

THE
LIFE
OF THE HON.
COLONEL GARDINER,
WHO WAS SLAIN AT
THE BATTLE OF PRESTONPANS.

WITH AN
APPENDIX,
RELATING TO THE
ANCIENT FAMILY OF THE MUNROES OF FOWLIS

BY
P. DODDRIDGE, D. D.

*Justior alter
Nec pietate fuit, nec bello major et armis*

Vino

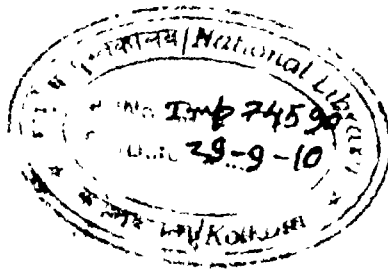
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Life
of
COLONEL GARDINER.



BY P. DODDGE, D.D.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Proprietor of the present Edition of the Life of the late COLONEL JAMES GARDINER, offers it with confidence to the perusal of the serious Reader ;—it has long been matter of surprise that this ingenious Memoir never before appeared in its present form ; being printed on a large type, it is calculated to suit the aged as well as the young Reader ; and the Embellishments being such, as it is hoped will be found generally interesting, no expense having been spared, either in design or execution, to render them worthy the approbation of the Public.

MEMOIRS

OF

THE REV. P. DODDRIDGE.

THE family from which Dr. Doddridge sprang cannot be traced very far back; nor is it material. Wise and good men lay little stress on any hereditary honours, but those which arise from the piety and usefulness of their ancestors. Of what profession his great grandfather was cannot be ascertained; but he had a brother, *John Doddridge*, who was bred to the law, and made a considerable figure in the early part of the seventeenth century at the time that *James I.* of England and *VI.* of Scotland filled the throne of Great Britain. He was knighted by this monarch, and constituted one of the judges of the Court of King's Bench.

The Doctor's grandfather was *John Doddridge*, who was educated for the ministry at the University of Oxford. He was minister of *Shepperton* in *Middlesex*, and was ejected from thence by the Act of Uniformity on August 24, 1662. *Dr. Calamy*, in his account of the ejected ministers, gives him this character, that "he was an ingenious man and a scholar, an acceptable preacher, and a very peaceable divine." His funeral sermon was preached by *Mr. Mariot* on the eighth of September, 1689; from thence it appears that he preached to a congregation at or near *Brentford*, that he died suddenly, and was much respected and beloved by his people.

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The Doctor's father, Daniel Doddridge, was an oilman in London: he had a very considerable family, all of which died young, but one daughter, (who married Mr. John Nettleton, a dissenting minister at Ongar, in Essex, and died in 1734,) and the Doctor, who was the twentieth and last child of his father's marriage. His mother was the daughter of the Rev. Mr. John Bauman, of Prague, in Bohemia, who left his native country about the year 1626, in consequence of the troubles which ensued on the expulsion of Frederick, Elector-Palatine.

Dr Doddridge, the subject of the present memoirs, was born in London on the 26th of June, 1702, in the first year of the reign of Anne, queen of England. At his birth he shewed so little sign of life that he was thrown aside as dead. But one of the attendants perceiving some motion or breath, took that necessary care of him upon which, in those tender circumstances, the feeble flame of life depended, which was so near expiring, as soon as it was kindled. He had from his birth an infirm constitution, and a thin consumptive habit, which made him and his friends apprehensive that his life could not be extended to any long period. He was brought up in the early knowledge of religion by his pious parents, who were, in their character, worthy their birth and education. His mother instructed him in the history of the Bible before he could read, by the assistance of some Dutch tiles in the chimney of the room, where they frequently sat: and her wise and pious reflections upon the stories there represented were the means of making good impressions upon his mind which never wore off. And, therefore, this method of instruction he frequently recommended to parents. He was first initiated in the elements of the learned languages under one Mr. Scott, a minister who taught a private school in London. In 1712 he was removed to Kingston upon Thames, to the school which his Grandfather Bauman had taught, and remained there till 1715. In the course of this period he was remarkable for piety and diligent application to learning. His father died July 1715, upon which he made this reflection: "God is an immortal Father. My soul rejoiceth in him. He has hitherto helped me and provided for me. May it be my study to approve myself a more affectionate, grateful, dutiful child." About this time he was removed to a private school

at St. Alban's, under the care of one Mr. Nathaniel Wood, where he commenced his acquaintance with Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Samuel Clarke, minister of the Dissenting congregation there; to whom, under God, he owed his capacities and opportunities of service in the church. During his residence at St. Alban's he began to keep a diary of his life, in 1716. On February 1, 1719, he was admitted to the Lord's Supper with the church under Dr. Clarke's care, who had taken much pains to give him correct notions of that ordinance, and prepare him for it. In the year 1718 he had left the school at St. Alban's, and was retired to his sister's house to consider of his future profession, and, while here, finally resolved to enter into the ministry. In October, 1719, he was placed under the tuition of the Rev. Mr. John Jennings, who kept an academy at Kibworth in Leicestershire, a gentleman of considerable learning, piety, and usefulness. Dr. Doddridge always spoke with great respect of his tutor: and during the course of his studies at Kibworth he was noted for his diligent application to his proper business, serious spirit, and extraordinary care to improve his time.

In 1722 his tutor, Mr. Jennings, removed from Kibworth to Hinckley, in the same county, and on July 8 of the following year, died in the prime of his life, to the great loss of the people with whom he was connected. His pupil, (young Doddridge,) after a previous examination by a committee of ministers, entered on the ministerial work, July 22, 1722, being then just twenty years old. He preached his first sermon at Hinckley from 1 Cor. xvi 22 "If any man love not the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be Anathema, Maranatha." In his diary is recorded that two persons ascribed their conversion to the blessings of God attending that sermon; with which he appears to be much affected and encouraged. He continued at Hinckley about a year after this, preaching occasionally there, and in the adjacent villages, when the congregation at Kibworth invited him to be their minister, an invitation which he complied with, and accordingly settled among them in June, 1723.

As this congregation was small, and he lived in an obscure village, he had much time to apply himself to study, which he did with indefatigable zeal. Ministers in general have been too unwilling, even at their entrance on their work, to live or preach in small country-places;

places ; but he reflected on it with pleasure all his days, that he had spent so many years in country-retirement. Soon after his settlement at Kibworth, one of his fellow-pupils, in a letter, condoled with him on being buried alive there, to which he makes this sensible and spirited reply : “ Here I stick close to those delightful studies, which a favourable Providence has made the business of my life. One day passeth away after another, and I only know that it passeth pleasantly with me. As for the world about me, I have very little concern with it. I live almost like a tortoise, shut up in its shell, almost always in the same town, the same house, the same chamber : yet I live like a prince ; not indeed in the pomp of greatness, but the pride of liberty ; master of my books, master of my time, and I hope I may add, master of myself. I can willingly give up the charms of London, the luxury, the company, the popularity of it, for the secret pleasures of rational employment and self approbation ; retired from applause and reproach, from envy and contempt, and the destructive baits of avarice and ambition. So that instead of lamenting it as my misfortune, you should congratulate me upon it as my happiness, that I am confined to an obscure village ; seeing it gives me so many valuable advantages, to the most important purposes of devotion and philosophy ; and I hope I may add, usefulness too ” Here he studied and composed his Expositions and Sermons with great care and exactness, transcribed almost every one of them in the neatest manner, and thus contracted a habit of preaching judiciously, when his other business would not allow so much time for composition

In October 1725 he removed his abode to Market-Harborough, near Kibworth. He continued his relation to the congregation at Kibworth, and preached to them, except when Mr. David Some, Minister at Harborough (who had taken this small society under his pastoral care, together with his own,) went to administer the Lord's Supper to them ; and then Mr. Doddridge supplied his place. He had been long happy in the acquaintance and friendship of Mr. Some, and was led to Harborough by his desire to be near a person of such uncommon piety, zeal, prudence, and sagacity. “ In him,” to use his own words, “ he had found a sincere, wise, faithful and tender friend. From him he had met with all the goodness

goodness he could have expected from a father, and had received greater assistance, than from any person; except Dr. Clarke in the affair of his education." This truly reverend and excellent man died May 29, 1737. "God was pleased to favour him with a serene and cheerful exit, suited to the eminent piety and usefulness of his life. I am well satisfied, that, considering how very generally he was known, he has left a most honourable testimony in the hearts of thousands, that he was one of the brightest ornaments of the Gospel and the Ministry, which the age hath produced; and that all who had any intimacy with him must have esteemed his friendship among the greatest blessings of life, and the loss of him amongst its greatest calamities."*

• In 1729 he was chosen assistant to Mr. Some at Harborough; the congregation there being desirous to enjoy his labours more frequently than before: and he preached there and at Kibworth alternately. It was highly improbable, that such a burning and shining light should be long confined to so narrow a sphere. Some large congregations having heard much, and known something, of his worth, sought his settlement with them. But his regard to Mr. Some, love to his own congregation, and desire to have more time for study, than he could have had in a populous town and large society, led him to decline their application. In 1723 he had an invitation to the pastoral care of a large congregation in London; but he thought himself too young to undertake it; and was also discouraged by the unhappy differences which at that time subsisted between the Dissenting Ministers there, about subscribing or not subscribing to the Articles of Faith in the words of man's device, as a test of orthodoxy; the majority of them being non-subscribers. In his answer to the gentleman who transmitted the invitation to him, after mentioning some other objections to the proposal, he adds, "I might also have been required to subscribe, which I am resolved never to do. We have no disputes on that matter in these parts. A neighbouring gentleman once endeavoured to introduce a subscription; but it was effectually over-ruled by the interposition of Mr. Some of Harborough, Mr. Norris of Welford, and Mr. Jennings, my tutor. I shall content myself here with

* Doddridge's Serms and Tracts, Vol. I p. 125.

being a benevolent well-wisher to the interests of liberty and peace."

Agreeably to the advice of his friends he entered upon the work of a tutor; and opened his academy in the Midsummer of 1729; but he had not been long in this employment when Providence directed him to a station of greater ministerial usefulness. The Dissenting congregation at Castle-hill, in Northampton, being vacant by the removal of their pastor, Mr Tingey, to London, he preached occasionally to them with other neighbouring ministers. His services were so highly acceptable to the people that they invited and strongly urged him to be their pastor.

As this was his last settlement in life, his own account of the manner in which he was conducted to it will, it is hoped, be agreeable and instructive; particularly to his friends. "While I was pleasing myself with the view of a continuance at Harborough, I little thought how few days would lead me to a determination to remove from it. But Providence had its own secret designs, at that time invisible to me. I went to Northampton the last Lord's Day in November 1729, to take leave of my good friends there, as gently as I could; and preached a sermon, to dispose them to submit to the will of God, in events which might be most contrary to their views and inclinations, from Acts xxi. 14. 'And when he would not be persuaded, we ceased, saying, The will of the Lord be done.' On the morning of that day an incident happened which affected me greatly. Having been much urged on Saturday evening, and much impressed with the tender intreaties of my friends, I had, in my secret devotion, been spreading the affair before God, though as a thing almost determined in the negative; appealing to him, that my chief reason for declining the call, was the apprehension of engaging in more business than I was capable of performing, considering my age, the largeness of the congregation, and that I had no prospect of an assistant. As soon as ever this address was ended, I passed through a room of the house in which I lodged, where a child was roading to his mother, and the only words I heard distinctly were these, 'And as thy days, so shall thy strength be.' Though these words were strongly impressed upon my mind, and remained there with great force and sweetness,

ness, yet I persisted in my refusal. But that very evening, happening to be in company with one of the deacons of that congregation, he engaged me to promise to preach his father's funeral sermon, from a particular text, on timely notice of his death, which it was imagined would be in a few weeks. It pleased God to remove him that night, which kept me there till Wednesday. Going in the interval to some houses, where I had been a stranger, and receiving visits from persons of the congregation whom I had not so much as heard of, I was convinced, beyond all doubt, of the earnest desire of my friends there to have me settled among them. I saw those appearances of a serious spirit, which were very affecting to me. Several attended the funeral who were not stated hearers there, and expressed much satisfaction in my labours. Before I went away, the young persons came to me in a body, earnestly intreated my coming among them, and promised to submit to all such methods of instruction, as I should think proper." This last circumstance he acknowledges, in his dedication of his Sermons to Young People, was the consideration which turned the scales for his going to Northampton.

About two months after his settlement at Northampton, it pleased God to visit him with a dangerous illness, which gave his friends many painful fears, that the residue of his years of usefulness to them and to the world would be cut off. But, after a few weeks of languishing, God mercifully restored his health. In 1736 the university of Aberdeen conferred upon him the degree of D. D.

It was a grief to him to find, that the children of some of his hearers had never been taught to read, through the ignorance or poverty of their parents. Therefore, in 1731, he persuaded his people to concur with him in establishing a charity school. To this end, they agreed to contribute certain sums, weekly or yearly, as their respective circumstances would admit. He had the satisfaction to find, that this benevolent design met with so much encouragement, that there was a foundation laid for instructing and cloathing twenty boys. These were selected and put under the care of a pious skilful master, who taught them to read, write, and learn their catechism, and brought them regularly to public worship. An anniversary sermon was preached, and a collection made for the benefit of

the school. Several of the Doctor's friends, at a distance, often gave generous benefactions of money or books for the use of the school; by which and from himself, the children were supplied with bibles, catechisms, and other proper books. He often visited the school to support the master's authority and respect, to examine the proficiency of the children, catechise, instruct, and pray with them; and the trustees visited it weekly by rotation, to observe the behaviour and improvement of the children, and to receive the master's report concerning them.

So great was his reputation as a tutor, that the number of pupils was large; *communibus annis*, thirty-four, and generally increasing. He had sustained this office about twenty-two years, and during that time had about two hundred young men under his care; of whom, one hundred and twenty, as far as can be learned, entered upon the ministry, and several intended for it died, while under his instructions. He had several pupils from Scotland and Holland. One person, that was intended for the ministry in the church of England, chose to spend a year or two under his instructions, before he went to the University; others, whose parents were of that church, were placed in his family, and they were readily admitted as pupils, and allowed to attend the established worship; for the constitution of his academy was perfectly catholic. Some young divines from Scotland, who had studied and taken the usual degrees in the University there, and had begun to preach, came to attend his divinity-lectures, and receive his instructions, before they settled with parishes in their native country. During their residence with him, they preached occasionally in the dissenting congregations in that town and neighbourhood, and two of them were ordained there.

In December 1750, he went to St. Albans to preach a funeral-*sermon* for his friend and father Dr. Samuel Clarke. In that journey he unhappily contracted a cold, which hung upon him through the remainder of the winter. On the advance of the spring, it considerably abated, but returned again with great violence in the summer. His physicians and friends advised him to lay aside his public work for a while, and apply himself entirely to the use of proper medicines and exercise for the removal of his complaint. But he could not be persuaded to comply with the former part of their advice. To
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be useless was worse than death to him. While he thought there was no immediate danger, he could not be prevailed upon to decline or lessen his delightful work, and was particularly desirous to complete his Family Expositor.

The last time he administered the Lord's Supper to his congregation at Northampton was on June 2, 1751, after having preached from Hebrews xii. 23. 'Ye are come—to the general assembly, and church of the First-born, which are written in heaven, &c.' At the conclusion of that service he mentioned, with marks of uncommon pleasure, that view of Christ, given in the Revelation as holding the stars in his right hand, and walking among the candle-sticks; expressing his authority over ministers and churches, his right to dispose of them as he pleaseth, and the care he taketh of them. He dropped some hints of his own approaching dissolution, and spoke of taking leave of them with the greatest tenderness and affection. After this he spent some weeks in London, and the hurries and labours he went through there contributed to increase his disorder.

The last public service, in which he was engaged, was at the ordination of the Reverend Mr. Adams at Bewdley, in Worcestershire, July 18. From Bewdley he went to Shrewsbury, where he spent several weeks, for the convenience of air, exercise, and an entire recess from business and company; and by this he seemed a little recruited.

As the autumn advanced, his physicians judged it proper for him to try the waters of Bristol, and accordingly he went thither in August. Upon his arrival there a worthy clergyman of the established church, with whom he had only a slight acquaintance, entertained him in the most hospitable manner, and with a fraternal affection, till he could be accommodated with a lodging near the Wells. The then bishop of Worcester, Dr. Maddox, paid him a friendly visit, and, in the most obliging manner, offered to convey him to the Wells in his chariot, at the stated times of drinking the water. His physicians at Bristol gave him little hope from the water; and he received their report of the great hazard of his case, which he desired them faithfully to give him, with that fortitude, resignation,
and

and cheerfulness, which never forsook him to the last, in any place, or on any other occasion.

As his health rapidly declined he was advised to a warmer climate; and accordingly went to Lisbon, at which place he arrived on Sunday, October 13, 1751. Here he was kindly received and entertained at the house of Mr. David King, an English merchant. His mother was one of the Doctor's congregation at Northampton.

About a week after his arrival, on Monday, October 21st, he was removed into the country, a few miles from Lisbon, by the advice of his physician Dr. Cantley, who generously attended him, and refused the usual fee. The rainy season, which in that climate usually sets in about the end of October, coming on with uncommon violence, cut off every hope his friends had entertained from air and exercise, and by the manner in which it affected him, seemed the appointed instrument of Providence to cut short his few remaining days. On Thursday, October 24th, a colliquative diarrhoea seized him, and soon exhausted his little strength. This night, which seemed the last of rational life, his mind continued in the same vigour, calmness, and joy, which it had felt and expressed during his whole illness.

He lay in a gentle dose the following day, and continued so till about an hour before he died, when, in his last struggle, he appeared restless, fetched several deep sighs, and quickly after obtained his release from the burthen of the flesh, on Saturday, October 26th, O. S. about three o'clock in the morning. His soul mounted to that felicity to which he had been long aspiring, and the prospect of which had given him such strong consolation during his illness and decay.

When his body was opened, as by his own desire it was, his lungs were found in so ulcerated a state that it appeared wonderful to the physician that both speaking and breathing were not more difficult and painful to him, and that he suffered so little acute pain to the last. His remains were interred in the burying-ground belonging to the British factory at Lisbon with as much decency and respect as circumstances and the place would admit. Most of the gentlemen of the factory attended his funeral, and did him honour at his death.

A handsome

A handsome monument was erected to his memory in his meeting-place at Northampton, at the expense of the congregation, (who also made a generous present to his widow after her return,) and the following epitaph was inscribed upon it, drawn up by his much-esteemed friend Gilbert West, Esq. and LL. D.

To the Memory of
PHILIP DODDRIDGE, D. D.
Twenty-one Years Pastor of this Church,
Director of a flourishing Academy,
And Author of many excellent Writings;
By which
His pious, benevolent, and indefatigable Zeal
To make Men wise, good, and happy,
Will far better be made known,
And perpetuated much longer,
Than by this obscure and perishable Marble;
The humble Monument, not of his Praise,
But of their Esteem, Affection, and Regret,
Who knew him, lov'd him, and lamented him;
And who are desirous of recording,
In this Inscription,
Their friendly but faithful Testimony
To the many amiable and Christian Virtues
That adorned his more private Character,
By which, though dead, he yet speaketh,
And still present in Remembrance,
Forcibly, though silently, admonisheth,
His once beloved and ever-grateful Flock.
He was born June 26, 1702,
And died October 26, 1751,
Aged 50.

He left four children; a son, who was an attorney at law, and three daughters, the eldest of whom was married to Mr. Humphrey, an attorney in Tewksbury

The following is a list of the works of Dr. Doddridge : 1. *The Family Expositor.* 2. *Letters to the Author of Christianity not founded on Argument.* 3. *Life of Colonel Gardiner.* 4. *Sermons on the Education of Children.* 5. *Sermons to Young People.* 6. *The principles of Religion, in verse for Children.* 7. *Sermons on the Power and Grace of Christ, and the Evidences of his Glorious Gospel.* 8. *Discourses on Regeneration.* 9. *Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul.* 10. *Sermons on Salvation by Grace; Care of the Soul; Absurdity of Persecution; Death of Children; Compassion for the Sick; Christian Warrior; Tears of Jesus over the Grave of Lazarus, &c. &c.* 11. *Address to the Master of a Family, on Family Religion.* 12. *Hymns.* 13. *Theological Lectures.* 14. *Life of Mr. Steffe.* The number and variety of his works shew the intenseness of his industry, and the extent of his capacity. The zeal and purity of his faith were expressed and enforced by a polished diction. His mind was capacious, his curiosity excursive, and his diligence continual. Few men have left behind such purity of character, or such monuments of laborious piety. Respecting the value of his writings, there is but one opinion. As an expositor, uniting the plain import of the text, supported by learned and elegant criticism, and a judicious animated improvement, he has no superior. His sermons and other works are alike directed to inform the judgment, to affect the heart, and to regulate the life.

TO
DAVID GARDINER, Esq.

CORNET IN SIR JOHN COPE'S REGIMENT OF DRAGOONS.

DEAR SIR,

WHILE my heart is following you with a truly paternal solicitude, through all the dangers of military life, in which you are thus early engaged, anxious for your safety amidst the instruments of death, and the far more dangerous allurements of vice, I feel a peculiar pleasure in being able at length, though after such long delays, to put into your hands the memoirs with which I now present you. They contain many particulars, which would have been worthy of your attentive notice, had they related to a person of the most distant nation or age: but they will, I doubt not, command your peculiar regard, as they are sacred to the memory of that excellent man, from whom you had the honour to derive your birth, and by whose generous and affectionate care you have been laid

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under

under all the obligations which the best of fathers could confer on a most beloved son.

Here, Sir, you see a gentleman, who with all the advantages of a liberal and religious education, added to every natural accomplishment that could render him most agreeable, entered, before he had attained the stature of a man, on those arduous and generous services to which you are devoted, and behaved in them with a gallantry and courage, which will always give a splendour to his name among the British soldiery, and render him an example to all officers of his rank. But, alas! amidst all the intrepidity of the martial hero, you see him vanquished by the blandishments of pleasure, and, in chace of it, plunging himself into follies and vices, for which no want of education or genius could have been a sufficient excuse. You behold him urging the ignoble and fatal pursuit, unmoved by the terrors which death was continually darting around him, and the most signal deliverances by which Providence again and again rescued him from those terrors, till at length he was reclaimed by an ever memorable interposition of Divine grace. Then you have the pleasure of seeing him become, in good earnest, a convert to Christianity, and, by speedy advances, growing up into one of its brightest ornaments; his mind continually filled with the great ideas which the gospel of our Redeemer suggests, and bringing the blessed influence of its sublime principles into every relation of military and civil, of public and domestic life. You trace him
persevering

persevering in a steady and uniform course of goodness, through a long series of honourable and prosperous years, the delight of all that were so happy as to know him, and, in his sphere, the most faithful guardian of his country, till at last,—worn out with honourable labours, and broken with infirmities, which they had hastened upon him before the time, you see him forgetting them at once, at the call of duty and Providence ; with all the generous ardour of his most vigorous days rushing on the enemies of religion and liberty, sustaining their shock with the most deliberate fortitude, when deserted by those that should have supported him, and cheerfully sacrificing the little remains of a mortal life in the triumphant views of a glorious immortality.

This, Sir, is the noble object I present to your view ; and you will, I hope, fix your eye continually upon it, and will never allow yourself for one day to forget, that this illustrious man is *Colonel Gardiner*, your ever honoured father ; who, having approved his *fidelity to the death*, and received a *crown of life* ; seems, as it were, by what you here read, to be calling to you from amidst *the cloud of witnesses* with which you are surrounded, and urging you, by every generous, tender, filial sentiment, to mark the footsteps of his Christian race, and strenuously to maintain that combat, where the victory is through Divine grace certain, and the prize an eternal kingdom in the heavens.

The last number of the Appendix introduces a most worthy triumvirate of your father's friends, following him through the same heroic path, to an end like his; and with pleasure pouring forth their lives in blood, for the rescue and preservation of their dearer country. And I trust, the eloquence of their examples will be prevalent with many, to emulate the many virtues for which they were conspicuous.

My hopes, Sir, that all these powerful motives will especially have their full efficacy on you, are greatly encouraged by the certainty which I have of your being well acquainted with the evidence of Christianity in its full extent; a criminal ignorance of which, in the midst of great advantages for learning them, leaves so many of our young people a prey to *Deism*, and so to vice and ruin, which generally bring up its rear. My life would be a continual burden to me, if I had not a consciousness in the sight of God, that during the years in which the important trust of your education was committed to my care, I had laid before you the proofs both of natural and revealed religion, in what I assuredly esteemed to be, with regard to the judgment, if they are carefully examined, an irresistible light; and that I had endeavoured to attend them with those addresses which might be most likely to impress your heart. You have not, dear Sir, forgotten, and I am confident you can never entirely forget, the assiduity with
which

which I have laboured to form your mind, not only to what might be ornamental to you in human life, but, above all, to a true taste of what is really excellent, and an early contempt of those vanities by which the generality of our youth, especially in your station, are debased, enervated, and undone. My private, as well as public addresses for this purpose, will, I know, be remembered by you, and the tears of tenderness with which they have so often been accompanied; and may they be so remembered, that they who are most tenderly concerned, may be comforted under the loss of such an inestimable friend as Colonel Gardiner, by seeing that his character, in all its most amiable and resplendent parts, lives in you; and that, how difficult soever it may be to act up to that height of expectation, with which the eyes of the world will be fixed on the son of such a father, you are, in the strength of Divine grace, attempting it; at least are following him with generous emulation and with daily solicitude, that the steps may be less unequal!

May the Lord God of your father, and I will add, of both your pious and honourable parents, animate your heart more and more with such views and sentiments as these! May he guard your life amidst every scene of danger, to be a protection and blessing to those that are yet unborn; and may he give you, in some far distant period of time, to resign it by a gentler dissolution than the hero from whom you
sprung;

spring; or, if unerring Wisdom appoint otherwise
to end it with equal glory!

I am, dear Sir,

Your ever faithful,

Affectionate Friend, and

Obliged humble Servant,

P. DODDRIDGE.

MERTHAMPTON, JULY 1, 1747.

IMPERIAL LIBRARY



COL. JAMES GARDINER

Engraved by G. Kneller. From the original in the possession of the Hon. the Earl of Sandwich.

THE LIFE

OF THE

HON. COLONEL JAMES GARDINER.

WHEN I promised the public some larger account of the life and character of this illustrious person than I could conveniently insert in my sermon on the sad occasion of his death, I was secure, that if Providence continued my capacity of writing, I should not only disappoint the expectation: for I was furnished with a variety of particulars, which appeared to me worthy of general notice, in consequence of that intimate friendship with which he had honoured me during the six last years of his life,—a friendship which led him to open his heart to me in repeated conversations with an unbounded confidence (as he then assured me, beyond what he had with any other man living,) so far as religious experiences were concerned; and I had also received several very valuable letters from him during the time of our absence from each other, which contained most genuine and edifying traces of his Christian character. But I hoped further to learn many valuable particulars from the
papers

Author's apology for the late appearance of these memoirs.

papers of his own closet, and from his letters to other friends, as well as from what they more circumstantially knew concerning him : I therefore determined to delay the execution of my promise till I could enjoy these advantages, for performing it in the most satisfactory manner ; nor have I, on the whole, reason to regret that determination.

I shall not trouble the reader with all the causes which concurred to retard these expected assistances for almost a whole year ; the chief of them were, the tedious languishing illness of his afflicted lady, through whose hands it was proper the papers should pass ; together with the confusion into which the rebels had thrown them, when they ransacked his seat at Bankton, where most of them were deposited. But having now received such of them as have escaped their voracious hands, and could conveniently be collected and transmitted, I set myself with the greatest pleasure to perform what I esteem not merely a tribute of gratitude to the memory of my invaluable friend (though never was the memory of any mortal man more precious and sacred to me,) but out of duty to God, and to my fellow-creatures ; for I have a most cheerful hope, that the narrative I am now to write will, under the Divine blessing, be a means of spreading, what of all things in the world every benevolent heart will most desire to spread, a warm and lively sense of religion.

Eulogy on the general character of the Colonel.

My own heart has been so much edified and animated by what I have read in the memoirs of persons who have been eminent for wisdom and piety, that I cannot but wish the treasure may be more and more increased: and I would hope the world may gather the like valuable fruits from the life I am now attempting; not only as it will contain very singular circumstances, which may excite a general curiosity, but as it comes attended with some other particular advantages.

The reader is here to survey a character of such eminent and various goodness, as might demand veneration, and inspire him with a desire to imitate it too, had it appeared in the obscurest rank; but it will surely command some peculiar regard, when viewed in so elevated and important a station, especially as it shone, not in ecclesiastical, but military life, where the temptations are so many, and the prevalency of the contrary character so great, that it may seem no inconsiderable praise and felicity to be free from dissolute vice, and to retain what in most other professions might be esteemed only a mediocrity of virtue. It may surely, with the highest justice be expected, that the title and bravery of Colonel Gardiner will invite many of our officers and soldiers, to whom his name has been long honourable and dear, to peruse this account of him with some peculiar attention: in consequence of which, it may be a means of increasing the number and brightening

The conduct of the Colonel recommended to the gentlemen of the army.

the character of those who are already adorning their office, their country, and their religion; and of reclaiming those who will see rather what they ought to be, than what they are. On the whole, to the gentlemen of the sword, I would particularly offer these memoirs, as theirs by so distinguished a title; yet I am firmly persuaded there are none whose office is so sacred, or whose proficiency in the religious life is so advanced, but they may find something to demand their thankfulness, and to awaken their emulation.

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

Mrs. Gardiner, our Colonel's mother, was a lady of a very valuable character, but it pleased God to exercise her with very uncommon trials; for she not
only

Some account of the Colonel's ancestors

only lost her husband and her brother in the service of their country, as before related, but also her eldest son, Mr. Robert Gardiner, on the day which completed the 16th year of his age, at the siege of Namur in 1695. But there is great reason to believe God blessed these various and heavy afflictions as the means of forming her to that eminent degree of piety, which will render her memory honourable as long as it continues.

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

The annual return of his birth-day was observed by him, in the later and better years of his life, in a manner very different from what is commonly practised; for instead of making it a day of festivity, I am told, he rather distinguished it as a season of more than ordinary humiliation before God, both in commemoration of those mercies which he received in the first opening of life, and under an affectionate

Early religious impressions never obliterated

sense, as well of his long alienation from the Great Author and support of his being, as of the many imperfections which he lamented in the best of his days and services.

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

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

His predilection to the military profession.

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

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

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

He is appointed to the forlorn hope at Ramillies,

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

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

Our young officer was of a party in the Forlorn Hope, and was commanded on what seemed almost a desperate service, to dispossess the French of the church-yard at Ramillies, where a considerable number of them were posted to remarkable advantage.

And is severely wounded.

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

This accident happened about five or six in the evening, on the 23d day of May, in the year 1706; and the army pursuing its advantages against the French, without ever regarding the wounded, (which

Singular circumstance attending that affair.

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

In the morning, the French, who were mas-
 † ters

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LIFE OF COLONEL GARDINER.



REMARKABLE PRESERVATION
OF ENSIGN GARDINER

Friendly interference of a Dominican Friar.

at the time of the French

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

2. E place,

He is hospitably treated in a convent

place, but the men lost their way, and got into a wood towards the evening, in which they were obliged to continue all night. The poor patient's wound being still undressed, it is not to be wondered that by this time it raged violently. The anguish of it engaged him earnestly to beg that they would either kill him outright, or leave him there to die, without the torture of any farther motion; and, indeed, they were obliged to rest for a considerable time, on account of their own weariness. Thus he spent the second night in the open air, without any thing more than a common bandage to staunch the blood. He hath often mentioned as a most astonishing providence that he did not bleed to death; which, under God, he ascribed to the remarkable coldness of these two nights.

