

# WILLIAM BEDELL

## His Life and Times



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*By*

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**WILLIAM BEDELL - 1571-1642**

## FOREWORD



MY SOLE QUALIFICATIONS FOR COMPLYING WITH DR. Gamble's request that I would write this Foreword are (1) that I was a very unworthy successor of William Bedell, the greatest, most saintly and learned of the long line of Bishops of Kilmore; (2) that I have, I think, read all the lives of Bedell which have been published; and (3) that his example was the greatest inspiration in my work in the diocese for which he laboured so heroically, and where his influence abides. How remarkably the example he set of what a Bishop's life and work should be has been an inspiration to his successors may be illustrated by the reverence in which Alfred George Elliott, Bishop of Kilmore from 1897-1915, held the memory of William Bedell. He paid his great predecessor a tribute which was deeper than hero worship. Symbolic of this reverence and admiration was his determination to be buried as near to the grave of William Bedell as authority would permit. The life of Bishop Elliott is another tale worth telling by a competent historian.

I am glad that Dr. Gamble's Life of William Bedell is to be published, and I trust that it will bring inspiration to many readers. Every Bishop of the Anglican Communion should study the career of this great historical personality, as part of the preparation for his consecration. He was a noble figure. His work, both as Provost of Trinity College and as Bishop of Kilmore, brought him face to face with such corruption and irregularities as were all too common in the secular political and ecclesiastical life of the day. He faced the task of cleansing Augean Stables with supreme courage, coupled with exceptional ability, and always in the spirit of Christian humility. The result for him was opposition and unpopularity in high quarters, reproof from Viceroys and Archbishops, constant worry and anxiety; but from the poor and oppressed a love

which found expression in the salute fired over his grave by soldiers of the Irish Army, as his worn-out body was committed to the ground. It was always for others, never for himself that he fought, toiling in the cause of righteousness, weary and heartbroken at times. A great theologian, and outstanding scholar, learned in the law, a leader of men, he was one whose life was founded upon faith and prayer. Every task was undertaken with heroic conscientiousness for the glory of God. Had his fellow bishops and the secular leaders of the day followed his wise policies, the history of our country might well have taken a different and happier course.

ARTHUR DUBLIN.

## EARLY LIFE



**W**ILLIAM BEDELL was born in the village of Black Notley in Essex, on the 29th September, 1571. The Bedell family was of no great eminence from a worldly point of view, only of Yeoman stock. William's ancestors, grandfather and father, were both deeply religious, of Puritan outlook, and of the Calvinistic school of theology.

This we might expect. The Reformation had only recently taken place, and this was the natural aftermath, an extreme reaction from the old system.

Naturally William Bedell imbibed the views of his forbears, and was trained up in that atmosphere, and in the narrow tenets of Calvinism.

Sternness and determination were also traits which William Bedell appears to have inherited from his forefathers, and it is thought that he also inherited the tendency to hospitality, which ever characterized him, from his mother, who was the essence of kindness.

Bedell was religiously inclined from an early age. There is a saying that the child marks the man, or is father of the man, so it was with William Bedell. Early in life he showed those gifts and characteristics for which he afterwards became so distinguished. His boyhood was noted for piety, and industry, a thing very rare in youth.

He was first sent to a local school, the master of which was a capable teacher, and Bedell made good progress under his care.

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Bedell was not brilliant, but he was naturally studious, and hard working, and so he succeeded.

At the early age of eleven, he left the local school, and entered Cambridge University.

In keeping with his religious views, he was sent to Emmanuel College, which was congenial to one holding such views.

He entered College in 1584, and took the usual university course, and soon after entrance became a scholar (1585).

For four years he showed no outstanding ability, and was just in the common run. But at the end of the first four years he began to distinguish himself.

He graduated B.A. 1588, took M.A. 1592, and as soon as he was old enough, he was elected a Fellow of the College (1593), and proceeded to the B.D. degree in 1599.

He acted for a time as Catechetical Lecturer, and also as Bursar.

Bedell now became a diligent student of, and attained proficiency in Divinity, Philosophy, Arts, Latin, and Greek. He excelled in Greek, not using translations, as so many do, but going to the fountain head, the originals. He also made a study of Syriac, Arabic, and Hebrew—in short, he was, for his time, a very good classical scholar. Nothing can show the mastery he acquired, more than the fact that he could produce grammars to meet the requirements of all these languages. As well as in Greek, he also specialized in Philosophy and in Divinity.

Dr. Chaderton, who was then Master of Emmanuel College, had a very high opinion of Bedell. Bedell also won the approbation of a Mr. Perkins, who guided him in his studies, and thus, in no small way, contributed to his success.

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In his later years in college, Bedell devoted the greatest part of his time to Divinity.

His knowledge of Divinity was so marked, and profound, and correct, that it left an indelible impression on that celebrated critic and judge, Paulo, the Venetian, some time later on.

While at Cambridge, Bedell won the reputation of being not only an eminent scholar, but a Godly man, a man of piety, and of mature judgment.

Even as a young man, he was marked out by his leadership, and impressed all who came in contact with him, and he was often made a court of appeal in cases of difficulty.

As a student, and while still a layman, he did Home Mission work locally, among the godless.

Bedell's inclinations at this time (College days) was for the ministry. One might expect that from his keenness for Theology.

He entered Holy Orders in 1597, before leaving College, and was ordained by Dr. Stern, the Suffragan Bishop of Colchester.

In due course, he was given charge, for a short time, of the Parish of Bury, St. Edmunds, in Suffolk.

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### AS CHAPLAIN



**I**N 1607, in the reign of James I, Bedell was appointed to go to Venice, as Chaplain, to Sir Henry Wotton, the English Ambassador.

At the time of Bedell's arrival, Venice had just been set free from an Interdict, imposed by Pope Paul V, as a result of a conflict of authority. There was an old feud between Venice and the Holy See, which originated over the question of discipline, and resulted in Venice being put under an Interdict in 1606.

The facts are briefly these. The Republic of Venice passed Edicts forbidding the erection of new churches in Venice without licence from the Government, and also prohibiting fresh ecclesiastical endowments. Furthermore, two clerics were arrested, and justly imprisoned, for crimes, by the Venetian Government. The Pope (Paul V) demanded their release, and when the Venetian Senate refused to submit, the Pope issued a Bull of Interdict.

That piece of discipline had not unduly embarrassed Venice, rather it had inclined her rulers to consider the possibility of going over to the side of the Reformation. There were high hopes in Protestant circles, that the Republic of Venice might break with the Vatican. Indeed, it was only by the merest chance that there was not a breaking away from Rome.

The Republic retaliated when the Interdict was imposed, and the dispute went on from bad to worse, till eventually France acted as intermediary, and peace was restored.



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The post of Chaplain, coming at this juncture, was congenial to a man of Bedell's views.

Bedell was in his element in a matter like the Venetian controversy, and he took an active, though belated part, in the endeavour to confirm the Leaders of the Venetians in their revolt against the Pope.

He also instructed, in the Scriptures, seven Venetian Divines, who were in the schism against Rome.

At Venice, Bedell made the acquaintance of the famous Father Paulo Sarpi, the ecclesiastical leader of the Republic, and the well-known author of the "History of the Council of Trent," who became a life-long friend.

In many respects they were kindred spirits, and from their associations, shed an influence for good upon each other.

They assisted each other in the language question. With the help of Paulo, Bedell learned, and mastered, the Italian language, and could preach in Italian. He also, with Paulo's aid, perfected his Latin.

Bedell, in turn, wrote an English grammar for Paulo, and was his adviser in Theology, especially the Hebrew and Greek originals of the Bible.

He also translated the Prayer Book into Italian for the benefit of Paulo, and others.

Bedell, and Sarpi, spent many hours daily in each others company, and it was hoped, in England, that Sarpi might become a Leader of Reformation, for, as stated, under Bedell's guidance, he read much English theology.

Another that figured largely in Bedell's life, at Venice, was Rabbi Leo, Chief of the Jewish community at Venice, from whom Bedell acquired a masterly knowledge of Hebrew.

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If Leo assisted Bedell in the Hebrew, Bedell, on the other hand, convinced Leo, from the scriptures, that Jesus was the Christ.

In collaboration with Leo, Bedell produced a famous Hebrew copy of the Old Testament, which was later presented to, and is now in Emmanuel College, Cambridge.

While in Venice, Bedell reviewed "De Republica Ecclesiastica" a work of one Spalantensis, and corrected quotations from Scripture, the Fathers, and History.

During Bedell's residence in Italy, he got a wonderful insight into the working of the Roman Catholic system, which enabled him to treat of the matter with masterly power, in after years.

There are letters of Bedell's still extant, written from Venice to Dr. Adam Newton, Dean of Durham, which reveal the low state of Religion, and morals, in Italy at this time.

On the termination of his period as Chaplain, Bedell returned to England, and resumed work at Bury St. Edmunds.

When he left Venice, Paulo deeply regretted his departure, and gave him a gift of books, including a Hebrew Bible, a Psalter, a copy of the "Council of Trent," a "History of the Interdict," and of the "Inquisition."

Spalantensis, and Dr. Despontine, an Italian Convert, came to England with Bedell.

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### AS CLERGYMAN



**O**N his return to England in 1610, Bedell took up work again at Bury St. Edmunds, where he was gladly received by his former parishioners, and where he continued till 1615.

Here he won golden opinions for his assiduity to duty, and for his consistent Christian life, and here too, he showed that independence of spirit, which ever characterized him.

It is recorded, that on one occasion, at a Church meeting, the Bishop of the Diocese proposed the adoption of a certain measure, unpopular among the clergy, and Bedell was the only one present, who had the courage to oppose it, and to express their dissatisfaction with it, which he did, with the result that the matter was dropped.

This incident enhanced Bedell very much in the estimation of his clerical brethren, and soon after he had a further remarkable proof of their esteem, when they nominated him sole representative of the County of Suffolk, as delegate to a celebrated convocation of the clergy; notwithstanding the fact, that he kept entirely in the background, when the selection was being made.

It was during these years at Bury, that Bedell married a widow, a Mrs. Mawe, whereby he became stepfather to five orphans, and by whom, he had also three sons, and one daughter, of his own.

At Bury, Bedell translated the "Interdict" out of Italian into Latin, and also the "History of the Inquisition," and of the "Council of Trent."

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It was at this time too that he carried on a long controversial correspondence on religion with Wadsworth, the apostate, a correspondence which showed Bedell's great learning and judgment. Wadsworth was a College contemporary of Bedell's, and went as Chaplain to the Court of Spain, about the time that Bedell, went to Venice, and he became a Roman Catholic, to the regret and disappointment of his old associates.

As Bedell's voice was weak, and the Church of St. Mary's, at Bury, was large, he decided to change, not only in his own interests, but in the best interests of the people, and of the Church.

A living, known as Horningsheath, in Suffolk, in the gift of Sir Thomas Jarmin, happening to fall vacant at this time (1615), it was offered by the Patron to Bedell, who accepted it, to the great regret of his Bury friends.

At Horningsheath the congregation was small, and the building small, and so it was well suited, in every way, to meet Bedell's requirements.

It speaks well for both Patron and Parson, that Sir Thomas remained Bedell's faithful friend and benefactor, through good and evil, to the end.

Bedell's institution to Horningsheath was not amicable. A dispute arose over what Bedell considered an extortionate charge by the Bishop's officers of the institution fees.

Bedell could not, or would not, pay, on conscientious grounds. He looked on it as simony, and refused the living. A deadlock ensued, to the dissatisfaction of all concerned. Bedell wrote to the Bishop stating his point of view. The Bishop, at length, yielded to Bedell's wishes, and sent for him, and installed him on his own terms.

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Bedell spent twelve years in Horningsheath, and in his characteristic way, was indefatigable in his work, in all its aspects, and during these years he also continued his studies, and wrote many books.

Bedell's domestic life, when a Parish clergyman, was very methodical, and he ruled his household with firmness, but with affection and respect. His family now consisted of nine children, and these he brought up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. They were a happy family and lived together very amicably.

As a rule, Bedell rose at 4 o'clock, a.m., and spent some hours in his study, in private devotion, and preparation for the day's work.

He always conducted family worship himself, and he had three periods for daily prayer: morning, noon, and evening.

His custom was, to first read a portion of scripture from the original Hebrew, or Greek, as the case might be, or else from a translation, and expound the same. This was followed by extempore prayer. Bedell never used the Book of Common Prayer at home. He tried to inculcate his own manner of life in his children, and as he always insisted in being master in his own house, he gradually had his way.

For some years he instructed his children himself, but owing to the manifold calls on his time, he had, after a while, to delegate this to others. He was a very plain-living man, not only as a clergyman, but all his life. Hardly ever changing his dress, or diet, or habits, and, in justifying himself for his mode of life, he had, as usual, recourse to the Scriptures and to the Prayer Book. His only recreation was gardening. He had acquired a love for it in Italy, and it contributed greatly to his physical health.

Strange to say, even in those early years, at table

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Bedell's presence seemed to overawe his guests, who were usually restrained in his company, and it was only when he withdrew, that they relaxed.

He strictly observed the Lord's Day, both publicly and privately. Here we see his Puritan upbringing.

That which was expected from Bedell's family and servants on Sunday, was very much on the model of the old Scottish Sabbath. This applied not only to demeanour in the home, but also in the Church.

His views, at this time, on Church order and ritual were strange, and his arrangement of the Church furniture was unusual.

The Communion Table he placed in the body of the Church, and not at the east end, and not railed in. He disliked instrumental music in Church, and when possible discarded it.

He also had his own method of using the Liturgy, and conducting Public worship, not always by division of labour, but by sometimes monopolising it himself.

Most modern churchmen would disagree with Bedell about these things, and probably condemn him. But they may, I think, be accounted for by the fact that he was bred in a Puritan atmosphere and tradition, and, furthermore, it is not improbable, that the dislike for some of them was engendered by his residence in Italy, where he saw them carried to extremes in the native church.

Bedell set great value on preaching. He excelled as an expository preacher himself. He was always careful to get the true meaning of the Text by comparing the originals, and building thereon.

His sermons were noted for clarity. He aimed at making the people understand the passage, or text, in the first instance. Bedell's usual method of preaching was: first, explaining the original, from the Hebrew

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or Greek, and to give the true meaning of the original is, of course, the best interpretation. Next, he made observations on the Text. Lastly, came an application to the hearers.

Although well acquainted with books and the commentaries of others, he never quoted or used them, but always gave his own versions or views.

