an altar, etc. (Heb. xiii. 10), seems plainly to mean the sacramental communion.”

been delivered in Bronington and in Willington (both of them at that time divisions of Hanmer parish), as well as at Whitchurch, Salop.

Nor. 82. Bro. Whit. Wil. (*Esa.* 49. 14. 15. 16. But Zion sayd, the lord hath forsaken mee & my lord——— The prophet Isaiah of all the Prophets had a Gosp. call & a Gosp. Spirit.— I—call—see cap. 6. like y^t of y^e Apost. Act. 2.

2. spirit—as appears all along by his Discourses, which aym, though somet. at Conviction, yet most an end at Consolation—his sermons Comfortable sermons, esp. from cap. 40—here hee tells us—1. w^t Zion sayd concer. God in a way of Distrust & Despondency—the *lord*.

2. w^t God said concer. Zion, in a way of comfort & encouragem^t implying also a tacit reproof, *Can a woman*—Zion here is put for y^e church of God, there was y^e old T. ch. & there is y^e new T. ch. & both have been somet[imes] saying on this manner—But I shal chiefly apply it as most profitable to y^e sons & daughters of Zion in ref. to their own partic. cases and circumstances.

1. *Doct.* there is a Proness in God's dear servants esp. at some times & in some cases to say concer. God y^t hee hath forgotten & forsaken them,

2. That there is at no time in no case just cause for saying so.

For y^e 1st—1. The truth of this appears from y^e frequency of such Kind of complaints, wee have many Instances—*Job*—*cap.* 6. 4. . 7. 12, 14, 20 . . 13. 26, 27 . . 16. 11, 12 . . 19. 6. David—*Ps.* 13. 1, 2 . . 1 *Sam.* 27. 1—*Ps.* 31. 22. *in my Flight.* *Asaph.* *Ps.* 77. 3, 7. &c. Jeremy in *Lamenta.* *cap.* 3. 1. &c. *Jonah.* *cap.* 2. 4.

2. the grounds of this Proness.

1. from Satan's Temptations—it hath been his design all along & stil is to beget & cherish in us hard Thoughts of God. to Eve—*Gen.* 3. to Job—*cap.* 2. curse God—to Jesus—*Math.* 4. if thou bee——

wee should bee aware of y^{is} & watch.

2. from y^e Corrup. of nature—this affords the Tinder.
my Infirmity—*Ps.* 77. 10.

1. Ignorance & darkness in the underst.

My people doth not know—did wee know God, his nature, good & gracious, his promises free & ful & precious, his coven^t Relations, his pity, power, faithfulness.

2. Inconsidera^on.

wee know many th. that wee doe not consider, considera. is bringing of Known th. to present medita^on—did wee but consider, wee would not say so—consider what hath been y^e way of God with his people in all ages.

3. Enmity.

Rom. 8. 7. enemyes neither think nor speak wel,

4. Sense of Guilt.

wee know wee deserve to bee forgotten & forsaken.

5. Unbelief.

the only cure for such Thoughts is a lively active Faith—the Object of y^t Faith is y^e everl. Coven^t seald in y^e Bloud of a Mediator. *Ihab.* 2. 4.

3. at what times & in w^t cases.

1. *under inward desertions*—wⁿ God withdrawes y^e light of his countenance, though cause for it, yet phaps may bee for Tryal, apt to say, never return again. 2. *under outward Affl.* esp. such as these—(1.) sharp & sudden such as Job's were—(2.) singular & extraordinary, such as Jonahs was—(3.) staying & continuing, such as Davids were.

4. the Evil.

(1.) a great Dishonor to God, grieve his spirit—noth. more—would you take it wel—(2.) a blemish to our Profession—weaken y^e hands of Brethr. harden y hearts of Enemyes. (3.) a disturbance to ours. hinder peace & progress.

5. the Remedy.

(1.) to chide oursf. for it—(2.) to charge oursf. ag^t it. act Faith—one good word, my God. *allu. Gen.* 18. 12—so—X^t *Math.* 27. 46. as Jonah—cap. 2. 4. yet—not by sense—Apply it also to publ. Affayres.

The following notices of some of his friends who died shortly before him are added :—

Mrs. Hunt of Shrewsbury, the relict of Colonel Hunt, another rare pattern of zealous piety, abounding charity, and eminent

usefulness in her place, finished her course. October 23. 1690, after two days' sickness.

The reverend, and learned, and holy Mr. Richard Baxter* died at London, December 8. 1691, aged seventy six, and one month; as much vilified by some, and magnified by others, as most men that ever were. But it is a small thing to be judged of man's judgement. He was buried at Christ-Church London, with great honour.

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

Luke Lloyd. Esquire of the Bryn in Hanmer parish, my aged worthy friend, finished his course with joy. March 31. 1695. being Lord's day. He was in the 87th year of his age, and had been married almost sixty nine years to his pious wife, of the same age [a daughter of Thos. Whitley, of Aston] who still survives him. He was the glory of our little congregation, the top branch in all respects of our small vine, and my friend indeed.