Judging it quite unsafe to attempt carrying him to Huy, from whence they were now several miles distant, his convoy took him early in the morning to a convent in the neighbourhood, where he was hospitably received, and treated with great kindness and tenderness. But the cure of his wound was committed to an ignorant barber-surgeon, who lived near the house; the best shift that could then be made, at a time when, it may easily be supposed, persons of ability in their profession, had their hands full of employment. The tent which this artist applied, was almost like a peg driven into the wound; and gentlemen of skill and experience, when they

†

came

Miraculously recovers from his wound

came to hear of the manner in which he was treated, wondered how he could possibly survive such management. But, by the blessing of God on these applications, rough as they were, he recovered in a few months. The Lady Abbess, who called him her son, treated him with the affection and care of a mother; and he always declared, that every thing which he saw within these walls was conducted with the strictest decency and decorum. He received a great many devout admonitions from the ladies there; and they would fain have persuaded him to acknowledge what they thought so miraculous a deliverance, by embracing the Catholic Faith, as they were pleased to call it. But they could not succeed: for though no religion lay near his heart, yet he had too much the spirit of a gentleman, lightly to change that form of religion which he wore (as it were) loose about him, as well as too much good sense to swallow those monstrous absurdities of Popery which immediately presented themselves to him, unacquainted as he was with the niceties of the controversy.

When his liberty was regained by an exchange of prisoners, and his health thoroughly established, he was far from rendering unto the Lord according to that wonderful display of divine mercy which he had experienced. I know very little of the particulars of those wild, thoughtless, and wretched years, which lay between the 19th and 30th of his life; except it be that he frequently experienced the divine

Receives a cornet's commission.

goodness in renewed instances, particularly in preserving him in several hot military actions, in all which, he never received so much as a wound after this, forward as he was in attempting danger, and yet, that all these years were spent in an entire alienation from God, and an eager pursuit of animal pleasure, as his supreme good. The series of criminal amours in which he was almost incessantly engaged during this time, must probably have afforded some remarkable adventures and occurrences; but the memory of them is perished. Nor do I think it unworthy notice here, that amidst all the intimacy of this friendship, and the many years of cheerful as well as serious converse which we spent together, I never remember to have heard him speak of any of these intregues, otherwise than in the general with deep and solemn abhorrence. This I the rather mention, as it seemed a most genuine proof of his unfeigned repentance; which, I think, there is great reason to suspect, when people seem to take a pleasure in relating and describing scenes of vicious indulgence, which yet they profess to have disapproved and forsaken.

Amidst all these pernicious wanderings from the paths of religion, virtue, and happiness, he approved himself so well in his military character, that he was made a lieutenant in that year, viz. 1706: and I am told, he was very quickly promoted to a cornet's commission in Lord Stair's regiment of
 Scotch

Attends the Earl of Stair to Paris.

Scotch Greys ; and on the 31st of January, 1714-15, was made Captain-Lieutenant in Colonel Ker's regiment of dragoons. He had the honour of being known to the Earl of Stair some time before, and was made his aid-de-camp ; and when, upon his lordship's being appointed ambassador from his late Majesty to the court of France, he made so splendid an entrance into Paris, Captain Gardiner was his master of the horse ; and I have been told, that a great deal of the care of that admirably well adjusted ceremony fell upon him ; so that he gained great credit by the manner in which he conducted it. Under the benign influences of his lordship's favour, (which to the last day of his life he retained,) a captain's commission was procured for him (dated July 22d, in the year 1715,) in the regiment of dragoons, commanded by Colonel Stanhope, (now Earl of Harrington ;) and, in the year 1717, he was advanced to the majority of that regiment ; in which office he continued till it was reduced on November 10, 1718, when he was put out of commission. But then his Majesty King George I. was so thoroughly apprised of his faithful and important services, that he gave him his sign manual to the first majority that should become vacant in any regiment of horse or dragoons, which happened about five years after to be in Croft's regiment of dragoons, in which he received a commission dated 1st June, 1724 ; and on the 20th of July, the same year, he was made major of an older regiment, commanded by the Earl of Stair.

As

He is sent off to England with important dispatches ;

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

We will now return to that period of his life which passed at Paris, the scene of such remarkable and important events. He continued (if I remember right,) several years under the roof of the brave and generous Earl of Stair ; to whom he endeavoured to approve himself by every instance of faithful service : and his lordship gave no inconsiderable proof of the independence which he had upon him, when in the beginning of the year 1715, he entrusted him with the important dispatches relating to a discovery, which, by a series of admirable policy, he had made, of a design which the French King was then forming for invading Great Britain, in favour of the Pretender ; in which the French apprehended they were so sure of success, that it seemed a point

of

And predicts the death of Louis XIV.

of friendship in one of the chief counsellors of that court, to dissuade a dependent of his from accepting some employment under his Britannic Majesty, when proposed by his envoy there; because, it was said, that in less than six weeks there would be a revolution in favour of what they called the family of the Stuarts. The captain dispatched his journey with the utmost speed; a variety of circumstances happily occurred to accelerate it; and they who remember how soon the regiments which that emergency required were raised and armed, will, I doubt not, esteem it a memorable instance, both of the most cordial zeal in the friends of the government, and of the gracious care of Divine Providence over the House of Hanover, and the British liberties, so incomparably connected with its interest.

While Captain Gardiner was at London, in one of the journeys he made upon this occasion, he, with that frankness which was natural to him, and which in those days was not always under the most prudent restraint, ventured to predict, from what he knew of the bad state of the French king's health, that he would not survive six weeks. This was made known by some spies who were at St. James's, and came to be reported at the court of Versailles; for he received letters from some friends at Paris, advising him not to return thither, unless he could reconcile himself to a lodging in the Bastile. But he was soon free from that apprehension; for, if I mistake not,

not,

 The death of Lewis XIV.

not, before half that time was accomplished, Lewis XIV. died;* and it is generally thought that his death was hastened by a very accidental circumstance, which had some reference to the captain's prophecy: for the last time he ever dined in public, which was a very little while after the report of it had been made there, he happened to discover our British envoy among the spectators. The penetration of this illustrious person was too great, and his attachment to the interest of his royal master too well known not to render him very disagreeable to that crafty and tyrannical prince, whom God had so long suffered to be the disgrace of monarchy and the scourge of Europe. He at first appeared very languid, as indeed he was; but upon casting his eye upon the Earl of Stair, he affected to appear before him in a much better state of health than he really was; and therefore, as if he had been awakened on a sudden from some deep reverie, immediately put himself into an erect posture called up a laboured vivacity into his countenance, and ate much more heartily than was by any means advisable, repeating it two or three times to a nobleman, (I think the Duke of Bourbon,) then in a low voice, "Methinks I eat very well for a man who is to die so soon."† But this inroad upon that regularity of living which he had for some time observed, agreed so ill with him;

 September 1, 1715.

† *Il me semble, que je ne mange pas mal pour un homme qui devoit mourir si tot.*

 Extreme profligacy of the French Court

him, that he never recovered this meal, but died in less than a fortnight. This gave occasion for some humorous people to say, that old Lewis, after all, was killed by a Briton. But if this story be true, (which I think there can be no room to doubt, as the Colonel, from whom I have often heard it, though absent, could scarce be misinformed,) it might more probably be said that he fell by his own vanity; in which view I thought it so remarkable, as not to be unworthy a place in these memoirs.

The captain quickly returned, and continued with small interruptions, at Paris, at least till the year 1720, and how much longer I do not certainly know. The Earl's favour and generosity made him easy in his affairs, though he was, (as has been observed above,) part of the time out of commission, by breaking the regiment to which he belonged, of which before he was a major. This was, in all probability, the gayest part of his life, and the most criminal. Whatever wise and good examples he might find in the family where he had the honour to reside, it is certain that the French court, during the regency of the Duke of Orleans, was one of the most dissolute under heaven. What, by a wretched abuse of language, have been called intrigues of love and gallantry, were so entirely to the Major's then degenerate taste, that, if not the whole business, at least the whole happiness of his life consisted in them; and he had now too much leisure for one who was so prone

The Colonel's conscience sometimes awakened

to abuse it. His fine constitution, than which perhaps, there was hardly ever a better, gave him great opportunities of indulging himself in these excesses; and his good spirits enabled him to pursue his pleasures in so alert and sprightly a manner, that multitudes envied him, and called him, by a dreadful kind of compliment, the happy rake.

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

in the midst of his debaucheries.

Yet I cannot find, in these most abandoned days he was fond of drinking. Indeed he never had any natural relish for that kind of intemperance, from which he used to think a manly pride might be sufficient to preserve persons of sense and spirit; as by it they give up every thing that distinguishes them from the meanest of their species, or indeed from animals the most below it; so that if he ever fell into any excesses of this kind, it was merely out of complaisance to his company, and that he might not appear stiff and singular. His frank obliging and generous temper, procured him many friends; and these principles which rendered him amiable to others, not being under the direction of true wisdom and piety, sometimes made him, to the ways of living he pursued, more uneasy in himself than he might perhaps have been if he could entirely have outgrown them; especially as he was never a sceptic in his principles, but still retained a secret apprehension, that natural and revealed religion, though he did not much care to think of either, were founded in truth. And with these convictions his nefarious violations of the most essential precepts of both could not but occasion some secret misgivings of heart. His continual neglect of the great Author of his being, of whose perfections he could not doubt, and to whom he knew himself to be under daily and perpetual obligations, gave him, in some moments of reflection, inexpressible remorse; and this at times wrought upon him to such a degree, that he resolved

The Colonel's religious oppression not so sufficiently fixed

he would attempt to pay him some acknowledgements. Accordingly for a few mornings he did it; repeating in retirement some passages out of the Psalms, and perhaps other scriptures, which he still retained on his memory; and owning, in a few strong words, the many mercies and deliverances he had received, and the ill returns he had made for them.

I find, among the other papers transmitted to me, the following verses, which I have heard him repeat, as what had impressed him a good deal in his unconverted state; and, as I suppose, they did something towards setting him on this effort towards devotion, and might probably furnish out a part of these orisons, I hope I need not make any apology to my reader for inserting them, especially as I do not recollect to have seen them any where else.

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

But

to prevent his increasing irregularities.

But these strains were too devout to continue long in a heart as yet quite unsanctified; for how readily soever he could repeat such acknowledgments of the divine power, presence, and goodness, and own his own follies and faults, he was stopped short by the remonstrances of his conscience, as to the flagrant absurdity of confessing sins he did not desire to forsake, and of pretending to praise God for his mercies, when he did not endeavour to live to his service, and to behave in such a manner as gratitude, if sincere, would plainly dictate. A model of devotion, where such sentiments made no part, his good sense could not digest; and the use of such language before an heart-searching God, merely as an hypocritical form, while the sentiments of his soul were contrary to it, justly appeared to him such daring profaneness, that, irregular as the state of his mind was, the thought of it struck him with horror. He therefore, determined to make no more attempts of this sort; and was perhaps one of the first that deliberately laid aside prayer, from some sense of God's omniscience, and some natural principles of honour and conscience.

These secret debates with himself, and ineffectual efforts, would sometimes return: but they were overborne again and again by the force of temptation; and it is no wonder, that in consequence of them his heart grew yet harder. Nor was it softened or awakened by some very memorable deliverances,
which

Some providential escapes.

which at this time he received. He was in extreme danger by a fall from his horse, as he was riding post, (I think, in the streets of Calais :) when going down a hill, the horse threw him over his head, and pitched over him ; so that when he rose, the beast lay beyond him, almost dead. Yet though he received not the least harm, it made no serious impression on his mind. In his return from England, in the packet boat (but a few weeks after the former accident,) a violent storm that drove them up to Harwich, tossed them from thence, for several hours in a dark night on the coast of Holland, and brought them into such extremity, that the captain of the vessel urged him to go to prayers immediately, if he ever intended to go at all : for he concluded they would be in a few minutes at the bottom of the sea. In this circumstance he did pray, and that very fervently too ; and it was very remarkable, that while he was crying to God for deliverance, the wind fell, and quickly after, they arrived at Calais. But the Major was so little affected with what had befallen him, that when some of his gay friends, on hearing the story, rallied him upon the efficacy of his prayers, he excused himself from the scandal of being thought much in earnest, by saying, " That it was midnight, and an hour when his good mother and aunt were asleep, or else he should have left that part of the business to them." A speech which I should not have mentioned, but as it shews in so lively a view the wretched situation of his mind at that time, though his great deliverance from

by which he is still unmoved.

from the power of darkness was then nearly approaching. He recounted these things to me with the greatest humility, as shewing how utterly unworthy he was of that miracle of divine grace by which he was quickly after brought to so true and so prevalent a sense of religion.

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

Particulars of his conversation.

amidst the ravages which the rebels made when they plundered Bankton.

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

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

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* It is no small satisfaction to me, since I wrote this, to have received a letter from the Rev. Mr. Spears, minister of the Gospel, at Burntisland, dated January 14, 1746-47, in which he relates

 Particulars of the Colonel's remarkable conversion.

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

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

Particulars of the Colonel's conversion.

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

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

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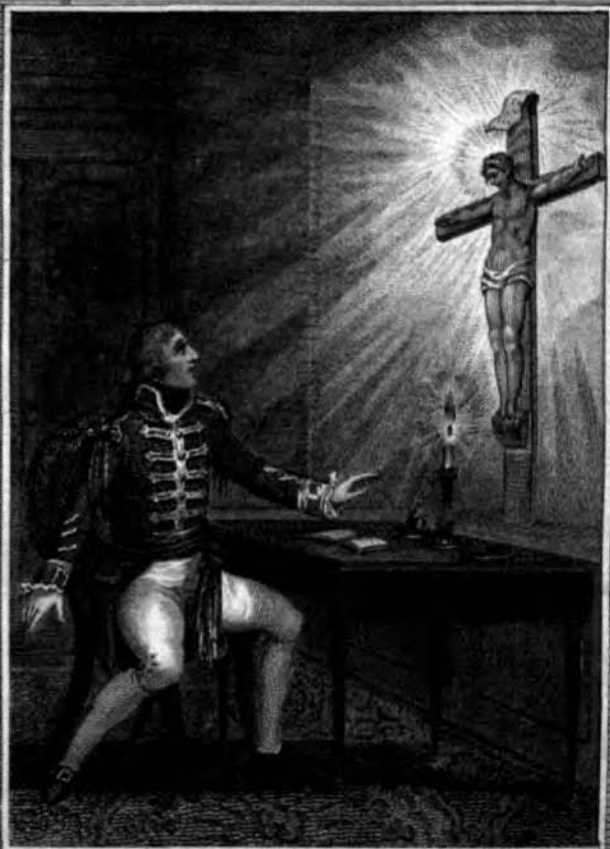
* Mr. Spears, in the letter mentioned above, where he introduces the Colonel telling his own story, has these words; "All of a sudden, there was presented in a very lively manner, to my view or to my mind, a representation of my glorious Redeemer," &c. And this Gentleman adds in a parenthesis, "It was so lively and striking, that he could not tell whether it was to his bodily eyes, or to those of his mind." This makes me think that what I had said to him on the phenomena of visions, apparitions, &c. (as being, when most real, supernatural impressions on the imagination, rather than attended with any external object,) had some influence upon him. Yet still it is evident he looked upon this as a vision, whether it were before the eyes or in the mind, and not as a dream.

 Particulars of the Colonel's conversion.

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

It may easily be supposed he was in no condition to make any observation upon the time in which he had remained in an insensible state; nor did he, throughout all the remainder of the night, once re-
collect

LIFE OF COLONEL GARDINER.



CONVERSION OF COLONEL GARDINER.

Published by J. G. & Co. 11, St. Paul's Churchyard, London.

Effect of the remarkable vision on the Colonel

collect that criminal and detestable assignation which had before engrossed all his thoughts. He rose in a tumult of passion not to be conceived, and walked to and fro in his chamber, till he was ready to drop down in unutterable astonishment and agony of heart, appearing to himself the vilest monster in the creation of God, who had all his lifetime been crucifying Christ afresh by his sins, and now saw, as he assuredly believed, by a miraculous vision, the horror of what he had done. With this was connected such a view both of the majesty and goodness of God as caused him to loathe and abhor himself, and to repent as in dust and ashes. He immediately gave judgment against himself, that he was most justly worthy of eternal damnation. He was astonished that he had not been struck dead in the midst of his wickedness; and (which I think deserves particular remark) though he assuredly believed that he should ere long be in hell, and settled it as a point with himself for several months, that the wisdom and justice of God did almost necessarily require that such an enormous sinner should be made an example of everlasting vengeance, and a spectacle as such both to angels and men,—so that he hardly durst presume to pray for pardon; yet, what he then suffered was not so much from the fear of hell, though he concluded it would soon be his portion, as from a fear of that horrible ingratitude he had shewn to the God of his life, and to that blessed Redeemer who had been in

 Authenticity of the documents

so affecting a manner set forth as crucified before him.

To this he refers in a letter, dated from Douglas, April 1, 1725, communicated to me by his Lady; but I know not to whom it was addressed.* His words are these:—"One thing relating to my conversion, and a remarkable instance of the goodness of God to me, the chief of sinners, I do not remember that I ever told to any other person. It was this; that after the astonishing sight I had of my blessed Lord, the terrible condition in which I was proceeded not so much from the terrors of the law, as from a sense of having been so ungrateful a monster

* N B.—Where I make any extracts, as from Colonel Gardiner's letters, they are either from the originals, which I have in my own hands, or from copies which were transmitted to me from persons of undoubted credit, chiefly by the Right Hon. Lady Frances Gardiner, through the hands of the Rev. Mr. Webster, one of the ministers of Edinburgh. This I the rather mention, because some letters have been brought to me as Colonel Gardiner's, concerning which, I have not only been very dubious, but morally certain that they could not have been written by him. I have also heard of many who have been fond of assuring the world that they were well acquainted with him, and were near him when he fell, whose reports have been most inconsistent with each other, as well as contrary to that testimony relating to the circumstances of his death, which, on the whole, appeared to me beyond controversy the most natural and authentic; from whence, therefore, I shall take my account of that affecting scene.

From whence the preceding account is drawn.

ster to Him whom I thought I saw pierced for my transgressions."—I the rather insert these words, as they evidently attest the circumstance which may seem most amazing in this affair, and contain so express a declaration of his own apprehension concerning it.

In this view, it may naturally be supposed that he passed the remainder of the night waking; and he could get but little rest in several that followed. His mind was continually taken up in reflecting on the divine purity and goodness; the grace which had been proposed to him in the gospel, and which he had rejected; the singular advantages he had enjoyed and abused; and the many favours of Providence which he had received, particularly in rescuing him from so many imminent dangers of death, which he now saw must have been attended with such dreadful and hopeless destruction. The privileges of his education, which he had so much despised, now lay with an almost unsupportable weight on his mind; and the folly of that career of sinful pleasure, which he had so many years been running with desperate eagerness and unworthy delight, now filled him with indignation against himself, and against the great deceiver, by whom (to use his own phrase,) he had been "so wretchedly and scandalously befooled." This he used often to express in the strongest terms, which I shall not repeat so particularly, as I can recollect some of them. But on the whole, it is cer-
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tain,

The Colonel's ideas and sentiments completely changed.

tain, that by what passed before he left his chamber the next day, the whole frame and disposition of his soul was new modelled and changed; so that he became, and continued to the last day of his exemplary and truly Christian life, the very reverse of what he had been before. A variety of particulars, which I am afterwards to mention, will illustrate this in the most convincing manner. But I cannot proceed to them, without pausing a while to adore so illustrious an instance of the power and freedom of divine grace, and entreating my reader seriously to reflect upon it, that his own heart may be suitably affected; for surely, if the truth of the fact be admitted in the lowest views in which it can be placed, (that is, supposing the first impression to have passed in a dream,) it must be allowed to have been little, if any thing, less than miraculous. It cannot, in the course of nature, be imagined how such a dream should arise in a mind full of the most impure ideas and affections, and (as he himself often pleaded,) more alienated from the thoughts of a crucified Saviour than from any other object that can be conceived; nor can we surely suppose it should, without a mighty energy of the divine power, be effectual to produce, not only some transient flow of passion, but so entire and so permanent a change in character and conduct.

On the whole, therefore, I must beg leave to express my own sentiments of the matter, by repeating
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Colonel Gardiner's story not singular.

on this occasion what I wrote several years ago, in my eighth sermon on Regeneration, in a passage dictated chiefly by the circumstantial knowledge which I had of this amazing story, and, methinks, sufficiently vindicated by it, if it stood entirely alone; which yet, I must take the liberty to say, it does not: for I hope the world will be particularly informed, that there is at least a second, that does very nearly approach it, whenever the established church of England shall lose one of its brightest living ornaments, and one of the most useful members which that, or perhaps any other Christian communion can boast: in the mean time, may his exemplary life be long continued, and his zealous ministry abundantly prospered! I beg my reader's pardon for this digression.—The passage I refer to above, is remarkably, though not equally applicable to both the cases, as it stands in page 263 of the first edition, and page 160 of the second; under that head where I am shewing that God sometimes accomplishes the great work of which we speak by secret and immediate impressions on the mind. After preceding illustrations, there are the following words, on which the Colonel's conversion will throw the justest light:—

“ Yea, I have known those of distinguished genius, polite manners, and great experience in human affairs, who, after having outgrown all the impressions of a religious education, after having been hardened, rather than subdued, by the most singular mercies, even various, repeated, and astonishing deliverances,

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which

The most profligate sometimes brought back to a sense of their unworthiness.

which have appeared to themselves no less than miraculous ; after having lived for years without God in the world, notoriously corrupt themselves, and labouring to the utmost to corrupt others, have been stopped on a sudden in the full career of their sin, and have felt such rays of the divine presence, and of redeeming love, darting in upon their minds, almost like lightning from heaven, as have at once roused, overpowered, and transformed them ; so that they have come out of their secret chamber with an irreconcilable enmity to those vices, to which, when they entered them, they were the tamest and most abandoned slaves ; and have appeared from that very hour the votaries, the patrons, the champions of religion ; and after a course of the most resolute attachment to it, in spite of all the reasonings or the railleries, the importunities or the reproaches of its enemies, they have continued to this day some of its brightest ornaments : a change which I behold with equal wonder and delight, and which, if a nation should join in deriding it, I would adore as the finger of God."

The mind of Major Gardiner continued from this remarkable time till towards the end of October (that is, rather more than three months, but especially the two first of them,) in as extraordinary a situation as one can well imagine. He knew nothing of the joys arising from a sense of pardon ; but on the contrary, for the greater part of that time, and with very short intervals

Remarkable change wrought in the Colonel.

intervals of hope towards the end of it, took it for granted, that he must, in all probability, quickly perish. Nevertheless, he had such a sense of the evil of sin, of the goodness of the Divine being, and of the admirable tendency of the Christian revelation, that he resolved to spend the remainder of his life, while God continued him out of hell, in as rational and as useful a manner as he could ; and to continue casting himself at the feet of Divine Mercy every day, and often in a day, if peradventure there might be hope of pardon, of which all that he could say was, that he did not absolutely despair. He had at that time such a sense of the degeneracy of his own heart, that he hardly durst form any determined resolution against sin, or pretend to engage himself by any vow in the presence of God ; but was continually crying to him, that he would deliver him from the bondage of corruption. He perceived in himself a most surprising alteration with regard to the dispositions of his heart ; so that, though he felt little of the delights of religious duties, he extremely desired opportunities of being engaged in them ; and those licentious pleasures, which had before been his heaven, were now absolutely his aversion. And indeed, when I consider how habitual all those criminal indulgences were grown to him, and that he was now in the prime of life, and all this while in high health too, I cannot but be astonished to reflect upon it, that he should be so wonderfully sanctified in body, as well as soul and spirit, as that, for all the future years of his life, he,

Complete change wrought in

from that hour, should find so constant a disinclination to, and abhorrence of, those criminal sensualities to which he fancied he was before so invincibly impelled by his very constitution, that he was used strangely to think, and to say, that Omnipotence itself could not reform him, without destroying that body, and giving him another.*

Nor was he only delivered from that bondage of corruption which had been habitual to him for many years, but felt in his breast so contrary a disposition, that

* Mr. Spears expresses this wonderful circumstance in these remarkable words: "I was (said the Colonel to me,) effectually cured of all inclination to that sin I was so strongly addicted to, that I thought nothing but shooting me through the head could have cured me of it; and all desire and inclination to it was removed, as entirely as if I had been a sucking child: nor did the temptation return to this day."—Mr. Webster's words on the same subject are these: "One thing I have heard the Colonel frequently say, that he was much addicted to impurity before his acquaintance with religion; but that, so soon as he was enlightened from above, he felt the power of the Holy Ghost changing his nature so wonderfully, that his sanctification in this respect seemed more remarkable than in any other." On which that worthy person makes this very reasonable reflection: "So thorough a change of such a polluted nature, evidenced by the most unblemished walk and conversation for a long course of years, demonstrates indeed the power of the most Highest, and leaves no room to doubt of its reality." Mr. Spears says this happened in three days time; but from what I can collect, all that the Colonel could mean by this expression, if he used it, (as I conclude he did,) was, that he began

to

the Colonel's life and conversation.

that he was grieved to see human nature, in those to whom he was almost entirely a stranger, prostituted to such low and contemptible pursuits. He therefore exerted his natural courage in a very new kind of combat; and became an open advocate for religion, in all its principles, so far as he was acquainted with them, and all its precepts, relating to sobriety, righteousness, and godliness. Yet he was very desirous and cautious that he might not run into an extreme, and made it one of his first petitions to God, the very day after these amazing impressions had been wrought in his mind, that he might not be suffered to behave with such an affected strictness and preciseness, as would lead others about him into mistaken notions of religion, and expose it to reproach or suspicion, as if it were an unlovely or uncomfortable thing. For this reason, he endeavoured to appear as cheerful in conversation as he conscientiously could; though in spite of all his precautions, some traces of that deep inward sense which he had of his guilt and misery would at times appear. He made no secret of it, however, that his views were entirely changed,

to make the observation in the space of three days; whereas, during that time, his thoughts were so taken up with the wonderful views presented to his mind, that he did not immediately attend to it. If he had within the first three days any temptation to seek some ease from the anguish of his mind, in returning to former sensualities, it is a circumstance he did not mention to me; and by what I can recollect of the strain of his discourse, he intimated, if he did not express the contrary.

He is called upon to defend

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

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

the principles of the Christian doctrine.

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

The Major opened it with a view of such argu-
 7 ment:

His complete success

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

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

25th

The severe trial to which the Colonel is reduced

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

The Colonel's mind relieved

resolute Christian by Divine Grace may do, till he turned ridicule and opposition into respect and veneration.

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

by reading Rom iii 25, 26

of redeeming love and grace, in such a manner, as not only engaged him with the utmost pleasure and confidence to venture his soul upon it ; but even swallowed up (as it were) his whole heart in the returns of love, which from that blessed time became the genuine and delightful principle of his obedience, and animated him, with an enlarged heart, to turn to the way of God's commandments. Thus God was pleased (as he himself used to speak) in an hour to turn his captivity. All the terrors of his former state were changed into unutterable joys which kept him almost continually waking for three nights together, and yet refreshed him as the noblest of cordials. His expressions, though naturally very strong, always seemed to be swallowed up, when he would describe the series of thought through which he now passed, under the rapturous experience of that joy unspeakable, and full of glory, which then seemed to overflow his very soul ; as indeed there was nothing he seemed to speak of with greater relish. And the first ecstasies of it afterwards subsided into a more calm and composed delight, yet were the impressions so deep and so permanent, that he assured me on the word of a Christian and a friend, wonderful as it might seem, that for seven years after this, he enjoyed almost a heaven upon earth. His soul was so continually filled with a sense of the love of God in Christ, that it knew little interruption, but when necessary converse and the duties of his station called off his thoughts for a little time ; and when they did so, as soon as he was

 Dr. Watts' imitation of the 26th Psalm

alone the torrent returned into its natural channel again ; so that from the minute of his awaking in the morning, his heart was rising to God, and triumphing in him ; and these thoughts attended him through all the scenes of life, till he lay down in his bed again, and a short parenthesis of sleep (for it was but a very short one that he allowed himself,) invigorated his animal powers for renewing them with greater intenseness and sensibility.

I shall have an opportunity of illustrating this in the most convincing manner below, by extracts from several letters which he wrote to intimate friends during this happy period of time ; letters which breathe a spirit of such sublime and fervent piety, as I have seldom met with any where else. In these circumstances, it is no wonder that he was greatly delighted with Dr. Watts' imitation of the 26th Psalm ; since it may be questioned whether there ever was a person to whom the following stanzas of it were more suitable.

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

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

“ Great

particularly suited to the Colonel's case.

“ Great is the work,” my neighbours cry’d,
 And own’d the pow’r divine :
 “ Great is the work ” my heart reply’d;
 And be the glory thine.”

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

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

I have been so happy as to get the sight of five original letters, which he wrote to his mother about this time, which do, in a very lively manner, illustrate the surprising change made in the whole current of his thoughts and temper of his mind. Many of them were written in the most hasty manner, just as the courier who brought them was perhaps unexpectedly setting out ; and they relate chiefly to affairs in which the public is not at all concerned : yet there is not one of them in which he has not inserted some warm and genuine sentiment of religion. And indeed, it is very remarkable, that though he was pleased to honour me with a great many letters, and I have seen several more which he wrote to others, some of them on journeys, where he could have but a few minutes at command, yet I cannot recollect, that ever I saw any one in which there was not some
 trace

Extracts from various letters

trace of piety. And the Rev. Mr. Webster, who was employed to review great numbers of them, that he might select such extracts as he should think proper to communicate to me, has made the same observation.*

The Major, with great justice, tells the good lady his mother, "that when she saw him again, she would find the person indeed the same, but every thing else entirely changed." And she might easily have perceived of herself, by the whole tenor of those letters, which every where breathe the unaffected spirit of a true Christian. They are taken up sometimes with giving advice and directions concerning some pious and charitable contributions, one of which I remember amounted to ten guineas, though, as he was then out of commission, and had not formerly been very frugal, it cannot be supposed he had much to spare; sometimes in speaking of the pleasure with which he attended sermons, and expected sacramental opportunities; and at other times, in exhorting her, established as she then was in religion, to labour after

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

written by the Colonel to several persons.

after a yet more exemplary character and conduct, or in recommending her to the divine presence and blessing, as well as himself to her prayers. What satisfaction such letters as these must give to a lady of her distinguished piety, who had so long wept over this dear and amiable son as quite lost to God, and on the verge of final destruction, it is not for me to describe, or indeed to conceive. But hastily as these letters were written, only for private view, I will give a few specimens from them in his own words; which will serve to illustrate, as well as confirm, what I have hinted above.

“ I must take the liberty,” says he, in a letter dated on the first day of the new year, or, according to the old style, December 21, 1719, “ to entreat you, that you would receive no company on the Lord’s Day. I know you have a great many good acquaintance, with whose discourses one might be very well edified; but as you cannot keep out and let in whom you please, the best way, in my humble opinion, will be to see none.”—In another January 25: “ I am happier than any one can imagine, except I could put him exactly in the same situation with myself; which is what the world cannot give, and no man ever attained it, unless it were from above.” In another, dated March 30, which was just before a sacrament; “ To-morrow, if it please God, I shall be happy, my soul being to be fed with the bread of life, which came down from heaven. I shall be mindful
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Extracts from the Colonel's letters.

of you all there." In another of January 29, he thus expresses that indifference for worldly possessions which he so remarkably carried through all the remainder of his life: "I know the rich are only stewards for the poor, and must give an account of every penny; therefore the less I have, the more easy will it be to render a faithful account of it." And, to add no more from these letters at present, in conclusion of one of them, he has these comprehensive and solemn words: "Now that He who is the ease of the afflicted, the support of the weak, the wealth of the poor, the teacher of the ignorant, the anchor of the fearful, and the infinite reward of all faithful souls, may pour out upon you all his richest blessings, shall always be the prayer of him who is entirely yours," &c.