He preached without notes, and a peculiarity he had, was to write down his sermons after delivery, and not before, as is usually done. It showed his prodigious memory.

Of feeble voice, the delivery was not striking, or eloquent, but the whole demeanour of the man, his evident sincerity, and piety, impressed his hearers, won attention, and carried conviction.

Any specimens of Bedell's sermons that have been preserved are interesting and instructive. They show thought, and are searching. In fact, the material was all good. The sermons were highly appreciated, and that by those who were competent to judge. This we might expect from a man of well-stored mind, who kept his knowledge up-to-date, and who was so informative that he was always well worth listening to, and commanded the attention of the most learned and critical.

Bedell considered that the chief aim in preaching is to show the heinousness of sin, and the motive and remedy for a virtuous life, and he tried to emphasise these points in his own sermons. His pre-sermon prayer was, as a rule, extempore, and varied, as suited the occasion, or the purpose he had in mind.

He preached twice on Sunday, and he had the unusual custom of publicly catechising the youth in church, before the evening sermon, to the admitted edification and profit of both young and old.

The following is a sample of Bedell's sermons. It

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is on Christian unity and Christian charity, and is based on the words of Christ: "Learn of ME for I am meek and lowly":—

"Is it not a shame that our two Bodies, the Church and Common-wealth, should excite mortal hatreds (or immortal rather) and being so near in place should be so far asunder in affection; it will be said by each that other are in fault, and perhaps it may be truly said, that both are; the one in that they cannot endure with patience the lawful superiority of the worthier Body; the other in that they take no care for to govern, that the governed may find it to be for their benefit to obey: until which time it will never be, but there will be repining and troubles, and wrangles between us. This will be done in my opinion, not by bolstering out and maintaining the errors and unruliness of the lower Officers or members of our Body, but by severely punishing them; and on both sides must be avoided such men for Magistrates and Ministers, as seek to dash us one against another all they may.

"And would to God this was all; but is it not a shame of shames, that man's emulations and contentions cannot stay themselves in matters of this sort, but the holy profession of Divinity is made fuel to a public fire; and that when we had well hoped all had been either quenched or raked up, it should afresh be kindled and blown up with bitter and biting words? God help us! we had need to attend to this Lesson of Christ, 'Learn of me, for I am meek and lowly in heart'; or to that of the Apostle, 'It behoves the Servant of God not to contend, but to be meek towards all, instructing with lenity those that be contrary affected, waiting if at any time God will give them a better mind to see the truth' (2 Tim. ii, 25).

"And here give me leave (R.W. and beloved Brethren and Sisters) to speak freely my mind unto



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you: I know right well that I shall incur the reproof of divers, yet I will never the more for that spare to utter my conscience; I hope wise men will assent or shew me better. For my part, I have been long of this mind, that many in their sermons and writings are to blame for their manner of dealing with the adversaries of their opinions, when they give reins to their Tongues and Pens, to railing and reproachful speeches, and think they have done well, when they exceed or equal them in this Trade; wherein to have the better is indeed to be the worse: and alledging that Text for themselves, ' That a fool is to be answered according to his folly; they do not consider that other, where such manner of answer is forbidden, whereby the answerer becometh like him ' (Prov. xxvi, 4, 15; i, 24, 26).

“ And this is yet more to be blamed, because sometimes all reasons are laid by, and nothing is soundly refuted, but only hot words are given, yea, and with a misconceiving or misreporting at least, of their opinions, and making everything worse than it is; which many times ariseth upon ambiguity of words not used in the like sense by both sides, what then? Do I approve of tolerations and unions with errors and heresies? Truly I wish not to live so long. And yet as our sins are, and our folly too to fall together by the ears about small matters amongst ourselves, there is just cause to fear it. But yet such points as may be reconciled, saving the truth, I see not what should move us to hold off in them, and why we may not seek to agree in word, as we do in meaning. For the rest, their purpose and endeavours shall deserve thanks who bringing them to the fairest and narrowest terms, shall set down how far we are to join with our dissenting Brethren; and where forever to dissent; that so controversies being handled without the vain flourish of swelling words, and (like proportions) our opinions

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being set down in the least terms, men may know what to bend their wits to, and where again to plant their arguments, not, as many do, roving always at random; but may always remember to imitate Christ's meekness, and to deal with arguments rather. Let us not envy the Papists and other Hereticks, the glory and preheminance in railing, wherein the more they excel, the more unlike they are to Christ, whose pattern is of meekness, 'Learn of me,' etc.

"Yea, but will some man say, This course will not stay man from backsliding to any error or heresy, etc., who can keep off his enemy without shot, etc.

"I.—God's Truth needs not to be graced, nor his glory sought by my sin.

"II.—Again it is so perhaps in an ignorant Auditor, and at the first; but if inquiring himself, he shall find that they or their opinions are not so bad as we make them to be, and would have them seem, it will be a hundred to one that in other things too, they will not seem to be so bad as they are, and unless I much mistake, it is not the storm of words, but the strength of reasons, that shall stay a wavering Judgment from errors, etc.

"When that like a tempest is overblown, the tide of others' examples will carry other men to do as the most do; but these like so many Anchors will stick, and not come again.

"III.—Besides our calling is to deal with errors, not to disgrace the man with scolding words. It is said of Alexander, I think, when he overheard one of his soldiers reviling lustily on Darius his enemy, he reproved him, and added, 'Friend (quoth he), I entertain thee to fight against Darius, not to revile him.' Truly it may be well thought that those that take this course shall find but small thanks at Christ's, our Captain's hands; and it is not unlike but he would

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say to them were he here on earth again, 'Masters, I would you should refute Popery, and set yourselves against Antichrist my enemy, with all the discoloured sects and Heretics, that fight under his banner against me, and not call him and his troops all to nought.'

"And this is my poor opinion concerning our dealing with the Papists themselves, perchance differing from the practice of men of great note in Christ's Family, Mr. Luther and Mr. Calvin, and others, but yet we must live by Rules, not examples; and they were men, who perhaps by complexion, or otherwise, were given over too much to anger and heat. Sure I am, the Rule of the Apostle is plain, even of such as are the slaves of Satan, that we must with lenity instruct them, waiting that when escaping out of his snare, they should recover a sound mind to do God's will in the place I quoted before.

"But now when men agreeing with ourselves in the main (yea, and in profession likewise enemies to Popery) shall varying never so little from us in Points of less consequence, be thereupon censured as favourers of Popery and other errors; when molehills shall be made mountains, and unbrotherly terms given: Alas! methinks this course favours not of meekness, nay it would hurt even a good cause, thus to handle it; for where such violence is, ever there is error to be suspected; Affection and Heat are the greatest enemies that can be to soundness of judgment, or exactness of comprehension; he that is troubled with passion, is not fitly disposed to judge of truth.

"Besides, is my conceit ever consonant with truth? and if I be subject to error myself, have I forgotten so much the common condition of mankind, or am I so much my own enemy, as to pursue with a terrible scourge of whip-cord, or wyer, that which was worthy of some gentler lashes. For indeed he that taketh pet and conceiveth indignation, that another should, I will

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not say differ from himself, but err, and be deceived, seems to proclaim war to all mankind, and may well look himself to find small favour, but rather to endure the Law that he had made, and be bated with his own rod.

“ To make an end of this point, which I would to God, I had not had an occasion to enter into. If this precept of our Lord Jesus Christ be to be heard, these things should not be so; if it were heard, they would not be so, and undoubtedly, if it be not heard, they that are faulty shall bear their judgment, whosoever they be. Meanwhile they shall deserve great praise of all that love Peace, who shall maintain quietness, even with some injury to themselves. And in a good cause do still endeavour to show forth the virtue of Christ, that hath called us, as the Apostle Peter exhorted us at large from this example of Christ, in his first Epistle, 21, 20, 21, 22, 23. It is the glory of a man to pass by an offence. Injuries if by regarding them a man lay himself open to them, wound and hurt us; if they be continued, or born off with the shield of meekness, they glance off, or rebound unto the party that offereth them.

“ Finally, he that in matters of controversy shall bring meekness to his defence, undoubtedly he shall overcome in the manner of handling; and if he bring truth also, he shall prevail at last in the matter.”

Bedell never did parochial work in a mere perfunctory manner. He looked on his ministerial office as a sacred trust.

His manner of life, and care for the poor and sick, won him great esteem, at this time. He was an exemplary Pastor in the true sense of the word. He took a personal interest in every member of his congregation, rich and poor. The poor he relieved with pecuniary assistance, which endeared him to all, and

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won their gratitude. He tried to help all spiritually, not only by sermons and example, but also by private admonition.

His treatment of the vagrant class reminds one of the famous Dr. Primrose, Vicar of Wakefield, of whom it is said, that "He chid their wanderings, but relieved their pain."

Bedell was very careful of Church property, and saw to it that the Church suffered no loss, and also that the buildings were kept in good repair. He was also very particular about Church dues and Church rights. This led to the famous lawsuit with one of his leading parishioners, a Mr. William Lucas, who, it was alleged, had appropriated, for his own use, some of Horningsheath Glebe lands. It was reported to the Rector, by some of the oldest parishioners, that part of the land in the possession of Mr. Lucas was formerly Church property. Bedell, before taking any action for recovery, made a search of the records of the Lord of the Manor, and found that the report was quite true. He approached Mr. Lucas in a friendly way, and requested the surrender, and restoration, of the property. Mr. Lucas refused to comply. Bedell then brought the matter into Court. The case dragged on for ten years, and eventually, through arbitration, a settlement was arrived at, and the property was restored to the Church.

We cannot but admire the courage and tenacity of Bedell, who tackled his own parishioner, and who continued the struggle for so long, and all done, not for any gain to himself personally, but for the Church's sake.

Bedell had such practical experience of legal matters that he was often consulted by his parishioners, and others, and asked to arbitrate.

As a man of sound judgment, he was also often consulted by ministers and students, for his opinion

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on matters of Theology, and no one ever turned to him in vain.

Viewed, whether as Pastor, Administrator, Theologian, or Saint, Bedell was the model parish clergyman: a pattern worthy of imitation for all time.

But a call now came to him, unexpected and unsought, which was to alter his whole manner of life, and bring him from the obscurity of a country parsonage once more into the limelight.

AS  
PROVOST



**T**HE Provostship of Trinity College, Dublin, fell vacant in 1627, on the death of Sir William Temple, the late occupier of the office.

Temple was a layman, and it is said that Archbishop Ussher, the Irish Primate, who had considerable influence in the election, was anxious to have a clerical Provost. By Charter, the right of the nomination and election of a new Provost was vested in the Fellows of the College, in the first instance, but subject to the subsequent sanction of the Crown, for the Crown had the last word to say in the matter.

It happened on this occasion that the Fellows were not unanimous in their choice of a Provost. The Senior Fellows had elected a Mr. Mede, a Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, and the Juniors a Mr. Ussher, the Vice-Provost, and a nephew of Primate Ussher of Armagh.

The Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Abbott) was then Chancellor of Dublin University, and Archbishop Ussher proposed to the Chancellor that a Mr. Sibbes, a well-known preacher of Grays Inn, and a noted Puritan, should be elected Provost.

Sibbes, however, would not accept, and Mede having withdrawn, Primate Ussher then suggested Mr. Bedell's name.

The two prelates (Canterbury and Armagh) used their influences with the Fellows of T.C.D. to offer Bedell the post, which they did.

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The King (Charles I) on the recommendation of Chancellor Abbott, supported by a strong letter from Sir Henry Wotton, Bedell's old Patron at Venice, as to Bedell's fitness for the post, approved of his election, and he was accordingly appointed.

As Sir H. Wotton's letter had considerable bearing on the election, and as it also gives an insight into Bedell's worth at this time, and the estimation in which he was held, I think it might, perhaps, be well to give it in full. The letter is as follows:—

“ MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTIE,

“ Having been informed that certain persons have by the good wishes of the Archbishop of Armagh been directed hither, with a most humble petition to your Majestie that you will be pleased to make Mr. William Bedell (now resident upon a small benefice in Suffolk) Governor of your Colledge at Dublin, for the good of that Society; and myself being required to render unto your Majestie some testimony of the said Mr. William Bedell, who was long my Chaplain at Venice in the time of my first employment there; I am bound in all conscience and truth (so far as your Majestie will be pleased to accept my poor judgment) to affirm of him that I think hardly a fitter man for that charge could have been propounded unto your Majestie in your whole Kingdom, for singular erudition and piety, conformity to the rites of the Church and zeal to advance the cause of God, wherein his travels abroad were not obscure in the time of the Excommunications of the Venetians. For it may please your Majestie to know that this is the man whom Padre Paulo took (I may say) into his very soul; with whom he did communicate the inwardest thoughts of his heart; from whom he professed to have received more knowledge in all divinity, both scholastic and positive, than from any he had ever practised in his daies: of which all the passages



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were well known to the late King your father of blessed memory.

“ And so with your Majestie’s good favor I will end this needless office: for the general fame of his learning, his life and Christian temper, and those religious labours himself hath dedicated to your Majestie, do better describe him than I am able.

“ Your Majestie’s most humble and faithful servant,

“ H. WOTTON.”

The Junior Fellows questioned the legality of the election, but were overruled.

Bedell, as we have said, never sought the Provostship and was not keen to accept the position.

The salary was not very attractive, only £100 per annum, with the promise of a Lectureship at Christ’s Church Cathedral, Dublin.

Bedell didn’t get much guidance, nor encouragement from his family and friends in making a decision, rather the reverse. They questioned the wisdom of the step he was about to take in going to Dublin, but he said, if he could better serve his Master by doing so, no consideration should prevent him, not even death itself. Indeed, it is doubtful if he would ever have accepted the appointment, only that he looked on the call to Ireland as a call from God, and when we consider all the facts, and circumstances, it looked like the dispensation of an overruling Providence.

The following letter written to Primate Ussher of Armagh, at this time, will best show the state of Bedell’s mind, and feelings, on the matter:—

“ Sir, With my hearty commendations remembered, I have this day received both your letters, dated the 2d of this month; I thank you for your care and

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diligence in this matter. For answer whereof, although I could have desired so much respite as to have conferred with some of my friends, such as do possibly know the condition of that place better than I do, and my insufficiencies better than my Lord Primate, yet since that I perceive by both your letters, the matter requires a speedy and present answer, thus I stand: I am married and have three children; therefore if the place requires a single man, the business is at an end. I have no want, I thank my God, of anything necessary for this life; I have a competent Living of above a hundred pound a year, in a good air and seat, with a very convenient House near to my Friends, a little Parish, not exceeding the compass of my weak voice. I have often heard it, 'That changing seldom brings the better; especially to those that are well.' And I see well, that my wife (though resolving, as she ought, to be contented with whatsoever God shall appoint) had rather continue with her friends in her native country, than put herself into the hazard of the seas, and a foreign Land, with many casualties in Travel, which she perhaps, out of fear apprehends more than there is cause.