When he made his will, under the subscription of his name he wrote Job xix. 25-27, on which text of Scripture Mr. Henry, at the request of some of his relations, preached a sermon at the licensed house near Hanmer, some time after his funeral.

A tomb to him and his wife is on the south side of the tower of Hanmer Church, and there is also a monument to his grandfather, Robert Lloyd, ‡ dated 1597; but both monuments probably were erected in the eighteenth century.

* A small miniature of him in oils, upon copper, is in the possession of the editor, and would seem to be a companion painting of the one formerly in the possession of Mr. Stedman, and one of the six (said to have been) painted at the same time.

† A picture of this good man is preserved at the Presbyterian Library in Grafton Street, Gower Street, W.C. Any one who possesses his diaries, which were written in the same sort of almanacks as Philip Henry's, will much oblige by communicating with the editor on the subject.

‡ The original monument was noticed by Dineley in 1684.

He is said to have fought under the Parliamentary standard, and was, perhaps—though little is known of him—of a similar temperament to Colonel Hunt, of Boreatton. The pulpit in Hanmer Church is said to have been given by Mr. Lloyd as an atonement for threatening the parson during divine service, when he prayed for the king. This pulpit, which is of carved oak, with a cover, is described by Dineley (who accompanied the Duke of Beaufort in his progress through North Wales in 1684). Around it are the words—“*Blessed are they that heare ;*” “*Take Heed how ye heare ;*” “*Be ye doers of the worde and not Hearers only.*” Within, behind the preacher’s head, is the name “*Jesus,*” with the date “1627.” Outside, at the back, are the words—

“*Christus est Agnus Dei ;*
Qui tollit peccata mundi.”

The story told about this pulpit is supported in some degree by the fact that at Upton-on-Severn a bullet may still be seen imbedded in the pulpit cover. It was intended to find its resting-place in the parson’s head by a zealous Puritan, who wasted no words over the matter, but snapped his pistol at the man who dared to pray for the king.

These little facts throw floods of light upon the state of public affairs, which those “who darken counsel by words without knowledge” seek, ineffectually, to explain away.

In September 21, 1695, he writes, “I heard of the death of two holy and aged Bartholomew witnesses Mr. Richard Mayo of London and Mr. Henry Newcome of Manchester. Psalm xii. 1.”

His son, Matthew Henry, thus describes his father’s last days :—

“Mr. Henry’s constitution was but tender, and yet by the Blessing of God upon his great Temperance and care of his Diet,

and moderate Exercise by walking in the Air, he did for many Years enjoy a good Measure of Health which he used to call "The Sugar that sweetens all Temporal Mercies," for which therefore we ought to be very thankful and of which we ought to be very careful. He had sometimes violent Fitts of the Colick, which would be very afflictive for the Time. Being once upon the Recovery from an ill Fitt of that Pain, he said to one of his Friends, who asked how he did, he hoped, by the Grace of God he should now be able to give one Blow more to the Devil's Kingdom, and often profess'd he did not desire to live a Day longer than he might do God some Service. He said to another when he found himself recovering "Well, I thought I had been putting into the Harbour but find I must to Sea again."

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

When he was in the Sixty third Year of his Age, which is commonly called the Grand Climacterick, and hath been to many the Dying Year and was so to his Father, he numbred the days of it, from August 24 1693 to August 24 1694, when he finished it. And when he concluded it, he thus wrote in his Diary This Day finisheth my commonly Dying-Year, which I have numbred the Days of, and should now apply my Heart, more than ever to Heavenly Wisdom. He was much pleased, with that expression, of our English Liturgy, in the Office of Burial and frequently used it; "In the Midst of life we are in Death." . . .

For some Years before he died he used to complain of an habitual Weariness, contracted, he thought by his standing to preach, sometimes very uneasily, and in inconvenient Places, immediately after Riding. He would say every Minister was not cut out for an Itinerant; and sometimes the manifest Attention & Affection of People in hearing, enlarged him both in Length & Fervency, somewhat more than his strength could well bear. It was not many Months before he died, that he wrote thus to a dear Relation, who enquired solicitously concerning his Health; "I am always habitually weary, and expect no other till I lie down on the Bed of Spices." And (blessed be God) so the Grave is to all the Saints, since he lay in it, who is the Rose of

Sharon, and the Lily of the Vallies. When some of his friends persuaded him to spare himself he would say "It's time enough to rest when I'm in the Grave; what were Candles made for, but to burn?"

It doth not appear that he had any particular Presages of his Death; but many Instances there were of his actual gracious Expectation of it, somewhat more than Ordinary for some time before. . . .

1696.

It was in April 1696, a few Weeks before he died, that his Son's Father-in-Law, Robert Warburton Esq., was gather'd to his Grave in Peace in a good old Age. Upon the Tidings of whose Death, Mr. Henry wrote thus to his Son; "Your Fathers, where are they?—Your Father-in-Law gone, and your own Father going; but you have a Godfather, that lives for ever: he was wont sometimes to subscribe his letters—Your ever-loving, but not ever-living Father."