To this account of his correspondence with his excellent mother, I should be glad to add a large view of another, to which she introduced him, with that reverend and valuable person, under whose pastoral care she was placed, I mean the justly celebrated Dr. Edmund Calamy, to whom she could not but early communicate the joyful news of her son's conversion. I am not so happy as to be possessed of the letters which passed between them, which I have reason to believe would make a curious and valuable collection: but I have had the pleasure of receiving, from my worthy and amiable friend, the Reverend Mr. Edmund Calamy, one of the letters which the Doc-

Dr. Calamy's letter to Colonel Gardiner.

tor his father wrote to the Major on this wonderful occasion. I perceive by the contents of it, that it was the first; and indeed it is dated as early as the third of August, 1719, which must be but a few days after his own account, dated August 4th, N. S., could reach England. There is so much true religion and good sense in this paper, and the counsel it suggests may be so seasonable to other persons in circumstances which bear any resemblance to his, that I make no apology to my reader for inserting a large extract from it.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ I CONCEIVE it will not much surprise you to understand that your good mother communicated to me your letter to her, dated August 1, N. S., which brought her the news you conceive would be so acceptable to her. I who have often been a witness of her concern for you on a spiritual account, can attest with what joy this news was received by her, and imparted to me as a special friend, who she knew would bear a part with her on such an occasion. And indeed, if, as our Saviour intimates, Luke xv. 7, 10, there is in such cases joy in heaven and among the angels of God, it may well be supposed, that of a pious mother, who has spent so many prayers and tears upon you, and has, as it were, “ travailed in birth with you again, till Christ was formed in you,” could not be small. You may believe me if I add, that I also, as a common friend of hers and yours,

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Dr Calamy's letter

and, which is much more, of the Prince of Light whom you now declare you heartily fall in with, in opposition to that of the dark kingdom, could not but be tenderly affected with an account of it under your own hand. My joy on this account was the greater, considering the importance of your capacity, interests, and prospects, which, in such an age as this, may promise most happy consequences, on your heartily appearing on God's side, and embarking in the interest of our dear Redeemer. If I have hitherto at all remembered you at the throne of Grace, at your mother's desire (which you are pleased to take notice of with so much respect,) I can assure you I shall henceforth be led to do it with more concern and particularity, both by duty and inclination. And if I were capable of giving you any little assistance in the noble design you are engaging in, by corresponding with you by letter, while you are at such a distance, I should do it most cheerfully. And perhaps such a motion may not be altogether unacceptable: for I am inclined to believe, that when some whom you converse with, observe your behaviour so different from what it was, and banter you on it as mad and fanciful, it may be some little relief to correspond with one who will take a pleasure in heartening and encouraging you. And when a great many things frequently offer, in which conscience may be concerned where duty may not always be plain, nor suitable persons to advise with at hand, it may be some satisfaction to you to correspond with one, with whom you
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Dr Calamy's letter.

may use a friendly freedom in all such matters, and on whose fidelity you may depend. You may therefore command me in any of these respects, and I shall take a pleasure in serving you. One piece of advice I shall venture to give you, though your own good sense will make my enlarging upon it less needful; I mean that you would, from your first setting out, carefully distinguish between the essentials of real religion, and those things which are commonly reckoned by its professors to belong to it. The want of this distinction has had very unhappy consequences from one age to another, and perhaps in none more than the present. But your daily converse with your Bible, which you mention, may herein give you great assistance. I move also, that since infidelity so much abounds, you would, not only by close and serious consideration, endeavour to settle yourself well in the fundamental principles of religion, but also that, as opportunity offers, you would converse with those books which treat most judiciously on the divine original of Christianity, such as Grotius, Abadie, Baxter, Bates, Du Plessis, &c. which may establish you against the cavils that occur in almost all conversations, and furnish you with arguments, which, when properly offered, may be of use to make some impressions on others. But being too much straitened to enlarge at present, I can only add, that if your hearty falling in with serious religion should prove any hindrance to your advancement in the world, (which I pray God it may not, unless such advance-

Timely arrival of Dr. Calamy's letter.

ment would be a real snare to you,) I hope you will trust our Saviour's word, that it shall be no disadvantage to you in the final issue: he has given you his word for it, Matt. xix: 29, upon which you may safely depend; and I am satisfied, none that ever did so, at last repented of it. May you go on and prosper, and the God of all grace and peace be with you!"

I think it is very evident from the contents of this letter, that the Major had not imparted to his mother the most singular circumstances attending his conversion; and, indeed, there was something so peculiar in them, that I did not wonder he was always cautious in speaking of them, and, especially, that he was at first much on the reserve. We may also naturally reflect, that there seems to have been something very providential in this letter, considering the debate in which our illustrious convert was so soon engaged, for it was written about three weeks before his conference with the lady above mentioned, in the defence of Christianity; or, at least, before the appointment of it. And as some of the books recommended by Dr. Calamy, particularly Abadie and Du Plessis, were undoubtedly within his reach (if our English advocates were not,) this might, by the divine blessing, contribute very considerably towards arming him for that combat, in which he came off with such happy success. And as in this instance, so in many others, they who will observe the coincidence and concurrence of things, may be engaged to adore the wise conduct

Regular and methodical habits.

conduct of Providence in events which, when taken singly and by themselves, have nothing very remarkable in them.

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

He is a constant reprover of vice and profaneness

during the time I was acquainted with him, he seldom ate any supper, but a mouthful of bread with one glass of wine. In consequence of this, as well as of his admirably good constitution, and the long habit he had formed, he required less sleep than most persons I have known: and I doubt not but his uncommon progress in piety was in a great measure owing to these resolute habits of self-denial.

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

A remarkable instance of this happened, if I mistake not, about the middle of the year 1720, though I cannot be very exact as to the date of the story. It was, however, on his first return to make any considerable abode in England after his remarkable change. He had heard on the other side of the water, that it was currently reported among his companions at home, that he was stark mad; a report at
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The Colonel defends his conduct in a mixed company

which no reader who knows the wisdom of the world in these matters will be much surprised, any more than himself. He concluded, therefore, that he should have many battles to fight, and was willing to dispatch the business as fast as he could. And therefore being to spend a few days at the country house of a person of distinguished rank, with whom he had been very intimate (whose name I do not remember that he told me, nor did I think proper to enquire after it,) he begged a favour of him, that he would contrive matters so that a day or two after he came down, several of their former gay companions might meet at his lordship's table, that he might have an opportunity of making his apology to them, and acquainting them with the nature and reasons of his change. It was accordingly agreed to, and a pretty large company met on the day appointed, with previous notice that Major Gardiner would be there. A good deal of railery passed at dinner, to which the Major made very little answer. But when the cloth was taken away, and the servants retired, he begged their patience for a few minutes, and then plainly and seriously told them, what notions he entertained of virtue and religion, and on what considerations he had absolutely determined that by the grace of God he would make it the care and business of life, whatever he might lose by it, and whatever censure and contempt he might incur. He well knew how improper it was in such company to relate the extraordinary manner in which he was awakened, which they would probably
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The Colonel defends his conduct in a mixed company.

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

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

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

I have not any memory of Colonel Gardiner's life, or of any other remarkable event befalling him in it, from the time of his return to England, till his marriage in the year 1726, except the extracts which have been sent to me from several letters which he wrote to his religious friends during this interval, and which I cannot pass by without a more particular notice. It may be recollected, that in consequence of the reduction of that regiment of which he was major, he was out of commission from November 10th, 1718, till June 1st, 1721: and after he returned from Paris, I find all his letters during this period dated from London,—where he continued in communion with the Christian society under the pastoral care of Doctor Calamy. As his good mother also belonged to the same, it is easy to imagine it must have been an unspeakable pleasure to her to have such frequent opportunities of conversing with such a son, of ob-
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The filial care he evinces for his mother

serving in his daily conduct and discourses the blessed effects of that change which divine grace had made in his heart, and of sitting down with him every month at the sacred feast, where Christians so frequently enjoy the divinest entertainments which they expect on this side heaven. I the rather mention this ordinance, because, as this excellent lady had a very high esteem for it, so she had an opportunity of attending but the very Lord's Day immediately preceding her death, which happened on Thursday, October 7, 1725, after her son had been removed from her almost a year. He had maintained, handsomely out of that very moderate income on which he subsisted since his regiment had been disbanded; and when she expressed her gratitude to him for it, he assured her, (I think in one of the last letters she ever received from him,) that he esteemed it a great honour, that God put it in his power to make, what he called a very small acknowledgement of all her care for him, and especially of the many prayers she had offered on his account, which had already been remarkably answered, and the benefit of which he hoped ever to enjoy.

I apprehend that the Earl of Stairs's regiment, to the majority of which he was promoted on the 20th of July, 1724, was then quartered in Scotland; for all the letters in my hand, from that time to the 6th of February, 1726, are dated from thence, and particularly from Douglas, Stranraer, Hamilton, and Ayr;

The Colonel is happy in the converse of his friends.

but I have the pleasure to find, from comparing these with others of an earlier date from London and the neighbouring parts, that neither the detriment which he must suffer by being so long out of commission, nor the hurry of affairs while charged with it, could prevent or interrupt that intercourse with heaven, which was his daily feast, and his daily strength.

These were most eminently the happy years of his life ; for he had learned to estimate his happiness, not by the increase of honour, or the possession of wealth, or by what was much dearer to his generous heart than either, the converse of the nearest and worthiest human friends, but by nearness to God, and by opportunities of humble converse with him, in the lively exercise of contemplation, praise, and prayer. Now there was no period of his life in which he was more eminently favoured with these ; nor do I find any of his letters so overflowing with transports of holy joy, as those which were dated during this time. There are indeed in some of them such very sublime passages, that I have been dubious whether I should communicate them to the public or not, lest I should administer matter of profane ridicule to some, who look upon all the elevations of devotion as contemptible enthusiasm. And it has also given me some apprehensions, lest it should discourage some pious Christians, who, after having spent several years in the service of God, and in humble obedience to the

Farther extracts from his letters.

precepts of his gospel, may not have attained to any such heights as these. But on the whole, I cannot satisfy myself to suppress them, not only as I number some of them, considered in a devotional view, among the most extraordinary pieces of the kind I have ever met with; but as some of the most excellent and judicious persons I anywhere know, to whom I have read them, have assured me, that they felt their hearts in an unusual manner impressed, quickened, and edified by them.

I will therefore draw back the veil, and shew my much honoured friend in his most secret recesses, that the world may see what those springs were, from whence issued that clear permanent, and living stream of wisdom, piety, and virtue, which so apparently ran through all that part of his life which was open to public observation. It is not to be imagined, that letters written in the intimacy of Christian friendship, some of them with the most apparent marks of haste, and amidst a variety of important public cares, should be adorned with any studied elegance of expression, about which the greatness of his soul would not allow him to be at any time very solicitous; for he generally (so far as I could observe,) wrote as fast as his pen could move, which, happily both for him and his many friends, was very freely. Yet here the grandeur of his subject has sometimes clothed his ideas with a language more elevated, than is ordinarily to be expected in an epistolary correspondence. The
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The character of his epistolary writing.

proud scorers, who may deride sentiments and enjoyments like those which this truly great man so experimentally and pathetically describes, I pity from my heart; and grieve to think how unfit they must be for the hallelujahs of heaven, who pour contempt upon the nearest approaches to them: nor shall I think it any misfortune to share with so excellent a person in their profane derision. It will be infinitely more than an equivalent for all that such ignorance and petulance can think and say, if I may convince some who are as yet strangers to religion, how real, and how noble its delights are; if I may engage my pious readers to glorify God for so illustrious an instance of his grace; and finally, if I may quicken them, and above all may rouse my own too indulgent spirit to follow with less unequal steps as an example, to the sublimity of which I fear few of us shall after all be able fully to attain. And that we may not be too much discouraged under the deficiency, let it be recollected, that few have the advantage of a temper naturally so warm; few have an equal command of retirement; and perhaps hardly any one, who thinks himself more indebted to the riches and freedom of divine grace, can trace interpositions of it in all respects equally astonishing.

The first of these extraordinary letters which have fallen into my hands is dated near three years after his conversion, and addressed to a lady of quality. I believe it is the first the Major ever wrote so immediately

 His motives for writing.

diately on the subject of his religious consolations and converse with God in devout retirement. For I well remember, that he once told me, he was so much afraid that something of spiritual pride should mingle itself with the relation of such kind of experience, that he concealed them a long time: but observing with how much freedom the sacred writers open all the most secret recesses of their hearts, especially in the Psalms, his conscience began to be burthened, under an apprehension, that, for the honour of God, and in order to engage the concurrent praises of some of his people, he ought to disclose them. On this he set himself to reflect, who among all his numerous acquaintance seemed at once the most experienced Christian he knew, (to whom therefore such things as he had to communicate might appear solid and credible,) and who the humblest. He quickly thought of the Lady Marchioness of Douglas in this view; and the reader may well imagine, that it struck my mind very strongly, to think that now, more than twenty-four years after it was written, Providence should bring to my hands, (as it has done within these few days,) what I assuredly believe to be a genuine copy of that very letter which I had not the least reason to expect that I should ever have seen, when I learned from his own mouth, amidst the freedom of an accidental conversation, the occasion and circumstances of it.

It is dated from London, July 21, 1722; and the
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Letter to the Marchioness of Douglas.

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

His words are these: “I was so happy as to receive yours just as I arrived; and I had no sooner read it but I shut my door, and sought him whom my soul loveth. I sought him, and found him; and would not let him go, till he had blessed us all. It is impossible to find words to express what I obtained; but I suppose it was something like that which the disciples got, as they were going to Emmaus, when they said, Did not our hearts burn within us? &c. or rather, like what Paul felt, when he could not tell whether he was in the body or out of it.” He then mentions his dread of spiritual pride; from which he earnestly prays, that God may deliver and preserve

Extracts from his epistolary correspondence.

preserve him.—“ This,” says he, “ would have hindered me from communicating these things, if I had not such an example before me as the man after God’s own heart, saying, I will declare what God hath done for my soul; and elsewhere, The humble shall hear thereof, and be glad: now I am well satisfied that your ladyship is of that number.” He then adds, “ I had no sooner finished this exercise,” that is, of prayer above mentioned, “ but I sat down to admire the goodness of my God; that he would vouchsafe to influence, by his free Spirit, so undeserving a wretch as I, and to make me thus mount up with eagles wings. And here I was lost again, and got into an ocean, where I could find neither bound nor bottom; but was obliged to cry out with the apostle, ‘ O the breadth, the length, the depth, the height, of the love of Christ, which passeth knowledge ’ But if I give way to this strain, I shall never have done. That the God of hope may fill you with all joy and peace in believing, that you may abound in hope through the power of the Holy Ghost, shall always be the prayer of him, who is, with the greatest sincerity and respect, your Ladyship’s,” &c.

Another passage to the same purpose, I find in a memorandum which he seems to have written for his own use, dated Munday, March 11, which I perceive from many concurrent circumstances, must have been in the year 1722-3. “ This day, (says he,) having been to visit Mr. G. at Hampstead, I came home
about

Extracts from his epistolary correspondence

about two, and read a sermon on these words, Psal. cxxx. 4. 'But there is forgiveness with thee, that thou mayest be feared;' about the latter end of which there is a description of the miserable condition of those that are slightsers of pardoning grace. From a sense of the great obligations I lay under to the Almighty God, who hath made me to differ from such, from what I was, and from the rest of my companions, I kneeled down to praise his holy name; and I know not that in my lifetime I ever lay lower in the dust, never having had a fuller view of my own unworthiness. I never pleaded more strongly the merits and intercession of him who I know is worthy, never vowed more sincerely to be the Lord's, and to accept of Christ as he is offered in the gospel, as my king, priest, and prophet; never had so strong a desire to depart, that I might sin no more; but—'my grace is sufficient'—curbed that desire. I never pleaded with greater fervency for the Comforter, which, our blessed Lord hath promised, shall abide with us for ever. For all which I desire to ascribe glory, &c. to Him that sitteth on the throne and to the Lamb."

There are several others of his papers which speak much the same language, which, had he kept a diary, would, I doubt not, have filled many sheets. I believe my devout readers would not soon be weary of reading extracts of this kind. But that I may not exceed in this part of my narrative, I shall mention

His deep and unaffected piety

only two more, each of them dated some years after ; —that is, one from Douglas, April 1, 1725, and the other from Stranraer, 25th May following.

The former of these relates to the frame of his spirit on a journey ; on the mention of which I cannot but recollect how often I have heard him say, that some of the most delightful days of his life were days in which he travelled alone, (that is, with only a servant at a distance ;) when he could, especially in roads not much frequented, indulge himself in the pleasures of prayer and praise ; in the exercise of which last he was greatly assisted by several psalms and hymns, which he had treasured up in his memory, and which he used not only to repeat aloud, but sometimes to sing. In reference to this, I remember the following passage, in a letter which he wrote to me many years after, when on mentioning my honoured friend the Rev. Dr. Watts, he says,—
 “ How often, in singing some of his psalms, hymns, or lyrics, on horseback and elsewhere, has the evil spirit been made to flee,

“ Whene’er my heart in tune is found,
 “ Like David’s harp of solemn sound”

Such was the first of April above mentioned, in the evening of which he writes thus to an intimate friend : “ What would I have given this day upon the road for paper, pen, and ink, when the Spirit of the Most High rested upon me ! O for the pen of a
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Remark on the exquisite pleasures of true religion.

ready writer, and the tongue of an angel, to declare what God hath done this day for my soul ! But in short, it is in vain to attempt it : all that I am able to say is only this, that my soul has been for some hours joining with the blessed spirits above, in giving glory, and honour, and praise unto Him that sitteth upon the throne and to the Lamb for ever and ever. My praises began from a renewed view of Him whom I saw pierced for my transgressions. I summoned the whole hierarchy of heaven to join with me ; and I am persuaded, they all echoed back praise to the Most High. Yea, one would have thought, the very larks joined with me in emulation. Sure then, I need not make use of many words, to persuade you that are his saints, to join me in blessing and praising his holy name." He concludes, " May the blessings of the God of Jacob rest upon you all ! Adieu. Written in great haste, late and weary."

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

Exquisite pleasures of true religion.

He mentions the pleasure with which he had attended a preparation sermon the Saturday before; and then he adds, "I took a walk upon the mountains that are over against Ireland; and I persuade myself, that were I capable of giving you a description of what passed there, you would agree that I had much better reason to remember my God from the hills of Port-Patrick, than David from the land of Jordan, and of the Hermites from the hill Mizar." I suppose he means in reference to the clearer discoveries of the gospel with which we are favoured. "In short," says he immediately afterwards, in that scripture phrase which was become so familiar to him, "I wrestled some hours with the Angel of the covenant, and made supplications to him with floods of tears and cries,—until I had almost expired: but he strengthened me so, that, like Jacob, I had power with God, and prevailed. You will be more able to judge of this, by what you have felt yourself upon the like occasions. After such a preparatory work I need not tell you how blessed the solemn ordinance of the Lord's supper proved to me; I hope it was so to many. You may believe, I should have been exceeding glad if my gracious Lord had ordered it so, that I might have made you a visit as I proposed: but I am now glad it was ordered otherwise, since he hath caused so much of his goodness to pass before me. Were I to give you an account of the many favours my God hath loaded me with, since I parted from you, I must have taken up many days in nothing

Difference between religion and enthusiasm.

thing but writing. I hope you will join with me in praises for all the goodness he hath shewn to your unworthy brother in the Lord."

Such were the ardours and elevations of his soul : but while I record these memorials of them, I am very sensible there are many who will be inclined to censure them as the flights of enthusiasm ; for which reason I must beg leave to add a remark or two on the occasion, which will be illustrated by several other extracts, which I shall introduce into the sequel of these memoirs. The one is, that he never pretends, in any of the passages cited above, or elsewhere, to have received any immediate revelations from God, which should raise him above the ordinary means of instruction, or discover any thing to him' whether of doctrines or facts. No man was farther from pretending to predict future events, except it were from the moral prognostications of causes naturally tending to produce them ; in tracing of which he had indeed an admirable sagacity, as I have seen in some very remarkable instances. Neither was he at all inclinable to govern himself by secret impulses upon his mind, leading him to things for which he could assign no reason but the impulse itself. Had he ventured, in a presumption on such secret agitations of mind, to teach or to do any thing not warranted by the dictates of sound sense and the word of God, I should readily have acknowledged him an enthusiast, unless he could have produced some other
evidence

Difference between religion and enthusiasm.

evidence than his own persuasion to have supported the authority of them. But these ardent expressions, which some may call enthusiasm seem only to evidence a heart deeply affected with a sense of the Divine presence and perfections, and of that love which passeth knowledge ; especially as manifested in our redemption by the Son of God, which did indeed inflame his whole soul. And he thought he might reasonably ascribe the strong impressions, to which men are generally such strangers, and of which he had long been entirely destitute, to the agency or influence of the Spirit of God upon his heart ; and that, in proportion to the degree in which he felt them, he might properly say, God was present with him and he conversed with God.* Now, when we consider the
scriptural

* The ingenious and pious Mr. Grove, (who I think was as little suspected of running into enthusiastical extremes as most divines I could name,) has a noble passage to this purpose in the sixth volume of his posthumous works, pages 40, 41, which respect to the memory of both these excellent persons inclines me to insert here.

“ How often are good thoughts suggested (to the pure in heart,) heavenly affections kindled and inflamed ! How often is the Christian prompted to holy actions, drawn to this duty, restored, quickened, persuaded in such a manner, that he should be unjust to the Spirit of God to question his agency in the whole ! Yes, O my soul, there is a Supreme Being, who governs the world, and is present with it, who takes up his more special habitation in good men, and is nigh to all who call upon him, to sanctify and assist them ! Hast thou not felt him, O my soul, like another soul, ac-
tuating

 Difference between religion and enthusiasm.

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

tuating thy faculties, exalting thy views, purifying thy passions, exciting thy graces, and begetting in thee an abhorrence of sin, and a love of holiness! And is not all this an argument of his presence, as if thou didst see him?"

 Difference between religion and enthusiasm.

harshness of language, and degrading meanness of phrase, by which it is especially of late, grown fashionable among some, (who nevertheless I believe mean well,) to express their love and humility.

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

But lest any should possibly imagine, that allowing the experiences which have been described above, to have been ever so solid and important, yet there may be some appearance of boasting in so free a communication of them; I must add to what I have hinted in reference to this above, that I find in many of the
papers

His great humility.

papers before me very genuine expressions of the deepest humility and self-abasement, which indeed such holy converse with God in prayer and praise does, above all things in the world, tend to promote. Thus, in one of his letters, he says, "I am but as a beast before him." In another, he calls himself a miserable hell-deserving sinner; and in another, he cries out, "Oh, how good a master do I serve! but, alas, how ungrateful am I! What can be so astonishing as the love of Christ to us, unless it be the coldness of our sinful hearts towards such a Saviour!" With many other clauses of the like nature, which I shall not more particularly trace through the variety of letters in which they occur.

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

Mr. Spears' letter respecting the Colonel.

it was quite otherwise with me, and that for many years :

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

“ And here,” adds he, “ lies my sin and my folly.”

I mention this that the whole matter may be seen just as it was, and that other Christians may not be discouraged if they feel some abatement of that fervour, and of those holy joys which they may have experienced during some of the first moments or years of their spiritual life. But with relation to the Colonel, I have great reason to believe that these which he laments as his days of spiritual deadness were not unanimated ; and that, quickly after the date of this letter, and especially nearer the close of his life, he had further revivings, as the joyful anticipation of those better things in reserve, which were then nearly approaching. And thus Mr. Spears, in the letter I mentioned above, tells us he related the manner to him ; (for he studies as much as possible to retain the Colonel's own words :) “ However,” says he, “ after that

 Remarkable dream.

that happy period of sensible communion, though my joys and enlargements were not so overflowing and sensible, yet I have had habitual real communion with God from that day to this ;” the latter end of the year 1732 ; “ and I know myself, and all that know me see, that through the grace of God, to whom I ascribe all, my conversation has been becoming the gospel ; and let me die whenever it shall please God, or wherever it shall be, I am sure I shall go to the mansions of eternal glory,” &c. And this is perfectly agreeable to the manner in which he used to speak to me on this head, which we have talked over frequently and largely.

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

Remarkable dream.

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

I well know; that in dreams there are diverse vanities, and readily acknowledge that nothing certain

Bishop Bull's opinion of dreams.

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

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

Nor

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

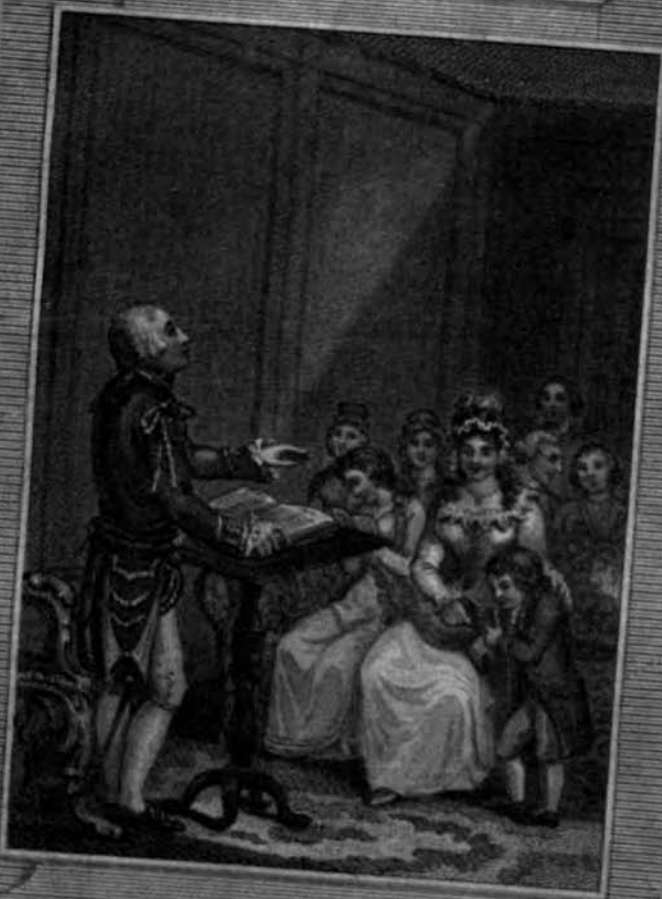
Major Gardiner's marriage

Nor would it be difficult to produce other passages much to the same purpose, if it would not be deemed too great a digression from our subject, and too labour'd a vindication of a little incident, of very small importance, when compar'd with most of those which make up this narrative.

I meet not with any other remarkable event relating to Major Gardiner, which can properly be introduced here, till the year 1726, when, on the 11th of July, he was married to the Right Honourable Lady Frances Erskine, daughter of the Earl of Buchan, by whom he had thirteen children, five only of which survived their father, two sons and three daughters; whom I cannot mention without the most fervent prayers to God for them, that they may always behave worthy the honour of being descended from such parents; and that the God of their father, and of their mother, may make them perpetually the care of his providence, and yet more eminently happy in the constant and abundant influences of his grace!

As her Ladyship is still living, (and for the sake of her dear offspring and numerous friends, may she long be spared,) I shall not here indulge myself in saying any thing of her; except it be, that the Colonel assured me, when he had been happy in this infinite relation to her more than fourteen years, that the greatest imperfection he knew in her character was,

LIFE OF COLONEL GARDINER.



FAMILY DEVOTION.

Published by J. G. & J. S. Colburn, New York.

Institutes family-worship in his house.

was, "that she valued and loved him much more than he deserved." And little did he think, in the simplicity of heart with which he spoke this, how high an encomium he was making upon her, and how lasting an honour such a testimony must leave upon her name, long as the memory of it shall continue.

As I do not intend these memoirs a laboured essay on the character of Colonel Gardiner, digested under the various virtues and graces which Christianity requires, (which would, I think, be a little too formal for a work of this kind, and would give it such an air of panegyric, as would neither suit my design, nor be at all likely to render it more useful;) I shall now mention what I have either observed in him, or heard concerning him, with regard to those domestic relations, which commenced about this time, or quickly after. And here my reader will easily conclude, that the resolution of Joshua was from the first adopted and declared, "As for me and my house, we will serve the Lord." It will naturally be supposed, that as soon as he had a house, he erected an altar in it; that the word of God was read there, and prayers and praises were constantly offered. These were not to be omitted, on account of any guest; for he esteemed it a part of due respect to those that remained under his roof, to take it for granted they would look upon it as a very bad compliment, to imagine they would have been obliged by neglecting

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His constant attendance on public worship.

ing the duties of religion on their account. As his family increased, he had a minister statelyly resident in his house, who both discharged the office of a tutor to his children and of a chaplain, and who was always treated with a becoming kindness and respect. But, in his absence, the Colonel himself led the devotions of the family; and they were happy who had an opportunity of knowing with how much solemnity, fervour, and propriety, he did it.

He was constant in attendance upon public worship, in which an exemplary care was taken, that the children and servants might accompany the heads of the family. And how he would have resented the non-attendance of any member of it may easily be conjectured, from a free, but lively passage in a letter to one of his intimate friends, on an occasion which it is not material to mention: Oh, Sir, “had a child of your’s under my roof but once neglected the public worship of God, when he was able to attend it, I should have been ready to conclude he had been distracted, and should have thought of shaving his head, and confining him in a dark room.”

He always treated his lady with a manly tenderness, giving her the most natural evidence of a cordial habitual esteem, and expressing a most affectionate sympathy with her, under the infirmities of a very delicate constitution, much broken, at least, towards the latter years of their marriage, in consequence

His temporary absence from his family

quence of so frequent pregnancy. He had at all times a most faithful care of all her interests, and especially those relating to the state of religion in her mind. His conversation and his letters concurred to cherish those sublime ideas which Christianity suggests; to promote our submission to the will of God, to teach us to centre our happiness in the great Author of our being, and to live by faith in the invisible world. These, no doubt, were frequently the subjects of mutual discourse; and many letters, which her Ladyship has had the goodness to communicate to me, are most convincing evidences of the degree in which this noble and most friendly care filled his mind in the days of their separation; days, which so entire a mutual affection must have rendered exceedingly painful, had they not been supported by such exalted sentiments of piety, and sweetened by daily communion with an ever present and ever gracious God.

The necessity of being so many months together distant from his family, hindered him from many of those condescending labours in cultivating the minds of his children in early life, which, to a soul so benevolent, so wise, and so zealous, would undoubtedly have afforded a very exquisite pleasure. The care of his worthy consort, who well knew that it is one of the brightest parts of a mother's character, and one of the most important views in which the sex can be considered, made him the easier under such a circumstance:

Greatly delighted in the instruction of his young family.

circumstance : but when he was with them, he failed not to instruct and admonish them ; and the constant deep sense with which he spoke of Divine things, and the real unaffected indifference which he always shewed for what this vain world is most ready to admire, were excellent lessons of daily wisdom, which I hope they will recollect with advantage in every future scene of life. And I have seen such hints in his letters relating to them, as plainly shew with how great a weight they lay on his mind, and how highly he desired above all things that they might be the faithful disciples of Christ, and acquainted betimes with the unequalled pleasures and blessings of religion. He thought an excess of delicacy and of indulgence one of the most dangerous faults in education, by which he every where saw great numbers of young people undone : yet he was solicitous to guard against a severity, which might terrify or discourage ; and, though he endeavoured to take all prudent precautions to prevent the commission of fault, yet, when they had been committed, and there seemed to be a sense of them, he was always ready to make the most candid allowances for the thoughtlessness of unripened years, and tenderly to cherish every purpose of a more proper conduct for the time to come.