" All these Reasons I have, if I consult with Flesh and Blood, which move me rather to reject this offer (yet with all humble and dutiful thanks to my Lord Primate for his kind and good Opinion of me).

" On the other side, I consider the end, wherefore I came into the world, and the business of a subject to our Lord Jesus Christ, of a minister of the Gospel, of a good Patriot, and of an honest man. If I may be of any better use to my country, to God's Church, or of any better service to our common Master, I must close mine eyes against all private respects; and if God call me, I must answer, ' Here I am.' For my part, therefore, I will not stir one foot, or lift up my finger for or against this motion; but if it proceed from the Lord,

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those who may command me here, to send me thither, I shall obey, if it were not only to go into Ireland, but into Virginia, yea though I were not only to meet with troubles, dangers, and difficulties, but death itself in the performance.

“ Sir, I have, as plainly as I can, showed you my mind; desiring you with my humble service to represent it to my Reverend good Lord, my Lord Primate. And God Almighty direct this affair to the Glory of his Holy Name, and have you in his merciful protection; so I rest

“ Your Loving Friend,  
“ WILL BEDELL.”

*From Bury.*  
March 6, 1626.

Bedell's was not a popular appointment in College, and he probably got to know this.

The fact that he was an Englishman counted against him. Others were prejudiced because he had no practical experience as a Leader, and was therefore seemingly unfitted for the post.

Bedell very wisely decided not to resign his Parish until he had given the Provostship a trial, and he sought a dispensation to hold his English living, so that if Trinity turned out a failure, he would still have a means of livelihood left.

When he did eventually accept, and went to Dublin, and was sworn in as Provost on the 16th August, 1627, he was dissatisfied and disappointed with the state of affairs in Trinity.

Things were, in his opinion, in a bad way, and he found many things which he considered unsatisfactory. But he seems to have expected too much.

We must remember, that at the time of Bedell's

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appointment, the College was only 36 years old—a short time in the life of a University—and it was hard to expect perfection.

It must be admitted, however, that the one outstanding fact in the history of the College, at this period, was the disorder and wrangling that prevailed, and the consequent mismanagement and neglect of work, and the disorders of the Fellows, it is said, were worse than those of the students.

There were undoubtedly a great many petty annoyances, and a lack of harmony, in the working of the place. We have had a very good illustration of that in the quarrel over the election of Provost.

Bedell contemplated resigning the Provostship, and returning to his Parish, and he went as far as to offer his resignation to the Vice-Chancellor, but the Vice-Chancellor refused to free him.

After looking into the disorders of the College, Mr. Bedell returned again to England for a while, leaving the College in charge of the Vice-Provost, John Floyd.

During his interval in England, be it said to his credit, he was not idle, but tried to benefit the College by getting permission from the Crown to alter the Charter.

He stayed away eight months, and made another attempt to resign, as further disorders and irregularities had occurred under the Vice-Provost's rule.

At length, persuaded by the Chancellor, and at the invitation of the Fellows, he returned to Trinity in June 1628.

When Bedell took the Provost's oath, he made the proviso that he would not bind himself, not to make a change in the Statutes, if he saw fit.

A man thorough in everything he did, once permanently installed, he set about reforms.

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His first task, or care, was to examine and clarify the Statutes of the College, and make alterations in them, where he might deem it necessary, to see not only his own position, but the need (if any) for reformation.

It is only right to say, that the alterations were made, not for selfish, or personal motives, but for the good, as he thought, of the College, and of the Church at large.

I now submit a summary of Bedell's Statutes, afterwards slightly modified by Archbishop Laud, which, by kind permission of the Provost, and Library officials, I have copied verbatim from the originals, in his own handwriting, in the College Library.

The Statutes, which are 25 in number, are written on parchment, and in the Latin language.

The Preamble reads as follows:—

Statuta Collegii  
Sanctae et Individuae Trinitatis  
Juxta Dublin  
A Serenissima Regina Elizabetha  
Fundati.

---

I.

De Cultu Divino.

II.

De Qualitate et Officio Praepositi.

III.

De Juramento Praepositi.

IV.

De Senatu Collegii Constanti ex Praeposito  
et Socys Senioribus.

V.

De Scholaribus.

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VI

De Sociorum Electione.

VII.

Iuramentum Electi Socy vel Discipuli.

VIII.

De Tutorum ac Pupillorum Officio.

IX.

De Modestia et Morum Honestate Colenda  
itemq de tuenda Collegii existimatione Publica.

X.

De Officio Vice Praepositi.

XI.

De Officio Decani.

XII.

De Primario Lectori et Sublectoribus.

XIII.

De Classium Scholasticis Excreitys.

XIV.

De Baccalaureorum et Magistroru Excreitys.

XV.

De Vitanda alicm exercity usurpatjone et  
vice sua a quovis diligenter obcunda.

XVI.

De Terminis observandis et de Examinando  
Scholarium in disciplinis progressu.

XVII.

De admittendis in Collegium professionibz  
Iurisprudentia et Medecinu.

XVIII.

De Bursary Officio.

XIX.

De Tutarorum custodia et Bibliotheario.

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### XX.

De Sociorum et Scholarium numero Commeatu,  
Salarys, et cubiculis.

### XXI.

De absentia sociorum et scholarium,

### XXII.

De Poems majorum crimemum mulcting ant  
exigendis ant commutandis.

### XXIII.

De inferioribus Collegi ministris.

### XXIV.

Epilogus.

### XXV.

De Electionum forma.

Bedell's signature, "Gulielmus Bedel," in his own handwriting appears at the end. There is also a note to say that the Statutes were sanctioned at Dublin Castle by Sir Thos. Wentworth, the Lord Lieutenant. The Statutes bear date September 1628.

A few of the most striking reforms were:—

That in the future, the Junior Fellows would have no voice in the election of Provost, or in the business of the College.

The Tenure of the Fellows was to be for life, instead of for seven years, as formerly.

Schools of Law and Medicine were established as well as that of Divinity.

The period of College Terms was arranged and permanently fixed.

The election of Fellows and Scholars was, and still is, fixed for Trinity Monday.

The custom of lecturing was introduced, and of admitting, or leaving lectures open to the public, a

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practice, which, in part at all events, still happily prevails.

Extern students; or students who lived with their parents in Dublin, were also admitted to lectures, and Halls were founded as places of residence for students. This would seem to point to an increase in the roll of students.

The examination which should have been held annually for promotion, but was not held, was revived.

The Celebration of the Holy Communion in the College Chapel, which for eleven years, had fallen into abeyance, or disuse, was also revived.

College discipline, which had grown lax, was tightened up. Fellows and students were compelled to attend Prayers on Sundays, and for breaches of this rule fines were imposed in the case of students. Bad habits and unseemly conduct were stamped out as far as possible. Some of the things named, and condemned, were, fighting, haunting the town, breaking windows, robbing orchards, and playing cards.

The use of Latin at Commons was introduced. The Graces, before and after meals, of Provost Bedell, are still in use.

Bedell was also the pioneer as regards the revival of the Irish language. On his return to Trinity he began the study of Irish himself, in which language he became very proficient. He then established an Irish lecture to train young men to preach in Irish among the natives. His aim was to turn out of College an Irish-speaking ministry. To that end, he collaborated with a Mr. King, who was an experienced and capable Irish scholar.

Prayers in Irish were used in the Chapel, and a Chapter of the Irish New Testament was prescribed for reading each day at dinner.



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He also divided the Church Catechism into fifty-two parts, one for each week, which he explained every Lord's Day.

The foregoing were some of the principal alterations, and amendments, to the Statutes and reforms made by Provost Bedell.

The general belief is that Bedell aimed at modelling the Statutes on those of Cambridge. This, however, is proved to be erroneous by so great an authority as the late Professor J. P. Mahaffy (afterwards Provost), and by others, who hold that they are modelled on those of Tempest. The one, and, perhaps, only particular in which the Cambridge and Dublin Statutes agree, is regarding the standing required for the position of Fellowship, namely, seven terms from the B.A. degree.

It is interesting to note, that the Bedell Statutes were the model on which the Caroline Charter, which still governs the College, was drawn up.

Bedell's Statutes were imposed on the College in 1629.

It was customary to read out the Statutes on the first day of Term, a practice which continued till 1840.

Besides the reforms mentioned, Provost Bedell made other much needed improvements.

The College finances were in a bad way, and he tried to straighten them out. The College was in debt through misappropriation of its funds. The Provost to set an example, as he often did, undertook to pay for his own Commons. His example was followed by others. To relieve, and better, the financial situation, other practical and successful schemes were devised and put into operation.

Whether the students should, or should not, wear gowns through Dublin, was a matter of contention between the Provost and the Chancellor for a consider-

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able time. At length, a compromise was reached, agreeable to both.

As the Provost's views concerning the Roman Catholic Church did not coincide with those of the Professor of Divinity, it was the cause of friction between them. Unfortunately, in this case, an amicable settlement was not so easily reached.

The nationality of the Fellows was also a bone of contention. Jealousy and rivalry were rampant, and it required the utmost efforts of the Provost to keep the peace.

However, by precept and example, for he lost no opportunity, in class or in chapel, of inculcating his own principles and beliefs, Provost Bedell wrought a noticeable change, especially among the students, and so tried to undo the evils of long years of Puritanism and neglect.

Old customs, it is said, die hard, and reformers are not popular. So here.

All this made Provost Bedell unpopular in certain quarters, and he got little thanks for his pains, and his reforms were not always a success. He was looked upon by some as a revolutionary, and his interference with the established order lowered him in the estimation of many, and provoked resentment.

Bedell's tenure of the Provostship did not last more than two years: he resigned on the 18th September, 1629, but it bore fruit for good, both to the College and to himself.

In the two years as Provost he did more for the College than Temple in his eighteen.

As for himself, for one thing the Provostship raised him from a comparatively private capacity to a very public and dignified position, where he associated with the greatest in the land, and eventually lead to preferment in another sphere.

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# AS BISHOP



**A**FTER two years as Provost, Bedell was made Bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh, and in Kilmore he spent the last twelve years of his life.

Knowing his unhappiness at Trinity College, Bedell's English friends used their influence to have him transferred.

Through the good offices of Sir Thomas Jermyn, and of Sir Henry Wotton, who, unknown to Bedell, had influenced Archbishop Laud of Canterbury in his favour, and, through the Archbishop, King Charles I was also influenced, and so Bedell was duly promoted to the See of Kilmore.

It is only right to say, that, never ambitious, he did not seek the position, and he hesitated before accepting, and consulted Archbishop Ussher of Armagh, and others, as to the advisability of accepting, and whether it would be in the best interests of the Church.

On the advice of the Irish Primate he accepted. Bedell was 59 when made Bishop.

He was consecrated at Drogheda on the 13th September, 1629, the consecrating Prelates being Archbishop Ussher and the Bishops of Down, Dromore, and Clogher.

Bedell had a formidable task before him in Kilmore. The prospect was indeed melancholy and disheartening. The Diocese was in a bad way, and in taking up his work as bishop, he knew that the task would be diffi-

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cult and thankless, but he knew also that it was God's work, and must, or ought, to be done.

The following letter written by Bedell to Archbishop Laud, the English Primate, will give an idea of the condition of things in the See of Kilmore, at the time of Bedell's appointment:—

RIGHT REVEREND FATHER, MY  
HONOURABLE GOOD LORD,

“ Since my coming to this place, which was a little before Michaelmas (till which time, the settling of the state of the College, and my Lord Primate's visitation deferred my consecration) I have not been unmindful of your Lordship's commands, to advertise you, as my experience should inform me, of the state of the Church, which I shall now the better do, because I have been about my Dioceses, and can set down out of my knowledge and view, what I shall relate: and shortly to speak much ill matter in a few words, it is very miserable. The Cathedral Church of Ardagh, one of the most ancient in Ireland, and said to be built by St. Patrick, together with the Bishop's House there, down to the ground. The Church here built, but without Bell or Steeple, Font or Chalice. The Parish Churches all in a manner ruined, and unroofed, and unrepaired. The People saving a few British Planters here and there (which are not the tenth part of the remnant) obstinate Recusants. A Popish clergy more numerous by far than we, and in full exercise of all Jurisdiction Ecclesiastical, by their Vicar-General and officials, who are so confident as they excommunicate those that come to our Courts, even in matrimonial causes: which affront hath been offered myself by the Popish Primate Vicar-General; for which I have begun a Process against him. The Primate himself lives in my Parish, within two miles of my house; the Bishop in another part of my Diocese further off.

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“Every Parish has its Priests; and some two or three apiece; and so their Mass-houses also; in some places Mass is said in the churches. Fryers there are in divers places, who go about, though not in their habit, and by their importunate begging impoverish the people, who indeed are generally very poor, as from that cause, so from their paying double Tythes to their own Clergy, and ours, from the dearth of corn, and the death of their cattle these late years, with the contributions to their soldiers and their agents: and which they forget not to reckon among other causes, the oppression of the Court Ecclesiastical, which in very truth, my Lord, I cannot excuse, and do seek to reform. For our own there are seven or eight ministers in each Diocese of good sufficiency; and (which is no small cause of the continuance of the people in Popery still) English, which have not the Tongue of the people, nor can perform any Divine Offices, or Converse with them; and which hold many of them Two, or Three, Four or more Vicarages apiece; even the Clerkships themselves are in like manner conferred upon the English, and sometimes Two or Three, or more, upon one man, and ordinarily bought and sold or let to farm. His Majesty is now with the greatest part of this country, as to their Hearts and Consciences, King, but at the Pope’s discretion.

“ WILL KILMORE & ARDAGH.”

*Kilmore,*  
*Apr. 1, 1630.*

The Bishop first made an examination of the state of things, and immediately started reforms.

He found that a vile practise had grown up, namely, the leasing of the See lands to the widow and children of deceased bishops of the Diocese. Apart from the wrong done to the new bishop, there was also the danger of the lands being lost to the Church.

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He also found that his predecessor had misappropriated the Church property, and leased, or sold, or mortgaged, much of the See lands, thus impoverishing those who followed him, also that he had sold some livings, and bestowed the money on his own family.

Bishop Bedell had to sue at law, a son of the late bishop, in order to recover some of the spoil. He also sued his predecessor's widow for the recovery of Church lands, which her husband had alienated.