The last time he administered the Lord's Supper a Fortnight before he died he closed the Administration with that Scripture 1. Joh. iii. 2. "It doth not yet appear, what we shall be;" not yet, but it will shortly. . . .

The Tuesday following June 23. he rose at Six o'Clock according to Custom, after a better night's sleep than Ordinary and in wonted Health. Between Seven and Eight of the Clock, he performed Family-Worship, according to the usual Manner: He expounded very largely the former Half of the civth Psalm, and sung it; but he was somewhat shorter in Prayer than he used to be, being then (as it was thought) taken ill, Blessed is that Servant, whom His Lord, when he comes, shall find so doing.

Immediately after Prayer, he retired to his Chamber, not saying anything of his illness, but was soon after found upon his Bed in great Extremity of pain in his Back, Breast, Bowels; it seem'd to be a complicated Fitt of the Stone and Colick together, in a very great Extremity. The Means that had been used to give him relief in his Illness, were altogether ineffectual: He had not the least Intermission or Remission of Pain, neither up, nor

in Bed : but in a continual Toss. He had said sometimes, that God's Israel may find Jordan rough ; but there's no Remedy, they must through it to Canaan ; and would tell of a good Man who used to say, he was not so much afraid of Death as of Dying. . . .

It was two or three hours after he was taken ill, before he would suffer a Messenger to be sent to Chester for his Son, and for the Doctor ; saying, he should either be better, or dead, before they could come ; but at last he said, as the Prophet did to his importunate Friends, Send. About eight o'Clock that Evening they came, and found him in the same Extremity of Pain which he had been in all Day. And Nature being before spent with his constant and indefatigable Labours in the Work of the Lord, now sunk, and did perfectly succumb under its Burden, and was quite disabled to grapple with so many Hours incessant Pain. What farther Means were then used proved Fruitless, and did not answer the Intention. He apprehended himself going apace, and said to his Son when he came in, O Son, you are welcome to a dying Father : I am now ready to be offer'd, and the Time of my Departure is at Hand. His Pain continued very acute, but he had Peace within. I am tormented, (said he once) but, blessed be God, not in this Flame ; and soon after, " I am all on Fire," (when at the same time his extreme parts were cold) but he presently added, " Blessed be God it is not the Fire of Hell." . . .

Toward Ten or Eleven o'Clock that night his Pulse and Sight began to fail ; of the latter, he himself took Notice, and inferr'd from it the Approach of his Dissolution. He took an affectionate Farewell of his dear Yoke-Fellow, with a thousand Thanks for all her love and care, and Tenderness ; left a Blessing for all his dear Children, and their dear Yoke-Fellows, and little ones, that were absent. He said to his Son, who sate under his Head, Son, the Lord bless you, and grant that you may do worthily in your Generation, and be more serviceable to the Church of God than I have been ; such was his great Humility to the last. And when his Son reply'd " O Sir, pray for me, that I may but tread in your steps ;" he answered, " Yea, follow Peace, and Holiness, and let them say what they will."—More he would have said to bear his dying Testimony to the Way in which he had walked ; But Nature was spent, and he had not strength to express it.

His Understanding and Speech continued almost to the last Breath, and he was still in his dying Agonies, calling upon God, and committing himself to him. One of the last words he said, when he found himself just ready to depart, ‘O Death, where is thy—;’ with that, his Speech falter’d, and within a few Minutes, (after about sixteen Hours illness) on June 24, he quietly breathed out his precious Soul into the Embraces of his dear Redeemer, whom he had trusted, and faithfully served in the Work of the Ministry, about Forty-three Years. . . .

On the Saturday following being June 27, the earthen Vessel, in which this treasure had been lodg’d, was laid up in the Grave in Whitchurch Church, attended thither with a very great Company of true Mourners, all the County round; many from Chester & Shrewsbury & the Towns about, came to do him Honour at his Death: And besides the floods of Tears that were shed, there were abundance of Testimonies given to him by Persons of all Sorts, like that Jehoiadah 2 Chron. xxiv. 16. That he was one who had done good in Israel. And there were those who said He was a Man that nobody did or could speak Evil of, except for his Nonconformity. He was us’d to say to his Relations, when I am dead make little ado about me, a few will serve to bring me to my Grave; but his mind c^d not be observed in that; twas impossible, such a burning & shining Light extinguished, but there must be an Universal Notice taken of it. Multitudes came unsought unto, not to fill their eyes (as Mr. Vines expresseth it,) but to empty them, nor was there any other noise there, but that of General Lamentation.

That Morning before the Removal of the corpse, a most affectionate Sermon was preached in Mr. Henry’s Meeting-Place by his Dear & Worthy Friend Mr. Tallents of Shrewsbury. He was willing to take that opportunity, to testify the great Love & Honour, that he had for Mr. Henry, whom he call’d “A Friend that is nearer than a brother.” His Text was Rom. viii. 23. “And not only they, but ourselves also, which have the first fruits of the Spirit, even we ourselves groan within ourselves, waiting for the Adoption, to wit the Redemption of our Body.” . . .