It was easy to perceive, that the openings of genius in the young branches of his family gave him great delight, and that he had a secret ambition to

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One of his sons dies of the small-pox.

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

When he was in Hertfordshire, in the month of July in the year 1734, it pleased God to visit his little family with the small-pox. Five days before the date of the letter I am just going to mention, he had received the agreeable news, that there was a prospect of the recovery of his son, then under that awful visitation; and he had been expressing his thankfulness for it, in a letter which he had sent away but a few hours before he was informed of his death; the surprise of which, in this connection, must naturally be very great. But behold, (says the reverend and worthy person from whom I received the copy,) his truly filial submission to the will of his heavenly Father, in the following lines, addressed to the dear partner of his affliction: "Your resignation to the

Sudden death of his second son.

will of God under this dispensation gives me more joy than the death of the child has given me sorrow. He, to be sure, is happy, and we shall go to him, though he shall not return to us. We shall soon follow; and, oh, what reason have we to long for that glorious day, when we shall get quit of this body of sin and death, under which we now groan, and which renders this life so wretched! I desire to bless God, that — [another of his children] is in so good a way;—but I have resigned her. We must not choose for ourselves, and it is well we must not; for we should often make a very bad choice. And therefore it is our wisdom, as well as our duty, to leave all with a gracious God, who hath promised that all things shall work together for good to those that love him:—and he is faithful that hath promised who will infallibly perform it, if our unbelief do not stand in the way.”

The greatest trial of this kind that he ever bore was in the removal of his second son, who was one of the most amiable and promising children that has been known. The dear little creature was the darling of all that knew him; and promised very fair, so far as a child could be known by its doings, to have been a great ornament to the family, and blessing to the public. The suddenness of the stroke must, no doubt, render it the more painful; for this beloved child was snatched away by an illness which seized him but about fifteen hours before it carried him off.

He

The Colonel's great resignation on this trying occasion

He died in the month of October 1733, at near six years old. Their friends were ready to fear that his affectionate parents would be almost overwhelmed with such a loss: but the happy father had so firm a persuasion, that God had received the dear little one to the felicities of the celestial world, and, at the same time, had so strong a sense of the Divine goodness, in taking one of his children, and that too one who lay so near his heart, so early to himself, that the sorrows of nature were quite swallowed up in the sublime joys which these considerations administered. When he reflected what human life is; how many its snares and temptations are: and how frequently children, who once promised very well, are insensibly corrupted, and at length undone; with Solomon, he blessed the dead already dead more than the living who were yet alive, and felt an unspeakable pleasure in looking after the lovely infant, as safely and delightfully lodged in the house of its heavenly Father. Yea, he assured me, that his heart was at this time so entirely taken up with these views, that he was afraid they who did not thoroughly know him might suspect that he was deficient in the natural affections of a parent; while thus borne above the anguish of them, by the views which faith administered to him, and which Divine grace supported in his soul.

So much did he, on one of the most trying occasions of life, manifest of the temper of a glorified saint; and to such happy purposes did he retain those lessons

Extract from one of his letters

lessons of submission to God, and acquiescence in him, which I remember he once inculcated in a letter he wrote to a lady of quality, under the apprehension of a breach in her family, with which Providence seemed to threaten her; which I am willing to insert here, though a little out of what might seem its most proper place, rather than entirely omit it. It is dated from London, June 16, 1722, when, speaking of the dangerous illness of a dear relative, he has these words: "When my mind runs hither," that is, to God, as its refuge and strong defence, (as the connection plainly determines it,) "I think I can bear any thing, the loss of all, the loss of health or relations, on whom I depend, and whom I love, all that is dear to me, without repining or murmuring. When I think that God orders, disposes, and manages, all things according to the council of his own will; when I think of the extent of his Providence, that it reaches to the minutest things; then, though a useful friend or dearest relative be snatched away by death, I recal myself, and cherish my thoughts with these considerations: is he not God, from everlasting and to everlasting? And has he not promised to be a God to me? A God in all his attributes; a God in all his persons; a God in all his creatures, and providences? And shall I dare to say, What shall I do? Was not he the infinite cause of all I met with in the creatures? and were not they the finite effects of his infinite love and kindness? I have daily experienced, that the instrument was and is what God makes it to be;

to a lady of quality.

be ; and I know, that this God hath the hearts of all men in his hands, and the earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof. If this earth be good for me, I shall have it ; for my Father hath it all in possession. If favour in the eyes of men be good for me, I shall have it ; for the spring of every motion in the heart of man is in God's hand. My dear —— seems now to be dying ; but God is all-wise ; and every thing is done by him for the best. Shall I hold back any thing that is his own, when he requires it ? No ; God forbid ! When I consider the excellency of his glorious attributes, I am satisfied with all his dealings." I perceive, by the introduction, and by what follows, that most, if not all of this, is a quotation from something written by a lady ; but whether from some manuscript or printed book, whether exactly transcribed, or quoted from memory, I cannot determine ; and therefore I thought proper to insert it, as the Major, (for that was the office he bore then,) by thus interweaving it with his letter, makes it his own : and as it seems to express in a very lively manner the principles which bore him on to a conduct so truly great and heroic, in circumstances that have overwhelmed many an heart, that could have faced danger and death with the greatest intrepidity.

I return now to consider his character in the domestic relation of a master, on which I shall not enlarge. It is, however, proper to remark, that as his habitual meekness and command of his passions pre-

Gives his servants frequent religious exhortations

vented indecent sallies of ungoverned anger towards those in the lowest state of subjection to him, (by which some in high life do strangely debase themselves, and lose much of their authority,) so the natural greatness of his mind made him solicitous to render their inferior stations as easy as he could; and so much the rather, because he considered all the children of Adam as standing upon a level before their great Creator, and had also a deeper sense of the dignity and worth of every immortal soul, how meanly soever it might chance to be lodged, than most persons I have known. This engaged him to give his servants frequent religious exhortations and instructions, as I have been assured by several people who were so happy as to live with him under that character. One of the first letters after he entered on this Christian course expresses the same disposition; in which, with great tenderness he recommends a servant who was in a bad state of health, to his mother's care, as he was well acquainted with her condescending temper; mentioning, at the same time, the endeavours he had used to promote his preparations for a better world, under an apprehension that he would not continue long in this. And we shall have an affecting instance of the prevalency of the same disposition in the closing scene of his life, and indeed in the last words he ever spoke, which expressed his generous solicitude for the safety of a faithful servant who was then near him.

Promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel

As it was a few years after his marriage that he was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, in which he continued till he had a regiment of his own, I shall for the future speak of him by that title; and may not perhaps find any more proper place in which to mention what it is proper for me to say of his behaviour and conduct as an officer. I shall not here enlarge on his bravery in the field, though that was very remarkable, as I have heard from others: I say from others, for I never heard any thing of that kind from himself; nor knew, till after his death, that he was present at almost every battle that was fought in Flanders, while the illustrious Duke of Marlborough commanded the allied army there. I have also been assured from several very credible persons, some of whom were eye-witnesses, that at the skirmish with the rebels at Preston in Lancashire, (thirty years before that engagement at the other Preston, which deprived us of this gallant guardian of his country,) he signalized himself very particularly, for he headed a little body of men, I think about twelve, and set fire to the barricado of the rebels, in the face of their whole army, while they were pouring in their shot, by which eight of the twelve that attended him fell.— This was the last action of the kind in which he was engaged, before the long peace which ensued: and who can express how happy it was for him, and indeed for his country, of which he was ever so generous, and in his latter years so important a friend,

His great attention to the spiritual

that he did not fall then ; when the profaneness which mingled itself with his martial rage seemed to rend the heavens, and shocked some other military gentlemen, who were not themselves remarkable for their caution in this respect.

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

I doubt not but the noble persons, in whose regiment he was Lieutenant-Colonel, will always be ready to bear an honourable and grateful testimony to his exemplary diligence and fidelity in every thing that related to the care of the troops over which he was set, whether with regard to the men or to the horses. He knew, that it is incumbent on those who have the honour of presiding over others, whether in civil, ecclesiastical, or military offices, not to content themselves with doing only so much as may preserve
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concerns of those under his authority

them from the reproach of gross and visible neglect; but seriously to consider, how much they can possibly do, without going out of their own proper sphere, to serve the public, by the due inspection of those committed to their care. The duties of the closet and of the sanctuary were so adjusted, as not to interfere with those of the parade, or any other place where the welfare of the regiment called him. On the other hand, he was equally solicitous, not to suffer these things to interfere with religion; a due attendance to which he apprehended to be the surest method of obtaining all desirable success in every other interest and concern in life. He therefore abhorred every thing that should look like a contrivance to keep his soldiers employed about their horses and their arms at the seasons of public worship; (an indecency which I wish there were no room to mention.) far from that he used to have them drawn up just before it began; and from the parade they went off to the house of God. He understood the rights of conscience too well to impose his own particular profession in religion on others, or to use those who differed from him in the choice of its modes the less kindly or respectfully on that account. But as most of his own company, and many of the rest, chose (when in England) to attend him to the Dissenting chapel, he used to march them thither in due time, so as to be there before the worship began. And I must do them the justice to say, that, so far as I could ever discern, when I have seen them in large num-

In very high esteem among the

bers before me, they have behaved with as much reverence, gravity, and decorum, during the time of Divine service, as any of their fellow-worshippers.

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

soldiers under his command

gree. And I doubt not, that if he had fought the fatal battle of Prestonpan at the head of that gallant regiment, of which he had the care for so many years, and which is allowed by most unexceptionable judges to be one of the finest in the British service, and consequently in the world, he had been supported in a very different manner, and had found a much greater number who would have rejoiced in an opportunity of making their own breasts a barrier in defence of his.

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

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His judicious mode of preserving

an army or fleet may be sunk under repeated discouragements, and the basest exalted, to the infamy of the public.

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

due subordination in his regiment.

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

One instance of his conduct, which happened at Leicester, and was related by the person chiefly
9 concerned,

Remarkable anecdote.

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

Prohibits cursing and swearing in his regiment

seemed reason to hope it had been instrumental in producing not only a change in his life, but in his heart.

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

The commanding-officer of the king's forces then about Edinburgh, with the other colonels, and several

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His protest against the dreadful

other gentlemen of rank in their respective regiments, favoured him with their company at Bankton, and took a dinner with him. He too well foresaw what might happen amidst such a variety of tempers and characters; and fearing lest his conscience might have been ensnared by a sinful silence, or that, on the other hand, he might seem to pass the bounds of decency, and infringe upon the laws of hospitality, by animadverting on guests so justly entitled to his regard; he happily determined on the following method of avoiding each of these difficulties. As soon as they were come together, he addressed them with a great deal of respect, and yet at the same time with a very frank and determined air; and told them, that he had the honour in that district to be a justice of the peace, and consequently that he was sworn to put the laws in execution, and, among the rest, those against swearing: that he could not execute them upon others with any confidence, or by any means approve himself as a man of impartiality and integrity to his own heart, if he suffered them to be broken in his presence by persons of any rank whatsoever: and therefore he entreated, that all the gentlemen who then honoured him with their company, would please to be upon their guard in this respect; and that accordingly, if any oath or curse should escape them, he hoped they would consider his legal animadversion upon it as a regard to the duties of his office and the dictates of his conscience, and not as owing to any want of deference to

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them.

habit of swearing too common in the army

them. The commanding-officer immediately supported him in this declaration, as entirely becoming the station in which he was, assuring him, that he would be ready to pay the penalty, if he inadvertently transgressed; and when Colonel Gardiner on any occasion stepped out of the room, he himself undertook to be the guardian of the law in his absence; and as one of the inferior officers offended during this time, he informed the Colonel; so that the fine was exacted, and given to the poor,* with the universal approbation of the company. The story spread in the neighbourhood; and was perhaps highly applauded by many who wanted the courage to go and do likewise. But it may be said of the worthy person of whom I write, with the utmost propriety, that he feared the face of no man living, where the honour of God was concerned; in all such cases he might be justly said, in Scripture phrase, to set his face like a flint; and I assuredly believe, that had he been in the presence of a sovereign prince who had been guilty of this fault, his looks at least would have testified his grief and surprise, if he had apprehended

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

Brief extracts from

needed it unfit to have borne his testimony any other way.

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

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

some of his letters

of which I have already discoursed, or that may hereafter occur.

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

From Leicester, August 6, 1739, he writes thus to his lady: "Yesterday I was at the Lord's table, where you and the children were not forgotten: but how wonderfully was I assisted when I came home, to plead for you all with many tears!"—And then,
speaking

 His exemplary conduct in the

speaking of some intimate friends, who were impatient, (as I suppose from the connection,) for his return to them, he takes occasion to observe the necessity of endeavouring to compose our minds, and to say with the Psalmist, *My soul, wait thou only upon God.*—Afterwards, speaking of one of his children, of whom he heard that he made a commendable progress in learning, he expresses his satisfaction in it; and then adds, “But how much greater joy would it give me to hear that he was greatly advanced in the school of Christ! Oh, that our children may be but wise to salvation, and may grow in grace as they do in stature!”

These letters, which to so familiar a friend evidently lay open the heart, and shew those ideas and affections which were lodged deepest there, are sometimes taken up with an account of the sermons he had attended, and the impression they had made upon his mind. I shall mention one only, as a specimen of the many more. This was dated from a place called Cohorn, April 15. “We had here a minister from Wales, who gave us two excellent discourses on the love of Christ to us, as an argument to engage our love to him. And indeed, next to the greatest of his love to us, methinks there is nothing so astonishing as the coldness of our love to him. Oh, that he would shed abroad his love upon our hearts by his Holy Spirit, that ours might be
kindled

presence of his acquaintance.

kindled into a flame ! May God enable you to trust in him, and then you will be kept in perfect peace !”

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

Such was the temper which this excellent man appears to have carried along with him through such a variety of places and circumstances ; and the whole of his deportment was suitable to the impressions. Strangers were agreeably struck with his first appearance,

Dr. Doddridge's lecture on Psalm cxix 158

pearance, there was so much of the Christian, the well-bred man, and the universal friend, in it ; and as they came more intimately to know him, they discovered more and more the uniformity and consistency of his whole temper and behaviour ; so that whether he made only a visit for a few days to any place, or continued there for many weeks or months, he was always beloved and esteemed, and spoken of with that honourable testimony from persons of the most different denominations and parties, which nothing but true sterling worth, (if I may be allowed the expression,) and that in an eminent degree, can secure.

Of the justice of this testimony, which I had so often heard from a variety of persons, I myself began to be a witness, about the time when the last-mentioned letter was dated. In this view, I believe I shall never forget that happy day, June 13, 1739, when I first met him at Leicester. I remember I happened that day to preach a lecture from Psalm cxix. 158. " I beheld the transgressors, and was grieved ; because they kept not thy law." I was large in describing that mixture of indignation and grief, (strongly impressed by the original word there,) with which the good man looks on the daring transgressors of the Divine law ; and in tracing the causes of that grief, as arising from a regard to the Divine honour and the interests of a Redeemer, and a compassionate concern for the misery such offenders bring

Lecture on Psalm cix 158

bring upon themselves, and for the mischief they do to the world about them. I little thought how exactly I was drawing Colonel Gardmer's character under each of these heads; and I have often reflected on it as a happy providence, which opened a much speedier way than I could have expected to the breast of one of the most amiable and useful friends which I ever expected to find upon earth. We afterwards sung a hymn, which brought over again some of the leading thoughts in the sermon, and struck him so strongly, that on obtaining a copy of it he committed it to his memory, and used to repeat it with so forcible an accent, as shewed how much every line expressed of his very soul. In this view the reader will pardon my inserting it; especially as I know not when I may get time to publish a volume of these serious, though artless, composesures, which I sent him in manuscript some years ago, and to which I have since made very large additions:

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

See human nature sunk in shame!
 See scandals pour'd on Jesus' name!
 The Father wounded thro' the Son!
 The world abus'd, the soul undone!

See the short course of vain delight
 Closing in everlasting night!

Doddridge's first interview with Colonel Gardiner.

In flames that no abatement know,
 'The briny tears for ever flow.

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

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

The Colonel, immediately after the conclusion of the service, met me in the vestry, and embraced me in the most obliging and affectionate manner, as if there had existed a long friendship between us: he assured me that he had for some years been intimately acquainted with my writings; and desired that we might concert measures for spending some hours together before I left the town. I was accordingly so happy as to be able to secure an opportunity of doing it; and I must leave it upon record, that I cannot recollect I was ever equally edified by any conversation I remember to have enjoyed. We passed that evening and the next morning together, and it is impossible for me to describe the impression which that interview left upon my heart. I rode alone all the remaining part of the day; and it was my unspeakable happiness that I was alone, since I could be no longer with him; for I can hardly conceive what other company would not at that time have been

The Colonel's first letter to Doctor Doddridge.

been an incumbrance. The views which he gave me even then, (for he began to repose a most obliging confidence in me, although he concealed some of the most extraordinary of the circumstances relating to the manner by which he had been recovered to God and happiness,) with those cordial sentiments of evangelical piety and extensive goodness, which he poured out into my bosom with so endearing a freedom, fired my very soul, and I hope I may truly say, (what I wish and pray many of my readers may also adopt for themselves,) that I glorified God in him. Our epistolary correspondence immediately commenced upon my return: and though, through the multiplicity of business on both sides, it suffered many interruptions, it was in some degree the blessing of all the following years of my life, till he fell by those unreasonable and wicked men, who had it in their hearts with him to have destroyed all our glory, defence, and happiness.

The first letter I received from him was so remarkable, that some persons of eminent piety to whom I communicated it, would not be content without copying the whole or making some extracts from it. I persuade myself that my devout reader will not be displeased if I should insert the greatest part of it here, more especially as it serves to illustrate the affectionate sense which he retained of the Divine goodness in his conversion, though more than twenty years had passed since that memorable event happened.

The Colonel's first letter

pened. Having mentioned my ever dear and honourable friend Dr. Watts, on an occasion which I hinted at above, he adds, " I have been in pain these several years, lest that excellent person, that sweet singer in our Israel should have been called to heaven before I had an opportunity of letting him know how much his works have been blessed to me, and of course, of returning him my hearty thanks : for though it was owing to the operation of the blessed Spirit that any thing works effectually upon our hearts, yet if we are not thankful to the instrument which God is pleased to make use of, whom we do see, how shall we be thankful to the Almighty whom we have not seen? I desire to bless God for the good news of his recovery, and entreat you to tell him, that although I cannot keep pace with him here in celebrating the *high praises of our glorious Redeemer, which is the greatest grief of my heart, yet I am persuaded, that when I join the glorious company above, where there will be no drawbacks, none will outsing me there, because I shall not find any that will be more indebted to the wonderful riches of Divine grace than I.

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

" I know

to Doctor Doddridge

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

“ Oh, if I had an angel's voice,
 And could proclaim from pole to pole;
 I would to all the listening world
 Proclaim thy goodness to my soul.”

He then concludes after some expressions of endearment, (which, with whatever pleasure I review them, I must not here insert,) “ If you knew what a natural aversion I have to writing, you would be astonished at the length of this letter, which is, I believe, the longest I ever wrote. But my heart warms when I write to you, which makes my pen move the easier. I hope it will please our gracious God long to preserve you, a blessed instrument in his hand of doing great good in the church of Christ; and that you may always enjoy a thriving soul in a healthy body, shall be the continual prayer of,” &c.

As our intimacy grew, our mutual affection increased; and “ my dearest friend” was the form of an address with which most of his epistles of the last years begun and ended. Many of them are filled
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Growing attachment of the

up with his sentiments of those writings which I published during these years, which he read with great attention, and of which he speaks in terms which it becomes me to suppress, and to impute in a considerable degree to the kind prejudices of so endeared a friendship. He gives me repeated assurances, "that he was daily mindful of me in his prayers;" a circumstance which I cannot recollect without the greatest thankfulness; the loss of which I should more deeply lament. did I not hope that the happy effect of these prayers might still continue, and might run into all my remaining days.

It might be a pleasure to me, to make several extracts from many others of his letters: but it is a pleasure which I ought to suppress, and rather to reflect with unfeigned humility, how unworthy I was of such regards from such a person, and of that Divine goodness which gave me such a friend in him. I shall therefore only add two general remarks, which offer themselves from several of his letters. The one is, that there is in some of them, as our freedom increased, an agreeable vein of humour and pleasantry; which shews how easy religion sat upon him, and how far he was from placing any part of it in a gloomy melancholy, or stiff formality. The other is, that he frequently refers to domestic circumstances, such as the illness or recovery of my children, &c. which I am surprised how a man of his extensive
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Colonel to Dr. Doddridge

and important business could so distinctly bear upon his mind. But his memory was good, and his heart was yet better; and his friendship was such, that nothing which sensibly affected the heart of one whom he honoured with it, left his own but slightly touched. I have all imaginable reason to believe, that in many instances his prayers were not only offered for us in general terms, but varied as our particular situation required. Many quotations might verify this; but I decline troubling the reader with an enumeration of passages, in which it was only the abundance of friendly sympathy that gave this truly great, as well as good man, so cordial a concern.

After this correspondence, carried on for the space of about three years, and some interviews which we had enjoyed at different places, he came to spend some time with us at Northampton, and brought with him his lady and his two eldest children. I had here an opportunity of taking a much nearer view of his character, and surveying it in a much greater variety of lights than before; and my esteem for him increased, in proportion to these opportunities. What I have wrote above, with respect to his conduct in relative life, was in a great measure drawn from what I now saw: and I shall mention here some other points in his behaviour, which particularly struck my mind; and likewise shall touch on his sentiments on some topics of importance, which he freely communicated

The Colonel's exemplary gravity in places of public worship

municated to me, and which I remarked on account of that wisdom and propriety which I apprehended in them.

There was nothing more openly observable in Colonel Gardiner, than the exemplary gravity, composure, and reverence, with which he attended public worship. Copious as he was in his secret devotions, before he engaged in it, he always began them so early as not to be retarded by them when he should resort to the house of God. He, and all his soldiers who chose to worship with him, were generally there, (as I have already hinted,) before the service began, that the entrance of so many at once might not disturb the congregation already engaged in devotion, and that there might be the better opportunity for bringing the mind to a becoming attention, and preparing it for converse with the Divine Being. While acts of worship were going on, whether of prayer or singing, he always stood up; and whatever regard he might have for persons who passed by him at that time, though it were to come into the same pew, he never paid any compliment to them: and often has he expressed his wonder at the indecorum of breaking off our address to God, to bow to a fellow-creature, which he thought a much greater indecency than it would be, on a little occasion and circumstance, to interrupt an address to our prince. During the time of preaching, his eye was commonly

Deeply affected on receiving the sacrament.

commonly fixed upon the minister, though sometimes turned round upon the auditory, where, if he observed any to trifle, it filled him with just indignation. And I have known instances in which, upon making the remark, he has communicated it to some friends of the persons who were guilty of it, that proper application might be made to prevent it for the time to come.

A more devout communicant at the table of the Lord has perhaps seldom been anywhere known. Often have I had the pleasure to see that manly countenance softened into all the marks of humiliation and contrition, on this occasion; and to discern, in spite of all his efforts to conceal them, streams of tears flowing down from his eyes, while he has been directing them to those memorials of his Redeemer's love. And some, who have conversed intimately with him after he came from that ordnance, have observed a visible abstraction from surrounding objects, by which there seemed reason to imagine that his soul was wrapped up in holy contemplation. And I particularly remember, that when we had once spent great part of the following Monday in riding together, he made an apology to me for being so absent as he seemed, by telling me, "that his heart was flown upwards, before he was aware, to him whom not having seen he loved; and that he was rejoicing in him with such unspeakable joy, that he could not hold it down to creature converse."

 Excellent traits in

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

He was particularly zealous in vindicating the reputation of his friends in their absence; and though I cannot recollect that I had an opportunity of observing this immediately, as I do not know that I ever was present with him when any ill was spoken of others at all; yet by what I have heard him say, with relation to attempts to injure the character of worthy and useful men, I have reason to believe, that no man living was more sensible of the baseness and infamy, as well as the cruelty, of such a conduct. He knew and despised the low principles of resentment for unreasonable expectations disappointed, of personal attachment to men of some crossing interests, of envy, and of party-zeal, from whence such a conduct often proceeds; and was particularly offended, when he found it, (as he frequently did,) in persons that set up for the greatest patrons of liberty, virtue,

the Colonel's character.

virtue, and candour. He looked upon the murderers of reputation and usefulness as some of the vilest pests of society; and plainly shewed, on every proper occasion that he thought it the part of a generous, benevolent, and courageous man, to exert himself in tracing and hunting down the slander, that the authors and abettors of it might be less capable of doing mischief for the future.

The most plausible objection that I ever heard to Colonel Gardiner's character is, that he was too much attached to some religious principles or tenets, established, indeed, in the churches both of England and Scotland, but which have of late years been much disputed, and from which, it is at least generally supposed, not a few in both churches have thought proper to depart; whatever expedients they may have found to quiet their consciences, in subscribing those formularies in which they are plainly taught. His zeal was especially apparent in opposition to those doctrines which seem to derogate from the Divine honours of the Son and Spirit of God, and from the freedom of Divine grace, or the reality and necessity of its operations in the conversion and salvation of sinners.

With relation to these, I must observe, that it was his most steadfast persuasion, that all those notions which represent our blessed Redeemer and the Holy Spirit as mere creatures, or which set aside the atone-

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His perfect orthodoxy in

ment of the former, or the influence of the latter, do sap the very foundations of Christianity, by rejecting the most glorious doctrines peculiar to it. He had attentively observed, (what indeed is too obvious,) the unhappy influence which the denial of these principles often has on the character of ministers, and on their success; and was persuaded that an attempt to substitute that mutilated form of Christianity which remains, when these essentials of it are taken away, has proved one of the most successful methods which the great enemy of souls has ever taken in these latter days to lead men, by insensible degrees, into Deism, vice, and perdition. He also sagaciously observed the artful manner in which obnoxious tenets are often maintained or insinuated, with all that mixture of zeal and address with which they are propagated in the world, even by those who had most solemnly professed to believe, and engaged to teach the contrary: and as he really apprehended that the glory of God and the salvation of souls was concerned, his piety and charity made him eager and strenuous in opposing what he judged to be errors of so pernicious a nature. Yet I must declare, that according to what I have known of him, (and I believe he opened his heart on these topics to me with as much freedom as to any man living,) he was not ready, upon light suspicions, to charge tenets which he thought so pernicious on any, especially where he saw the appearances of a good temper and life, which he always revered and loved in persons of all sentiments

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the doctrine of the Trinity

sentiments and professions. He severely condemned all causeless jealousies, and evil surmisings of every kind; and he extended that charity in this respect, both to clergy and laity, which good Bishop Burnet was so ready, according to his own account, to limit the latter, "of believing every man good till he knew him to be bad, and his notions right till he knew them wrong." He could not but be very sensible of the unhappy consequences which may follow on attacking the characters of men, especially of those who are ministers of the gospel: and if, through a mixture of human frailty, from which the best of men, in the best of their meanings and intentions, are not entirely free, he has ever, in the warmth of his heart, dropped a word which might be injurious to any on that account,—(which I believe very seldom happened,) he would gladly have retracted it on better information:—which was perfectly agreeable to that honest and generous frankness of temper in which I never knew any man who exceeded him.

On the whole, it was indeed his deliberate judgment, that the Arian, Socinian, and Pelagian doctrines were highly dishonourable to God, and dangerous to the souls of men; and that it was the duty of private Christians to be greatly on their guard against those ministers by whom they are entertained, lest their minds should be corrupted from the simplicity that is in Christ. Yet he sincerely abhorred

An enemy to every species

horred the thought of persecution for conscience sake; of the absurdity and iniquity of which, in all its kinds and degrees, he had as deep and rational a conviction as any man I could name. And indeed the generosity of his heroic heart could hardly bear to think, that those glorious truths, which he so cordially loved, and which he assuredly believed to be capable of such fair support, both from reason and the word of God, should be disgraced by methods of defence and propagation common to the most impious and ridiculous falsehoods. Nor did he by any means approve of passionate and furious ways of vindicating the most vital and important doctrines of the gospel: for he knew, that to maintain the most benevolent religion in the world by such malevolent and infernal methods, was destroying the end to accomplish the means; and that it was as impossible that true Christianity shall be supported thus, as it is that a man should long be nourished by eating his own flesh. To display the genuine fruits of Christianity in a good life, to be ready to plead with meekness and sweetness for the doctrines it teaches, and to labour by every office of humanity and goodness to gain upon them that oppose it, were the weapons with which this good soldier of Jesus Christ faithfully fought the battles of the Lord. These weapons will always be victorious in his cause; and they who have recourse to others of a different temperature, how strong soever they may seem, and how sharp they may really be, will find they break in their hands when they exert them

of persecution.

them most furiously, and are much more likely to wound themselves than to conquer the enemies they oppose.

But while I am speaking of Colonel Gardiner's charity in this respect, I must not omit that of another kind, which has indeed engrossed the name of charity much more than it ought, excellent as it is; I mean almsgiving, for which he was very remarkable. I have often wondered how he was able to do so many generous things this way: but his frugality fed the spring. He made no pleasurable expense on himself: and was contented with a very decent appearance in his family, without affecting such an air of grandeur as could not have been supported without sacrificing to it satisfactions far nobler, and to a temper like his, far more delightful. The lively and tender feelings of his heart in favour of the distressed and afflicted, made it a self-indulgence to him to relieve them; and the deep conviction he had of the vain and transitory nature of the enjoyments of this world, together with the sublime view he had of another, engaged him to dispense his bounties with a very liberal hand, and even to seek out proper objects of them: and, above all, his sincere and ardent love to the Lord Jesus Christ engaged him to feel, with a true sympathy, the concerns of his poor members. In consequence of this, he honoured several of his friends with commissions for the relief of the poor; and particularly, with relation to some under my pastoral care, he referred it to my discretion, to supply

Remarkably pious tropic

supply them with what I should judge expedient; and frequently pressed me in his letters to be sure not to let them want. And where persons standing in need of his charity happened, as they often did, to be persons of remarkably religious dispositions, it was easy to perceive, that he not only loved, but honoured them, and really esteemed it an honour which Providence conferred upon him, that he should be made, as it were, the almoner of God for the relief of such.

I cannot forbear relating a little story here, which, when the Colonel himself heard it, gave him such exquisite pleasure, that I hope it will be acceptable to several of my readers.—There was in a village about three miles from Northampton, and in a family which of all others near me was afterwards most indebted to him, (though he had never seen any member of it,) an aged and poor, but eminently good woman, who had, with great difficulty, in the exercise of much faith and patience, diligence and humility, made shift to educate a large family of children, after the death of her husband, without being chargeable to the parish; which, as it was quite beyond her hope, she often spoke of with great delight. At length, when worn out with age and infirmities, she lay upon her dying bed, she did, in a most lively and affecting manner, express her hope and joy in the views of approaching glory. Yet, amidst all the triumph of such a prospect, there was
one

Remarkably philanthropic.

one remaining care and distress which lay heavy on her mind; which was, that as her journey and her stock of provisions were both ended together, she feared that she must either be buried at the parish expense, or leave her most dutiful and affectionate daughters the house stripped of some of the few moveables which remained in it, to perform the last office of duty to her, which, she had reason to believe, they would do. While she was combating with this only remaining anxiety, I happened, though I knew not the extremity of her illness, to come in, and to bring with me a guinea, which the generous Colonel had sent by a special message, on hearing the character of the family, for its relief. A present like this, (probably the most considerable they had ever received in their lives,) coming in this manner from an entire stranger, at such a crisis of time, threw my dying friend, (for such, amidst all her poverty, I rejoiced to call her,) into a perfect transport of joy. She esteemed it a singular favour of Providence, sent to her in her last moments, as a token of good, and greeted it as a special mark of that loving kindness of God which should attend her for ever. She would therefore be raised up in her bed, that she might bless God for it upon her knees, and with her last breath pray for her kind and generous benefactor, and for him who had been the instrument of directing his bounty into this channel. After which she soon expired, with such tranquillity and sweetness, as could not but most sensibly delight

 The Colonel's last residence at Northampton.

all who beheld her, and occasioned many, who knew the circumstances, to glorify God on her behalf.