The next task was the repair, or rebuilding of dilapidated churches. Most of the churches were in a ruinous state. This entailed much travelling, first to inspect the needs; and then to superintend the carrying out of the work, and before his death, he had the satisfaction of seeing every church in the diocese in good repair, and made meet for public worship.

The Bishop's next step was a reformation of his clergy. Some of these were Pluralists, and non-residents. The evils of Plurality, and non-residence, had their roots in faulty location of Church property at the time of the Plantation, in the reign of James I. By Plurality, one clergyman held two, three, four, and five, or more livings.

The Bishop called an assembly of the clergy, at Cavan, and brought the matter before them, and they assented to his proposed reformation.

To set a good example, he himself, in 1633, resigned one of his Sees (Ardagh), and it was bestowed on Dr. Richardson, Dean of Derry.

To their credit, be it said, nearly all his clergy followed the Bishop's example by disposing of their Pluralities.

Another evil, having its roots in Pluralities, and closely akin to it, was non-residence. Like Pluralities, non-residences were a great source of trouble,

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and expense, and illwill, to Bishop Bedell, but he felt that he was in duty bound to oppose, and he tried to remedy this evil by compelling the residence of the Incumbent in one Parish, and the employment of Curates in each of the others, and, as vacancies occurred, he filled them up by appointing one man to each Cure only, and to exact a promise from the new Incumbent, that he would constantly reside in his Parish.

To that end, he insisted on newly-appointed Incumbents signing a document, guaranteeing residence, and no Plurality.

The following was Bishop Bedell's Form of Institution to a Parish:—

“ Gulielmus providentia divina Kilmorens episcopus, dilecto in Christo A.B. fratri et synpresbytero salutem.

“ Ad vicariam perpetuam ecclesiae parochialis de C. Nostrae Kilmorens. Dioceseos iam legitime vacantem et ad nostram collationem pleno iure spectantem (praestito per te prius iuramento de agnoscenda et defendenda regiae maiestatis suprema potestae in omnibus causis tam ecclesiasticis quam civilibus in ditiones suas; deque Anglicano ordine, habitu et lingua pro viribus in dicta parochiam introducendis iuxta formam statutorum huius regni; nec non de perpetua et personali residentia tua in vicaria praedicta; quodque nullum aliud beneficium ecclesiasticum una cum ea retinebis; nec ullum pro ea impetranda simoneacum pactum feceris, aut praestabis; deque canonica obedientia nobis ac successoribus nostris episcopis Kilmorens praestanda) te admittimus, instituimus et canonice investimus; curamque animarum parochianorum ibidem commorantium tibi committimus per praesentes. Obtestantes in Domino et pro obedientia, qua summo pastori teneris, iniungentes,

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ut eius gregem, quem suo sanguini acquisivit, tibi commissum diligenter pascas et in fide catholica instituas; officia divina lingua a populo intellecta peragas: exemplar ante omnia teipsum praebeas fidelibus in bonis operibus, ut erubescant adversarii, nihil habentes, quod in te reprehendant; mandantes insuper dilecto fratri Thomae Archidiacono Kilmorensi, ut te in realem et actualem possessionem dictae vicariae de C. induat cum effectu. In quorum omnium fidem et testimonium sigillum nostrum episcopale praesentibus opposuimus. Datum 7<sup>o</sup> die Maii, anno salutis 1640.

“ GULIEL KILMORENS.”

To further minimise, as far as possible, the evils arising from the Crown settlement aforementioned, the Bishop instituted a very good scheme of exchange of land according to its nearness, or remoteness, from the Parish Church, but the outbreak of the rebellion frustrated this plan, and prevented its being put into effect at the time.

The following was the Scheme proposed by Bishop Bedell:—

Under the Settlement of James I, Glebe lands were assigned to Church of Ireland clergy, on which they were obliged to build Rectories, and to reside.

These Glebe lands were very often not territorially in the Parishes to which they belonged, but sometimes were very remote from them, which meant, that the clergy would be non-resident.

To remedy this evil, the Bishop procured a Royal Commission to make exchanges, by substituting for these remote lands, other lands of equal value, within the precincts of the parishes concerned.

This was a sensible, practical scheme, and met with universal approbation.



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We next find the Bishop in conflict with his Diocesan Chancellor, Dr. Allan Cooke.

The Bishop found the Consistory Courts vile and mercenary places, and he set himself to reform them. The Chancellor's Court was carried on as a money-making business, and a nest of bribery.

Numerous complaints were continually being made, regarding maladministration by the Chancellor, and other officers. The people generally were oppressed by Tithes, and the Chancellor was rather severe in his court.

The Bishop determined to sit in court himself, and to hear cases. He also tried to remove Cooke, the Chancellor, from office.

No sooner did the Bishop start this reformation than he raised the resentment, and opposition, of the Chancellor, and others, and was stigmatised as an innovator and disturber of Diocesan peace. Moreover he stood alone, even his nearest and best friends failed him at this juncture, but nevertheless, nothing could divert him from his purpose, as he believed he was doing God's will.

The upshot was that a long suit followed, between the Bishop and the Chancellor, in the Archbishop's Court.

In defending himself the Bishop's first contention was, that by Canon Law, the Chancellor's credentials were granted by Bedell's predecessor, and were personal to himself, and were not binding on Bedell.

The Bishop held, as his second line of defence, that a bishop could not delegate his disciplinary duties to a layman, no more than authority to baptize or ordain. He showed that from the earliest times it was the prerogative of a bishop, and a bishop only, to use disciplinary powers, and censure, and impose fines, if

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necessary, and he presided, as we have said, in the courts himself.

The case dragged on, and caused the Bishop, not only great expense, but a great waste of time, and no end of trouble. Moreover, he received no comfort, no sympathy, no help. In the suit, the Bishop stood alone, and had to conduct his own case. The popular feeling was with the Chancellor.

Bishop Bedell used to describe his condition, at this time, as purgatory.

Although he foresaw, and others foresaw, that the result would be against him, yet he persevered in the best interests of the Church, and of justice.

At long last, after appealing from the Archbishop's Court to the Prerogative Court, and then to the King himself, the suit ended by judgment in favour of the Chancellor, and a fine of £100 imposed on Bedell.

The Bishop, notwithstanding the verdict, continued to preside in the courts. This added to his worries, and entailed long journeys through his diocese, and great loss of time. A redeeming feature was the kindness and hospitality shown him, by not only Protestants, but by Roman Catholics.

The Bishop held that the great purpose of these courts ought to be, not to penalise, but to reform, and his judgments ran on those lines. He was ever merciful and mitigating. He was always disposed to exercise clemency, and, as far as possible, mitigate the fines imposed, especially on the poor, to meet the needs of the convicted. All this won the affection and esteem of the natives, and they never forgot it.

As the Bishop was usurping the place of the Chancellor, and depriving him, in some cases, of his illgotten gains, needless to say, the Chancellor was more incensed against Bishop Bedell than ever.

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With regard to the qualifications of the clergy, the Bishop was careful that ordinands were fit persons for Holy orders.

He gave them a very searching examination, generally conducting the examination himself, and it was his custom to hold the examination in the presence of others; mostly clergy, who were sometimes invited to supplement the test, by putting questions of their own.

He was also very exact regarding ordinations, and followed, as far as possible, ancient usage.

It was ever his aim to make the ministerial office a calling, and not a trade.

He held Visitations twice a year to ascertain the state of the Diocese, and to instruct, and edify, the clergy.

There was a Visitation of the Archbishop every third year, and of the King every seventh year. At both these, the local bishop's jurisdiction was suspended for that year. Bishop Bedell chafed at this, and disagreed with it.

At his own Visitations the Bishop lightened the expenses of the clergy as much as possible. He also tried, at all times, to mitigate, as far as possible, financial hardships in the case of the clergy, and to give, rather than to take, money from them.

With a view to honouring the Senior Clergy, the Bishop reformed the Cathedral Chapter.

A Chapter, as such, was really non-existent. There was only a Dean and an Archdeacon. There was no revenue, nor endowment of any kind. Shrewd man of business that he was, Bishop Bedell remedied this, and put the matter in order, and on a sound financial footing.

Another step in the direction of reformation, was the

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establishment of Diocesan Synods. Such a thing as a Diocesan Synod was unknown, and unprecedented in Ireland.

The Bishop felt justified in holding Synods in imitation of primitive practice, and, as Bishop of the Diocese. Accordingly in 1638, he held a Synod in the Cathedral of Kilmore, and drew up a number of Canons for the better government of the Diocese.

The following is a List of the Canons, reproduced in Latin, as originally written by Bishop Bedell:—

“ *Decreta primae synodi Kilmorensis. In nomine Domini Dei et Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi.*

“ *Regnante in perpetuum ac gubernante ecclesiam suam eodem Domino nostro Jesu Christo, annoque imperii serenissimi principis ac domini caroli D. G. Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae regis 14<sup>o</sup>, cum ad ecclesiam cathedralem Kilmorensis monitu Gulielmi episcopi convenisset capitulum totius dioeceseos, ad synodum dioeceseanam celebrandum; post fusas ad Dominum preces pro publica pace regisque et familiae regiae incolumitate, et peracta sacra synaxei; verba fecit episcopus de eius modi synodorum antiquitate, necessitate et auctoritate. Et cum venisset in consultationem, quibus rationibus et fidei sinceritas et morum sanctitas et decor domus Dei, ministrorum libertas conservari posset; nihil conducibilius visum est, quam ut ea quae a patribus bene ac prudenter antiquitus instituta sunt, quasi postliminii iure revocarentur. Atque tractatu inter nos habito, ad extremum in haec capitula unanimiter consensum est:*

“ 1. *Synodum dioeceseanam sive capitulum quotannis feria 4<sup>a</sup> secundae hebdomadae mensis Septembris in ecclesia Kilmorensi tendendam; eum diem huic conventui statum et sollemnem fore sine ullo mandato: Si res poscat in ceteris quoque ordinationum temporibus*

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presbyterium contrahi, episcopi mandatum expectandum.

“ 2. In episcopi absentia aut morbo vicarius eius, si presbyter fuerit, praesidebit; alioqui archidiaconus, qui de iure vicarius est episcopi.

“ 3. Vicarius episcopi in posterum nullus constitutur aut confirmetur, qui laicus sit; nec quisquam prorsus, nisi durante duntaxat beneplacito.

“ 4. Ut archidiaconus de triennio in triennium dioecesin personaliter visitet; singularum ecclesiarum aediumque mansionalium sarta tecta tectatur, libros et ornamenta in indiculo descriptos habeat, defectus omnes supplendos curet; episcopalis procurationis dimidium habeat, ea condicione, ut episcopus eo anno non visitet.

“ 5. Ut secundum pristinam et antiquam huius dioeceseos Kilmorensis constitutionem in tribus eius regionibus tres decani sint, ab ipsis ministris eiusdem decanatus eligendi; qui vitam et mores cleri iugi circumspeditione custodiant et ad episcopum referant, eiusque mandata accipiant et, quoties opus erit, per apparitorem decanatus ad presbyteros suos transmittant.

“ 6. In quoque decanatu, in oppido eius principali, conventus sive capitulum sit ministrorum quolibet saltem mense, ubi lectis plene publicis precibus contentionentur per vices, sine longis precibus et procemiis.

“ 7. Advocationes ecclesiarum nondum vacantium, quae ad collationem episcopi spectant, nemini conferantur aut confirmentur.

“ 8. Possessiones ecclesiae non alienentur aut locentur contra regui iura; nempe terrarum mensalium nulla sit locatio, nisi quoad episcopum in vita aut sede sua supersit, ceterarum in plures annos, quam leges sinunt, aut prioribus locationibus triennio minus nondum expletis.

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“ 9. Ut corpora defunctorum deinceps in ecclesiis non humentur; sed nec intra quientum pedem a pariete ecclesiae extrorsum.

“ 10. Ut mulieres in sacrario non sedeant, sed infra cancellos, et quidem a viris secretae.

“ 11. Ut sacrarium in consistorium non convertatur, aut sacra mensa notariis aut scribis sit pro pluteo.

“ 12. Ne in funeribus mulieres luctum et ululatum faciant.

“ 13. Ut ossa defunctorum in coemeteriis non coacerventur, sed tradantur sepulturae.

“ 14. Ut matricula sit, in quam referantur nomina eorum, qui ad sacros ordines admissi sunt, aut instituti, aut admissi ad beneficia, sive ad curam animarum cooptati; clericorum item parochialium et ludi magistrorum; neque deinceps ad litteras testimoniales in visitationibus exhibendas adigantur.

“ 15. Ne quis minister oblationes ad fumera, baptismum, eucharistiam, nuptias post puerperium, aut portionem canonicam cuiquam locet.

“ 16. Ne quis eiusmodi oblata acerbe exigat, praesertim a pauperibus.

“ 17. Ut fas sit ministro a sacra cena repellere eos, qui se iugerunt ad synaxeim, neque nomina sua pridie parochi significarunt.

“ 18. Ut pueri a septimo saltem aetatis anno, donec confirmentur per manuum impositionem, stent inter catechumenos; factoque catalogo, singulis dominicis certus eorum numerus sistatur in ecclesia examinandus.

“ 19. Si quis minister quenquam ex fratribus suis alibi accusaverit, priusquam episcopo denuntiet, ab eius consortio ceteri omnes abstinebunt.

“ 20. Clerici comam ne nutriant; et habitu clericali, prout synodo Dublinensi constitutum est, incedant.

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“ 21. Oeconomi parochiarum provideant, ne in ecclesia tempore cultus divini pueruli discursent; utque canes arceantur, constitutis ostiarijs vel multa imposita, si quis semel atque iterum admonitus, canem secum in ecclesiam introduxerit.

“ 22. Ut nulla excommunicationis sententia feratur ab uno solo ministro, sed ab episcopo, assistentibus quotquot in capitulo fuerint praesentes.

“ Haec decreta synodalia, quoniam ex usue huius dioceseos futura credimus, et ipsi observabimus, et quantum in nobis est, ab aliis observanda curabimus; adeoque manus suae quisque subscriptione corroboramus Septembr. 19°, 1638.”

The Synod was looked upon as an innovation, and illegal, and was misunderstood at Headquarters, and caused great controversy.

The Chancellor, and others, opposed the Synod, and the Bishop was reported as encroaching on the Royal prerogative.

However, in the end, wiser counsels prevailed; no action was taken against the Bishop, and the matter dropped for good.