The following inscription was drawn up by his son-in-law, Dr. John Tylston, a physician in Chester :—

M.S.

PHILIPPUS HENRY, DE BROAD OAK, IN COMITATU FLINT. A.M.
 SACRI MINISTER EVANGELII, PASTOR OLIM WORTHENBURIENSIS
 IN AULÂ REGIÂ NATUS PHS ET HONESTIS PARENTIBUS
 SCHOLÆ WESTMONASTERIENSIS, INDEQ. ÆDIS CHRISTI OXON
 ALUMNUS REGIUS
 VIR PRISCÂ PIETATE ET VERE CHRISTIANÂ,
 JUDICIO SUBACTO ET LIMATO,
 MEMORIÂ, PRÆSTANTI, MAGNO ET FŒCUNDO INGENIO,
 ERUDITIONE PERPOLITÂ, SUMMO ANIMI CANDORE, MORUM VENUSTATE
 IMPRIMIS SPECTABILIS, ET IN EXEMPLUM NATUS :
 CUI SACRA SEMPER SUA FIDES, ALIORUMQUE FAMA :
 DIVINI NUMENIS CULTOR ASSIDUUS ;
 DIVINI VERBI INTERPRES EXQUISITISSIMUS ;
 ALIORUM AFFECTUS MOVERE NON MINÛS POLLENS
 QUAM SUIS MODERARI :
 CONSCIONANDO PARITER AC VIVENDO PALAM EXHIBENS
 CRISTI LEGEM ET EXEMPLAR CHRISTUM :
 PRUDENS PERITUSQUE RERUM, LENIS, PACIFICUS, HOSPITALIS
 AD PIETATIS OMNIA CHARITATISQUE OFFICIA USQUE PARATUS ;
 SUIS JUCUNDUS ; OMNIBUS HUMANUS ;
 CONTINUIS EVANGELII LABORIBUS SUCCUMBENS CORPUS,
 NEC TANTÆ JAM PAR AMPLIUS ANIMÆ
 IN DORMITORIUM HÎC JUXTA POSITUM DEMISIT
 JUN. 24 ANNO DOM. M.DC.XCVI ÆTATIS LXV *
 [VIRO OPT. MULTUMQUE DESIDERATO
 MÆRENS POSUIT GENER EJUS I. T. M. D.†]

Sacred to the memory of Philip Henry, of Broad Oak, in the county of Flint, Master of Arts, and Minister of the Holy Gospel, formerly Chaplain of Worthenbury, born in the Royal Palace of

* He wanted two months of 65. One of his descendants, who much resembled him both in appearance and character, died almost as suddenly, and wanting three months of 65.

† The following words were afterwards substituted :—

“ POSUIT HOC MARMOR IN VERIS LACHRYMIS
 KATHARINA CONJUX VIDUATA.”

pious and honourable parents, of Westminster School, and thence of Christ Church, Oxford, King's Scholar, a man for primitive piety, and that truly Christian, for a solid and polished judgment, for an excellent memory and great and fruitful genius, for fine learning, candid temper, and grace of manner especially remarkable and born to be an example : to whom his own word and the reputation of others was always inviolable ; a diligent worshipper of God ; a most exact interpreter of the Divine Word ; no less happy in touching the hearts of others than in chastening his own : whose life was a constant sermon, setting forth Christ by word and deed, and his law as a pattern : prudent and skilful in the conduct of affairs, mild, peaceable, and hospitable ; to all calls upon his piety and charity ever ready to respond ; pleasant to his friends, courteous to all ; yielding to his unceasing labours in the cause of the Gospel his body—no longer a match for so great a soul—found a resting-place in the adjacent tomb, June 24, 1696, aged 65.

To this best of men, and one sadly missed, his sorrowing son-in-law, J. T[ilston], M.D., has placed this monument.

[His widowed wife Katherine placed this marble with true grief.]

It might have been thought that when Philip Henry had been laid peacefully in the grave, any further contention with respect to him would cease. This, however, has been very far from being the case. In Matthew Henry's diary, 1704-5, he writes : " I had a letter from Mr. Travers of Lichfield that the chancellor there designed to attempt the demolishing of my father's monument ;" and again, " March 22. 1712. Wrote to Coz. Eddow to return him thanks for his care this week of the remains of my dear father and mother in Whitchurch church, where they are laying the foundation of a new one and have unworthily invaded my right there." In both points his opponents succeeded : the marble tablet was removed to the porch, and the honoured remains were (as is commonly believed) transferred to the churchyard, the exact place being kept