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

Towards

Embarks for Flanders

Towards the latter end of this year he embarked for Flanders, and spent some considerable time with the regiment at Ghent, where he much regretted the want of those religious ordinances and opportunities which had made his other abodes delightful. But as he had made so eminent a progress in that Divine life which they are all intended to promote, he could not be inactive in the cause of God. I have now before me a letter dated from thence, October 16, 1712, in which he writes,—“As for me, I am indeed in a dry and barren land, where no water is. Rivers of waters run down mine eyes, because nothing is to be heard in our Sodom, but blaspheming the name of my God; and I am not honoured as the instrument of doing any great service. 'Tis true, I have reformed six or seven field officers of swearing. I dine every day with them, and have entered them into a voluntary contract, to pay a shilling to the poor for every oath; and it is wonderful to observe the effect it has had already. One of them told me this day at dinner, that it had really such an influence upon him, that being at cards last night, when another officer fell a sweating, he was not able to bear it, but rose up and left the company. So you see restraints, at first arising from a low principle, may improve into something better.”

During his abode here he had a great deal of business upon his hands; and had also in some marches the care of more regiments than his own: and it has

Extract from one of his letters

been very delightful to me to observe, what a degree of converse with heaven, and the God of it, he maintained, amidst these scenes of hurry and fatigue, of which the reader may find a remarkable specimen in the following letters, dated from Litchwick in the beginning of April 1743, which was one of the last I received from him while abroad, which begins with these words: "Yesterday, being the Lord's day, at six in the morning, I had the pleasure of receiving your's at Nortonick: and it proved a Sabbath day's blessing to me. Some time before it reached me," (from whence, by the way, it may be observed, that his former custom of rising so early to his devotion was still retained,) "I had been wrestling with God with many tears; and when I had read it, I returned to my knees again, to give hearty thanks to him for all his goodness to you and your's, and also to myself in that he hath been pleas'd to stir up so many who are dear to him to be mindful of me at the throne of grace." And then, after the mention of some other particulars, he adds,—“Blessed and adored for ever be the holy name of my heavenly Father, who holds my soul in life, and my body in perfect health! Were I to recount his mercy and goodness to me even in the midst of all these hurries, I should never have done.—I hope your Master will still encourage you in his work, and make you a blessing to many. My dearest friend, I am much more your's than I can express, and shall remain so while I am J. G.”

In

dated from Litchwick.

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

The mention of this article reminds me of another, relating to the views which he had of obtaining a regiment for himself. He endeavoured to deserve it by the most faithful services. Some of them indeed beyond what the strength of his constitution would well

His indisposition.

well bear ; for the weather in some of these marches proved exceeding bad, and yet he would be always at the head of his people, that he might look to every thing that concerned them with the exactest care. This obliged him to neglect the beginning of a feverish illness, the natural consequence of which was, that it grew very formidable, forced a long confinement upon him, and gave animal nature a shock which it never recovered.

In the mean time, as he had the promise of a regiment before he quitted England, his friends were continually expecting an occasion of congratulating him on having received the command of one. But still they were disappointed ; and on some of them the disappointment seemed to sit heavy. As for the Colonel himself, he seemed quite easy about it ; and appeared much greater in that easy situation of mind, than the highest military honours and preferments could have made him. With great pleasure do I at this moment recollect the unaffected serenity, and even indifference, with which he expresses himself upon this occasion, in a letter to me, dated about the beginning of April 1743. “ The disappointment of a regiment is nothing to me ; for I am satisfied, that had it been for God’s glory, I should have had it ; and I should have been sorry to have had it on any other terms. My heavenly Father has bestowed upon me infinitely more than if he had made me emperor of the whole world.”

Appointed to the command of a regiment of dragoons.

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

I should be guilty of great omission, if I were not to add how remarkable the event corresponded with his faith on this occasion. For, whereas he had no intimation or expectation of any thing more than a regiment of foot, his Majesty was pleased to give him a regiment of dragoons, which was then quartered just in his own neighbourhood. And it is properly remarked by the reverend and worthy person through whose hands this letter was transmitted to me, that when the Colonel thus expressed himself, he could have

Appointed to the command of a regiment of dragoons.

have no prospect of what he afterwards so soon obtained, as General Bland's regiment, to which he was advanced, was only vacant on the 19th of April; that is, two days before the date of this letter, when it was impossible that he could have any knowledge of that vacancy. And it also deserves observation, that some few days after the Colonel was thus unexpectedly promoted to the command of that regiment of dragoons, Brigadier Cornwallis's regiment of foot, then in Flanders, became vacant. Now, had this happened before his promotion to General Bland's, Colonel Gardiner, in all probability, would only have had that regiment of foot, and so have continued in Flanders. When the affair was issued, he informs Lady Frances of it, in a letter dated from a village near Frankfort, May 3, in which he refers to his former of the 21st April, observing how remarkably it was verified, "in God's having given him," (for so he expresses it, agreeably to the views he continually maintained of the universal agency of Divine Providence,) "what he had no expectation of, and what was so much better than that which he had missed, a regiment of dragoons, quartered at his own door."

It appeared to him, that by this remarkable event, Providence called him home. Accordingly, though he had other preferments offered him in the army, he chose to return; and, I believe, the more willingly, as he did not expect that there would have been any action. Just at this time, it pleased God to give him

Passes through London and Northampton.

him an awful instance of the uncertainty of human prospects and enjoyments, by that violent fever which seized him at Ghent on his way to England; and perhaps the more severely on account of the efforts he made to push on his journey, though he had for some days been much indisposed. It was, I think, one of the first fits of severe illness he had ever met with, and he was ready to look upon it as a sudden call into eternity; but it gave him no painful alarm in that view. He committed himself to the God of his life; and in a few weeks he was so well recovered as to be capable of pursuing his journey, though not without difficulty. And I cannot but think, it might have conduced much to a more perfect recovery than he ever attained to have allowed himself a longer repose, in order to recruit his exhausted spirits and strength. But there was an activity in his temper not easy to be restrained; and it was now stimulated, not only by a desire of seeing his friends, but of being with his regiment,—that he might omit nothing in his power to regulate their morals and their discipline, and to form them for public service. Accordingly, he passed through London about the middle of June 1743, where he had the honour of waiting on their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales, and of receiving from both the most obliging tokens of favour and esteem.—He arrived at Northampton on Monday the twentieth of June, and spent part of three days here. But the great pleasure which his return and preferment gave us

Great spirituality of his mind

was much abated by observing his countenance so sadly altered, and the many marks of languor and remaining disorder which evidently appeared; so that he really looked ten years older than he had done ten months before. I had however a satisfaction sufficient to counterbalance much of the concern which this alteration gave me, in a renewed opportunity of observing, indeed more sensibly than ever, in how remarkable a degree he was dead to the enjoyments and views of this mortal life. When I congratulated him on the favourable appearances of Providence for him in the late event, he briefly told me the remarkable circumstances that attended it, with the most genuine impressions of gratitude to God for them; but added, that as his income was increased with his income, power, and influence, and his cares were proportionably increased too, it was, as to his own personal concern, much the same to him, whether he had remained in his former station, or been elevated to this; but that if God should by this means honour him, as an instrument of doing more good than he could otherwise have done, he should now rejoice in it.

I perceived that the near views he had of eternity, in the illness from which he was then so imperfectly recovered, had not in the least alarmed him; but that he would have been entirely willing, if such had been the determination of God, to have been cut short in a foreign land, without any earthly friend
near

Extract from a Scotch minister's letter respecting him

near him, and in the midst of a journey undertaken with hopes and prospects so pleasing to nature; which appeared to me no inconsiderable evidence of the strength of his faith. But we shall wonder the less at this extraordinary resignation, if we consider the joyful and assured prospect which he had of an happiness infinitely superior beyond the grave; of which that worthy minister of the church of Scotland who had an opportunity of conversing with him quickly after his return, and having the memorable story of his conversion from his own mouth, (as I have hinted above,) writes thus in his letter to me, dated January 14, 1746-7. —“ When he came to review his regiment at Linkthgow, in summer 1743, after having given me the wonderful story as above, he concluded in words to this purpose: let me die when it shall please God, or wherever it shall be, I am sure I shall go to the mansions of eternal glory, and enjoy my God and my Redeemer in Heaven for ever.”

While he was with us at this time, he appeared deeply affected with the sad state of things as to religion and morals, and seemed to apprehend that the rod of God was hanging over so sinful a nation. He observed a great deal of disaffection, which the enemies of the Government had, by a variety of artifices, been raising in Scotland for some years; and the number of Jacobites there, together with the defenceless state in which our island then was, with re-

Discourse on Psalm xci. 14, 15, 16

spect to the number of its forces at home, (of which he spoke at once with great concern and astonishment,) led him to expect an invasion from France, and an attempt in favour of the Pretender, much sooner than it happened. I have heard him say, many years before it came so near being accomplished, that a few thousands might have a fair chance of marching from Edinburgh to London uncontrouled, and throw the whole kingdom into an astonishment. And I have great reason to believe, that this was one main consideration which induced him to make such haste to his regiment, which was then quartered in those parts, as he imagined there was not a spot of ground where he might be more like to have a call to expose his life in the service of his country; and perhaps, by appearing, on a proper call, very early in its defence, he happily instrumental in suppressing the beginnings of most formidable mischief. How rightly he judged in these things the event did too evidently shew.

The evening before our last separation, as I knew I could not entertain the invaluable friend who was then my guest more agreeably, I preached a sermon in my own house, with some peculiar reference to his case and circumstances, from those ever memorable words, than which I have never felt any more powerful and more comfortable, Psalm xci. 14, 15, 16. "Because he hath set his love upon me, therefore will I deliver him: I will set him on high, because
cause

Discourse on Psalm xc. 14, 15, 16.

cause he hath known my name: he shall call upon me, and I will answer him: I will be with him in trouble; I will deliver him, and honour him: with long life (or length of days) will I satisfy him, and shew him my salvation." This Scripture could not but lead our meditations to survey the character of the good man, as one who so knows the name of the blessed God,—(or, who has such a deep apprehension of the glories and perfections of his nature,) as determinately to set his love upon them, to make him the supreme object of his most ardent and constant affection. And it suggests the most sublime and animating hopes to persons of such a character,—that their prayers shall be always acceptable to God,—that although they may, and must, be called out to their share in the troubles and the calamities of life, yet they may assure themselves of the Divine presence in all, which shall issue in their deliverance, in their exaltation, sometimes to distinguished honour and esteem among men, and, it may be, in a long course of useful and happy years on earth; at least, which shall undoubtedly end in seeing, to their perpetual delight, the complete salvation of God, in a world where they shall enjoy length of days for ever and ever, and employ them all in adoring the great Author of their salvation and felicity. It is evident, that these natural thoughts on such a Scripture were matters of universal concern. Yet had I known that this was the last time I should ever address Colonel Gardiner

Discourse on Psalm xci 14, 15, 16.

Gardiner as a minister of the gospel, and had I foreseen the scenes through which God was about to lead him, I hardly know what considerations I could have suggested with more peculiar propriety. The attention, elevation, and delight, with which he heard them, was very apparent; and the pleasure which the observation of it gave me continues to this moment. And let me be permitted to digress so far as to add, that this is indeed the great support of a Christian minister, under the many discouragements and disappointments which he meets with in his attempts to fix upon the profligate or the thoughtless part of mankind a deep sense of religious truth; that there is another important part of his work, in which he may hope to be more generally successful; as by plain, artless, but serious discourses, the great principles of Christian duty and hope may be nourished and invigorated in good men, their graces watered as at the root, and their souls animated both to persevere, and improve in holiness. And when we are effectually performing such benevolent offices, so well suiting our immortal natures, to persons whose hearts are cemented with others in the bonds of the most endearing and sacred friendship, it is too little to say it overpays the fatigue of our labours; it even swallows up all sense of it, in the most rational and sublime pleasure.

An incident occurs to my mind, which happened
that

Account of an extraordinary character

that evening, which at least for the oddness of it may deserve a place in these memoirs. I had then with me one Thomas Porter, a poor, but very honest and religious man, (now living at Hatfield Broadoak in Essex,) who is quite unacquainted with letters, so as not to be able to distinguish one from another; yet is master of the contents of the Bible, in so extraordinary a degree, that he has not only fixed an immense number of texts in his memory, but merely by hearing them quoted in sermons, has registered there the chapter and verse in which these passages are to be found: this is attended with a marvellous facility in directing those that can read to turn to them, and a most unaccountable talent of fixing on such as suit almost every variety of circumstances in life. There are two considerations in his case, which make it the more wonderful: the one, that he is a person of a very low genius, having, besides a stammering which makes his speech almost unintelligible to strangers, so wild and awkward a manner of behaviour, that he is frequently taken for an idiot, and seems in many things to be indeed so: the other, that he grew up to manhood in a very licentious course of living, and an entire ignorance of Divine things, so that all these exact impressions on his memory have been made in his riper years. I thought it would not be disagreeable to the Colonel to introduce to him this odd phenomenon, which many hundreds of people have had a curiosity to examine: and among all the strange things I have seen in him, I never remember any which equalled

Account of an extraordinary character

equalled what passed on this occasion. On hearing the Colonel's profession, and receiving some hints of his religious character, he ran through a vast variety of scriptures, beginning at the Pentateuch, and going on to the Revelation, relating either to the dependence, to be fixed on God for the success of military preparations, or to the instances and promises occurring there of his care of good men in the most imminent dangers, or to the encouragement to despise perils and death, while engaged in a good cause, and supported by the views of a happy immortality. I believe he quoted more than twenty of these passages; and I must freely own that, I know not who could have chose them with greater propriety. If my memory do not deceive me, the last of this catalogue was that from which I afterwards preached on the lamented occasion of this great man's fall: "Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life." We were all astonished at so remarkable a fact; and I question not, but that many of my readers will think the memory of it worthy of being thus preserved.

But to return to my main subject: the next day after the sermon and conversation of which I have been speaking, I took my last leave of my inestimable friend, after attending him some part of his way northward. The first stage of our journey was to the cottage of that poor, but very religious family, which I had occasion to mention above, as relieved,
and

The Colonel's suavity of manners extolled.

and indeed, in a great measure subsisted, by his charity. And nothing could be more delightful, than to observe the condescension with which he conversed with these his humble pensioners. We there put up our last united prayers together; and he afterwards expressed, in the strongest terms I ever heard him use on such an occasion, the singular pleasure with which he had joined in them. Indeed, it was no small satisfaction to me to have an opportunity of recommending such a valuable friend to the protection and blessing, with that particular freedom and enlargement on what was peculiar in his circumstances, which hardly any other situation, unless we had been quite alone, could so conveniently have admitted. We went from thence to the table of a person of distinction in the neighbourhood, where he had an opportunity of shewing in how decent and graceful a manner he could unite the Christian and the gentleman, and give conversation an improving and religious turn, without violating any of the rules of polite behaviour, or saying or doing any thing which looked at all constrained or affected. Here we took our last embrace, committing each other to the care of the God of heaven; and the Colonel pursued his journey to the north, where he spent all the remainder of his days.

The more I reflect upon this appointment of Providence, the more I discern of the beauty and wisdom of it; not only as it led directly to that glorious

 The manner of his passing his time

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

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

during his long residence at Bankton.

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

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

His opinion of public affairs.

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

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

But I think it incumbent upon me to observe, that
during

Extraordinary effects from the preaching of the Gospel

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

It was from Colonel Gardiner's pen that I received the first notice of that ever-memorable scene which was opened at Kilsyth, under the ministry of the Rev. Mr. M'Culloch, in the month of February 1741-2. He communicated to me the copy of two letters from that eminently favoured servant of God, giving an account of that extraordinary success which had within a few days accompanied his preaching ; when, as I remember, in a little more than a fortnight, an hundred and thirty souls, who had before continued in long insensibility under the faithful preaching of the gospel, were awakened, on a sudden, to attend to it, as if it had been a new revelation brought down from heaven, and attested by as astonishing miracles as ever were wrought by Peter or Paul ; though they heard it only from a person under whose ministry they had sat for several years. Struck with a power and majesty in the word of God, which they had never felt before, they crowded his house

1
night

The Colonel evinces his sincere satisfaction

night and day, making their applications to him for spiritual direction and assistance, with an earnestness and solicitude, which floods of tears and cries, that swallowed up their own words and his, could not sufficiently express. The Colonel mentioned this at first to me, "as matter of eternal praise, which he knew would rejoice my very soul:" and when he saw it spread in the neighbouring parts, and observed the glorious reformation which it produced in the lives of great multitudes, and the abiding fruits of it for succeeding months and years, it increased and confirmed his joy. But the facts relating to this matter have been laid before the world in so authentic a manner, and the agency of divine grace in them has been so rationally vindicated, and so pathetically represented, in what the Rev. Mr. Webster has written upon that subject, that it is altogether superfluous for me to add any thing further than my hearty prayers, that the work may be as extensive as it was apparently glorious and divine.

It was with great pleasure that he received any intelligence of a like kind from England, whether the clergy of the established church or dissenting ministers, whether our own countrymen or foreigners, were the instruments of it. And whatever weaknesses or errors might mingle themselves with valuable qualities in such as were active in such a work, he appeared to love and honour them in proportion to the degree he saw reason to believe their hearts were devoted

at the wide spreading of the Gospel

devoted to the service of Christ, and their attempts owned and succeeded by him. I remember, that mentioning one of these gentlemen who had been remarkably successful in his ministry, and who seemed to have met with some very unkind usage, he says, * I had rather be that despised persecuted man, to be an instrument in the hand of the Spirit, in converting so many souls, and in building up so many in their holy faith, than I would be emperor of the whole world." Yet this steady and judicious Christian, (for such he most assuredly was,) at the same time that he esteemed a man for his good intention and his worthy qualities, did not suffer himself to be hurried away into all the singularity of his sentiments, nor to admire his imprudences or excesses. On the contrary, he saw and lamented that artifice which the great father of fraud has so long and so artfully been practising, who, like the enemies of ancient Israel, when he cannot entirely prevent the building of God's temple, does, as it were, offer his assistance to carry on the work, that he may thereby get the most effectual opportunities of obstructing it. The Colonel often expressed his astonishment at the wide extremes into which some whom on the whole he thought very worthy men, were permitted to run in many doctrinal and speculative points; and discerned how evidently it appeared from hence, that we cannot argue the truth of any doctrine from the success of the preacher; since this would be a kind of demonstration, (if I may be allowed the expression,) which might

His attachment to the promoters of Christianity.

might equally prove both parts of a contradiction. Yet when he observed, that an high regard to the atonement and righteousness of Christ, and to the free grace of God in him, exerted by the operation of the Divine Spirit, was generally common to all who had been peculiarly successful in the conversion and reformation of men, (how widely soever their judgments might differ, in other points, and how warmly soever they might oppose each other in consequence of that diversity;) it tended greatly to confirm his faith in these principles, as well as to open his heart in love to all of every denomination who maintained an affectionate regard to them. And though what he remarked as to the conduct and success of ministers of the most opposite strains of preaching, confirmed him in these sentiments; yet he always esteemed and loved virtuous and benevolent men, even where he thought them most mistaken in the notions they formed of religion, or in the methods by which they attempted to serve it.

While I thus represent what all who knew him must soon have observed of Colonel Gardiner's affectionate regard to these peculiar doctrines of our holy religion, it is necessary that I should also inform my reader, that it was not his judgment that the attention of ministers or their hearers should be wholly engrossed by these, excellent as they are; but that all the parts of the scheme of truth and duty should be regarded in their due connection and proportion.

Far

The Colonel's principles fully explained.

Far from that distempered taste, which can bear nothing but cordials, it was his deliberate judgment that the law should be preached, as well as the gospel; and hardly any thing gave him greater offence than the irreverend manner in which some, who have been ignorantly extolled as the most zealous evangelical preachers, have sometimes been tempted to speak of the former; much indeed to the scandal of all consistent and judicious Christians. He delighted to be instructed in his duty, and to hear much of the inward exercises of the spiritual and divine life. And he always wished, so far as I could observe, to have these topics treated in a rational, as well as a spiritual manner, with solidity and order of thought, with perspicuity and weight of expression; as well knowing that religion is a most reasonable service; that God has not chosen idiots or lunatics as the instruments, or nonsense as the means, of building up his church; and that though the charge of enthusiasm has been often fixed on Christianity and its ministers, in a wild, undeserved, and indeed (on the whole) enthusiastical manner, by some of the loudest or most solemn pretenders to reason; yet there is really such a thing as enthusiasm, against which it becomes the true friends of revelation to be diligently on their guard, lest Christianity, instead of being exalted, should be greatly corrupted and debased, and all manner of absurdity, both in doctrine and practice, introduced, by methods, which, like persecution, throw truth and falsehood on a level, and render the

 His peculiar usefulness

grossest errors at once more plausible and more incurable. Colonel Gardiner had too much candour and equity to fix general charges of this nature; but he was really, and I think not vainly, apprehensive, that the emissaries and agents of the most corrupt church that ever dishonoured the Christian name, (by which it will easily be understood, I mean the church of Rome,) might very possibly insinuate themselves into societies, to which they could not otherwise have access; and make their advantage of that total resignation of the understanding, and contempt of reason and learning, which nothing but ignorance, delirium, or knavery, can dictate, to lead men blindfold whither it pleased, till it set them down at the foot of an altar, where transubstantiation itself is consecrated.

I know not where I can more properly introduce another part of the Colonel's character, which, obnoxious as it was, I have not yet touched upon; I mean his tenderness to those who were under any spiritual distress, wherein he was indeed an example to ministers in a duty more peculiarly theirs. I have seen many amiable instances of this myself, and I have been also informed of many others, one of which happened about the time of that remarkable awakening in the western parts of Scotland, which I touched upon above, when the Rev. Mr. M'Lanrin of Glasgow found occasion to witness to the great propriety, judgment, and felicity of manner with which he addressed

in many instances of spiritual distress.

dressed spiritual consolation to an afflicted soul, who applied to the Professor at a time when he had not an opportunity to give audience to the case. And, indeed, as long ago as the year 1726, I find him writing to a friend, in a strain of tenderness in this regard which might well have become the most affectionate and experienced pastor. He there congratulates him on some religious enjoyments lately received, (in part it seems, by his means,) when among others he has this modest expression—"If I have been made any way the means of doing you good, give the whole glory to God, for he has been willing to shew that the power was entirely of himself, since he has been pleased to make use of so very weak an instrument." In the same letter, he admonishes his friend that he should not be too much surprised if after having been (as he expresses it) upon the mount, he should be brought into the valley again; and reminds him, "that we live by faith, and not by sensible assurance;" representing, that there are some such full communications from God as seem almost to swallow up the actings of faith, from whence they take their rise: "Whereas, when a Christian who walks in darkness, and sees no light, will yet hang (as it were) on the reports of an absent Jesus, and," as one expresses it, in allusion to the story of Jacob and Joseph, "can put himself as on the chariot of the promises, to be borne on to him, whom now he sees not; there may be sublimer and more acceptable actings of a pure and strong faith,

Forebodings of his own dissolution.

than in moments which afford the soul a much more rapturous delight." This is the substance of what he says in the excellent letter. Some of the phrases made use of might not perhaps be intelligible to several of my readers, for which reason I do not exactly transcribe them all; but this is plainly and fully his meaning, and most of the words are his own. The sentiment is surely very just and important;—and happy would it be for many excellent persons, who, through wrong notions of the nature of faith (which was never more misrepresented than now among some,) are perplexing themselves with most groundless doubts and scruples, if it were more generally understood, admitted and considered.

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

He perceived himself evidently in a very declining state from his first arrival in Britain, and seemed to entertain a fixed apprehension that he should continue but a little while longer in life. "He expected death," says my good correspondent, "and was delighted with the prospect," which did not grow less

The New Testament his peculiar study

amiable by a nearer approach. The word of God, with which he had as intimate an acquaintance as most men I ever knew, and on which (especially on the New Testament,) I have heard him make many very judicious and accurate remarks, was still his daily study; and it furnished him with matter of frequent conversation, much to the edification and comfort of those that were about him. It was recollected, that among other passages, he had lately spoken of the following as having made a deep impression on his mind: My soul, wait thou only upon God! He would repeat it again and again, only, only, only! So plainly did he see, and so deeply did he feel, the vanity of creature-confidences and expectations. With the strongest attestation would he often mention these words in Isaiah, as verified by long experience: "Thou wilt keep him in perfect peace whose mind is stayed on thee, because he trusteth in thee." And with peculiar satisfaction would he utter these heroic words in Habakkuk, which he found armour of proof against every fear and every contingency: "Though the fig-tree shall not blossom, neither shall fruit be in the vine; the labour of the olive shall fail, and the fields shall yield no meat; the flocks shall be cut off from the fold, and there shall be no herd in the stalls: Yet I will rejoice in the Lord, I will joy in the God of my salvation." The 146th Psalm was also spoken of by him with great delight, and Dr. Watts' version of it; as well as several other of that excellent person's

He is a great admirer of

person's poetical composesures. My friend who transmits to me this account adds the following words, which I desire to insert with the deepest sentiments of unfeigned humility and self-abasement before God, as most unworthy the honour of contributing in the least degree to the joys and graces of one so much my superior in every part of the Christian character: "As the joy with which good men see the happy fruits of their labours makes a part of the present reward of the servants of God and the friends of Jesus, it must not be omitted, even in the letter to you, that your spiritual hymns were among his most delightful and soul improving repasts; particularly those on beholding transgressors with grief, and Christ's message." What is added concerning my book of the Rise and Progress of Religion, and the terms in which he expressed his esteem of it, I cannot suffer to pass my pen; only desire most sincerely to bless God, that especially by the last chapters of that treatise, I had an opportunity at so great a distance of exhibiting some offices of Christian friendship to this excellent person in the closing scenes of life, which it would have been my greatest joy to have performed in person, had Providence permitted me then to have been near him.

The former of these hymns my correspondent mentions as having been so agreeable to Colonel Gardiner, I have given the reader above. The latter,

Dr. Watts's version of the Psalm.

ter, which is called Christ's Message, took its rise from Luke iv. 18, et seq. and is as follows :—

Hark ! the glad sound ! The Saviour comes,
 The Saviour promis'd long !
 Let ev'ry heart prepare a throne,
 And ev'ry voice a song.

On him the Spirit largely pour'd
 Excites its sacred fire ;
 Wisdom, and might, and zeal, and love,
 His holy breast inspire.

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

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

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

His silver trumpets publish loud
 The Jubilee of the Lord ;
 Our debts are all remitted now,
 Our heritage restor'd.

Our glad hosannahs, Prince of Peace,
 Thy welcome shall proclaim ;
 And heaven's eternal arches ring
 With thy beloved name.

There

 Christ precious to the Believer

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

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

Yes, thou art precious to my soul,
 My transport, and my trust:
 Jewels to thee are gaudy toys,
 And gold is sordid dust.

All my capacious powers can wish,
 In thee most richly meet:
 Nor to my eyes is life so dear,
 Nor friendship half so sweet.

Thy grace still dwells upon my heart,
 And sheds its fragrance there,
 The noblest balm of all its wounds,
 The cordial of its care.

I'll speak the honours of thy name
 With my last lab'ring breath;
 Then, speechless, clasp thee in my arms,
 The antidote of death.

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Peculiarly happy in giving a devotional turn to conversation.

Those who were intimate with Colonel Gardiner must have observed how ready he was to give a devotional turn to any subject that occurred. And in a particular, the spiritual and heavenly disposition of his soul discovered itself in the reflections and improvements which he made when reading history; in which he took a great deal of pleasure, as persons remarkable for their knowledge of mankind, and observation of Providence, generally do. I have an instance of this before me, which, though too natural to be at all surprising, will, I dare say, be pleasing to the devout mind. He had been just reading in Rollin's extract from Xenophon the answer which the Lady of Tigranes made, when all the company were extolling Cyrus, and expressing the admiration with which his appearance and behaviour struck them. The question being asked her, What she thought of him? she answered, I don't know, I did not observe him. On what then, said one of the company, did you fix your attention? On him, replied she, (referring to the generous speech which her husband had just made,) who said he would give a thousand lives to ransom my liberty. "Oh," cried the Colonel when reading it, "how ought we to fix our eyes and hearts on Him, who, not in offer, but in reality, gave his own precious life to ransom us from the most dreadful slavery, and from eternal destruction!" But this is only one instance among a thousand. His heart was so habitually set upon divine things, and he had such a permanent and overflowing

His bodily debility increases

sense of the love of Christ, that he could not forbear connecting such reflections with a multitude of more distant occasions occurring in daily life, where less advanced Christians would not have thought of them : and thus, like our great Master, he made every little incident a source of devotion, and an instrument of holy zeal.

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

The July before his death, he was persuaded to take a journey to Scarborough for the recovery of his health ; from which he was at least encouraged to expect some little revival. After this, he had thoughts of going to London, and designed to have spent part of September at Northampton. The expectation of this was mutually agreeable ; but Providence saw fit to disconcert the scheme. His love for his friends in these parts occasioned him to express some regret on his being commanded back. And I am pretty confident from the manner in which he expressed himself in one of his last letters to me, that he had some more important reasons for wishing an opportunity of making a London journey just at that crisis, which, the reader will remember, was before the rebellion broke out. But, as Providence determin-
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Is ordered to join his regiment.

ed it otherwise, he acquiesced; I am well satisfied, that could he have distinctly foreseen the approaching event, so far as it concerned his own person, he would have esteemed it the happiest summons he ever received. While he was at Scarborough, I find by a letter dated from thence, July 26, 1745, that he had been informed of the gaiety which so unseasonably prevailed at Edinburgh, where great multitudes were then spending their time in balls, assemblies, and other gay amusements, little mindful of the rod of God which was then hanging over them; on which occasion he hath this expression: "I am greatly surprised that the people of Edinburgh should be employed in such foolish diversions, when our situation is at present more melancholy than ever I saw it in my life. But there is one thing which I am very sure of, that comforts me, viz. that it shall go well with the righteous, come what will."

Quickly after his return home, the flame burst out, and his regiment was ordered to Stirling. It was in the castle there that his lady and eldest daughter enjoyed the last happy hours of his company; and I think it was about eight or ten days before his death that he parted from them there. A remarkable circumstance attended that parting, which hath been touched upon by surviving friends in more than one of their letters to me. His Lady was so affected when she took her last leave of him, that she

His last interview with his family.

could not forbear bursting out into a flood of tears, with other marks of unusual emotion. And when he asked her the reason, she urged the apprehension she had of losing such an invaluable friend amidst the dangers to which he was then called out, as a very sufficient apology. Upon which she took particular notice, that he had generally comforted her on such occasions, by pleading with her that remarkable hand of Providence which had so frequently, in former instances, been exerted for his preservation, and that in the greatest extremity he said nothing of it now; but only replied, in his sententious manner, "We have an eternity to spend together."