Another matter that led to conflict with the Government was his signing a Petition of the Protestant gentry of Cavan, protesting against a levy upon the County for the upkeep of the army.

This was construed as an act of contumely, and the Bishop was severely reprimanded by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Viceroy, the Earl of Strafford. The Bishop wrote to both men endeavouring to clear himself, and eventually reconciliation was effected through friends.

The following is a copy of the letter written by Bishop Bedell to the Earl of Strafford, Ld. Deputy, to

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justify himself. That to the Archbishop is on similar lines:—

“ RIGHT HONORABLE MY GOOD LORD, ETC.

“ In the midst of these thoughts I have been advertiz'd from an honorable friend in England that I am accused to his majestie to have oppos'd his service, and that my hand, with two other bishops only, was to a writing touching the money to be levied on the papists here for the maintenance of the men of war, etc. Indeed, if I should have had such an intention, this had been not only to oppose the service of his majestie, but to expose, with the publick peace, mine own neck to the skeanes of the Romish cut-throais; I that know that in this kingdom of his majestie the pope hath another kingdom far greater in number; and, as I have heretofore signified to the lords justices and council (which is also since justified by themselves in print), constantly guided and directed by the order of the new congregation de propagand fide, lately erected at Rome, transmitted by means of the pope's nuntios residing at Bruseells, or Paris, that the pope hath here a clergy, if I may guess by my own diocese, double in number to us; the heads whereof are by corporal oath bound to him to maintaim him and his regalities contra omnem hominem, and to execute his mandats to the uttermost of their forces; which accordingly they do, stiling themselves in print, Ego, N. Dei et apostolicae sedis gratia episcopus Fermien et Assorien, etc.

“ I that know there is in this kingdom for the moulding of the people to the pope's obedience a rabble of irregular regulars, commonly younger brothers of good houses, who are grown to that insolnency as to advance themselves to be members of the ecclesiastical hierarchie in better rank than priests, insomuch that the censure of the Serbon is fair to be implored to curb them, which yet is called in again, so tender is the



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people of his own creatures: I that know that his holiness hath erected a new university in Dublin to confront his majestie's college there, and to breed up the youth of the kingdom to his devotion; of which university one Paul Harris, the author of that infamous libel, which was put forth in print against my Lord Armagh's Wansted sermon, stileth himself in print to be dean; I that know, and have given advertisement to the State, that these regulars dare erect new fryaries in the country, since the dissolving of those in the city; that they have brought the people to such a sottish senselessness as they care not to learn the commandments, as God himself spake and writ them; but they flock in great numbers to the preaching of new, superstitious and detestable doctrines, such as their own priests are asham'd of; and at these they levy collections, 3, 4, 5, or 6 pounds at a sermon. Shortly, I that know that these regulars and this clergy have, at a general meeting like to a synod, as themselves style it, holden at Droghedah, decreed that it is not lawfull to take an oath of allegiance, and if they be constant to their own doctrine, do account his majestie in their hearts to be king but at the pope's discretion; in this estate of this kingdom to think the bridle of the army may be taken away, it should be thought not of a brainsick, but brainless man, etc.

“ Your Lordship's in all duty,

“ WILLIAM KILMORE.”

Still another matter that gave offence in high quarters, and led to a vote of censure on Bishop Bedell, was his championing the cause of the Bishop of Kilalla, who was accused of sympathising, or fraternizing, with the Scottish Covenanters.

The nobleness of Bedell's nature, and his kindness of heart, was again shown in this case. Regardless of

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the consequences to himself, he manfully stood up and took the Bishop of Kilalla's part, when he was prosecuted, and eventually deprived of his See.

The next episode in which Bishop Bedell figured, was as a successful go-between. There was an conflict between the Lutherans of Dublin and the Church of Ireland in the matter of Holy Communion. The Lutherans refused sacramental fellowship with the Church of Ireland, and when an *impasse* arose, and no one seemed to know how to settle the question, an appeal was made to the Bishop of Kilmore, who, it was well known, had always been keen on the reunion of the Reformed Churches, and he found a way out satisfactory to all.

Bishop Bedell's next great undertaking was the conversion of the native Irish to the Reformed Faith.

This was always an obsession with him, and about this time, he laboured for the conversion of the Roman Catholics, both clergy and people, and he was the means, during his Episcopate, of converting many Irish, although every attempt was made by the existing powers to frustrate him.

The Bishop had great pity for the native Irish. He looked on them as neglected. He thought England had a duty to them, to try and better their position in every way, but unfortunately there were some who did not take that view, and thought it was more in the best interests of England to keep the Irish in ignorance and subserviency.

To accomplish his purpose the Bishop had a short Catechism published, printed in English and Irish, for distribution in the Diocese. He next set himself the task of further improving his own knowledge of Irish, and he composed an Irish grammar. He had Common Prayer in Irish in the Cathedral on Sundays, and he urged the clergy to establish schools in their parishes

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for the promotion of Irish. He also had the Book of Common Prayer read once a week in the Cathedral in Irish for the benefit of the native converts.

Next, he arranged public discussions with Roman Catholic priests and friars, and, in this way, made a number of converts, who were ordained in the Church of Ireland.

What the Bishop tried to do was to place clergy, qualified in Irish, to minister in Irish speaking districts. Even if English-only speakers were abler all round, he gave the preference to Irish speakers in such cases.

Unfortunately, his plan for the conversion of the Irish, through Irish speaking ministers, did not always work out satisfactorily. Some of those appointed were Irish converts, who lapsed again. Besides that, the good intentions and efforts of the Bishop were misrepresented, and opposed, by the British Government. But although this idea of his ran counter to the political scheme of Anglicizing the Irish, yet he insisted on it for the spiritual sake of the natives.

Bishop Bedell was, as we have said, obsessed with the conversion of the Irish people to the Reformed faith, and he believed that the only hope of converting the native Irish was through the Scriptures, and so he set himself the task of translating the Old Testament into the Irish tongue.

To help in the work of translation he engaged a Murtach King, a native, and a good Irish scholar, and ordained him Rector of Templeport, in the Diocese of Kilmore, and commissioned him for the work of translation, and collaborated with him in its production, correcting the work, sheet by sheet, and comparing it with the original Hebrew.

The Bishop and King, working jointly, at length produced the Bible in Irish.

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The work was done at the See House, and at the Bishop's entertainment.

The then Lord Lieutenant, probably influenced by some one, opposed the printing of the Irish Bible, lest it should enlighten and educate the Irish people, which, it is said, England never wanted. We see then, that in using the Irish language, and in trying to convert the natives, Bishop Bedell was running counter to British policy.

The work was opposed even by Bishop Ussher, as counteracting the Anglicizing of Ireland.

Attempts were made to stop the work of translation, through the Earl of Strafford, Lord Lieutenant, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, and furthermore, King was belittled, and spoken of disparagingly as unfit, and he was forcibly deprived of his Parish, or Living of Templeport, and a new incumbent was installed in his place.

The Bishop took King's part, and dealt drastically with the usurper of the Parish, Bajley by name, and cited him before his (the Bishop's) Episcopal Court.

The defendant appealed to the Prerogative Court. Bishop Bedell refused to recognise either the Archbishops, or the Prerogative Court.

The Bishop also defended himself by 24 articles.

The following are the 24 articles drawn up by Bishop Bedell in his own defence:—

“ *Recusatio 24 articulorum episcopi Kilmorensis, Coram vobis, venerabilibus viris Georgio Ryves legum doctore et Gulielmo Hilton artium magistro, reverendissimi in Christo patris Jacobi provid. D. Archiepiscopi Armachani, totius Hiberniae primatis, nec non iudicis, praesidis sive commissarii curiae regiae Praerogativae pro causis ecclesiasticis et ad facultates*

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in et per totum regnum Hiberniae regia auctoritate legitime constituti, substitutis sive surrogatis, et vulgo creditur; Ego, Guilielmus Kilmorens episcopus, cum debita vobis reverentia propono; Quod licet antehac exceptionem quandam declinatoriam iurisdictionis vestrae in quadam praetensa causa duplicis querelae mota a Gulielmo Baily clerico dioeceseos Kilm. iustis de causis interposuerim, ac nominatim propter incompetentiam fori per absentiam reverendissimi praesidis et suspicionem animi vestri in me iniqui, quas etiam coram eodem reverendissimo praeside aliisque aequis arbitris probandas in me recepi; ac licet etiam pro parte mea venerabilem virum Edwardum Parry S.T. professorem elegerim ac nominaverim; vos tamen dictae recusationi meae hactenus non modo deferre recusastis, sed novis insuper et pluribus indiciis animum vestrum mihi infensum prodidistis; Ea propter ego episcopus antedictus animo non prorogandi, sed expressius et particularius contra iurisdictionem et personas vestras excipiendi, dico et allego.

“ 1. In primis quod praetensa querela Gulielmi Baily oritur ex sententia quadam in causa correctionis ex officio meo episcopali et iussu illustrissimi proregis; in qua si modum excesserim, legitima appellatio erat ad synodum provinciae vel consistorium archiepiscopale.

“ 2. Quod dictus Baily a sententia praedicta indicialiter et viva voce appellavit; unde servato ordine iurisdictionum ex decreto nuperae synodi Dublinensis causae cognitio, omisso intermedio Archiepiscopali consistorio, devolvi non potuit ad hanc curiam.

“ 3. Quod firmamentum defensionis dicti Baily nititur facultate quadam ab hac curia concessa; cum vero nemo sit idoneus iudex in propria causa, satis inverecunde vos hic ingeritis.

“ 4. Quod regiae maiestati cognitio abusivarum facultatum in ipsa lege reservatur expressis verbis; ut

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hoc forum vestrum, a quo eiusmodi facultates emanant, huic rei incompetens sit.

“ 5. Quod sub nomine reverendissimi primatis Armachani dilitescentes tenorem commissionis vestrae non inseritis citationibus vestris; ut nosciatur, nedum quod aut quatenus vobis commissum sit, sed an omnio ab ipso subrogati sites.

“ 6. Quod iurisdictione vestra non fundata, illud satis scitur, homines vere laicos in episcopos ex executione episcopalis officii nullam habere potestatem.

“ 7. Quod litem vestram facitis, dum in citatione vestra narratis a me gesta in praeiudicium iurisdictionis curiae regiae praerogativae et ad facultates cedere eiusque contemptum; ex quo constat fatente actora) hanc causam ad commodum et honorem vestrum spectare.

“ 8. Quod ut quoquo modo processum vestrum defendatis, fingitis causam esse duplicis querelae, cum nulla sit hic mutua petitio, aut reconventio, aut querela, nisi simplex tantum.

“ 9. Quod nimium favorem et propensitatem ad partem dicti Gulielmi Baily ostenditis, cum eum probum et discretum verum appellatis, causa nondum discussa; cum accusatorem episcopi sui canones ecclesiastici nec laudandum nec facile audiendum et, nisi causam probaverit, infamem haberi volunt.

“ 10. Quod causa nondum audita, in ea pronuntiasitis, dum dictum Baily vicarium de Dyn appellatis, qua tamen vicaria se a me spoliatum conqueritur.

“ 11. Quod vetus mihi litigium est vobiscum super institutionibus (quas haec curia usurpat) ex quo in admissione Nicolai Bernard ad vicariam de Kildromferton protestationem interposui; quam tu, Gulielme Hilton, indigne tulisti, eaque non abstante et illum et multos alios instituisti, reclamantibus episcopis; quo

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nomine eiero, iniqui estis, non mihi tantum, sed aequè omnibus.

“ 12. Quod cum nuper de prima citatione vestra conquestus essem apud illustrissimum praesidem, in qua maiestas laesa videbatur, vos ea de causa haud dissimulanter iratos habui.

“ 13. Quod comparentem ex ea citatione ad tribunal vestrum expectare et per sesquihoram inambulare, tanquam ex infima plebecula, coegistis.

“ 14. Quod cum proximo die iuridico a vobis dimissus essem sub hac formula, quod me non moraremini, quod nihil haberetis mihi obiciendum; tu tamen, Gulielme Hilton, post paulo praedixisti futurum ut denuo citarer, ex quo consiliorum communicationem cum dicto Baily prodidisti.

“ 15. Quod cum ea citatio minus succederet, perperam facta sub nomine episcopi Lismorensis, tu idem, Gulielme Hilton, actorem admonuisti, ut de integro inciperet.

“ 16. Quod cum tertio citatus recusationem quandam iurisdictionis vestrae opposuissem, propter incompetentiam et suspicionem, quarum causas paratus eram coram arbitris ostendere; vos eam non admisistis, ut oportuit, sed in proximum diem iuridicum super ea deliberastes.

“ 17. Quod quarto citatum ad audiendum voluntatem vestram super recusatione praedicta, cum cerneretis ad tribunal vestrum appropinquantem, surrexistis ilico et quanquam nec auditoreo egressi eratis nec praeco populum missum fecisset, nec hora effluerat, renuistis me episcopum antedictum comparentem audire, ut haberetis aliquem colorem me contumacem pronuntiandi.

“ 18. Quod cum proximo die iuridico comparuissem et contumaciam mihi falso impositam purgassem, et

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iterata praedicta recusatione arbitrum probationis pro parte mea reverendum virum Edwardum Parry S.T. professorem nominassem, vos haec admittere recusastis, sed me ad libellum accipiendum et procuratorem constituendum adigere voluistis.

“ 19. Quod in acta curiae referri curastis me non comparuisse, et in iisdem narratis tamen me praesentem admonitum fuisse de comparando de die in diem usque ad finem litis; in altero imperite, in altero inepte, in utroque (salva reverentia vobis debita) iniuste.

“ 20. Quod sigillum officii curiae regiae praerogativae et ad facultates dispensationibus circa pluralitatem beneficiorum et residentiam temerariis profusis et interdum legi divinae repugnantibus apponitis.

“ 21. Quod episcoporum iurisdictionem et ordinariam, et excitata a supremo magistratu, impedire, ipsos ad tribunal vestrum pertrahere, vexare, vilipendere, non veremini.

“ 22. Quod eorum iura episcopalia in institutionibus notorie usurpastis.

“ 23. Quod rescripta conceditis, in quibus multa quoad sensum inepta, quoad verba incongrua, continentur; quibus ideo de iure nulla fides adhibenda sit; cuius modi sunt, quae sub sigillo vestro in hac causa emanarunt.

“ 24. Quod nuper in hac eadem causa sigillum vestrum litteris, in quibus regia maiestas laesa fuerit, apponebatur minus discrete, ne quid gravius dicam; iudex autem indiscretus, quoad recusationem, iniquo aequiparatur.