secret for fear of further molestation. It is quite possible that in rebuilding the parish church in 1712, the vault or grave where Philip Henry had been buried may have interfered with the plans of the architect; but it is plain, from the words of his son, that at that date there was at Whitchurch a strong prejudice against him. Some wave of feeling was then rolling up, which reminded men of the enormous injuries both to Church and State which had been inflicted by the men with whom Philip Henry had allied himself, and how, in professing a zeal against superstition, they had torn up faith by the roots at the same time. In calmer moments it might have been remembered that the savage Jeffreys withheld his hand from Philip Henry; that Anthony à Wood, the faithful chronicler of the seventeenth century, passed him in silence, knowing nothing against him but his nonconformity. Then the tide began to turn. When Mr. John Ireland, the editor of Hogarth's works, was introduced to Dr. Johnson, and it was stated that he was a descendant of Philip Henry, the doctor said, in his emphatic manner, "Sir, you are descended from a man whose genuine simplicity and unaffected piety would have done honour to any sect of Christians, and as a scholar he must have had uncommon acquirements when Busby boasted of having been his tutor." It was not, however, till the present century that the monument to his memory was restored to its proper place in the church; and when that was done, a complaint was raised that many visitors could not read the Latin inscription, and that an English one would be more acceptable. In accordance with that wish, expressed by the Rector of Whitchurch in 1844, and by others, a marble tablet, inscribed with the English version of the epitaph, was erected in the north aisle of the Church, and the original monument was restored to Joseph Lee, Esq., of

Redbrook (whose wife, Grace Keay Parsons, was a co-heiress of Broad Oak), and by him placed—with the consent of the rectors of Malpas—in Whitewell Chapel, where it still remains, with a few words mentioning the fact of its transference from Whitchurch.

There are original paintings of Philip Henry and his wife still remaining, from which engravings were taken and circulated soon after his death. These portraits are now in the possession of Mrs. Philip Henry Lee, having been given to the late Rev. P. H. Lee, of Stoke Bruern, by Mr. Ashton, of Wootton, a co-descendant. Though the old Broad Oak House and the old Whitewell have both passed away, yet it cannot truly be said that the place which once knew Philip Henry knows him no more. The name of Philip is preserved, with special reference to him, at Worthenbury, Hanmer, Malpas, and in all that neighbourhood, and he lives in the memories and hearts of many as an upright, God-fearing man, whose daily life was a living epistle, the good effects of which have not yet passed away. It is known that towards the end of his life he prayed much for his descendants, still unborn, and those whose names have been brought together by Miss Sarah Lawrence in her interesting book containing the successive generations down to 1843, may well think that in their descent from such a man they have an inheritance far more valuable than what falls commonly to the lot of men, and that in imitating his humble Christianity they have the best guarantee for a useful life and a glorious future.

Post tenebras lucem speramus.

APPENDIX.



In Philip Henry's day-book is the following :—

“ Philip Henry was born at Whitehall. Aug^t 24. 1631. London.

Katharine Mathewes was born at Broad Oke. March 25. 1629.

Philip Henry, and Katharine Mathewes were married at Whitewell Chapel. April 26, 1660,

and had issue which are the heritage of the Lord

John Henry, born at Worthenbury, on Friday, May 3. 1661, about 5 of the clock in the evening [he died at Whitchurch, April 12. 1667].

Mathew Henry born at Broad Oke, on Saturday. Oct. 18. 1662, about 3 of the clock in the morning.

Sarah Henry born at Broad Oke on Lord's day. Aug. 7. 1664, about sun-sett.

Katharin Henry born at Broad Oke. on Thursday Dec^r 7. 1665, about one of the clock in the morning.

Eleanor Henry, born at Broad Oke. on Tuesday July 23. 1667, about two of the clock in the afternoon.

Ann Henry, born at Broad Oke. on Wednesday. Nov. 25. 1668 about eleven of the clock in the forenoon.”

Of these, *Matthew Henry* was married in August, 1687, to Katharine, daughter of Samuel Hardware, of Bromborough, in the county of Chester, Esquire, who died on Thursday, February 14, aged 25, 1689; and, secondly, to Mary, daughter of Robert and

grand-daughter of Peter Warburton, of Hefferstone Grange, in the county of Chester, Esquires, on July 8, 1690.

Sarah Henry was married, March 28, 1687, to Mr. John Savage, of Wrenbury Wood, in the county of Chester.

Katharine Henry married, in 1687, Dr. John Tylston, of Trinity College, Oxford, a physician in Chester, who died 1699.

Eleanor Henry married, in 1688, Mr. Samuel Radford, of Chester. She died August 1, 1697, and he in 1699.

Ann Henry married, in 1688, John Hulton, Esq., of Chester. She died September 6, 1697.

“Mr. Philip Henry’s Relict survived him almost eleven years. She continued to the last at her house at Broad Oak, where she was born, a great example of wisdom, piety, and usefulness, and abounding in good works, happy in a constant calmness and serenity of mind, which as it was a singular gift of divine grace, and an instance of her wisdom, so it contributed very much to her close and comfortable walking with God, and her doing good. She lived and died rejoicing in Christ Jesus, and in a pleasing expectation of the glory to be revealed. She died May 25, 1707.”

Further particulars will be given of her in “Matthew Henry’s Letters and Diaries,” which are shortly to be published.