That heroic contempt of death, which had often discovered itself in the midst of former dangers, was manifested now in his discourse with several of his most intimate friends. I have reserved for this place one genuine expression of it many years before, which I thought might be mentioned with some advantage here. In July 1725, he had been sent to some place, not far from Hamilton, to quell a mutiny among some of our troops. I know not the particular occasion; but I remember to have heard him mention it as so fierce a one, that he scarce ever apprehended himself in a more hazardous circumstance. Yet he quelled it by his presence alone, and the expostulations he used; evidently putting his life into his hand to do it. The particulars of the story, truck
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His heroic contempt of personal danger

me much; but I do not so exactly remember them, as to venture to relate them here. I only observe, that in a letter, dated July 16, that year, which I have now before me, and which evidently refers to this event, he writes thus:—"I have been very busy, hurried about from place to place; but, blessed be God, all is over without bloodshed. And pray let me ask, What made you shew so much concern for me in your last? Were you afraid I should get to heaven before you? Or can any evil befall those who are followers of that which is good?"*

And as these were his sentiments in the vigour of his days, so neither did declining years and the infirmities of a broken constitution on the one hand, nor any desires of enjoying the honours and profits of so high a station, or, what was much more to him, the converse of the most affectionate of wives and so many

* I doubt not but this will remind some of my readers of that noble speech of Zuinglius, when (according to the usage of that country,) attending his flock to a battle, in which their religion and liberties were all at stake, on his receiving a mortal wound by a bullet, of which he soon expired, while his friends were all in the first astonishment of grief, he bravely said as he was dying, "Ecquid hoc infortunium?" Is this to be reckoned a misfortune?— How many of our Deists would have celebrated such a sentence, if it had come from the lips of an antient Roman? Strange that the name of Christ should be so odious, that the brightest virtues of his followers should be despised for his sake! But so it is: and so our Master told us it would be: and our faith is in this connection confirmed by those who strive most to overthrow it.

He evinces a firm reliance and trust in the Almighty.

many amiable children and friends on the other, enervate his spirits in the least: but as he had in former years often expressed it to me, and several others, as his desire, "that if it were the will of God, he might have some honourable call to sacrifice his life in defence of religion and the liberties of his country;" so when it appeared to him most probable that he might be called to it immediately, he met the summons with the greatest readiness. This appears in part from a letter which he wrote to the Rev. Mr. Adams of Falkirk, just as he was marching from Stirling, which was only eight days before his death: "The rebels (says he) are advancing to cross the Frith; but I trust in the Almighty God, who doth whatsoever he pleases in the armies of heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth."— And the same gentleman tells me, that a few days after the date of this he marched through Falkirk with his regiment; and though he was then in so languishing a state, that he needed his assistance as a secretary, to write for some reinforcement, which might put it in his power to make a stand, (as he was very desirous to have done,) he expressed a most genuine and noble contempt of life, when exposed in the defence of a worthy cause.

These sentiments wrought in him to the last in the most effectual manner; and he seemed for a while to have infused them into the regiment, which he commanded: for they expressed such a spirit in their

His troops are disappointed.

their march from Stirling, that I am well assured the Colonel was under the necessity of exerting all his authority to prevent their making incursions on the rebel army, which then lay very near them : and had it been thought proper to send him the reinforcement he requested, none can say what the consequence might have been : but he was ordered to march as fast as possible to meet Sir John Cope's forces at Dunbar ; which he did. And that hasty retreat, in concurrence with the news which they soon afterwards received of the surrender of Edinburgh to the rebels, (either by the treachery or weakness of a few, in opposition to the judgment of by far the greater and better part of the inhabitants,) struck a panic into both the regiments of dragoons, which became visible in some very apparent and remarkable circumstances in their behaviour, which I forbear to relate. This affected Colonel Gardner so much, that on Thursday before the fatal action at Prestonpans, he intimated to an officer of considerable rank and note, (from whom I had it by a very sure channel of conveyance,) that he expected the event would be as in fact it was. In this, there is all imaginable reason to believe he had formed his resolution as to his own personal conduct, which was, " that he would not, in case of the flight of those under his command, retreat with them ;" by which, as it seemed, he was reasonably apprehensive he might have stained the honour of his former services, and have given some occasion for the enemy to have spoken

Is determined to sacrifice his life for the good of his country.

spoken reproachfully. He much rather chose, if Providence gave him the call, to leave in his death an example of fidelity and bravery, which might very probably be (as in fact it seems indeed to have been) of much greater importance to his country, than any other service, which in the few days of remaining life he could expect to render it. I conclude these to have been his views, not only from what I knew of his general character and temper, but likewise from some intimations which he gave to a worthy person from Edinburgh, who visited him the day before the action; to whom he said, "I cannot influence the conduct of others, as I could wish, but I have one life to sacrifice to my country's safety, and I shall not spare it;" or words to that effect.

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

easily

Anecdotes previous to the battle.

could believe, from the manner in which he related the particulars, that according to his own expression, "his eye and his heart were always upon his honoured master during the whole time."

On Friday, September 20, (the day before the battle which transmitted him to his immortal crown,) when the whole army was drawn up, I think about noon, the Colonel rode through all the ranks of his own regiment, addressing them at once in the most respectful and animating manner, both as soldiers and as Christians, to encourage and engage them to exert themselves courageously in the service of their country, and to neglect nothing that might have a tendency to prepare them for whatever event might happen. They seemed much affected with the address, and expressed a very ardent desire of attacking the enemy immediately—a desire in which he and another very gallant officer of distinguished rank, dignity, and character, both for bravery and conduct, would gladly have gratified them, if it had been in the power of either. He earnestly pressed it on the commanding officer, but the soldiers were then in better spirits than it could be supposed they would be after having passed the night under arms; and also as the circumstance of making an attack would be some encouragement to them, and most probably some terror to the enemy, who would have had the disadvantage of standing on the defensive—a disadvantage with which those wild barbarians (for such

The Colonel's advice over-ruled.

most of them were) perhaps would have been more struck than better disciplined troops, especially when they fought against the laws of their country too. He also apprehended, that by marching to meet them, some advantage might have been secured with regard to the ground, with which it is natural to imagine, he must have been perfectly acquainted, as it lay just at his own door, and as he had rode over it so many hundred times. When I mention these things, I do not pretend to be capable of judging how far this advice was on the whole right. A variety of circumstances, to me unknown, might have made it otherwise. It is certain, however, that it was brave. But it was over-ruled in this respect, as it also was in the disposition of the cannon, which he would have had planted in the centre of our small army, rather than immediately before his regiment, which was in the right wing; where he was apprehensive that the horses, which had not been in any engagement before, might be thrown into some disorder by the discharge so very near them. He urged this the more, as he thought the attack of the rebels might probably be made on the centre of the foot, where he knew there were some brave men, on whose standing he thought, under God, the success of the day depended. When he found that he could not carry either of these points, nor some others, which out of regard to the common safety, he insisted upon with some unusual earnestness, he dropped some intimations of the consequences which he apprehended,

His affectionate advice to his attendants

prehended, and which did in fact follow; and submitting to Providence, spent the remainder of the day in making as good a disposition as circumstances would allow.*

He continued all night under arms, wrapped up in his cloak, and generally sheltered under a tick of barley which happened to be in the field. About three in the morning, he called his domestic servants to him, of which there were four in waiting. He dismissed three of them, with a most affectionate Christian advice, and such solemn charges relating to the performance of their duty and the care of their souls, as seemed plainly to intimate that he apprehended it at least very probable he was taking his last farewell of them. There is great reason to believe that he spent the little remainder of the time, which could not be much above an hour, in those devout

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exercises

* Several of these circumstances have since been confirmed by the concurrent testimony of another very credible person, Mr. Robert Douglas, (now a surgeon in the navy,) who was a volunteer at Edinburgh just before the rebels entered the place, who saw Colonel Gardiner come from Haddington to the field of battle the day before the action in a chaise, being (as from that circumstance he supposed,) in so weak a state that he could not well endure the fatigue of riding on horseback. He observed Colonel Gardiner in discourse with several officers the evening before the engagement; at which time it was afterwards reported, he gave his advice to attack the rebels, and when it was over-ruled, he afterwards saw the Colonel walk by himself in a very pensive manner.

Anecdotes of the battle of Prestonpans.

exercises of soul, which had so long been habitual to him, and to which so many circumstances did then concur to call him. The army was alarmed by break of day, by the noise of the rebels approach, and the attack was made before sun rise, yet when it was light enough to discern what passed. As soon as the enemy came within gun-shot, they made a furious fire; and it is said that the dragoons, which constituted the left wing, immediately fled. The Colonel, at the beginning of the onset, which in the whole lasted but a few minutes, received a wound by a bullet in his left breast, which made him give a sudden spring in his saddle; upon which his servant, who had led the horse would have persuaded him to retreat; but he said it was only a wound in the flesh, and fought on, though he presently after received a shot in his right thigh. In the mean time, it was discerned that some of the enemies fell by him, and particularly one man who had made him a treacherous visit a few days before with great professions of zeal for the present establishment.

Events of this kind pass in less time than the description of them can be written, or than it can be read. The Colonel was for a few moments supported by his men, and particularly by that worthy person Lieutenant-Colonel Whitney, who was shot through the arm here, and a few months after fell nobly in the battle of Falkirk, and by Lieutenant West, a man of distinguished bravery, as also by about

 Singular instance of the Colonel's intrepidity

about fifteen dragoons, who stood by him to the last. But after a faint fire, the regiment in general was seized with a panic; and though their Colonel and some other gallant officers did what they could to rally them once or twice, they at last took a precipitate flight: and, just in the moment when Colonel Gardner seemed to be making a pause to deliberate what duty required him to do in such a circumstance, an accident happened, which must, I think, in the judgment of every worthy and generous man, be allowed a sufficient apology for exposing his life to so great hazard, when his regiment had left him.* He saw a party of the foot, who were then bravely fighting near him, and whom he was ordered to support, had no officer to head them; upon which he said eagerly in the hearing of the person from whom I had this account, "Those brave fellows would be cut to pieces for want of a commander;" or words to that effect; which, while he was speaking, he rode up

* The Colonel, who was well acquainted with military history, might possibly remember that in the battle at Blenheim, the illustrious Prince Eugene, when the horse of the wing he commanded had run away thrice, charged at the head of the foot, and thereby contributed greatly to the success of the day. At least such an example may conduce to vindicate that noble ardour, which, amidst all the applauses of his country, some have been so cool and so critical as to blame. For my own part, I thank God, that I am not called to apologize for his following his troops in their flight; which I fear would have been a much harder task; and which, dear as he was to me, would have grieved me much more than his death, with these heroic circumstances attending it.

The Colonel is mortally wounded

up to them, and cried out aloud, "Fire on, my lads, and fear nothing." But just as the words were out of his mouth, a Highlander advanced towards him with a scythe fastened to a long pole, with which he gave him such a deep wound on his right arm, that his sword dropped out of his hand; and at the same time several others coming about him, while he was thus unpleasantly entangled with that cruel weapon, he was dragged off from his horse. The moment he fell, another Highlander, who, if the king's evidence at Carlisle may be credited, (as I know not why they should not, though the unhappy creature died denying it,) was one M'Naught, who was executed about a year after, gave him a stroke, either with a broad sword or an lochaber axe, (for my informant could not exactly distinguish,) on the hinder part of his head, which was the mortal blow. All that his faithful attendant saw further at this time was, that as his hat was fallen off, he took it in his left hand, and waving it as a signal to him to retreat; and added, what were the last words he ever heard him speak, "Take care of yourself;" upon which the servant retired.

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

LIFE OF COLONEL GARDINER.



DEATH OF COLONEL GARDINER.

at the battle of Prestonpans.

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

 The Colonel's death

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

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

 Reflections

ception of those who were wounded in the action.

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

9.

2 B

cease

* Of these none were more memorable than those illustrious brothers, Sir Robert Munro and Dr. Munro, whose tragical, but glorious fate, was also shared quickly after by a third hero of the family, Captain Munro of Culcairn, brother of Sir Robert and the Doctor. I thought of adding some accounts of these martyrs in the cause of liberty and religion in this place, but having had the pleasure of receiving from some very credible and worthy persons, to whom they were well known, a larger account of them and their family; than can conveniently be comprehended in a note, I choose to make it a distinct article in the Appendix, No III.

 The Colonel's funeral.

cease from man, and fix our dependence on an almighty arm.

The remains of this Christian hero (as I believe every reader is now convinced he may be justly called) were interred the Tuesday following, September 21, at the parish church at Tranent; where he had usually attended divine service with great solemnity. His obsequies were honoured with the presence of some persons of distinction, who were not afraid of paying that last piece of respect to his memory, though the country was then in the hands of the enemy. But indeed there was no great hazard in this; for his character was so well known, that even they themselves spoke honourably of him, and seemed to join with his friends in lamenting the fall of so brave and so worthy a man.

The remotest posterity will remember for whom the honour of subduing this unnatural and pernicious rebellion was reserved; and it will endear the person of the illustrious Duke of Cumberland, to all but the open or secret abettors of it in the present age, and consecrate his name to immortal honours among all the friends of religion and liberty who shall arise after us. And, I dare say, it will not be imagined, that I at all derogate from his glory, in suggesting, That the memory of that valiant and excellent person whose memoirs I am now concluding may in some measure have contributed to that signal and

Conclusion.

complete victory with which God was pleased to crown the arms of his Royal Highness: for the force of such an example is very animating; and a painful consciousness of having deserted such a commander in such extremity must at least awaken, where there was any spark of generosity, an earnest desire to avenge his death on those who had sacrificed his blood and that of so many other excellent persons to the views of their ambition, rapine, or bigotry.

The reflections I have made in my funeral sermon on my honoured friend, and in the dedication of it to his worthy and most afflicted Lady, supersede many things which might otherwise have properly been added here. I conclude, therefore, with humbly acknowledging the wisdom and goodness of that awful Providence, which drew so thick a gloom around him in the last hours of his life, that the lustre of his virtues might dart through it with a more vivid and observable ray. It is abundant matter of thankfulness, that so signal a monument of grace, and ornament of the Christian profession was raised in our age and country, and spared for so many honourable and useful years. Nor can all the tenderness of the most affectionate friendship, while its sorrow bleed afresh in the view of so tragical a scene, prevent my adoring the gracious appointment of the great Lord of all events, that when the day in which he must have expired without an enemy appeared so very near, the last ebb of his generous blood should be poured out

Conclusion.

as a kind of sacred libation to the liberties of his country, and the honour of his God ! that all the other virtues of his character, embalmed as it were by that precious stream, might diffuse around a more extensive fragranc^y, and be transmitted to the most remote posterity, with that peculiar charm, which they cannot but derive from their connection with so gallant a fall : an event (as that blessed apostle, of whose spirit he so deeply drank, has expressed it,) “ according to his earnest expectation and his hope, that in him Christ might be glorified in all things, whether by his life or by his death.”



APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

RELATING TO THE COLONEL'S PERSON.

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

The person and manners of the Colonel

ed with much gentleness : and there was something in his manner of address more perfectly easy and obliging, which was in a great measure the result of the great candour and benevolence of his natural temper ; and which, no doubt, was much improved by the deep humility which Divine Grace had wrought into his heart, as well as his having been accustomed from his early youth to the company of persons of distinguished rank and polite behaviour.

No. II.

POETICAL PIECES

ON

THE DEATH OF COLONEL GARDINER

SO animating a subject as the death of such a man, in such circumstances, has occasioned a great deal of poetry. Some of this has already been published; especially one large composition, said to be done by a worthy clergyman in Lincolnshire, in which there are many excellent lines and noble sentiments: but I rather choose to refer to the piece itself, than to insert any extracts from it here. It may be more expedient to oblige my reader with the following copy of verses, and an elegiac poem, composed by two of my valuable friends, whose names are annexed. I could not presume to attempt any thing of this kind myself; because I knew that nothing I was capable of writing could properly express my sense of his worth, or describe the tenderness of my friendship; the sentiments of which will (as I assuredly believe) mingle themselves with the last ideas which pass through my mind in this world, and perhaps with some of the first which may open upon it in that which is to come.

VERSES

BY THE REV. MR. BENJAMIN SOWDEN.

=====

*Quis Desiderio sit Pudor, aut Modus,
Tdm chari Capitis?* HOR.

=====

COULD piety perpetuate human breath,
Or shield one mortal from the shafts of death,
Thou ne'er, illustrious man! thou ne'er hadst been
A palid corpse, on Preston's fatal plain.
O! could her hand, though impotent to save
Consummate worth, redeem it from the grave,
Soon would thy urn resign its sacred trust,
And recent life re-animate thy dust.

But vain the wish—The savage hand of war—
Oh how shall words the savage tale declare!
Too soon the news afflicted friendship hears,
Too soon, alas! confirm'd her boding fears,
Struck with the sound, unconscious of redress,
She felt thy wounds, and wept severe distress.
Awhile dissolv'd in truceless grief she lay,
Which left thee to relentless rage a prey.

At length kind Fame suspends our heaving sighs,
And wipes the sorrows from our flowing eyes;
Gives us to know, thine exit well supply'd
These blooming laurels victory deny'd,
When thy great soul suppress'd each timid moan,
And soar'd triumphant in a dying groan.
Thy fall, which rais'd, now calms each wild complaint,
Thy fall, which joined the hero to the saint.

As

on the death of Colonel Gardiner

As o'er th' expiring lamp the quivering flame
 Collects its lustre in a brighter gleam,
 Thy virtues, glimm'ing on the verge of night,
 Through the dim shade diffus'd celestial light :
 A radiance death or time can ne'er destroy,
 Th' auspicious omen of eternal joy.

Hence every unavailing grief ! No more
 As hapless thy removal we deplore.
 Thy gushing veins, in every drop they bleed,
 Of patriot warriors shed the fruitless seed.
 Soon shall the ripen'd harvest rise in arms
 To crush rebellion's insolent alarms.

While prosp'rous moments sooth'd through life his
 way,
 Conceal'd from public view the hero lay ;
 But when affliction clouded his decline,
 It not eclips'd but made his honour shine ;
 Gave them to beam conspicuous from the gloom,
 And plant unfading trophies round his tomb.

So stars are lost amidst the blaze of day ;
 But when the sun withdraws his golden ray,
 Refulgent through the ethereal arch they roll,
 And gild the wide expanse from pole to pole.

AN
ELEGY
ON THE
DEATH OF COLONEL GARDINER.

BY THE REV. MR. THOMAS GIBSONS.

*Nam, dum duelli, latior hostica
Opprobriorum murmura vindice
Excusat ense, barbararum
Immortuus aggeribus cohortum ;
Præfecta tandem colla volubili
Lapsu reclinat. Sed famula prope
Decusque, præsignisque virtus,
Semianimem subiere dextra :
Mot, expiditis corpore manibus.
Depræliatrix gloria siderum
Occurrit, et fulvo reclinem
Ite jubet super astia curru.*

CASIMIR.

COME, Melancholy, from the stormy cave.
The scoop of time for thee has made,
Under the broad cliff's shade,
Upon the naked shore,
Where warring tempests roar
In concert with the hoarse resounding wave :

Come,

on the death of Colonel Gardiner

Come, but with solemn gait,
 With trickling eyes,
 And heavy sighs.
 And all the scutcheon'd pomp of fate ;
 And bring with thee the cypress and the yew,
 All bathed and drooping with the morning dew,
 To this sequester'd bow'r :
 And let the midnight hour
 Be hung in deeper glooms by thee,
 And bid each gay idea flee :
 While all the baleful images of woe
 That haunt the marble bust,
 Or hover round sepulchred dust,
 With conscious horrors all my soul o'erflow.
 For 'tis no vulgar death
 Urania means to mourn ;
 But in a dolful strain
 She bids the harp complain,
 And hangs the funeral wreath
 On Gard'ner's awful urn.

Gard'ner, what various fame
 For ever crowns thy name ?
 Nor is it possible to say,
 Or if the saint's or hero's ray
 Shone brightest in that blended blaze
 That form'd thine ample round of praise,
 Like Moses on the sacred hill,
 How hast thou stood with pleading eyes,
 Outstretching hands, and fervent cries,
 Unwearied wrestler with the skies !
 Till Heaven, responsive to thy will,
 Would all thy largest wishes fill ;

Poetical Pieces

Till the high-brandish'd bolt aside was thrown,
 And the full blessing stream'd in silver murmurs down.
 Nor less a Joshua, than a Moses, thou ;
 For oft in Liberty's high^{er} strife
 Hast thou expos'd thy generous life,
 And with impatient ardors on thy brow,
 Rush'd foremost in the horrid van of fight,
 Driving the troops of tyranny to flight,
 Unshaken in the noble cause,
 To pluck her bloody fangs, and break her iron jaws.

When Anna sent her chosen chief,
 Victorious Marlborough,
 To Europe's groans to give relief,
 In Bourbon's overthrow ;
 Renown'd Ramilla's tainted field,
 Where Gallia dropt her idle shield,
 And to the British standard kneel'd,
 Beheld young Gard'ner there.
 Young Gard'ner, where the combat mow'd
 The falling ranks, and widely strow'd
 Destruction and despair,
 Wielded serene his youthful arms,
 And, kindling at the dire alarms,
 Enjoy'd the raging war :
 But here, (for steel and flying shot
 Fall chiefly to the hero's lot,)
 Swift thro' his lips the glancing bullet rung,
 His lips on which the unfinish'd oath was hung ;
 Nor stopt its wing'd impetuous force,
 Till through the neck it plough'd its angry course.
 Amazing thought! that they who life expose,
 Where all the thunder of the battle glows,

Who

on the death of Colonel Gardner.

Who see pale death triumphant ride
 Upon the crimson's surging tide,
 In blasphemy and proud contempt should rise
 And hurl their mad defiance to the skies ;
 Whither a moment may convey
 Their souls, dislodging from their quiv'ring clay,
 To take their last inexorable doom,
 Big with immortal wrath, and dire despair to come.

Such Gard'ner was in early youth ;
 And while the warrior's ray,
 Beam'd round his head, celestial Truth
 He spurn'd, and scorn'd her ways ,
 And, though the Almighty arm was near,
 Made his endanger'd life its care,
 And heal'd the burning scores ;
 Yet vice, collecting with his strength,
 Soon, soon bursts out in wilder length,
 And like a torrent roars.
 Now in the wide enchanting bowl
 The hero melts his manly soul :
 And now he blots the shade of night
 With blacker scenes of lewd delight
 Anon in sport he lifts his brow to heaven,
 And swears by the eternal name ,
 Asks that the bolt may on his head be driven.
 And courts the lagging flame.
 So Pharaoh, when the fev'rish blains
 No more emboss'd his flesh,
 Nor shot infection through his veins,
 Assum'd his rage afresh ;
 And hard, grew harder still,
 And propp'd on his wild will,

Set

Poetical-Pieces

Set up the standard of his pride,
Curs'd Isr'el's God and King, and all his plagues defy'd.

But Muse, in softer notes relate,
For softer notes upon thee wait,
How Gard'ner, when his youth had rang'd
These guilty scenes, to heav'n estrang'd,
Paus'd in his mid career, and was divinely chang'd.
That God, whose piercing radiance darts,
O'er all our ways, and all our hearts,
The bold transgressor from his throne survey'd,
And thus in accents breathing mildness said :
" Go Mercy, charg'd with my supreme command,
Thou, fairest daughter, thron'd at my right hand,
Go, wing thy downward race,
And stop that rebel in his furious way ;
His heart shall thy victorious call obey,
And take the willing stamp of grace .
For never shall thy call successful prove,
And thou lament thy baffled aim,
If thou but dart thy chosen flame,
Arm'd with the Saviour's energy of love."
He spoke ; and gave the Almighty nod,
The sanction of th' eternal God :
At once the joyful news is propagated round,
Loud anthems from the golden roofs rebound,
And Heaven's high crystal domes resound with the sound

Mercy obeys ; and from the empyrial height
Precipitates her glittering flight ,
A starry circle sparkl'd round her head,
And a wide rainbow o'er her progress spread.

on the death of Colonel Gardner.

Muse, sing the wondrous plan,
 And sing the wondrous hour,
 In which the Sov'reign Pow'r
 Th' Almighty work began,
 And signalized her arm, and triumph'd o'er the man.
 Bent on adult'rous shame
 The sinner she beheld ;
 His bosom burnt with guilty flame,
 And at the future joy in secret raptures swell'd.
 Enrag'd he curs'd the lazy moon
 In her nocturnal tour,
 That thought his bliss would come too soon,
 And clogg'd the midnight hour.
 'Twas when lust's malignant sway
 Had stifled conscience' pang, and smother'd reason's
 ray

That mercy stept between
 Th' adult'rer and his sinful scene ;
 And painted on his mental sight,
 Dress'd round in beams divinely bright,
 The Saviour stretch'd upon the tree,
 In purple sweets, and dying agony :
 (Such was the vision and the blaze the same,
 That Saul, intent on murders saw,
 When Jesus speaking from the radiant flame,
 O'erwhelm'd his conscious soul with awe.)
 Then thus a voice arrests his ear :
 " See, Gard'ner, see thy Saviour here !
 And was this wood
 Ting'd in my blood,
 And did I languish in these woes for thee,
 And canst thou plunge these recent wounds in me !"

9.
2 D
O'erpow'r'd

Poetical Pieces

O'erpow'r'd with vast surprise,
 A prisoner of the skies
 The swooning champion falls,
 And fear, that never yet his soul had shook,
 Bedews his limbs, glares wild upon his look,
 And all his soul appals:
 But half the agony was unfulfill'd,
 Till mercy from her chrystal urn instill'd
 Fierce on his heart three burning drops,
 Drops that from Sinai came,
 From Sinai, where th' Almighty thund'rer forms
 His shafted lightnings and his bolted storms,
 And from whose boiling tops
 The wild sulphureous surge falls down in liquid flame!
 Stung with th' unsufferable smart,
 That fester'd at his heart,
 Gard'ner awakes, and round he throws
 His ghastly eyes, and scarce he knows
 Or if he lives in Nature's midnight gloom,
 Or clos'd in hell's unfathomable womb,
 Black o'er his head eternal horrors roll,
 And the keen gnawing worm devours his inmost soul.

But when his wandering thought had found
 Himself a tenant of the ground,
 Still, still his conscience felt the flaming wound,
 Sudden before his prospect glows
 The everlasting gulph of woes,
 From the o'er-hanging brink he seems to bend,
 (The brink that crumb'd as he stood,
 And nodded o'er the dreadful flood,)
 And down in headlong ruin to descend
 To the broad burning waves, and pains that never end.
 He

on the death of Colonel Gardner

He turns : but ah ! no friendly hand,
 Nor spark of glimm'ring hope, appears,
 Amidst the raging torment of his fears ;
 But outlaw'd from the realm of shining bliss,
 He thinks he feels the unextinguish'd fires,
 A waving waste of blue ascending spires,
 And plunges in the bottomless abyss :
 For oh ! his sins in crowding numbers stand,
 And each tempts vengeance from th' Almighty hand ;
 But fiercer o'er the rest ingratitude appears,
 That scorn'd the Saviour's love, and flaming horror
 wears.

But while in sad confusion toss'd,
 And tortur'd with despair,
 He doom'd his soul for ever lost,
 The bright ethereal fair,
 (For 'twas her kind design
 Not to destroy, but to refine,)
 Amidst the darkness and the storms
 Her sacred embassy performs ;
 For guilt display'd in all its frightful dyes,
 And crimson'd over with redeeming blood,
 Draws out the rolling anguish from his eyes,
 And all his stubborn soul with low submission bow'd.
 'Tis done : O miracle of love !
 Not minds below, nor minds above,
 Great God ! can trace thy mystic ways,
 And pay the equal note of praise.
 'Tis done. And now with outstretch'd wings
 Back to the skies the radiant Pow'r withdrew,
 And, as her mounting path she springs,
 The silver trump of victory she blows,
 In stronger dyes her arch refulgent glows,

Poetical Pieces

And a far streaming glory tracks th' ethereal blue
 At once abjuring all his sins,
 Gard'ner the heav'nly life begins,
 And pleads the honours of his God
 With irresistible defence
 Against the colour'd arts of eloquence,
 Tho' clouded with his Maker's frown, and crush'd be-
 neath his rod.
 But quickly a celestial ray
 Shot o'er his soul unclouded day,
 And balmy dews, and blooming life were giv'n,
 The early antepast of heav'n.
 And now what equal words shall paint
 How Gard'ner, freed from tyrant lusts,
 Nor longer toss'd in passion's gusts,
 Felt, spoke, and acted all the saint!
 That holy name, which he profan'd before,
 Behold him now with suppliant knee adore,
 At morn and even his warm devotions rise,
 Like clouds of incense, fragrant to the skies:
 No more the grape's nectareous juice
 Could tempt beyond a prudent use;
 No wanton speech defil'd his tongue;
 No deed design'd his neighbour wrong;
 But the fair streams of innocence
 And unconfin'd benevolence
 O'er all his life uninterrupted ran,
 And thro' their crystal mirrors shew'd the man,
 The numerous characters he bore,
 With a distinguish'd praise he wore,
 And subject, soldier, husband, parent, friend,
 He blended, and ennobled to the end.

Now,

on the death of Colonel Gardiner.

Now, with seraphic transports fir'd,
 The pinnons of his zeal aspir'd,
 Scarce patient till he broke the mortal shell,
 And bid this empty scene and dusky globe farewell.
 Heav'n was his home, and to his home he bent,
 And ere the rounds of fatal life were spent,
 Thither his passions would divinely roll,
 The swift-wing'd heralds of his coming soul.
 Peace at his tent would often light, and sing,
 And shed the dewy blessings from her wing;
 And rills, devolving from the fount above,
 Pour o'er his heart ecstasie life and love.

Thus Gard'ner liv'd, till, from the gloomy North,
 Rebellion, grasping large and steely arms,
 Rush'd, like a mountain-bear, impetuous forth,
 And shook our realms with horrible alarms;
 Rebellion, aiming at one wasteful sway,
 To strike the Diadem from Brunswick's head,
 Tear Liberty and all her mounds away,
 And Popery's o'erwhelming horrors spread.
 The news to Gard'ner came,
 And fann'd the noble flame,
 Which pure Religion, heaven-born Liberty,
 And dauntless Fortitude had rais'd;
 And as the gath'ring terrors thunder'd nigh,
 With a redoubled strength, the mounting fervors
 blaz'd.
 What though Distemper had subdued his limbs,
 And Age defrauded half the purple streams
 That bloom'd his features o'er,
 When in Rebellion's storm before,

He

Poetical Pieces

He, rising in the glorious cause
 Of George's rights, and Britain's laws,
 Swept down the traitorous files, and Preston swam
 with gore :

Yet his unbroken soul disdains
 Age's dull load of cramps and pains ;
 His youthful rage returns,
 And for the battle burns ;

Then springing from Francis's tender arms,
 Dissolv'd in flowing tears,
 O'erwhelm'd with boding fears,
 And only solac'd with the view
 That Heaven their friendship would renew ;

He, in th' unshaken confidence of prayer,
 Sways the keen flame of his revenging sword
 For his eternal and his earthly lord,
 Scarcely meets the danger's wild alarms,
 Plants his embattled force, and waits the rushing war,
 So Michael, bent on glorious fight,
 Against Satanic rage and might,
 Came towering to the field ;
 Unconscious of a quiv'ring fear,
 He saw the foe his dusky horrors rear,
 Wave his broad flaming sword, and heave his moony
 shield.

Not far from were Edina lifts
 Her towers into the skies,
 Or where the ocean-bounding cliffs
 In clouded summits rise,
 Preston extends her humble cots,
 Long, long unknown to Fame :
 But flying routs, and purple spots
 Have stamp'd th' eternal shame.

Here,

on the death of Colonel Gardner.

Here, here, (Oh, could Time's brazen pen
 Dash the reproach away,
 Or, as the day returns again,
 Might midnight choke its ray ?)
 Britannia's troops in vain
 Oppos'd the rebel-host,
 And fled inglorious o'er the plain,
 Their courage wither'd, and their standards loss.