“ Has ob causas, quas omnes aut earum plurimas ego episcopus antedictus coram aequis arbitris verificare paratus sum (adeoque reverendum virum Edwardum Parry S.T. doctorem ex parte mea nomino), vestrum tribunal, absente reverendo praeside, vestras-



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que personas, tanquam mihi merito in hac causa suspectas, declino et recuso ad quemcunque iuris effectum Dublini A.D. 1638."

King, the translator, was then brought into the High Commissioner's Court.

Bishop Bedell here showed his wonderful spirit of independence and courage, and wrote a strong letter of indignation and protest to the Lord Lieutenant against his tyrannical and illegal action.

The following is a copy of the letter to the Earl of Strafford.

"Right honorable my very good lord; that which I have sometimes done willingly, I do now necessarily, to make my address to your honour by writing. My unfitness for conversation heretofore hath pleaded for me; and now your Lordship's infirmity allows and in a sort enforces it. The occasion is not my love of contention (which I have committed to God) or any other matter of profit, but God's honor, and (as he is witness) your's. I have lately received letters from my lord of Canterbury whereby I perceive his grace is informed, that Mr. King, whom I employed to translate the Bible into Irish, is a man so ignorant, that the translation cannot be worthy publique use in the church; and besides obnoxious, so as the church can receive no credit from anything that is his. And his grace adds, that he is so well acquainted with your lordship's disposition, that he assures himself you would not have given away his living, had you not seen just cause for it. I account myself bound to satisfy his grace herein; and desire, if I may be so happy, to do it by satisfying you. I subscribe to his grace's assured persuasion that your lordship, had you not conceived Mr. King to be such as he writes, would not have given away his living; but, my lord, the

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greatest, wisest and justest men do and must take many things upon the information of others, who themselves are men, and may sometimes out of weakness or some other cause, be deceived. Touching Mr. King's silliness (which it concerns me the more to clear him of, that I be not accounted silly myself), I beseech your lordship to take information, not by men that never saw him till yesterday, but by the ancient, either church or statesmen of this kingdom, in whose eyes he hath lived these many years; as are the lord primate, the bishop of Meath, the lord Dillon, Sir James Ware, and the like. I doubt not but your lordship shall understand, that there is no such danger, that the translation should be unworthy because he did it, being a man of that known sufficiency for the Irish especially, either in prose or verse, as few are his matches in the kingdom. And shortly, not to argue by conjecture and divination, let the work itself speak, yea let it be examined rigoroso examine: if it be found approveable, let it not suffer disgrace from the small boast of the workman; but let him rather (as old Sophocles accused of dotage) be absolved for the sufficiency of the work. Touching his being obnoxious, it is true that there is a scandalous information put in against him in the high—commission—court by his despoiler, Mr. Baily (as my Lord of Derry told him in my hearing he was), and by an excommunicate despoiler, as myself, before the execution of any sentence, declared him in the court to be. And Mr. King being cited to answer, and not appearing (as by law he was not bound), was taken pro confesso, deprived of his ministry and living, and fined £100, decreed to be attached and imprisoned. His adversary, Mr. Baily, before he was sentenced, purchased a new dispensation to hold the benefice, and was the very next day after (as appears by the date of institution) both presented in the king's title (though the benefice be of my collation) and instituted by my

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lord primate's vicar; shortly after inducted by an archdeacon of another diocese. And within a few daies he brought down an attachments, and delivered Mr. King to the pursuivant. He was haled by the head and feet to horseback, and brought to Dublin, when he hath been kept and continued under arrest these 4 or 5 monthes, and hath not been suffered to purge his supposed contempt by oath and witnesses, that by reason of his sickness he was hindred, whereby he was brought to death's door, and could not appear and prosecute his defence, and that by the cunning of his adversary he was circumvented and secured, entreating that he might be restored to liberty, and his cause into the former estate. But it hath not availed him. My reverend colleagues of the high commission do some of them pity his case; others say, the sentence past cannot be reversed, lest the credit of the court be intacked. They bid him simply submit himself and acknowledge his sentence just; whercas the bishops of Rome themselves, after most formal proceeding, do grant restitutionem in integrum and acknowledge that *sententia Romanae sedis potest in melius commutari*. My lord, if I understand what is right, divine or human, these be wrongs upon wrongs, which if they reached only to Mr. King's person, were of less consideration. But when through his side that great work of translation of God's book, so necessary for both his majestie's kingdoms, is mortally wounded, pardon me, I beseech your lordship, if I be sensible of it. I omitt to consider what feast our adversaries make of our rewarding him thus for that service, or what this example will avail to the alluring of others to conformity. What should your lordship have gained, if he had died (as it was almost a miracle he did not) under arrest, and had been at once deprived of living, liberty and life? God hath reprieved him and given your lordship means upon right information to remedy with one word all incon-

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veniences. For conclusion (good my lord) give me leave a little to apply the parable of Nathan to K. David to this purpose. If the wayfaring man that is come to us (for such he is, having never yet been settled in one place) have so sharp a stomack, that he must be provided for with plurality, sith there are heards and flocks plenty, suffer him not, I beseech you, under the colour of the king's name to take the casset ewe of a poor man to satisfy his ravenous appetite. So I beseech the heavenly Physitian to give your lordship health of soul and body, and rest,

“ Dec. 1, 1638.

“ My lord,  
“ Your lordship's most humble  
servant in Christ Jesu,  
“ W. KILMORENS ”

This letter shows the opposition to the translator.

The rebellion, which soon followed, ended all hope of publication in Bedell's life time.

The work was completed, but not published, when the rebellion broke out, and then publication was impossible, and so the Bishop died before seeing the crown of his ambition.

The manuscript of the Irish Bible fortunately was preserved, when the Bishop's other books and papers were destroyed, and it was subsequently printed by one Mr. Boyle.

It may prove interesting to give here the Title page and a specimen of Bedell's Irish Translation of the Old Testament. The passage chosen is the first chapter of Genesis.

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LEADAIR AN T-SEAN TIOMNA,  
AR MA TCAIRNINGS.

ON TEANGURÒ UGHADHAC SO SAOILIS.

TRÈ CÙRAM AGR SAOTAR

AN

DOCTÙR WILLIAM DEVEL,

ROIME FO EAPPOΣ CILMÓIRE A NÈRIN.

1836

AN CÉAD LEADAR DO MHAIRI

U'A

nSOMTEAR SENERIP.

### CAP. I.

SANN TORAC DO ÉRÚTARÓ DIA NEAMH 7 CALAMH.

2. AGRUOI BÍ AN CALAMH SAN CUMHA, 7 PAON; 7 DO (BÍ) TORÉADUR 1 AGRARÓ AN AIGÉIN: 7 DO ÉOIRUΣ SPOPAO OÉ 1 AGRARÓ NA HUIRGEÓ.

3. AGRUO A TÚBAC DIA, BÍOÓ POLUR AN: 7 DO BÍ AN POLUR AN.

4. AGRUO DO ÉONNAIC DIA AN POLUR, ΣUR MAIC (É) 7 DO POIN DIA IOIP AN POLUR 7 AN TORÉADUR.

5. AGRUO DO ΣOIP OA DO'N TPOLUR LÁ 7 DO'N TORÉADUR DO ΣOIP RÉ ÓRÓCE. AGRUO DO BÚÓ Í AN NÓIN 7 AN MAIOEAN AN ÉEYO LÁ.

6. ¶ AGRUO A TÚBIC DIA, BÍOÓ PPEUR A MEÓÓN NA HUIRGEÓ, 7 POINEAO NA HUIRGEAO Ó NA HUIRGEÓUB.

7. AGRUO DO PINE DIA AN PPEUR 7 DO POIN NA HUIRGEAO PAOI AN PPEUR Ó NA HUIRGEÓUB ÓP CION NA PPEIRE: 7 DO BÍ MAP PIM.

8. AGRUO DO ΣOIP DIA DO'N PPEUR NEAMH. AGRUO DO BÚÓ Í AN NÓIN 7 AN MAIOEAN AN OAPA LÁ.

9 ¶ AGRUO A TÚBAC DIA. CPUNIGTEP NA HUIRGEAO ACÁ

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φαοι nem̄ a neunait, 7 léigteap̄ an (úir) éir̄m ler: 7  
do bí ma rin.

10. Δsur do žoir̄ Dia do'o'n (úir) éir̄m Talam̄: 7  
do éruinuzat̄ na nuizeó do žoir̄ ré fairise; 7 do  
éonnac̄ Dia sur̄ maic̄ (rin.)

11. Δsur a dúbac̄ Dia, Tuzat̄ an talam̄ feur, 7 an  
lub̄ ar̄ a otis̄ ríol, (7) ep̄án torraic̄ do beir̄ torraic̄  
do peir̄ a éinéil, a mbí a ríol (án) féin ar̄ an tralam̄:  
7 do bí mar̄ rin.

12. Δsur tuz̄ an talam̄ mínfeur, (7) lub̄ do beir̄  
ríol do péir̄ a éinéil, 7 ep̄án do beir̄ torraic̄ noc̄ (a  
raib̄) a ríol (án féin) do péir̄ a éinéil: 7 do éon̄ ac̄  
Dia sur̄ maic̄ (rin).

13. Δsur do buó í an nóin 7 an maidean an tpep̄ lá.

14. ¶ Δsur a dúbac̄ Dia, bíot̄ lócrán̄ a rpeur̄  
nem̄e do poín̄ eit̄ir̄ an la 7 an óit̄ce: 7 bit̄ir̄ i (ar̄.)  
ron̄ laic̄ib̄, 7 Uliaghuó.

15 Δsur̄ bit̄ir̄ mar̄ fóillr̄ib̄ a rpeur̄ nem̄e, do  
éadac̄ poluir̄ ar̄ an tralam̄: 7 do bí mar̄ rin.

16 Δsur̄ do rínē Dia ó'a lócrán̄ móra: an lócrán̄  
ar̄ mó do maḡlat̄ an laoi, 7 an lócrán̄ ar̄ luḡa do  
maḡlat̄ na h-óit̄ce: 7 na realta ma an ccéat̄na.

17. Δsur̄ do rúigē Dia íad̄ a rpeur̄ nem̄e, do  
éadac̄ poluir̄ ar̄ an tralam̄.

18. Δsur̄ do maḡlat̄ ar̄ an ló 7 ar̄ an óit̄ce, 7 do  
poín̄ it̄ir̄ an polur̄ 7 an doréat̄ur̄: 7 do éon̄ac̄ Dia  
sur̄ maic̄ (rin).

19. Δsur̄ do buó í an (nóin) 7 an maidean an ceat̄-  
poín̄ ad̄ lá.

20. ¶ Δsur̄ a duó ac̄ Dia, Tuzait̄ir̄ na huir̄geóa  
amac̄ žo lionm̄ur̄ an dúil̄ corruḡeac̄ án a bfeuil̄ anam,  
7 eunlaic̄ féat̄ap̄ eit̄iollaó ór̄ ción na talman̄ a rpeur̄  
fóilleir̄ nem̄e.

21. Δsur̄ do éruéat̄ó Dia míola móra, 7 žac̄ uile

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ούιλ βεο κορρuiζερ, νοέ τυζαοα να ηυρζεοα υαάα ζο  
λιονήυρ το πέιρ α κοινέιλ, 7 ζαέ υιλε ευμ ρζιαάαναέ  
το πέιρ α έινέιλ: 7 το έόναε Όια ζυρ μάιέ (ριν).

22. Δζυρ το βέναιζ Όια ιαο αζ μάο, Όιοό ριό τοιρ-  
τάέ 7 ρίρ-λιοναίό, 7 λιοναίό να ηυρζεοα άν ρνα φαίμ-  
ζιό, 7 λιοναό αν ευνλαίέ αρ αν τραλαή.

23. Δζυρ το βυό ι αν νόιν 7 αν μάιθεαν αν εύζ-  
εαό λά.

24. Δζυρ α ούβαε Όια, τυζαό αν ταλαή υαό αν  
ούιλ βεο οορέιρ α έινέιλ, αιρνήιρ, 7 ζαέ υιλε νίό  
ρναίζερ αν ταλαή, 7 βέιτεέ να ταλμάν το πέιρ α έιν-  
έιλ: 7 το βι μαρ ριν.

25. Δζυρ το είνε Όια αιρνήιθε να ταλμάν το πέιρ  
α έινέιλ, 7 αιρνήιρ το πέιρ α κοινέιλ, 7 ζαέ νίό ρναίζερ  
ι αν ταλαή, το πέιρ α έινέιλ: 7 το έόναε Όια ζυρ  
μάιέ ριν.

26. ¶ Δζυρ α ούβαε Όια, Θευναμ αν ουινε άν ι  
νωειλβ πέιν, το πέιρ αρ εοοραμ λαάοα πέιν: 7 βιοό  
τιζεαρνυρ αιζε όρ εión έιρζ να φαίρζε, 7 όρ εión να  
ηαιρνήιρ, 7 όρ εión να ταλμάν υιλε, 7 όρ εión αν υιλε  
νέιτε ρναίζεαέ ρναίζερ αρ αν τραλαή.

27. Μαρ ριν το έρύταίό Όια αν ουινε άν α ιομαίζ  
(πέιν), α νιομαίζ Θε το έρύταίό πέ έ. Φερόα 7  
βανόα το έρύταίό πέ ιαο.

28. Δζυρ το βένυιζ Όια ιαο, 7 α ούβαε Όια ριυ,  
Όιοό τορρτάέ, 7 μευρυιζιό, 7 λιοναίό αν ταλαή, 7  
ευιρτό ρύιό έ: 7 βιοό τιζεαρνυρ αζυιό όρ εión έιρζ να  
φαίρζε, 7 όρ εión ευνλαίέ αν αρειρ, 7 όρ εión αν υιλε  
νέιτε βεο κορρuiζερ αρ αν τραλαή.

27 ¶ Δζυρ α ούβαε Όια, ρευέ, έυζ μέ οίβ ζαέ υιλε  
λυιό το βειρ ριόλ ο'α (βρuiλ) ι ορuiμ να ταλμάν, 7  
ζαέ υιλε έράν, άν α (βρuiλ) τορραό εροίν το βειρ ριόλ:  
διαίό πέ να διαό οίβ.

30. Δζυρ το ζαέ υιλε βέιτεαέ ι α ταλαή, 7 το ζαέ

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uile eun ran aipeir, 7 do sác doinníó rnaiseir. A an  
ccalam, an a (bfeuil) anam, (tus mé) sác uile luib  
slar mi diaó: 7 do bí mar rín.