At the Independent Chapel in Shrewsbury there is a portrait, unknown, which may be the one, “ex musæo Rev. J. Orton,” from which the engraving is taken which stands at the beginning of Matthew Henry’s “Life and Death of Philip Henry,” 4th edition (Salop: printed by J. Cotton and J. Eddowes for J. Buckland and T. Longman, in Paternoster Row, London, and sold by W. Grigg, in Exeter, 1765).

THE WILL OF PHILIP HENRY.

In the Name of god ; Amen ! I, Philip Henry, of Broad oak, in the County of Flint, an unworthy minister of Jesus Christ, having attained this day, to the sixty-fourth year of my age, in bodily health ; god, be praised ! but, sensible of the decays of nature, and desirous to be found ready, when death comes, that I may have nothing else to do but to die, do, with my own hand, make this my last will and testament, in the usual manner and form following. First, I recommend my soul into the hands of god, my heavenly Father, trusting only to the merit and mediation of Jesus Christ my Lord, whose I am, and whom I serve for acceptation and salvation ; my body to the earth, whence it was taken, to be laid up there, as in a bed of rest, to sleep in Jesus, till the last trump shall sound ; my wife and children to the divine blessing and providence, together with all my children's children, to be brought vp in the nurture and admonition of the Lord ; and, out of the worldly estate, which god hath given me, I give and bequeath to each of my four daughters, Mr. Poole's English Annotations upon the Bible, in two volomns, of the last and best edition that shall be to be had at the time of my decease, together with Mr. Barton's last and best translation of the Singing Psalms, one to each of them, requiring and requesting them to make daily vse of the same, for the instruction, edification, and comfort of themselves, and of their families ; and, to each of all their children, that shall be alive when I die, I bequeath a well bound English Bible, together with an English Practical Divinity Book, in quarto, out of my books, such as their Fathers shall please to choose for them, *praying that the word of Christ may dwell richly in them*, in all wisdom, and spiritual vnderstanding. To my son, Matthew I give and bequeath all my books and papers, except

what is otherwise by this my will given, and except what my dear wife will please to have for her own use, and except the four following, of which I give one to each of my four daughters, according as in seniority they shall choose; viz. the Sermons vpon the Parable of the Prodigal; The Baptismal Covenant explained; the Four and Twenty Good and the Four and Twenty Naughty Spirits; and What Christ is made of God to True Believers in Forty Particulars; each to be transcribed by them, in their own hand, if they have leisure and see cause; however to be transcribed into their hearts and lives. To my dear daughter in law, and to each of my dear sons in law I give twenty shillings to buy each of them a ring or what else they please as a small remaining token of my great love to them, beseeching the Lord as he hath begun, so to go on to build them up into families, but especially to build them up in holiness and comfort, and to continue them still in brotherly love, as a bundle of arrows which can not be broken. To each of my servants living with me at the time of my death, that can read, I give a good book, or to each of them five shillings to buy one, at my dear wife's discretion. To each of my three dear sisters I give and bequeath as followeth; to my dear sister Ann Henry, I give a gold ring with this posy, *Thy Brother shall rise again*, John, xi. 23. And, to my other two sisters, Mary Dyer, Widow, and Sarah Wade, I give and bequeath the profits of my small tenement in Iscoyd, called Kaywilkin, which I purchased lately of John Probart, to be divided equally between them, when taxes and repairs are first discharged and allowed for, so long as they both shall live; and, when either of them dies, then the whole to the survivor, during her natural life to be paid quarterly, the first payment to commence from the quarter's end from the time of my death. And from, and after their decease, and the decease of the longest liver of them, I give and bequeath the inheritance of the said tenement with its appurtenances, and all my estate and interest therein, and all my right and title thereunto to my dear wife, to be disposed of by her to such of my dear children, or to such of their children as she shall think in her discretion to have most need of the same, whether by will, deed, or otherwise, as soon as she shall please after my decease, and not deferring the making of the

said settlement till my said sisters' decease. And lastly my will is, that all my just debts, and funeral expences, being first discharged, the remainder of all my goods, cattle, and chattels, whatsoever, shall be to my dear wife, to whom, accordingly, I do give and bequeath them, acknowledging her past, and relying upon her future faithfulness to me in all things ; and I do nominate and appoint her my said dear wife Katherine Henry, to be the sole executrix.

Witness my hand and seal this twenty-fourth day of August, 1695, being the day of the year in which I was born, 1631, and also the day of the year in which by law I died, as did also near two thousand other faithful ministers of Jesus Christ, 1662.

Declared and published &c.

PHILIP HENRY. L.S.

MARRIAGE REGISTER AT MALPAS, CHESHIRE.

“W[edding]. Philip Henry marry’d to Katharin Matthewes at Whitwell-chapel. April 26. 1660.”

In the Bodleian Library there is the following list of his works :—

“ 1. Henry (Philip), M.A.

“ Skeletons of Sermons, now first published from the original manuscript, with a memoir of his life. London, 1834. 8vo.

“ 2. Henry (Philip), M.A.

“ An Exposition with Practical Observations upon the first Eleven chapters of the Book of Genesis. Published from a manuscript in the handwriting of Matthew Henry, by John Lee. London, 1839. 12mo.