Muse, paint the doleful scene
 With sighs and tears between,
 For sighs and tears should rise
 From ev'ry British heart, and gush from all our eyes.
 Swift on the loyal van
 The yellow furies ran,
 Like the wild ocean that has rent
 Its shores, and roars along the Continent ;
 Or in the wing'd lightning's livid glare,
 Darting along the unmeasur'd fields of air.
 Confounded at the shock,
 The yielding squadron's broke :
 And now (for hell inspir'd the throng,)
 The gloomy murd'ers rushed along ;
 And fierce the steely blade
 Its horrid circles play'd,
 Till hideous cries,
 Quiv'ring sighs,
 Hopeless screams,
 Batter'd limbs,
 Bloody streams,
 And universal rout deform'd the ground,
 Laid waste the British strength, and the wide campaign
 drown'd.

“ Come

Poetical Pieces

"Come on, come on!" mad Elcho cries,
 And for his murders thanks the skies,
 (While the Italian from afar,
 Too soft a soul to mix in war,
 Enjoying all the guilt, beheld
 His bloody harpies tear the field,)

"Ply, ply the thirsty steel,
 Round the full vengeance wheel;
 Each heretic must yield his breath
 That for the Hanoverian blood:
 Or lifts a sword,
 Or speaks a word;
 Come, gorge your souls with death,
 And drown your steps in blood:
 Think, think, what blissful periods roll behind,
 Let London's mighty plunder fill your mind,
 When boundless wealth shall be with boundless em-
 pire join'd."

Gard'ner, with mind elate,
 Above the rage of fate,
 His country's bulwark stood
 Midst broken lines of death, and rising waves of blood.
 His soul disdains retreat,
 Though urg'd by foul defeat;
 Now to his schatt'ring friends he calls,
 To wheel again, and charge the foe;
 Now hurls the wide destroying balls,
 Now deals the 'vengeful blow.
 Forsaken and alone,
 He hears the treas'nous shout, he hears the loyal
 groan:
 But nought the purpose of his soul confounds;
 And

on the death of Colonel Gardner.

And still with new delight
 He tempts the midmost fight,
 Propp'd on his sacred cause, and courage of his own.
 Th' embattled ranks of foot he spies
 Without a leading chief,
 And like a shooting ray, he flies
 To lend his brave relief.

Here the broad weapon's forceful sway,
 Swung with tempestuous hand,
 Plough'd through his flesh its furious way,
 And stretch'd him on the strand.
 Well'ring in gore, with fiery fiends beset,
 The dying Gard'ner lies ;
 No gentle hand to wipe the mortal sweat,
 And close his swimming eyes.

The unrelenting crew
 The hero disarray'd ;
 But struck at his majestic view,
 Their souls were half dismay'd :
 And had not hell instamp'd its hate,
 Their stony eye-balls o'er his fate
 Had stream'd with human woe ; for, heavenly mild,
 He o'er the gloomy forms the Christian pardon smil'd.
 But not a tear must bathe, or garment shield
 His mangled limbs from sight,
 Down trodden in the fight :
 While his fair mansion, that o'ertops the field,
 The naked murder sees, and trembles from its height.
 Still the departing flame of life
 Wav'd languishing in doubtful strife ;

Poetical Pieces

Till such his servant's faithful care,
 (May heav'n's distinguish'd goodness crown
 The goodness to his master shown !)
 The wheels slow moving, from the scenes of war,
 To Tranent bore th' expiring chief,
 In sullen sounds return'ring to his grief.
 Urania, mark the melancholy road,
 And with thy tears efface the scatt'ring blood ;
 Nor stopt till on the late reposing bed
 (Oh ! rather 'tis the fun'ial bier !)
 You see the hero's pallid body spread,
 And his last anguish hear.
 Half chok'd with clotted gore,
 He draws the hollow moan,
 Flitting his pulse ; and fix'd his eyes,
 All pale and motionless he lies,
 And seems to breathe no more.—
 Oh ! that's the life-dissolving groan :—
 Farewell, dear man ! for in that pang thy mind
 Soars to its God, and leaves the clog behind,

Gard'ner is dead !—the bloody trump of Fame
 Proclaim'd the mighty death ;
 In ev'ry look the posting rumour came,
 And flew on ev'ry breath.
 The widow'd partner of his life
 The doleful tidings hears,
 And, silent in stupendous grief,
 Her eyes refuse their tears ;
 Oppress'd beneath th' immeasurable weight,
 Her spirit faints away,
 As sympathetic with the hero's fate,
 It meant to quit its clay.

on the death of Colonel Gardner.

The pledges of his love
 Their filial duty prove,
 And each with tender hands uprears,
 With hands all cover'd o'er in tears,
 Their mother's sinking head :
 And groan resounds to groan ;
 For, oh ! the best of husbands gone,
 The best of fathers dead !
 But Gard'ner's death is more than private woe ;
 Wide and more wide th' increasing sorrows run ;
 O'er British lands unlimited they go,
 And fly across the seas, and travel with the sun.
 Religion, that from heaven had bow'd
 To watch the scale of fight,
 When holy Gard'ner fell,
 Who lov'd, and who adorn'd her cause so well,
 Retir'd behind a crimson cloud,
 Nor could sustain the sight,
 Britannia, where she sat
 Upon the sea-beat shore,
 To eye the battle's fate,
 Her silver mantle tore :
 Then thus, her blushing honours wann'd,
 Her sceptre quiv'ring in her hand,
 Her laurels wither'd, and her head declin'd,
 Ten thousand terrors boding in her mind,
 She to the deep, in bitter wailings, griev'd,
 While her fallen helm the trickling drops receiv'd :
 " What havoc of my martial fores
 Hath this sad morn beheld,
 Torn, gash'd, and heap'd without remorse
 Upon the naked field !

Poetical Pieces

But Gard'ner's death afflicts me most,
 Than whom a Chief I could not boast
 More faithful, vigilant, and brave ;
 And should across his grave
 An hecatomb of Highland Brutes be slain,
 They could not recompense his injur'd ghost,
 Nor fully quench my rage, and wipe away my stain."

But see, in splendid state
 Cherubic convoys come,
 And waft the hero from his fate
 To his celestial home.
 Now, now, he sails along,
 Encircled with their throng,
 (The throng that clap their mantling wings,
 And to loud triumphs strike their strings,)
 Through liquid seas of day
 Ploughing the azure way,
 Till the starry tow'rs the squadrons rise.
 The starry tow'rs, thick sown with pearl and gold,
 Their adamantine leaves unfold,
 And show the entrance to th' empyreal skies :
 Through them our hero mark'd his road,
 And through the wheeling ranks of heav'n
 An unobstructed path was giv'n,
 Till he attain'd th' eternal throne of God ;
 A throne that blaz'd in uncreating beams,
 And from its footstool gush'd innumber'd streams.
 Streams, that in everlasting currents roll,
 And pow'r the boundless joy o'er all th' expanded
 soul.

Well

on the death of Colonel Gardner.

Well hast thou done, th' Almighty Father spoke;
 Well hast thou done, th' exalted Jesus cry'd;
 Well hast thou done (all heav'n the Euge took,)
 The saints and angels in their songs reply'd.

And now a robe of spotless white,
 But where the Saviour's flowing vein
 Had blush'd it with a sanguine stain,
 Invests him round. In various light.
 (For such was the divine command,)
 Refulgent on his brows a crown was plac'd;
 And a triumphal palm his better hand
 With golden blossoms grac'd,
 Nigh to the seat of bliss
 His mansion was assign'd;
 Sorrow and sin forsook his breast,
 His weary soul was now at rest,
 And life and love, and ecstasies
 Unbound his secret pow'rs, and overflow'd his mind.
 Nor has thy life, heroic man, been spilt
 Without a wrath proportion'd to thy guilt:
 Enkindled by the cries that rose
 From thy dear sacred blood, with those
 That shriek'd for vengeance from the brave Munroes,
 Who fell a martyr'd sacrifice
 To cool remorseless butcheries,
 Heaven sends its angel, righteously severe,
 And from the foe exacts the last arrear.
 For when the barb'rous bands,
 Thick as the swarms that blackened Egypt's strands,
 And furious as the winter's rushing rains
 Impell'd by whirlwinds through the plains,

Had

 Poetical Pieces.

Had o'er our country roll'd,
 Young William rose (auspicious name,
 Sacred to Liberty and Fame ?)
 And their mad rage controll'd.
 Back to their hills and bogs they fled,
 For terror wing'd their nimble speed,
 And howl'd for help in vain :
 William pursued, and launch'd his vengeful ire,
 (As o'er the stubble runs the crackling fire,)
 Upon the grow'ling train :
 Shudd'ring with horror and despair
 With bellowing pain they rend the air,
 Till Culloden's illustrious mair
 Groan'd with the heaps of slain, and smok'd with
 rebel gore.
 Then, Muse, suppress thy rising sighs,
 And wipe the anguish from thine eyes ;
 Sing how Rebellion has receiv'd its doom,
 How Gard'ner dwells in his eternal home,
 And in each British heart has rais'd a lasting tomb,

No. III.

AN ACCOUNT

OF

SOME REMARKABLE PARTICULARS

Concerning the Ancient Family of

THE MUNROES OF FOWLIS.

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

 Antiquity of the Munroes

their death as I might offer to the view of the Public.

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

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

The Munroes of Fowlis, in every one of their generations,

They are among the first that embraced the Reformation.

nerations, have been intermarried with many of the best families of nobility and gentry in the North of Scotland. And it is yet more for the honour, that they were among the first in those parts that embraced the Reformation, and have ever since been zealous assertors of it; and many of them have not only given great countenance and encouragement to the minister of the gospel in the parishes under their influence, in consequence of which a great harvest of most eminent Christians have been produced there; but also have themselves been signal examples of true piety, and a behaviour, in all its branches, most ornamental to a Christian profession. I fear there have been few families to whom such a character can be so universally applied: but it is certain, that so far as it is the case, it is the most illustrious of all hereditary honours, and therefore is mentioned with propriety by my several correspondents in this connection.

According to Buchanan, it was in the beginning of the eleventh century, and about the time of the conquest in England, when Malcolm, the second of that name, King of Scots, first distributed, or feued out, or feed, the lands of Scotland to the great families thereof, on account of their services in his many battles with the Danes, until he forced them quite out of his kingdom. And according to tradition, it was on that occasion that the country betwixt the borough of Dingwall and the water of Alness, in the

The pedigree and exploits

shire of Ross, was given to Donald Munro: and which is therefore to this day called Ferrindonald, that is Donald's Land. And part of these lands were afterwards by the King erected into a Barony, called the Barony of Fowlis.

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

That George, ninth Baron* of Fowlis, in a direct lineal descent from the above Donald the first Baron, was slain at the memorable battle of Bannockburn, fought by King Robert Bruce of Scotland against Edward II. of England, A. D. 1314. George, 10th Baron of Fowlis, and son of the former, was also slain
with

* It is to be observed, That Baron in Scotland does not import nobility, as it does now in England; for at the time the lauds of Scotland were divided as above, there were then no nobility in that nation; but the great families had their estates erected into Baronies, with a jurisdiction over all the vassals, tenants, and possessors thereof; which was the origin and support of the clans in Scotland, these being the only military force in that kingdom until the union of the two crowns.

of the Family of the Munroes of Fowls.

with many of his name, at the battle of Halydon-Hill, near Berwick ; in which the Scots were defeated by the English, on the 22d of July 1533. Robert Munro, seventeenth Baron of Fowls, was slain at the battle of Pinkie, near Edinburgh, with many of his name ; where the Scots were again defeated by the English and a great number of them killed, A. D. 1547. I mention the fall of these three gentlemen, with their friends and followers, fighting valiantly in the cause of their country, as illustrating the valour and bravery of this family in their different generations, and showing how justly they merited the character which Buchanan gives them, in the place before cited. How long this brave spirit has continued, as it were, hereditary to them, will appear from what follows.

The first Protestant of this family was Robert Munro, the eighteenth Baron of Fowls, son of Robert last-mentioned, and the same who came to the assistance of Mary, Queen of Scots, on the occasion before cited, in 1562. He embraced the Protestant religion quickly after ; and, being a wise and good man, he left an opulent estate to the family, and died A. D. 1588. He was succeeded by his son Robert Munro, nineteenth Baron of Fowls, who died the same year with his father. The next to him was his brother Hector Munro, twentieth Baron of Fowls, who died A. D. 1603. Robert Munro, his son, succeeded him, the twenty-first Baron of Fowls, who

Robert Munro joins Gustavus Adolphus

flourished when Gustavus Adolphus, the justly celebrated King of Sweden, (whose religion and valour were so distinguished among his many religious and valiant contemporaries) was engaged in a Protestant war against the Emperor Ferdinand II in defence of the civil as well as the sacred liberties of Germany. The generous heart of this worthy gentleman was so struck with a regard to the common cause, in which he himself had no concern but what piety and virtue gave him, and he joined Gustavus with a very great number of his friends, who bore his own name. Many of them gained great reputation in this war; and that of Robert their leader was so eminent, that he was made Colonel of two regiments at the same time, the one of horse and the other of foot, in that service. in which he acquitted himself with so much fidelity and zeal, that he died of the wounds he received in crossing the Danube, and was buried at Ulme in the month of March, 1633.

He was succeeded by Sir Henry Munro, twenty-second Baron of Fowls, the next male heir of the family, who was also Colonel of a regiment in the same service; and upon his coming over to Britain, was created a Baronet in June 1633. Returning afterwards to Germany, he died at Hamburgh in April 1635. His son, Sir Hector Munro, was twenty-third Baron of Fowls, who died without issue in the year 1651, at seventeen years of age, Sir Robert Munro, twenty-fourth Baron of Fowls, succeeded as the nearest

nearest

in his expedition into Germany

nearest male heir, being grandson to George Munro of Obsdale, who was third son to Robert Munro, the eighteenth Baron of Fowlis.

In the before-mentioned annals of this family, there is a well-attested list of officers (of which I have a copy by me,) wherein there are three generals, eight colonels, five lieutenant-colonels, eleven majors, and above thirty captains, all of the name of Munro, besides a great number of subalterns. Most of these were in that religious war under the great Gustavus Adolphus: and some of the descendants of this family are at this day in possession of considerable military commands in Sweden, and various parts of Germany.

General Robert Munro, who was uncle to Sir Robert, the twenty-fourth Baron of Fowlis, published, in the year 1611, an account of this religious war under Gustavus Adolphus, in a folio volume, intitled, "Military Discipline learned from the valiant Swede:" a book, of which, though I never happened to see it, I have heard a high character. I am informed, it contains an exact journal of that expedition into Germany for the relief of the distressed Protestants; and it is said to be filled with most excellent observations on military affairs, delivered in a strain of piety which seems to breathe the spirit of its brave and worthy author. And indeed, from what I have heard of that instructive history, it is hard to

say

General Munro is sent into Ireland.

say when there has been, even in the Christian world, so religious and well disciplined an army as this; at the head of which, a mysterious Providence permitted that Royal hero and martyr, the great Gustavus, to fall. And would to God, the time might at length come, when our commanders shall take their lessons from it; at least so far as to learn, from the example of some of the bravest and greatest of men, to maintain, in the military bodies under their command, the authority of the Lord of Hosts, and particularly that reverence for his name, and for his day, which was there so beautifully conspicuous.

This worthy General, in the year 1641, was appointed by King Charles I. Major-General of the Scots forces that were sent to Ireland to suppress the infamous and destructive rebellion there. It is not my business here to insist on those unhappy circumstances which so long retarded their march, and so greatly obstructed their success. I find, however, that he had the honour to be in the number of those men by whom God gave blood to drink to these miscreants, who had rendered themselves so eminently worthy of it by a series of outrages, which the most sanguinary and detestable faction on earth (I mean that of Popery) has seldom been enabled to exceed. For in the year 1644, this illustrious Commander, at the head of 14,000 Scots and English Protestants, fought and defeated 22,000 of the Irish in Ulster, killed and took many thousands of them, and seized

He is taken prisoner by Colonel Monk.

on a great quantity of cattle and other provisions, of which the Protestants were then in great need.

The General was a great favourer of the Presbyterian interest, and among the first who established it in Ireland. He sat in their Presbyteries and Synods, and adhered to the interest of the Parliament, till he apprehended they were carrying measures to an excess against the King; on which he accepted of a commission from him, and acted under the Duke of Ormond; to which he was persuaded by his nephew Sir George Munro, who had always adhered to the interest of Charles I. as he afterwards did to that of Charles II.

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

It is worthy of our notice by the way, that in the year 1641 we find Monk imprisoned by the Parliament, for having accepted a commission from the King, and acting in consequence of it, though before that he had acted by commission from the Parliament. And again, in 1648, we find him fighting for the Parliament against the King; and his surprising and taking General Munro was the first thing that brought him into favour with the
Parliament.

The General is succeeded by his brother

Parliament. For in that reeling time, we find men of a much better character than Monk, changing sides again and again, as they apprehended the one party or the other to be in the right, from many different demands and refusals, which then happened between them.

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

Sir John Munro, twenty-fifth Baron of Fowlis, succeeded his father, Sir Robert, in the year 1688. He was a member of the Convention of the Estates of Scotland at the Revolution, and a very zealous promoter

The sufferings and losses of the Munroes

moter of that happy event. He was no less strenuous in asserting Presbytery, and, on that account, being also remarkable for a large and corpulent stature, he was nicknamed the Presbyterian mortar-piece. His eminent piety and zeal had exposed him to great sufferings in the cause of religion, in those unhappy and infamous days, when the best friends of their country were treated as the worst enemies to the Government. Sir John suffered greatly among many others of whom the world was not worthy. His person was doomed to long imprisonment for no pretended cause but what was found against him in the matters of his God; and his estate, which was before considerable, was harassed by severe fines and confiscations, which reduced it to a diminution, much more honourable indeed than an augmentation could have been, but from which it has not recovered even to this day. He died A. D. 1696, and was succeeded by his son.

Sir Robert Munro, twenty-sixth Baron of Fowlis, who succeeded his father, was also a pious and benevolent man, and for some time a Captain; but it pleased God early to deprive him of his sight, and to continue him in that condition during the remainder of his life. Under this calamity, he calmly submitted himself to that God who can shed abroad a far more cheering light on the soul, than these bodily eyes can admit. Providence was pleased to bless him with children, in whom he could not but find the highest

Sir Robert Munroe contracts a friendship with Colonel Gardiner

satisfaction, and whose amiable characters in general leave no room to doubt of the tenderness and respect with which they would treat so tender a parent under a distressing calamity which would naturally excite compassion even in strangers. There were four of them, who all reached the maturity of age, and were the heirs of many blessings, though Providence suffered three of them to fall almost at once by most unjust and barbarous hands, Sir Robert, Captain George, and the Doctor, whose Christian name was Duncan. Their only sister, married to Mr. Gordon of Ardoch, still survives, an example of profound submission and fortitude, mingled with the most tender sensibility, and sweetness of mind and temper.

Sir Robert Munro, twenty-seventh Baron of Fowlis, succeeded his father A. D. 1729. He went early from the University to the Camp, where he served seven years in Flanders, being some time Captain in the Royal Scots before that fatal cessation of arms, A. D. 1712, as his late Majesty, with so much propriety publicly called it. It was here that Sir Robert contracted that acquaintance and strict friendship with good Colonel Gardiner, which ran through the remainder of their lives. On Sir Robert's return from Flanders, he was reduced, on account of his inflexible opposition in Parliament to the measures which the Ministry were then taking to subvert the succession in the present Royal Family, and with it no doubt the Protestant religion.

My

The public services of Sir Robert.

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

His military services are particularly worthy of being mentioned here. In the year 1715, he, with his clan, in conjunction with the Earl of Sutherland, kept the Earl of Seaforth, with 3000 men under his command, from joining the rebel camp at Perth, for near two months, and thereby prevented the Earl of Marr from crossing the Forth, till the Duke of Argyll had gathered strength sufficient to oppose him. In consequence of this, Sir Robert exposed his own country to the fiercest resentment of the rebels, by whom he was plundered and destroyed, while others, who yet pretended to be friends to the Government, saved themselves and their lands by capitulations with the enemy. Being then made Governor of Inverness, Sir Robert kept 400 of his name there, during the rest of that Rebellion, regularly paid and regimented ; and these, together with some other clans, well affected to the interest of the present

 Public services of Sir Robert Munro

Royal Family, kept possession of that important pass, whereby the Rebels were hindered from making a stand there, when they were dislodged from Perth by the Duke of Argyle.

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

Sir Robert was thirty years a member of Parliament ; during which time he always maintained a firm attachment to the service of his Majesty, and to the religion and liberties of his country. His fidelity to these did not need to be purchased by personal favours. It continued through all this period unshaken and active, though from the year 1724 till the year 1740 he enjoyed no post whatever under the Government. He then found the nation was to be
 † involved

 His military talents.

involved in a foreign war, the necessity of which was generally apprehended and acknowledged; and therefore, though his friends thought his merit and experience might have pretended to something more, as he had been in the rank of a Lieutenant-Colonel twenty-five years, his heart was too generous and too warm not to accept of the same commission, which was then given him in the Highland regiment. This regiment, when first formed out of independent Highland companies, was under the command of Earl Crawford as its Colonel, who all the while he stood in that relation to it was abroad, confined by the wounds he had received as a volunteer against the Turks. During this time, Sir Robert was his Lordship's Lieutenant-Colonel. Before it went to Flanders, Lord Temple was its Colonel; but he also being generally absent, and Sir Robert an old experienced officer, the regiment was left under his care, and the manner in which he modelled and conducted it will remain an honour to his name.

It is indeed surprising, that a regiment composed of Highlanders, who are generally used to so rapacious a life at home, should, by discipline, have been brought to so good a behaviour, as that they should be judged the most trusty guards of property; * and that

* A very worthy person, to whose inspection this Appendix has been committed since it was finished, observes here, that though the Highlanders are much addicted to depredations on their

The high reputation of the regiment.

that when the people of Flanders were allowed a protection for their goods, they should choose to have some of this regiment, among others of the British soldiers, appointed to protect them. This may indeed, seem hardly credible ; yet my informer assures me, that he had it from an officer of their own, of unquestionable credit ; who added further that it was but seldom he observed a man amongst them drunk, and as seldom heard any of them swear.—And among Sir Robert's papers there is still existing a copy of a letter from the Elector Palatine to his Envoy at London, desiring him to thank the King of Great Britain, in his name, for the excellent behaviour of the Highland regiment while they were in his territories, which, as he says expressly, was owing to the care of Sir R. Munro, their Lieutenant-Colonel, for whose sake, he adds, he should always pay a regard to a Scotsman.

I therefore mention these particulars, not only as they do an honour to Sir Robert and his worthy brother, through whose interest, and that of the other officers, with the private men, this great reformation was effected ; but likewise as they shew, of how great importance

their neighbours, yet the very actors in them are generally as faithful to their trust as any set of people whatever. And that if his officers shews but any degree of civility and kindness to one of these people, the fear of disobliging him has a greater influence than that of stripes generally has on others of the common people.

Causes which produced the disaffection of the Highland clans.

importance it is, that some methods be thought of for breaking the other uncultivated inhabitants of these countries into useful men, by bringing them at once under the protection of the laws, and enforcing their obedience to them, by teaching them the principles of religion, and the arts of peace and commerce.

According to my best information, from persons who are well acquainted with the affairs of the North, the two great springs of rebellion among the inhabitants of the Highland countries, are idleness and ignorance. The former subjects them to a slavish dependence on their masters, and the latter makes them a prey to Popish priests and missionaries from Rome, who are constantly, and in great numbers, trafficking among them. It has been very justly remarked, that the success they have in seducing these poor ignorant people is occasioned, in a great measure by the vast extent of parishes in those Highland countries; some of them being betwixt thirty and forty miles in length, and twenty and thirty in breadth, full of great mountains, rapid rivers, and arms of the sea; and those parishes which are more moderate in their extent, are about twenty miles in length, and ten or twelve in breadth. And it is every where to be observed through these parishes, that around the place of the minister's residence, the inhabitants are almost all Protestants, but in the corners

Conduct of the Highlanders at the battle of Fontenoy.

ners which are remote from his residence, they are generally Papists.

Now, it is evident that these poor people can only be cured of idleness, by teaching them manufactures, to which they are wholly strangers. And it is hard to imagine how they can be rescued from Popish ignorance, until there are several new parishes erected in those extensive countries. It would ill become me to pretend to direct the Government of Britain on such an occasion; but I know it to be the opinion of many persons in those parts, of distinguished wisdom and experience, that if it should be thought fit to employ the produce of the estates confiscated by the late rebellion for those valuable purposes, this, with the thousand pounds of his Majesty's royal bounty annually bestowed, would go a good way towards remedying these two evils, with their train of miserable consequences which we have of late so deeply felt.

But to return from this digression, the behaviour of Sir Robert Munro and his regiment, at the battle of Fontenoy, was heard through all Britain. He had obtained leave of his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland to allow them their own way of fighting. They were early in the field, and were ordered to attack the main battery of the French at the village from which the battle derives its name; which they

 Remarkable preservation of Sir Robert at Fontenoy.

they did, and drove the enemy from it ; but finding the body of the French forces deeply entrenched behind the battery, they did not give over the charge, but bravely drew up to attack them. Sir Robert, according to the usage of his countrymen, ordered the whole regiment to clap to the ground on receiving the French fire ; and, as soon as it was discharged, to spring up, and march close to the enemy, when they wore to pour in their fire upon them, and then retreat, drawing up in order. This mode of attack they, accordingly repeated several times, driving the French back, with great slaughter, on their own lines.

Sir Robert was every where with his regiment, notwithstanding his great corpulency ; and when in the trenches, his men were always obliged to raise, him up. And it is to be observed, that when he commanded the whole regiment to clap to the ground, he himself alone, with the colours behind him, stood upright, receiving the whole fire of the enemy, because, as he said, he could easily lie down, though his great bulk would not suffer him to rise so quickly.

His preservation that day was the surprise and astonishment, not only of the whole army, but of all that heard the particulars of the action. This circumstance alone was said to be enough ' to convince one of the truth of the doctrine of predestination, and to justify what King William of glorious memory

He is appointed to command General Ponsonby's regiment.

had been used to say, "That every bullet had its billet, or its particular direction and commission where it should lodge." It is likewise mentioned, that on the retreat of our army, Sir Robert Munro's Highland regiment was placed in the rear, and a great body of the French horse being ordered to pursue, Sir Robert made his regiment face about and gave them a general fire, so effectual, that a great number of them being brought to the ground, the rest wheeled about, and rode off.

But to close what relates to Sir Robert Munro: as an acknowledgment for his brave services at Fontenoy, as well as on former occasions, his Majesty was pleased to appoint him to succeed General Ponsonby, who was slain there in the command of his regiment, which was among the troops that arrived at Newcastle during the Rebellion, and made a part of General Wade's army. They were afterwards ordered to Scotland, and being upon the left wing at the battle of Falkirk, the 17th of January 1745-6, they shamefully left their brave Colonel and Lieutenant-Colonel, with five or six more of their officers, to be cut in pieces.

By the accounts which the rebels themselves give of Sir Robert, he defended himself against six of them with his half-pike, and killed two of their number, upon which a seventh came up, and poured a shot into his belly, that brought him immediately to the ground.

The death of Sir Robert and Dr. Munro.

ground. In this dreadful moment, his brother, Dr. Munro, who was near at hand, ran to him to support him, attended by his servant and the surgeon of the regiment; but they were all, in the most barbarous manner, murdered on the spot by those cruel men.

Sir Robert's body was the next day sought out; and his face was so cut and mangled by these savages after he fell, that it could scarcely be known. He was found and buried honourably in the churchyard of Falkirk by the Macdonalds, who, though engaged in rebellion against their lawful sovereign, could not but pay public regard to the memory of so valiant a man, the principal persons among the Rebels attending him all the way to the grave.

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

 Character of the Doctor.

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

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

It

He is shipwrecked on the coast of Malabar

It was the more to be desired that he should have left behind him some written memoirs of his own remarks and adventures, as he was a most attentive observer of Divine Providence, and had experienced many singular instances of it. One is so remarkable, that it claims a place here.

After he had continued eight or ten years in the East Indies, he was shipwrecked on the Malabarian coast, as he was on his passage home. He saved his life on a plank but lost all his effects, except a small parcel of diamonds. This ruinous calamity, as it seemed to be, obliged him to return to Fort St. George, where he experienced, far beyond what he could have expected, the extraordinary friendship of several English gentlemen of that settlement, and felt the solid effects of it, as by their assistance he acquired much more in six or seven years following, (for his whole stay in that country was about sixteen years,) than he had lost by shipwreck: and when he left the settlement, he had all sort of encouragement offered him to induce him to stay: but his health and other circumstances obliged him to return home.

This return, which happened, if I mistake not, about the year 1726, was a happy providence to many; for as he was very successful in both the branches of his profession, he took great pains in both: and as he did this without fee or reward, when

 Character of Captain George Munro

he was satisfied the circumstances of the afflicted needed such assistance, he was an instrument of saving many limbs and many lives, which must otherwise in all probability have been lost.

There yet remained one valiant brother of this family, whom Providence reserved for a few months, before he shared the fate of the other two; I mean Captain George Munro of Culcairn, of whom I have conceived such an idea from the account of him put into my hands, that I cannot forbear wishing the world were blessed with a larger narrative of his life and character than my instructions will furnish out.

Captain George Munro was the second brother of the family, the Doctor being the youngest son. He, like the other gentleman, had the advantage of a very liberal education, and soon discovered marks of a good genius, which might have qualified him for making a figure under any character in the learned world. Besides the other branches of literature common to all the professions, he acquired a stock of theological knowledge; and before he was seventeen years old, he was well acquainted with ecclesiastical history, so as to be able to give a good account of the advance and decline of the Christian interest in various ages and countries, and the degrees and manner by which the corruption and reformation of the church had been introduced, estab-
lished

His services to the government.

blished or obstructed. I the rather mention this, as it seems to be an accomplishment of great importance; on which account I much wonder, that the generality of young gentlemen should think it so little worth attending to. And I wish I could say, that all who are intended for the ministry were so careful in perusing it, as its usefulness and its absolute necessity to them might demand.

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

In the year 1719, when, on occasion of the invasion from Spain, General Wightman, with the troops under his command, had waited long at Inverness for a body of Highlandmen to conduct the troops through the mountains to Glenshiel, where the Spaniards and rebels were encamped, and when many promises of such assistance made to the General had failed, Sir Robert Munro being then out of the country, his brother the Captain (of whom we now speak,) assembled, in a most expeditious manner, a body of the Munro clan, and marched with the regular troops to Glenshiel, where they distinguished themselves by the gallantry of their behaviour

He is compelled to sell his commission.

viour, driving the enemy before them in a sharp action, in which many of them were killed, and more wounded; and among the rest the Captain himself in a very dangerous manner. He had, however, the satisfaction to see these foreign invaders, and their rebel abettors, totally routed and dispersed on the Pretender's birth-day, June 10. And though his constitution suffered much by the loss of his blood on this occasion, yet it pleased God to recover him for further service to his country.

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

Services of Captain Munro

have done an honour to his most vigorous and active days.