31. Agus do éonac Dia sác doinníó d'a n'oeana  
ré, 7 feuc, do (bí) so rómait: 7 do buó í an nóim 7  
an máirean an reireadó lá.

Some modern Irish scholars seem to regard the Bedell text as rather difficult.

The following is an extract from a letter written by Mr. Brian MacGiolla Phádraig, who gave the public lectures on Irish Education in T.C.D. recently, through Irish.

He says, "The Bedell Bible was a difficult book for those learning to read Irish. The language is archaic, and the contracted spelling, the unusual words, and the literary style, must have been a deterrent."

On the other hand, the following extract from "Gaelic Literature Surveyed," by Aodh De Blácam, testifies to the literary merit of Bedell's Bible, and may also prove interesting:

"In 1603 a few copies of the New Testament, translated into Irish by Archbishop Daniel (O Domhnaill) of Tuam were printed. Bishop Bedell of Kilmore and Ardagh, an Englishman, one-time Provost of Trinity College (+ 1642), supervised a translation of the Old Testament, which was printed first in 1685. These two works commonly are called Bedell's Bible. They are admirable pieces of prose resembling the work of the Louvain school; had they been published under Catholic authority they might have been widely read with great benefit to the language. There is an Ulster *blas* on the prose."

The Rebellion started on the 23rd October, 1641. There was little warning of the outbreak. The



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loyalists were taken completely by surprise. It fell on all without warning, and hence the heavy death roll.

Historians all say that the ruling powers may be blamed for the conditions of things in Ireland. Their policy was bad.

When the Civil War broke out Bishop Bedell was offered a change to England. The rebels offered him a free passage from the country, and urged him to go, as did also his own family, but he refused to abandon his people and his Diocese, and he told his family to go if they wished.

By remaining at his post he saved the lives of numbers from hunger and from their enemies.

The Bishop, for some time, and the See House, became a sanctuary for refugees, and also provided for their wants. The Bishop shared house and board. He also endeavoured to cheer and comfort all who took refuge in his house, by preaching suitable and inspiring sermons, mostly from the Psalms. This, however, could not be tolerated for long by the insurgents, and the Bishop was threatened. He justified his action on humane and christian grounds.

The native Irish admired Bishop Bedell for his humility, disinterestedness and hospitality. He was always a good friend to the Roman Catholic poor, and was highly esteemed by many of them, and when the rebellion was raging around, that explained why he was left for a long time unmolested.

He was the only Englishman who was suffered to live in his own house in all County Cavan.

After the rebellion broke out, when the rebels found that their plans had miscarried, at the request of the rebel leaders, a Remonstrance, or Petition, was drawn up by Bishop Bedell for the rebels, and sent to the Lord Justices in Council.

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The following is a copy of the Remonstrance:—

“ The humble remonstrance made by the gentry and commonalty of the county of Cavan, of their grievances common with other parts of this kingdom of Ireland.

“ To the right honorable the LL. justices and council: Whereas we, his majestie’s loyal subjects of his highness’s kingdom of Ireland, have a long time groan’d under many grievous pressures occasioned by the rigorous government of such placed over us, as respected more the advancement of their own private fortunes, than the honour of his majestie or the well-fare of us his subjects; whereof we in humble manner declar’d ourselves to his highness by our agents sent from the parliament, the representative body of this kingdom; notwithstanding which we find ourselves of late threatened with farr greater and more grievous vexations, either with captivity of our consciences or loosing of our lawfull liberties or utter expulsion from our native seats, without any just ground given on our parts to alter his majestie’s goodness so long continued unto us, of all which we find great cause of fear in the proceeding of our neighbour nations, and do see it allready attempted upon by certein petitioners for the like course to be taken in this kingdom, for the effecting whereof in a cumpolsory way, so as rumours have caused fears of invasion from other parts, to the dissolving of the bonds of mutual agreement which hitherto hath been kept inviolable between the several subjects of this kingdom, and whereby all other his majestie’s dominions have been linked in one.

“ For the preventing therefore of such evils growing upon us in this kingdom, we have, for the preservation of his majestie’s honour and our own liberties, thought fit to take into our hands for his highness’s use and service such forts and other places of strength, as comming to the possession of others might prove dis-

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advantageous and tend to the utter undoing the kingdom. And we do hereby declare, that herein we harbour not the least thought of disloyalty towards his majestie, or purpose any hurt to any of his highness's subjects in their possessions, goods, or liberties; onely we humbly desire that your lordships will be pleased to make remonstrance to his majestie for us, of all our grievances and just fears, that they may be removed and such a course settled by the advise of the parliament of Ireland, whereby the liberty of our consciences may be secur'd unto us and we eased of our other burdens in the civil government. As for the mischiefs and inconveniences that have allready hapned through the disorder of the common sort of people against the English inhabitants, or any other, wee, with the noblemen and gentlemen and such others of the severall counties of this kingdom are most willing and ready to use ours and their best endeavours in causing restitution and satisfaction to be made, as in part we have allready done. An answer hereunto is most humbly desired with such present expedition as may by your lordships be thought most convenient, for avoiding the inconveniences of barbarousness and uncivility of the commonalty, who have committed many outrages without any order, consenting or privity of ours. All which we leave to your lordships' most grave wisdom,

“ And we humbly pray, etc.”

The Bishop and his family had their liberty until nearly Christmas, and they encouraged one another with Bible reading, prayer and other religious exercises without intermission.

It was about this time that the last letter Bishop Bedell ever wrote, was written, and it is still preserved. He was as expert a writer in Latin as in English, and

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the letter is written in Latin, and bears date 2nd November, 1641, shortly before his arrest.

It was written to Dr. Swiney, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Kilmore, who had invited him to come and live with him, for safety, during the Rebellion.

The letter is as follows:—

“ Reverendo in Christo fratri Eugenio Gulielmus Kilmor. ecclesiae minister S.P.

“ Benigne tu quidem (reverende frater) qui tua praesentia te mihi offers in hoc tumultu praesidio fore. Nec ego in re simili impar tibi in hoc caritatis officio deprehenderer sed quo minus hoc tuo beneficio utar in praesentia multis impediatur. In primis loci angustiis, tum calamitosorum omnis ordinis, sexus aetatis, numero, qui huc tanquam ad asylum confugerunt. Accedit quorundam, et inter hos filii mei, invaletudo. Quod caput est, non religionis inter nos (unica enim ea est et communis Christiana, quod ego semper sensi et scriptis professus sum) sed cultus disparitas; nos enim in eiusmodi miseriis lectione sacrarum Scripturarum, precibus assiduis lingua vernacula ad Deum fuis, psalmodia nos ipsos solamur; et quando in humanis tam parum fidei est, fidem et opem divinam imploramus. Ea res, si non te, at comites tuos offenderet, nec prohiberi possent, qui te hic commorantem visitare se velle dicerent: quo praetextu circumcelliones isti irrumperent, qui cum cetera omnia nostra diripuerunt, ad extremum se nece nostra cultum Deo gratum exhibituros opinantur. Mihi igitur certum est in divino praesidio acquiescere. Christiano homini, et quidem episcopo iam praene septuagenario, Christi causa nulla mors acerba esse potest, nulla non oppetenda. Interea si quid tibi visum fuerit interdicere apud populum sub anathemate, ne deinceps concussis, spoliates, toties exutis, vim adferant (mihi enim soli nihil posco), rem facies Deo gratum, tibi honorificam, populo isti (si

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tibi obtemperaverit) salutarem; sin minus, at sperate Deum memorem; cui te (reverende frater) ex animo commendo.

“ Tuus in Christo,

“ G. KILMORMORENS.

“ 2nd Nov. 11, 1641.

“ To my reverend and loving brother, D. Swiney, deliver these at Cavan.”

Things grew worse after this, and at length the See House was despoiled and occupied, and the Bishop's cattle were forcibly taken, and the Bishop and his family arrested on 18th December, 1641.

The Bishop and his two sons, and son-in-law (Rev. Alex. Clogy) were removed to Lough Oughter Castle, and imprisoned there, and there they spent Christmas 1641.

The remains of the old castle may still be seen on a small island, a musket shot from the shore. The castle was bereft of all comfort, and it was in an exposed position, and short of supplies, and consequently the privations of the prisoners were great. Bishop Bedell was at this time about 70, and the season the depth of winter.

The Bishop, his son, and son-in-law, preached and exhorted in turn, during the captivity with messages of comfort and of hope.

It may prove interesting to some readers to know that it was at this period that Bishop Bedell preached his last sermon, from Psalm 144, the Text being, “ Send Thy hand from above, rid me and deliver me out of great waters, from the hand of strange children, whose mouth speaketh vanity and their right hand is a right hand of falsehood.” The sermon was lost.

At length, on the 7th January, 1642, an exchange of prisoners took place. The Bishop and his friends

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were liberated and exchanged for some rebel leaders captured a while before by two Scotch garrisons and confined in a neighbouring fortress.

The harm, however, was done, the Bishop's constitution was undermined, and he only lived a month from his release.

As the See House had meantime been occupied by the R.C. bishop, Bedell went to live with one Denis Sheridan in the Parish of Kilmore, about one mile from the See House, where he remained for some weeks.

After a time a fever broke out in Sheridan's, and all the inmates became affected, the Bishop among the number.

On the 1st February he took ill. On the 4th he seemed to have a premonition of death, and collecting his family, spoke to them to this effect :

“ I am going the way of all flesh ; I am now ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand. Knowing therefore that I must shortly put off this my tabernacle, even as our Lord Jesus Christ hath shewed me, I know also, that if this my earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, I have a building of God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens, a fair mansion in the New Jerusalem, which cometh down out of heaven from my God. Therefore, to me to live in Christ and to die is gain, which encreaseth my desire even now to depart, and to be with Christ, which is far better than to continue here in all the transitory, vain, and false pleasures of this world, of which I have seen an end. Harken therefore to the last words of your dying father : I am no more in this world, but ye are in the world ; I ascend to my father and your father, to my God and your God, through the all-sufficient merits of Jesus Christ my Redeemer, who ever liveth to make intercession for me, who is a

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propitiation for all my sins, and washed me from them all in His own blood; who is worthy to receive glory, and honour, and power, who hath created all things, and for whose pleasure they are and were created. My witness is in heaven, and my record on high, that I have endeavoured to glorify God on earth, in the ministry of the Gospel of His dear son, which was committed to my trust. I have finished the works which He gave me to do, as a faithful ambassador of Christ, and steward of the mysteries of God. I have not concealed the words of the Holy One; but the words that He gave to me, I have given to you, and you have received them. I had a desire, and resolution, to walk before God (in every station of my pilgrimage from my youth up to this day) in truth, and with an upright heart, and to do that which was upright in His eyes to the utmost of my power. And what things were gain to me formerly, these things I count now loss for Christ; yea doubtless, and I count all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Jesus Christ my Lord, for whom I have suffered the loss of all things, and do count them but dung, that I may win Christ, and be found in Him, not having mine own righteousness which is of the law, but that which is through the faith of Christ, the righteousness which is of God by faith; that I may know Him, and the Power of His resurrection, and the fellowship of His sufferings, being made conformable unto His death. I press, therefore, towards the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Jesus Christ. Let nothing separate you from the love of Christ, neither tribulation, nor distress, nor persecution, nor famine, nor nakedness, nor peril, nor sword. Though (as you see and hear) for His sake we are killed all the day long, we are counted as sheep for the slaughter; yet, in all these things we are more than conquerors through Him that loved us. For I am persuaded that neither death nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor

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things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any creature shall be able to separate me from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus my Lord. Therefore love not the world, nor the things of the world; but prepare daily, and hourly, for death (that now besiegeth us on every side) and be faithful unto death; that we may meet together joyfully on the right hands of Christ, at the last day, and follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth, with all those that are clothed with white robes in sign of innocency, and palms in their hands, in sign of victory; which came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb. They shall hunger no more, nor thirst; neither shall the sun light on them, nor any heat; for the Lamb that is in the midst of the throne shall feed them, and shall lead them unto living fountains of waters, and shall wipe away all tears from their eyes. Choose rather with Moses to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season, which will be bitterness in the latter end. Look, therefore, for sufferings, and to be made partakers of the sufferings of Christ, to fill up that which is behind of the affliction of Christ in your flesh, for His bodies sake, which is the Church. What can you look for but one woe after another, while the man of sin is suffered to rage, and to make havock of God's people at his pleasure? While men are divided about trifles, that ought to have been more vigilant over us, and careful of these whose blood is precious in God's sight, tho' now shed everywhere like water? If ye suffer for righteousness, happy are ye. Be not afraid of their terrors, neither be ye troubled; in nothing terrified by your adversaries, which is to them an evident token of perdition, but to you of salvation and that of God. For to you it is given in the behalf of Christ, not only to believe in Him, but also to suffer for His sake. Rejoice, therefore, in as much as ye are partakers of Christ's suffer-



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ings, that when His glory shall be revealed, ye may be glad also with exceeding joy. And if ye be reproached for the name of Christ, happy are ye; the spirit of glory and of Christ resteth on you. On their part He is evil spoken of, but on your part, He is glorified. God will surely visit you in due time, and return your captivity as the rivers of the south, and bring you back again unto your possessions in this land; tho' now for a season (if need be) ye are in heaviness through manifold temptations; though now ye sow in tears, yet ye shall reap in joy, all your losses shall be recompensed with abundant advantages; for my God will supply all your needs according to His riches in glory by Jesus Christ, who is able to do exceeding abundantly for us above all that we are able to ask, or think. Having thus spoken from the Spirit of God within him, he blessed all his Children, and those that stood by him, with an audible voice in these words: 'God of His infinite mercy bless you all, and present you holy, and unblameable, and unprovable, in His sight, that we may meet together at the right hand of our blessed Saviour Jesus Christ with joy unspeakable and full of glory. Amen.' Afterwards he uttered these words: 'I have fought a good fight, I have finished the course of my ministry and life together. Though grievous wolves have entered in among us, not sparing the flock, yet I trust the great Shepherd of His flock will save His flock, and deliver them out of all places where they have been scattered in this cloudy and dark day; that they shall be no more a prey to the heathen, neither shall the beasts of the land devour them; but they shall dwell safely, and none shall make them afraid. O Lord, I have waited for Thy salvation.' Afterwards these words: 'I have kept the faith once given to the saints; for the which cause I have also suffered these things; but I am not ashamed, for I know whom I have believed, and am persuaded that He is able to

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keep that which I have committed to Him against that day."