“ 3. Henry (Philip), A.M.

“ Remains from Unpublished Manuscripts, by Sir John B. Williams. London, 1848. 8vo.”

To these must be added, “What Christ is made of God to True Believers, in 40 real Benefits.” London. 12mo.

In Wordsworth’s “Ecclesiastical Biography,” vi. 344 (first edition), there is the following quotation from Philip Henry’s sayings :—“Notwithstanding the sad divisions in the Church, all the Saints so far as they are sanctified are one ; one in their aims, one in their askings, one in amity and friendship, one in interest, one in their inheritance. . . . The things in which they are agreed are many more, and more considerable than the things in which they differ. They are all of a mind concerning sin, that it is the worst thing in the world ; concerning Christ, that he is all in all ; concerning the favour of God, that it is better than life ; concerning the world, that it is vanity ; concerning the Word of God, that it is very precious.”

HENRY AND MATTHEWS' DEEDS.

From S. Leigh Sotheby's and John Wilkinson's catalogue (now in British Museum) of manuscripts belonging to Sir John Bickerton Williams, Knt., on Saturday, March 5, 1853 :

“ Lot 64, bought by Sir W. Tite.

71. „ Wilson.

73. „ Thorpe, containing deeds and documents relating to the property and families of Philip and Matthew Henry, viz.

“ I. A conveyance dated 27 Charles II. from Luke Lloyd of Bryn—the ancestor of Lord Kenyon—and his son, to the Rev. P. Henry, April, 1673. *Vellum.*

“ II. A release from Sir Ed. Kynaston of Oatley Park to Daniel Matthews, the father (in law) of Mr. P. Henry. *Vellum.*

“ III. The lease of Breton Castle from Sir T. Breton to Mr. Matthews, Nov. 2, 15 Charles I. *Vellum.*

“ IV. A lease from the Earl of Leinster to Mr. Matthews,* May 1, 24th Charles I. *Signed. Vellum.*”

* Mr. Daniel Matthews was under-sheriff for Flintshire in 1628.

HENRY RELICS SENT TO THE WHITCHUCH (SALOP)
EXHIBITION, AUGUST, 1880.

Philip Henry's day-book.

Two volumes of his diaries.

His silver cup.

Pair of medallion gold bracelets, with initials of several members of the Henry family.

Sermon note-book of his daughter Catherine.

Eight original letters from Philip Henry; Katherine, his wife; Anne, his sister; Matthew, Catherine, Eleanor, Sarah, Anne, his children.

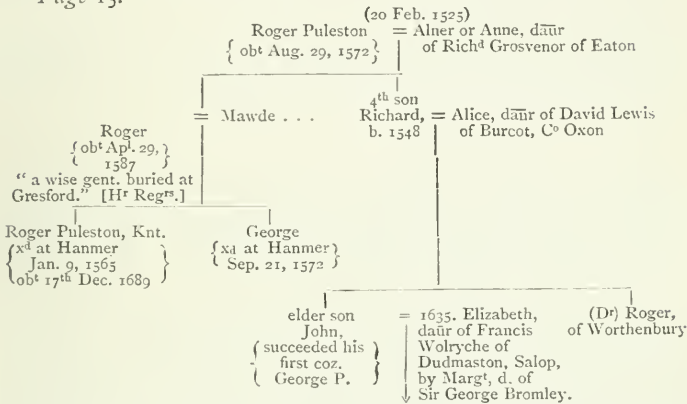
Matthew Henry's bands.

Counterpane in crewel work of Theodosia Henry.

EMRAL NOTES.

W. B. M. Thoys, Esq., of Sulhampstead, Berkshire, has favoured me with some notes about Emral and the Puleston family.

Page 15.



"From the old records copied in the Salesbury Book the Pulestons were in possession of Emral in 1294, as a grant of land to Philip de Chetwynde and Isabella daughter of Richard de P. is dated at Embrall.

"A.D. 1295. By letters patent dated at Westminster, certain lands at Worthenbury are given to Richard de P.

"In 1284 some lands at Gwillington (in Hanmer parish) are described as adjoining the forest of Roger de Pyvylston."

Page 18. "The side of Emral next the moat (to the west), with the old vaulted rooms and kitchen, appear much older than Elizabeth. The dining-room, with the drawing-room above it, are more difficult to assign to a particular date, being built so like a chapel with the cross on the gable. The two wings were built in the beginning of the last century by Thomas Puleston, who died 1735, the last direct heir

of the judge. Bills for them are among the papers at Emral. The work was finished about 1721."

Page 21. "Temp. Hen. VII. (Hengwrt. MSS. 213; Harl. MSS. 1971) Richard ap Moris and his brethren of Beaumaris are certified to be of English descent by Sir Roger Puleston of Maclor, Knt., John Puleston of Wrexham, Esq., and John ap Edward ap Madoc of Bromfeild, Gent.

Page 39. "Dr. Roger Puleston of Worthenbury was brother of the judge."

Page 82. "The spot where the chapel stood has had many trees planted on it, but none of them have ever lived. It stood facing the north end of the house on the other side of the road, and joining the mill and garden, which was between the chapel and the brook."