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

When General Cope went to Inverness, and had been assured of being joined by a number of Highlanders to conduct him and his small army through the rebel countries between that town and Aberdeen, Captain Munro, with 200 of his brother's clan, were indeed the only persons that were found willing to perform the promises that were made by several others. *He marched with the General directly to Aberdeen, from whence he was ordered to return home: in which return he was under a necessity of marching through a great number of rebels under the command of Gordon of Glenbucket, who lay on the road to attack the Captain and his party: but Glenbucket finding that the Captain was determined to dispute every inch of ground with him, retired, and allowed him to proceed without disturbance to Inverness.*

Not long after that, the Earl of Loudon sent Captain Munro, in conjunction with the Laird of Macleod, with a body of men, to relieve the city of Aberdeen, and the neighbouring country, then greatly distressed by the outrages committed upon them by Lord Lewis

Gordon, and the rebels under his command. Accordingly, the Captain and Macleod proceeded as far as Inverury, where they halted to receive intelligence; and from the narrowness of the place, they were obliged to quarter a great number of their men in distant places through the adjacent country. In the mean time a considerable reinforcement from the main body of the rebel army, which then lay at Perth, was sent under the command of a French officer, supported by their picquets and Irish brigades; by the assistance of which Lord Lewis attempted to surprise and cut off the Captain and his whole party. In this view, they were removing towards Inverury in the dusk of the evening, after Captain Munro and Macleod had sent their men through the country to their quarters. But though there was not such good intelligence provided as might have been wished, they were providentially discovered at such a distance, that Captain Munro and the Laird of Macleod had time to draw up the men they had in the town, in so regular a manner, that they gave the enemy such a warm reception, attacking them at once in the front and flank, that many of them were left dead on the field. The Captain and his associate were very sedate and intrepid during the heat of the skirmish, till at last, being overpowered by numbers, they retired, and brought off their party safe and in good order, excepting a few killed or taken prisoners. Among the latter was Mr. Adam Gordon of Ardoch, who was treated by the rebels with a deal of civility and

He is obliged to retire to the Isle of Sky.

and severity for a considerable time, while detained in their power. But they did not presume to pursue the rest; and the young gentleman at length made his escape.

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

Upon his return from the Isle of Sky, he was constantly employed in expeditions through the rebel countries of great extent, to reduce them to a submission to the government, which he performed with diligence and zeal, but still with the greatest humanity. This the rebels themselves must acknowledge,

He is basely assassinated

as he never did the least injury to any man ; and in all that vast circuit which he made through these distant countries, he neither himself seized, nor allowed those under his command to seize any thing but arms ; and yet, notwithstanding all this humanity, his diligence and zeal had been such in the whole of this rebellion, as rendered him obnoxious to the rage of the rebels, who had vowed his destruction upon the first opportunity ; and because they had not courage to face him, they had recourse to the base method of assassination, which was effected on the Lord's Day, the 31st of August 1746. He was then on a long and necessary march at the head of 500 men, on the side of Locharkey, amongst the wild rocks of Lochaber, where he was passing by the side of a wood, between the advanced guard and the main body of his men, he was shot dead by a villain who concealed himself among the trees and rocks in the wood, and who, by the advantages of that situation, got off without being discovered ; an event, no doubt, to the Captain most happy, and a blessed kind of instantaneous translation to the regions of endless joy and peace ; but to all who loved the public, not to be mentioned without the tenderest sensibility and deepest regret.

One of my correspondents on this occasion concludes his account of the deaths of Sir Robert, the Doctor, and the Captain in these words :

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“ Thus

LIFE OF COLONEL GARDINER.



ASSASSINATION OF CAPTAIN MUNROE

 Character of the three brothers.

“ Thus died those three worthy men, to the irreparable loss of the country in which they lived, all of them remarkable for a brave spirit, full of love to their native land, and of disinterested love to religion and liberty, faithful in their promises, steadfast in their friendship, abundant in their charity to the poor and distressed, moderate in their resentments, and easy to be reconciled ; and especially remarkable for their great and entire love to each other, so that one soul seemed as it were to actuate all the three.”*

My other correspondent, in his character of the Captain, speaks in this manner :

“ The great foundation of all his other victories was laid in a most sincere and steadfast regard in the Supreme Being. He carefully studied the great doctrines of our holy religion, which he courageously professed, and as it was requisite, defended, in whatever company he might be cast. He did this with the greater freedom, as his practice was always conformable to it ; and, in particular his regard, both to the book and to the day of God. He had from his infancy been trained up in a particular acquaintance with

* The intimacy of their friendship, though chiefly founded on a similarity of character, might perhaps be further promoted by their being nearly of the same age ; for Sir Robert was born August 24, 1684 ; the Captain, September 18, 1685 ; and the Doctor, September 19, 1687. Sir Robert therefore was slain in his 62d year ; the Captain, in his 61st ; and the Doctor, in his 59th.

 General character of the Munroes

with the Scripture, and he daily perused it with pleasure, and doubtless with advantage. And though the natural cheerfulness of his temper inclined him, on other days, to facetious turns in conversation, yet on the Sabbath he was not only grave and devout, but carefully attentive that all his speech might tend to edification, and as far as possible minister grace to the hearers. He was exemplary in the social virtues, temperate in the use of food and sleep, and rose early for devotion,—wherein, as in many other respects, he remarkably resembled his beloved friend Colonel Gardiner. He was also thoroughly sensible how much a faithful discharge of relative duties is essential to the character of a Christian. He approved himself therefore as a brave and vigilant officer, a most active and faithful servant of the Crown, and a true patriot to his country in the worst of times; and in domestic life, was exemplary as a husband, a father, and a master. He was a most affectionate brother, a faithful friend, a constant benefactor, and a sure patron of the oppressed; and to crown all, was at last, in effect, a martyr in the cause of that religion he had so eminently adorned, and of those liberties he had so long and so bravely defended.”

It must give a sensible pleasure to every reader, who enters into these things with a becoming spirit, to reflect, that notwithstanding these unparalleled and irreparable losses, this family, which has been long celebrated for so many worthy branches, is not yet extinct;

Concluding exhortation.

extinct; but that both Sir Robert Munro and the Captain have left those behind them, who may not only bear up the name, but if they answer the hopes which in the opening of life they give to their country, may add new honours to it.

I hope the reader will not lay down this narrative, which is now brought to a close, without deriving some useful lessons from the remarkable train of Providence, which this Appendix, as well as the preceding Memoirs, offer to his observation. And the more he enters into these lessons, the more will he be disposed to lift up his wishes and prayers to God for those valuable remains both of Sir Robert Munro's and of Colonel Gardmer's family, which may yet be within the reach of such addresses; that God may graciously support them in their sorrows, and that all the virtues and graces of the illustrious dead may live in them, and in their remotest posterity. Amen!

IN illustration of the preceding Account of the last moments of that exemplary Christian and eminent Soldier, COLONEL GARDINER, we subjoin the following Statements of the Affairs of both Armies, previous to and during the disgraceful Action of Glads-muir, or Prestonpans;—the first is an Account published at Edinburgh, by the Rebel Commander, who then held possession of that City;—the second is a Journal of the Proceedings of the English Forces commanded by Sir John Cope, under whom Colonel Gardiner fought and expired.

ACCOUNT
OF
THE BATTLE OF PRESTONPANS,

Published at Edinburgh, under the Authority of

THE DUKE OF PERTH, THE REBEL COMMANDER

September 21, 1715.

THE Grants of Glenmoriston joined this army yesterday. That morning the Prince put himself at the head of the army at Duddingston, and presenting his sword, said, "My friends, I have flung away the scabbard." This was answered by a cheerful huzza. The army marched and drew up on Carberry-Hill, where we learned that General Cope had fallen down into the low country, east of Prestonpans. This directed our march along the brow of the hill, till we descried the enemy; upon which the Highlanders gave a shout by way of defiance, expressing such eagerness to run down upon them, that nothing less than authority could restrain them from coming to action directly.

Some gentlemen went out to observe their camp, and reconnoitre the ground, while the army advanced, till it came opposite to, and at half a mile's distance from the enemy. These gentlemen returning, in-

The disposition of the attack.

formed that they had got into a fastness, having a very broad and deep ditch in front, the town of Preston on the right, some houses and a small morass on the left, and the *Firth of Forth* on the rear. This made it impracticable to attack them in front, but at the greatest risk.

That evening Mr. Cope discharged several cannon at us. A gentleman who had seen their army that day advised us, that they were above 4000 strong, besides volunteers, seceders, &c. from Edinburgh, and several gentlemen at the head of their tenants; that General Hamilton's dragoons stood on the right, Colonel Gardiner's on their left; the regiments of Lascelles and Murray, five companies of Lee's, four of Guise's, three of the Earl of Loudon's, and a number of recruits for regiments abroad and at home, formed the centre; and that they were all in top spirits.

About three in the morning of Saturday, the 21st, we got off the ground, and marched eastward; then turning north, formed a line to prevent the enemy's retreat through the east country, while another body of men were posted to provide against their stealing a march upon us towards Edinburgh.

The disposition of the attack being made, the prince made a short speech to his people; after which
he

Enthusiasm of the Highlanders

he marched to engage them thus: The right wing was commanded by the Duke of Perth, as lieutenant-general, and consisted of the battalions of Glengary, Clanronald, Keppoch, and Glenco. The left by Lieutenant-General Lord George Murray, consisting of the Camerons of Lochiel, the Duke of Percy's battalions, Ardsheil's, the Macgregors, &c. The right wing in the march extended itself so far towards the sea, that being arrived in a hollow they could not observe the enemy was drawn up, till our left was actually engaged, which exposed our left to the flank fire of the enemy; upon which also their artillery played, but did no other mischief than carrying off the calf of a gentleman's leg.

The signal having been given to form and attack, nothing could parallel the celerity and dexterousness with which the Highlanders performed that motion, except the courage and ardour with which they afterwards fought; and pulling off their bonnets, looking up to heaven, made a short prayer, and ran forward. They received a very full fire from right to left of the enemy, which killed several; but advancing up, they discharged and threw down their muskets, and drawing their broad swords gave a most frightful and hideous shout, rushing most furiously upon the enemy, so that in seven or eight minutes both horse and foot were totally routed and drove from the field of battle; though it must be owned that the enemy fought very gallantly; but they could not withstand the

the

The English army completely routed

the impetuosity, or rather *fury* of the Highlanders, and were forced to run when they could no longer resist.

Some dragoons formed soon after on a neighbouring eminence; but observing our men marching to attack them, fled to Dalkeith; others took shelter in the neighbouring villages; others got to Leith; Major Crawford rode up to the castle of Edinburgh, and was followed by a few dragoons. We know not what became of General Cope.

The second line, which was commanded by Lord Nairn, and consisted of the Athol men, Strowman's people, and Machlachlans, &c. could not come up to have a share of the honour.

We had killed on the spot in this battle of Gladsmuir, near Seaton house, Captain Robert Stuart, of Ardsheil's battalion; Captain Archibald Macdonald, of Keppoch's; Lieutenant Allan Cameron of Lindavra; and Ensign James Cameron, of Lochyel's regiment.

Captain James Drummond, alias Macgregor, of the Duke of Perth's regiment, mortally wounded. About 30 private men killed, and 70 or 80 wounded.

The enemy had killed Colonel Gardiner, Captain John Stuart of Phisgill, Rogers and Bishop, and En-

with the loss of a number of prisoners, &c.

sign Forbes; beside 83 officers and prisoners, many of them wounded.

It is computed above 500 of the enemy were killed; and that 900 are wounded, and that we have taken about 1400 prisoners. All their cannon, mortars, several colours, standards, abundance of horses and arms, were taken; as was all their baggage, equipage, &c.

The Prince, as soon as victory declared for him, mounted his horse, and put a stop to the slaughter; and finding no * surgeons amongst the enemy, dispatched an officer to Edinburgh with orders to bring all the surgeons to attend; which was accordingly done.

* It appears by a list of prisoners that there were doctors, and without doubt there were surgeons. But this is not the only air they assume, many letters mentioning that they industriously concealed their dead, by throwing them into coal pits.

A
COMPLETE JOURNAL
OF
SIR JOHN COPE'S EXPEDITION.
In a Letter from an Officer to his Friend.

Edinburgh, Sept. 27, 1745.

DEAR SIR,

MY part of the most agreeable campaign, that I believe ever was made, is now, as to action, unhappily at an end, by my being made prisoner on the fatal 21st instant. I am confined here, together with a great many very pretty, though unfortunate fellows, where we are very well used, and have the liberty of the town on our parole. I having had full time for reflection since I came here, and for confirming my own memory, from conversation with my unfortunate companions, and of informing myself, both from friends and enemies, of what passed that I was not eye witness to, in and after the action, in such a manner, as that I can, with absolute confidence, bid you depend upon the truth of every fact I tell you—I sit down to give you our history since we marched from Stirling.

Soon

The army departs from Stirling.

Soon after the certain accounts reached us at Edinburgh, that the Pretender's son was landed at Moydant, and gathering people about him there, we were told that in obedience to orders from above, we were to hold ourselves in readiness for a march to the Chain, a name we gave to the road leading from Inverness to Fort William.

As the country we were to march through, could not afford subsistence for the troops, it was absolutely necessary to carry a stock of bread along with us; thus the General caused to be provided at Leith, Stirling, and Perth. As soon as it was got ready, we set out from Stirling, where the troops assembled.

It was well for us that we had a sutler well provided, and a butcher with a drove of black cattle, (which he killed for us from time to time) along with us; without this precaution we had starved upon the march.

A march of regular troops, when the country was in its present situation by themselves, was thought hazardous, but we were told, that we were to be joined at Crief with a body of the well affected Highlanders, and we carried 1000 arms that length along with us, to put into their hands; but so it happened, that not a man of them joined us, neither there nor any where else, till we came to Inverness.

It seemed to me that the General, when we came to Crief, found reason to believe he was not to expect to be joined by any of them, for he sent back from thence, to Stirling Castle, 700 of the arms. It was well he did so, for it would have been impossible to get them to Inverness for want of carriages.

However, we went forward cheerfully by ourselves, notwithstanding the disappointment; and I observe it to you once for all, that notwithstanding the many difficulties we met with in it, and the many forced marches we made in order to pass the rivers for fear of their swelling, yet such was the heartiness of the troops for the service, that no body was heard to complain upon the whole march.

At Del-whinny we were informed that the rebels were posted on and in Corryerrick, a noted pass, 17 miles distant on our way to the Chain. The General thereupon called together the commanding officers of the several corps, and laid before them the orders he had to march directly to the Chain, and his intelligence about the disposition of the rebels, desiring to have their opinion what was proper to be done.

The intelligence was undoubted, that the enemy were to wait for us at Corryerrick, where their different parties from the head of Loch-Lochy, and Luggaunauchnadruan, might easily join them. They intended to line the traverses, or windings of the road,
up

up the mountain, which are 17 in number. In these traverses their men would be intrenched to their teeth, they are flanked by a hollow, or water-course, which falls from the top of the mountain; they intended to line this water-course, where their men would be well covered, as likewise numbers of them might be among the rocks, on the top of the hill. They proposed to break down the bridge at Snugburrow, which lifts the roads over a steep precipice, and to place men in two hollow-ways, which flanked the road both ways. Formerly several of these officers had marched over that ground, and all of them unanimously agreed, that to force the rebels in it was utterly impracticable. It must inevitably be attended with the loss of all our provisions, artillery, military stores, &c. and indeed of the troops: that the giving the rebels any success upon their first setting out, was by all means to be prevented, as what might be attended with bad consequences to the service.

The next question then was, whether it was most advisable to return to Stirling with all expedition, or march to Ruthven, and so on to Inverness? Upon this they were also unanimous in their opinion, that to return to Stirling was by no means advisable. The rebels could march to Stirling a nearer way than we could, by the marching down the side of Loch Rannoch. They would get to the bridge of Kynachin before us; they would break it down, and thereby cut off our retreat; this is a bridge upon

They determine to march to Inverness

Tumble, a water so rapid, that it is not fordable in any place that I could hear of. To stay where we were, and thereby pretend to stop their progress southward, was folly; they could without coming over Corryerrick, go south, by roads over the mountains, practicable for them, utterly impracticable for regular troops. And upon taking a survey of our provisions, we found, that, what from our having been under a necessity to leave a great deal of it by the way upon the march, for want of horses to bring it along, (which we found it impossible to get) and what from the great damage which that part of it which we did bring forward, had received from the rains, we had not above two days' bread left that could be eat, and we were unhappily in a country that could not supply us. There was therefore no manner of choice left us—to Inverness we must go—which we did accordingly.

We made no longer stay there than was absolutely necessary for our preparing for our march to Aberdeen. The night before we left Inverness we were
joined

* The foregoing account, published by authority of the Rebel Commander, says, 'On the 26th of August, Cope having intelligence of our strength, was so intimidated, that he altered his route from Corryerrick to Ruthven, and to prevent our falling on his rear performed a four days' march in two, and our men were so vexed at being disappointed, that 500 of them, offered to march 24 miles in the night, and intercept his way, but it was not thought practicable.'

Edinburgh delivered up to the Rebels.

joined by 200 of the Munroes, under the command of Captain George Munroe, of Culcairn, who went along with us to Aberdeen, and were the only Highlanders, not of the regular troops, who joined us in this expedition.

Our march to Aberdeen was no less expeditious than our former from Crief to Inverness, and from thence to Aberdeen, the General did not allow us to rest one day. Upon our arrival there we found he had taken care to have transports ready, and every thing in order for carrying us to Leith by sea. We came to Dunbar on Monday the 16th of September, and all the troops were landed there on the 17th, and the artillery, &c. on the 18th, as the first and nearest place we could land at on the south side of the Firth.

Here we met with the astonishing news of the city of Edinburgh being given up to the rebels, on the 17th, at five in the morning.

The history of their march after they left Corryerick, and the incidents to which their getting the city of Edinburgh delivered up to them was owing, you must have heard from other hands. I am well assured, that the far greater part of the principal inhabitants of that place shewed a warm zeal for his majesty's service, and for defending that city; and I believe that on the 16th, a message was sent from Brigadier

The armies advance towards each other.

gadier Fowke, the advocate and justice clerk to the Provost, to acquaint him, that Sir John Cope with the troops was off Dunbar, and that the whole of the two regiments of dragoons should that night march into the city for its defence, if he desired it; but a deputation was sent from him and his council to treat with the rebels, and declined to desire them to be sent in; in consequence of this treaty, the rebels entered the town next morning.

We marched from Dunbar on the 19th towards Edinburgh; we encamped that night upon the field westward of Haddington, and set out from thence early the next morning.

On this day's march we had frequent intelligence brought, that the rebels were advancing towards us with their whole body, with a quick pace. We could not therefore get to the ground it was intended we should, having still some miles to march through a country, some part of which was interlined with walls. The General therefore thought it proper to choose the first open ground he found, and a better spot could not have been chosen for the cavalry to be at liberty to act in. We got out of the defiles in our way, and came to this ground just in time before the enemy got up to us.

We had no sooner completed our disposition, and got our little army formed in excellent order, when
the

The Rebels are out manœuvred

the rebels appeared upon the high ground south of us. We then formed a full front to theirs, prepared either to wait their coming to us, or to take the first advantage for attacking them. During this interval we exchanged several huzzas with them, and probably from their not liking our disposition they began to alter their own. They made a large detachment to their left towards Preston (as we imagined) in order to take us in flank, their number being vastly superior to ours.

Our General having upon this, with several of the officers, reconnoitred their design, immediately caused us to change our front, forming us with our right to the sea, and our left where the front had been: this disposition disappointed their project of taking us in flank, and that part of their army immediately counter marched back again.

From this change of theirs, we were again obliged to take new ground, which our people constantly performed with great alacrity and regular exactness, and in all outward appearance with a cheerful countenance, and eager desires to engage.

The night coming on, and the enemy so near, we could only content ourselves, with a small train of six gallopers, to throw a few shot amongst an advanced party of theirs who had taken possession of the
churchyard

The Rebels begin the attack.

churchyard of Tranent, that lay between their front and ours.

Till about three in the morning, of a very dark night, our patrols could scarce perceive any motion they made, every thing seemed so quiet : but about this hour, the patrols reported them to be in a full march, in great silence, towards the east : at four they reported, that they were continuing their march north-east. From this it appeared, that they designed to attack our left flank with their main body ; and upon the General's being confirmed that this was their intention, he made a disposition in less time than one would think it possible, by which he brought our front to theirs, and secured our flanks by several dikes on our right, towards Tranent, with our left flank inclining to the sea.

The moment this disposition was completed, three large bodies in columns, of their picked out Highlanders, came in a-pace, though in a collected body, with great swiftness. And the column which was advancing towards our right, where our train was posted, after receiving the discharge of a few pieces, almost in an instant, and before day broke, seized the train, and threw into the utmost confusion a body of about 100 foot of ours, who was posted there to guard it.

All

The dastardly conduct of the English dragoons.

All remedies, in every shape, were tried by the General, Brigadier Fowke, the Earls Loudon and Hume, and the officers about them, to remedy this disorder, but in vain. This, unhappily, with the fire made (though a very irregular one) by the Highland column on our right, struck such a panic into the dragoons, that in a moment they fled, and left Gardiner, their Colonel (who was heard to call upon them to stand) to receive the wounds which left him on the field. His Lieutenant-Colonel, Whitney, while within his horse's length of them, coming up with his squadron to attack them, received a shot which shattered his arm, and was left by his squadron too. And from this example the whole body became possessed with the same fatal dread, so that it became utterly impossible for the General, or any one of the best intentioned of his officers, either to put an end to their fears, or stop their flight, though he and they did all that was in the power of men to do, and in doing it, exposed themselves in such a manner to the fire of the rebels, that I cannot account for their escaping it any other way, but that all of it was aimed at the run-away dragoons, who, in spite of all endeavours to stop them, ran away from the field, through the town of Preston; Gardiner's by the defile which passes by his house, which was in our rear on the right, and Hamilton's by one of our left, north of the house of Preston.

 The gallantry of the English officers

At the west end of the town of Preston, the General, with the Earls of Loudon and Hume, stopped, and endeavoured by all possible means to form and bring them back to charge the enemy now in disorder on the pursuit, but to no purpose. Upon which, he put himself at their head, and made a retreat leisurely, towards the road leading south from Edinburgh, to Gingle-Kirk, and thereby kept a body of about 450 of them together, and carried them into Berwick next day.

Brigadier Fowke, seeing things in this extremity with the dragoons, and hearing of several discharges in his rear, galloped towards it, believing that it came from a body of our foot, who might be still maintaining their ground, hoping, by them to retrieve the fortune of the day; he was mistaken, it was the rebels, the smoke of their fire, and the little day-light prevented his discovering who they were, until he was close upon the right flank of their main body, and he must have fallen into their hands, if Captain Wadderburn, a foot officer of ours had not called out aloud to him to apprize him of his danger.

I am told, that Colonel Lascelles behaved very gallantly. Being deserted by his men, he fell into the enemy's hands upon the field, but in the hurry they were in, he found means to make his escape eastward, and got safe to Berwick.

in their endeavours to restore the fortune of the day.

I do not mention the behaviour of the officers, I saw a good many of them exerting themselves to rally the dragoons, before they entered the defiles through which they fled from the field. In general, I have not heard one single suggestion against any one man, who had the honour to carry the king's commission, either in the dragoons or foot, as if he had not done his duty. Neither officers nor general can divest men of dread and panic when it seizes them, he only can do that who makes the heart of man. To their being struck with a most unreason-able panic, and to no one thing else, the disgraceful event was owing. The ground was to our wish, the disposition was unexceptionable, and we were fully formed.

I know you will expect that I should inform you what were the numbers on both sides in the action. —Of our side, I am convinced we were not above 1500 men who should have fought. As to them, it was so dark when they came to attack us, that I could only perceive them like a black hedge moving to-wards us. Some people magnify their numbers, others endeavour to lessen them; but by the best ac-counts, and the most to be depended upon (which I have been able to get) they were not less than 5000 men.

REMARKS

ON THE

CONDUCT OF SIR JOHN COPE.

By an Officer of the Army.

IT is the duty, and indeed the proper business, of a general officer, to form a true judgment of the enemy, and direct the motions and disposition of his troops accordingly; his adjutant, without ten grains of common sense, can do all the rest by the usual mechanic rule.

Rude troops breaking in upon an army by violence is much the same as a mad unexperienced fellow running headlong on a fine fencer; he parries here, retreats there, plays with his adversary till he has spent his spirits, and then disarms or dispatches him. To suffer troops to be broke by a sudden shock, is a fatal error in the military science; a fine fencer in war, if I may use the expression, will rather give way to the first shock of rude resolved troops, than suffer a single man to be disordered. If at Dettingen the body of foot, on whom the black musqueteers of France bore

Argument in favour of an attacking force.

bore down with impetuosity, had not opened to let them pass, they might have been defeated at the first onset; but by their good conduct, in opening to them a seeming free passage, the attack took a very different turn.

In the late battle of Fontenoy, the bravery of our troops became in some measure useless, by the manner of the French planting their batteries, and taking care rather to have them well guarded, than the bodies of men supported, who were to oppose the first fury of the British troops, as well knowing that were they obliged to retreat, the others could not follow; but if they lost their cannon, the main point would have been carried, and consequently their army defeated.

Those two instances are sufficient to show two material errors in General Cope's conduct; but there is a third, of which Sir Walter Raleigh speaks, and which the late Duke of Argyle had, if I am rightly informed, considered thoroughly; which is the attacking, rather than suffering to be attacked, whereby the force, vigour, and courage of the assailants is doubled: by this conduct the Highlanders, in the late Rebellion, were beat by one of our wings, and dispersed; while, on the contrary, the other was beat by the Highlanders on the same principle. The Duke of Marlborough gained all his victories by the
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Causes which produced the general panic,

like conduct, and Cromwell always esteemed it essential to victory.

I have carefully examined the plan of the battle, and duly considered the accounts that have been published. This I mention, that it may not be presumed I am forming the economy of the battle out of my own head.

The situation of our cannon on the right, guarded only by an hundred men, is a circumstance that first strikes me; and the suffering the main body of the enemy to bend their force thither, and that guard no way supported, is truly matter of astonishment. But it is no kind of wonder, that those men deserted the cannon on the first attack; it would have shocked the most experienced veterans to have seen themselves so exposed to the attack of 1000 men, and could presume nothing less than treachery. The next attack naturally fell upon the dragoons of the right, who seeing the cannon so idly lost, and turned upon themselves, naturally enough quitted the field of battle. This leaves the right wing open and exposed to the violence of the next attack; who seeing the cannon lost, and the dragoons who covered them gone, fired in confusion, and then threw down their arms. What was done on the other wing seems not very material; it was the business of the Highland officers so to behave, as to prevent our troops on the
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which proceeded from the bad disposition of the English army

left from supporting those of the right, who being at once both in confusion and flanked, naturally bore in upon the main body ; and the left wing being drove in at the same time upon the centre, and altogether driven tumultuously on the corps de reserve, I think this infamous affair is very easily accounted for, without any prejudice either to the courage of the inferior officers or common soldiers.

In this disposition, the rebels were really ten men to their one ; and therefore under all circumstances the endeavouring to rally the troops became quite useless ; the business was effectually done, and a man need but form to himself a clear idea of these concurrent circumstances, and plainly see that all human aid was vain.

If the reader will imagine the cannon removed, and the guard that attended it, to the centre of the body of reserve, and fancy to himself, at the same time, the main body of the rebels coming furiously down on the front of our army, which he must suppose opening to the right and left from the centre, leaving a void space, open to the body of reserve, and making together three sides of a quadrangle, and the rebels rushing furiously in, he will form to himself a very natural and obvious idea of what must have been their fate.

I do not care to perplex the reader with the variety
of

 Military observations.

of evolutions and dispositions an army is capable of forming into on different emergencies; it is sufficient to shew one that is clear and intelligible, which may give sufficient light to a judicious mind, and put him on contriving many more. In the whole, there is nothing more clear than the wrongness of the disposition; for in the first place, cannon should be always so stationed, as not to be easily carried by an enemy. If it must be so situate as not easily to be reinforced with an additional guard, if required, it should either have a very strong guard, or be raised within deep entrenchments, or both; otherwise it had better remain in the rear of the front lines, to be drawn up and used occasionally. Where there is but few cannon between both armies, it is of the last consequence that if it cannot be placed to do good, it may at least do no harm. It had better be any where than in the hands of the enemy; this, I believe, is clear to the meanest apprehension; but how it can be conceive that an hundred men was a proper guard, without entrenchment or reinforcement, is not quite so easy.

The general notion of their being surprised is quite ridiculous, since it is agreed on all hands, they had the whole night, and part of the day before, to put themselves into what order they pleased; and why it was put to the hazard of suffering the cannon to be detached from the main body during the night seems perfect infatuation, and such kind of generalship as not to be met with in history.

Anecdote of a French officer.

I remember its being said by a French officer, after their army being beat by the Duke of Marlborough in the late war, and himself taken prisoner, “change general with us, and we’ll fight you over again :” by which he seemed to intimate, that neither the officers nor soldiers wanted courage, but that both wanted a general.

It is most certainly true, that the commander-in-chief is the main spring of action ; as he is dull or active, the whole machine moves accordingly. There are abundance of ill-natured circumstances concerning this action, some of them not well authorized, and the rest insignificant. I shall name one of the last class, which is, that, from a motive I do not choose to mention, no orders were given to fire till the rebels were close upon our troops ; but if I have a right idea of the battle, and the time, they could not be seen far, and that the main body of the rebels had surprised the cannon, before our main body knew any thing of the matter, else it is natural to believe, some part would have moved to its defence. But as that was not the case, I presume they knew nothing of the matter until it was too late, or, what is as bad, that the general had formed the army in such a certain manner, as that the disposition was not to be altered, yet the circumstances vary as they might ; if so, it was a piece of pedantry very unbecoming a commander-in-chief, and upon a plan quite new and uncommon. However, it may be so, since it is very unnatural to
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 Military observations.

ordinary understandings to be capable of looking but one way at a time, and that not always the best.

The fighting of Englishmen in the dark, is, in general, a very wrong step ; it is bad in an attack, but in suffering themselves to be attacked, much worse ; more especially, without being so prepared by disposition and retrenchments, as might render it morally impossible for the enemy to succeed. Every man of common sense, though an absolute stranger to the art of war, yet if he expected an enemy to attack his house in the night, would not draw out his men, and set them in a formal line, but would place them in such disposition as might guard it in every quarter, and yet so as that they might instantly be together in a body, if necessary. He would not say if he had cannon, " Place them here or there, absolutely, let the enemy come which way they will." but would so dispose them, as that they might be commanded at any place in an instant. This I say would be the case of a common understanding, but a general should know much more ; he should not only know how to provide against an enemy, but by infinite slight, artifice, and contrivance, know how to draw an enemy into almost any snare he could lay for him. The common course of things is but the business of ordinary minds, and mere fighting the genius of a common soldier ; a general's parts and education, his wit and capacity, should as far surpass their understandings,

 Concluding remarks.

understandings, as his post does in dignity ; without this they differ only in the work of fortune, not of merit ; and a general is but a common soldier, with an important commission in his pocket. In the whole, all ages and times have evinced, that to be a mere mechanic soldier is much the least part of a general. But as every man is willing to rise if he can, so if a man be raised to a dignity superior to his capacity, and happens to fail in no part but that, that is to say, is neither a coward nor a traitor, in such a case, those who raised him should be tender in their punishments, because it was as much their mistake as his misfortune.

Rebellion is esteemed by all the worst kind of war, as it contributes to depopulate a country, and establishes an hereditary hatred amongst those who survive the common calamity. On the other hand, if it must happen at all, it is better before we are too much lost in luxury and forgetfulness : and to balance, in some measure, the mischief it is capable of producing, it may contribute to make us ourselves, again, to relish the sweets of liberty, and calm repose, under a sovereign we ought to esteem ; and consequently bring at once before us, all the horrors of arbitrary power, tyranny, and misery ; and what may perhaps be of equal importance to our future welfare, distinguish our friends from our enemies, and teach some of our great men to know, that, if for the future they

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Concluding remarks.

would be well defended, they should only interest themselves with the sovereign for the preferment of such men, who rather attend to their professions, and shine there, than at courts and levees; always concluding, that he who neglects his business to wait on nods and smiles, is totally unfit to command either fleets or armies in defence of his native land.

END.