Page 83. "*Mrs. Puleston.* Jane, daughter of Sir Thos. Mostyn, married 1658. She married, secondly, Sir John Trevor of Bryn Kinalt, Master of the Rolis, and Speaker of the House of Commons."

Page 299. William Lloyd, son of Rev. Richard Lloyd, Henblâs, Anglesey; born 1627; made Dean of Bangor, 1672; †Residentiary Sarum, 1674; Bishop of St. Asaph, 1680; Lichfield and Coventry, 1692; Worcester, 1699. Died 1717, ninety-one years of age, at Hartlebury Castle; buried at Fladbury, near Evesham; his son rector there.

Page 313. Henry Bridgeman, third son of (Bishop) John Bridgeman, was born at Peterborough, in the residentiary house of his father, then first prebendary of that church, and there baptized, at the consecration of the new font in the nave of the cathedral, A.D. 1615. He was admitted to Oriel College, Oxford, 1629; B.A., October 20, 1632; M.A., 16 June, 1635; Fellow of Brasenose, December 6, 1633-39; Rector of Barrow, county Chester, December 16, 1639 (sequestered 1643), and of Monk's Bangor, January 9, 1640 [sequestered 1646]; chaplain to the seventh Earl of Derby (the martyr); Archdeacon of Richmond, May 20, 1648 (resigned 1660); petitions House of Lords for the restoration of the rectories of Bangor and Barrow, June 23, 1660; Dean of Chester, July 13, 1660; D.D., August, 1660; and Prebendary of Hillington in the Church of York, September 20, 1660. He also held the sinecure of Llanwrst. Consecrated Bishop of Sodor and Man (with leave to hold his deanery) on Sunday, October 1, 1671. He and Bishop Isaac Barrow, of St. Asaph, founded a school in the Isle of Man, endowing it with £60 per annum, *circa* 1670. He gave a Communion cup to the Church of St. German, Peel, Isle of Man, and

a paten on which were his arms—ten balls, a lion passant in chief. “A careless person called Dr. Hen. Bridgeman” (Anthony à Wood, iii. 38). The Chancellor’s letters (1660) say that “He had done good service to the king.”

He married = (1) Katherine, daughter
of William Laver,
of Kersal Lane,
living 1665. = (2) Margaret,
remarried 1687
to Mr. John Allen.

three daughters, one of whom
married Thomas Green.
See Adam Martindale’s Life,
p. 194.

“By an order of the Committee of Plundered Ministers, 22 July, 1646, Katherine, wife of Hen. Bridgman, was appointed to have fifth of Bangor Rectory.”—Baker MSS., Cambridge University Library.

He died May 15 (or 18), 1682, and was buried in Chester Cathedral.

Page 273. “Robert Fogg admitted to the Rectory of Eccleston, Lancashire, on the presentation of the king, October 26, 1627.” As Robert Fogg was born *circa* 1596, query whether the above is not the same person.

Robert Fogg, Rector of Hoole, Lancashire, paid his first-fruits, October 21, 1641 (a successor, Samuel Jones, appointed 1647).

Fogg was at Bolton, Lancashire, when Prince Rupert took it. The prince “had a particular aim at him” (Calamy).

July 1, 1646, he was presented to Bangor Is-y-coed (sequestered from Dr. Henry Bridgeman) by the Committee for Plundered Ministers.

From Philip Henry’s diary for March 5, 1661, it appears as if he stood to Dr. Bridgeman in the position of chaplain at Bangor. See also the finding of the Jury, on page 27.

Fogg’s second wife proved a Papist, and her sons were in the king’s army. After resigning Bangor in 1661, “he lived in the vicinity of Nantwich, and went constantly to church at Nantwich or Acton, and preached after sermon on the Lord’s day, and also on week days. In the latter part of his time he lived alone; and kept his coffin by him.”

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ERRATA.

- Page 7, note *, line 11, for "Trede" read "Trene."
- „ 15, note †, lines 10, 11, for "He was the grandson" read "He was first cousin."
- „ 70, line 1, for "1681" read "1682."
- „ 71, line 6, for "Eleanor" read "Sarah."
- „ 73, line 3 from foot, for "1881" read "1882."
- „ 283, after line 28 insert—"24. It is said that popery should come into England after a green winter, which God forbid.†"
- „ 283, add, as foot-note, "† This was fulfilled sooner than he expected, in the reign of James II. Evelyn writes, Jan. 19, 1686, 'this night was burnt to the ground my Lord Montague's palace in Bloomsbury. . . . This happen'd by the negligence of a servant airing, as they call it, some of the goods by the fire in a moist season : indeed so *wet and mild a winter* had scarce been scene in man's memory.'"
- „ 293, add to foot-note, "This was Thomas, eighth earl, who succeeded his brother in 1683."
- „ 383, line 11, for "Wootton" read "Woolton."

115075. HECCLE, B.

H.

Author Henry, Philip.

Title Diary and letters, (ed. by Matthew Henry Lee)

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