He gradually grew weaker, and passed to his eternal rest on the 7th February, his last words being, "Whether we live or die, we are the Lords."

He had all his faculties to the end.

No doubt the primary cause of his illness was what he suffered in his prison house, or what was brought on by the privation of his imprisonment.

Refusal was at first offered to his burial in Kilmore churchyard by Bishop Swiney, who said that the churchyard was no more to be defiled with hereticks' bodies, but this was eventually overruled by the rebel chiefs, and he was accordingly buried in a spot, previously chosen by himself, in a remote corner of the churchyard.

He had an antipathy to burial in a church or in the immediate precincts of a church. He wished to be buried beside his wife, who predeceased him by three years, and who was buried in the south side of Kilmore Cathedral churchyard. His wish was respected.

The rebels attended the funeral, and accompanied the remains from Mr. Sheridan's to the churchyard. They accorded him military honours, and fired a volley over the grave, and said, "Requiescat in Pace ultimo Anglorum." It was their form of farewell. Permission was given by the rebel leaders to use the Protestant Burial Service, but this was not done. No funeral service, nor ceremony of any kind, took place, on the plea that it might give offence. It showed, I think, great cowardice on the part of Mr. Clogy, who was mainly responsible, that he didn't carry out the Burial Service over, not only the Head of the Church, but over one, who himself, was ever a fearless champion of the Reformed faith.

The design of the tomb had been previously decided

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on. It is rather unique. The tomb is still to be seen. The inscription is in Latin, and is as follows:—

“*Depositum Gulielmi quondam Episcopi Kilmorensis.*” It was Bedell’s own composition, and was found in his Will after his death.

In his Will he also gave directions as to his literary property.

Unfortunately the Bishop’s library suffered at the hands of his enemies, and there was very little left for anyone. The Hebrew Bible, which he bequeathed to Emmanuel College, Cambridge, was saved, and later sent to the College, and a Latin Psalter, left to Dr. Ussher, the Irish Primate, also escaped destruction, but, in the main, the valuable library, with its unique collection of books and manuscripts and commentaries, and above all, the vast collection of the Bishop’s own sermons, paraphrases and expositions of the scriptures, as well as his letters and priceless diary, were all irretrievably lost.

Such was the end of a great life and varied career. Some may, perhaps, regard it as defeat and failure, but it was really victory and achievement. It was the seed falling into the ground to die, but to bring forth much fruit, and we are enjoying that fruit today.

WILLIAM BEDELL

AS  
SCHOLAR



**I**N COLLEGE Bedell distinguished himself in Divinity Philosophy, Arts, Latin, Greek, and Oriental languages, namely, Hebrew, Syriac and Arabic. He was a good classical scholar.

Bedell's scholarship was manifested in the readiness of his writing and quoting, in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, or Irish. He was an expert writer in Latin. In fact he was as much at home in Latin as in English, and this accounts for its so frequent use in his correspondence.

Venice may be described as the cradle of Bedell's literary career. His collaboration with Paulo, at Venice, produced a good deal of literary work.

At Venice he reviewed "De Republica Ecclesiastica," a work of one Spalantansis, and corrected quotations from the Scriptures, the Fathers, and History. He also translated the Prayer Book into Italian at Venice, and wrote grammars. It was at Venice too that, in collaboration with Rabbi Leo, Bedell laid the real foundation of his Hebrew, and commenced writing at some length in that language.

On his return to England, and while at Bury St. Edmunds, as we have already seen, he translated the Pope's "Interdict against Venice" into Latin, and also Sarpio's "History of the Inquisition," and of the "Council of Trent." It was at this time he also carried on the voluminous religious controversy with Wadsworth, Chaplain in Spain, and the equally

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voluminous correspondence, on various matters, with Dr. Ward of Cambridge.

Later, as Rector of Horningsheath, he continued his studies, and wrote many books which were unfortunately lost in the Rebellion.

When Provost of Trinity he also produced a number of handbooks for the use of students, which were highly valued in their day.

In his Episcopal days he continued his literary work. He wrote two elaborate treatises, unhappily also lost in the Rebellion, on the questions: (1) where was our religion before Luther; (2) what became of our ancestors that died in Popery. It would be most interesting to know Bedell's views on these matters, and it is greatly to be regretted that the books perished.

Another learned treatise of Bedell's was on the "Efficiency of Grace," written to Dr. Richardson, Dean of Derry, in 1630. Bedell was fond of engaging in the Theological problems of his day, and seemed to have a very good grasp of them, and as this treatise shows not only his scholarship, but also gives a very good insight into his Theological views, we give it in full.

[Dr. John Richardson, Dean of Derry, afterwards Bishop of Ardagh, wrote to Bedell on the subject in 1629, instigated it is said by Ussher and others, in order to elicit Bedell's sentiments. Richardson's treatise and correspondence are omitted, but Bedell's treatise in reply is here subjoined. It was sent October 11, 1630]:—

"The purpose of St. Augustine in the booke 'De Correptione et Gratia' is by you most rightly conceived to be, the satisfieing the doubt how Grace and Reproofe can stand together. In the greatest part of the booke

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he digresseth to other questions. But where he speaketh to the purpose of that question, he is as full and direct for reducing Efficiency to the meanes, (including the Grace of God) and deficiency in those that have the meanes, to default of Man's will, as may be desired. As for that opinion which you say if St. Augustine had held, his solution had been easier, viz., that it is in man's power and choice to make that Grace which the Meanes carry with them efficient or not efficient; that is none of mine. I never said, I never thought it. No. It is in God's power and free choice, in and by the word (some part whereof is Reproofe) to make it efficient; and in man's power and for the free choice of his enthralled will, by being wanting to the effectuall meanes, to make it deficient, and finally (if God be not more mercifull to him) to make himselfe guilty of condemnation for unbelieve.

“ Unto this default doth St. Augustine reduce the want of Grace and efficiency to God by the meanes and praier, as Cap. 3, ‘ O homo in praeceptione cognosce quid debeas habere, in correptione cognosce tuo te vitio non habere, in oratione cognosce unde accipias quod vis habere.’ And Cap. 5, ‘ Tuum quippe vitium est quod malus es’, etc. ‘ Timor correpti hominis vel pudor vel dolor, cum salubriter stimulant (agit) ut rogentur bonus, et ex malis qui corripuntur bonos faciat qui laudentur.’ And Cap. 6, shewing that reproofe is profitable, both to the unregenerate and regenerate. To the one, ut ex dolore correptionis voluntas regenerationis oriatur, si tamen qui corripitur filius est promuscionis, ut strepitu correptionis farinsecus insonante et flagellante, Deus in illo intrinsecus acculta inspiratione operatur et velle.’ To the other that by reproofe they may receive compunction, and retourne to their former workes from which they are fallen, ‘ Sed per hominem correptio siue ex charitate fit siue non fit, tamen ut correptio prosit non nisi per

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Deum fit,' Chap. 14, 'Cum homines per correptionem in viam justitiae seu veniunt seu revertuntur, quis operatur in cordibus eorum salutem nisi ille qui quolibet plantante atque rigante it quolibet in agri atque arbutulis operante dat incrementum Deus, cui volenti salvum facere nullum hominis resistit arbitrium.' Marke how he compares the concourse of God's working with the reproofe, to that with planting and watring, and the workes of husbandry. The conclusion of the whole booke, is 'Nec gratia prohibet correptionem, nec correptior negat gratiam, etc., ideo sic est precipienda justitia, ut a deo gratia, per quam, id quod precipitur fiat, fiedeli oratione poscatur.'

"These passages in reading over the booke once againe I observed by occasion of your reflecting upon the maine project of the booke, wherin I did not observe anie one sentence against my defence.

"Your Demand, what the speciall concourse of God is and whether it will not fall in with that Physicall Act of God which I and others reject! I would I could satisfie; But, I do 'quaerere et pulsari tecum': God open to us both. I suppose wee may have some light from God's generall and common concourse, to conceive what this speciall is. The Apostle speakes of that, In him we live and moove and are. Acts 17. 28. Out of which place it seemes plaine, that God not only supports his Creatures in their being and formes, but workes with them according to their severall Natures; as with the sunne to shine and runne his course, the fire to burne, the eye to see, the trees to grow and beare (if they be planted, watred, and pruned), which is St. Augustine's similitude; and before him St. Paul's and our Lord Jesus Christ's. But now if the sunne stand still, or goe back, if the fire burne not, if the eye see not (as those of the Disciples at Emaus) it is because God denies his concourse, and creates a new thing; supporting notwithstanding

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the being of the creature, which if he denie, it retournes to his former estate of nothing whence by creation it came. This example of God's common concourse, may well serve to shaddow out his speciall in the supernaturall life, being, and motion of the new Creature also; which after it is once constituted, God concurreth with it, and all the means of the preservation of it, assists it, and both by objects supernaturall and impulses quickens and mooves, and finally conducts it to the supernaturall end thereof.

“ But we are now in a point of deeper Contemplation, viz., that of the making this new creature, which our Saviour calls regeneration: wherein for the manner (as you say wonderfully well) how God workes by his grace upon the soule it passeth man's understanding. Generally it seemes we may say, it is according to the manner of man's nature, reasonable, in those that are of yeares by teaching. And we may helpe our selves by the example of the natural generation, as our Lord Jesus Christ teacheth us in the place you quote. There is a seede which small in bulke, being determined by the forme of the generant, and accompanied with a power of life, falling into a convenient place with God's common concourse, there is brought fourth a new forme, which with God's assistance day by day fashioneth all the parts till they be complete.

“ Behold an Image of our new birth. He that begetteth is God, as St. John often speaks: The seede is the worde, the wombe is the soul, the new creature the man regenerate, or spirituall man. It is true that here the wombe is like unto the dead wombe of Sarah; but (that which is in this similitude singular and unlike,) the seede quickens and disposes the dead wombe to receive, and so (evermore with God's concourse) a new forme is infused, supernaturall as the concourse itselfe was. There, an abort or false conception falls



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out sometyes; which is neither from the generant nor of the seed, nor defect of God's concourse, but of the wombe. In like manner here; the seede of God abideth not in some that receive it. I Joh. 2. 24, 27, and 3. 9.

“ As to th distinction of the Auxilium speciale into Habituale et Actuale and this latter into Proevium and simultaneum. Bellarmine as you know denies Auxilium speciale to be Habitum infusum aut permanentem qualitatem, and makes the Genus of it Actio or Motio. And he doth divide Grace into two sorts: 1, Permanens; 2, Auxilli specialis. So as if we follow him we may cutt of Habituale.<sup>1</sup> Howbeit sustentatio habitus may be reduced ad habituale auxilium and suppeditatio objectorum ad actuale.

“ The sorts of ‘ Actuall ’ seeme to be in divers termes with the same meaning distinguished into Excitans et adjuvans, operans et cooperans, praeivium et subsequens. The former is sometimes called impulsus and illapsus. The latter, sustentatio et corroboratio subjecti inter agendum.

“ Both these may be either Immediate or Mediate. The former when the creature is mooved immediatly by God, using thereto no ordinary meanes. The 2nd is when God mooves, but by meanes and according to their fitness; so as there is not only the presence of the meanes, but their faculty and helpe to the motion. But as the end it selfe is supernaturall, so are the meanes, together with the influence; which makes the whole to be called Speciale auxilium. All which are contrary in Generali auxilio.

“ Auxilium Generale reducitur ad Gratiam Creationis. Speciale ad Gratiam Redemptionis. This is that for the present seemes to me. Helpe you for your part. I retourne to your letter.

<sup>1</sup> De Gra it Lib. Ar. 1. 7. C. 2.

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“ It is Semipelagianisme (you say) to affirme ‘meritis orationum’ ar ‘fidei tradi gratiam’ even ‘ex congruo.’ It may be you doe conceive with Bellarmine meritum de congruo to be founded in aliqua dignitate operis, for if with Durand and others you take meritum congrui, quando merces non debetur ex natura operis, sed redditur solum ex liberalitate dantis, in your next wordes you confesse this is orthodoxe doctrine. I add this worde mereri in St. Augustine and other Ancients is so taken, yea for lesse than so, even to win acceptation, as in the booke De Predestinatione which you cite straight after, Quis dicat eum qui jam coepit credere ab illo in quem credidit nihil mereri? and Prosper<sup>1</sup>: nonnullis meriti haberi potest petentis fides, quaerentes pietas, pulsantis instantia. [Collat, Chap. 3.] But let us avoide the ambiguity of the word, and say that to Fayth and Prayer there is given more grace, and given freely out of God’s free Grace; this I think you will grant to be orthodox.

“ If yet (say you) that prayer be a prayer of Grace, and exclude Conatus naturae, bonam voluntatem naturalem, according to the Fathers and the Council of Orange, I goe with you hand in hand, and foote by foote. And so let us proceede where we left before.

“ By your Lordship’s words—’ The meaning which you conceive (by my words you say) to be mine I disclaime and detest. Neither can I sufficiently wonder out of what wordes of mine it could be conceived: I will not father such a misbegotten Monster. I spake not, nor wrote of men in the state of Nature corrupted, putting to the strength of Nature, or not using that strength of Nature. I spake no word of grace offered but expressly to some degree given. I never accompted that Grace sufficient to make them them beleeve and obey, and that by reason of that (I know not what)

<sup>1</sup> Proser Aquitanicus, Episcopus Phegiensis, de Gratia Dei et libero arbitrio adv- Collatorem. Basel 1528.

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Grace so offered fayth and obedience are the gifts of God. My words were that justifieing Fayth is a free gift of God, transcendent to all former Grace, &c. This which you make to be my meaning, is the marrow of Pelagianisme: omitting therefore this meaning which hath οὐδέν ὑγιές I say againe, 'The distinction of sufficiency and efficiency of grace must be maintained, since it appears Grace is not Efficient de facto to some to whom it is some degree given; and yet they are condemned for not obeying and beleiving the Gospell.' This is all that I here said.

The discourse is this. These that are condemned for not beleiving had sufficient Grace, Some that had not Grace Efficient are condemned for not beleiving. Ergo some that had not Grace Efficient had sufficient Grace. And consequently there are not all one. Here the conclusion of the Argument sheweth the Justice of these men's condemnation. Which to declare (considering that Fayth is the gift of God, which men cannot have of themselves) was the maine project at the first intended.

"In this meaning &c.] This monstrous meaning, put it to what death you please, you shall not displease me. As for the first opinion which Bellarmine rejects, it is the same which I rejected as meere Pelagianisme.

"I come to your answers to the texts brought to prove that some which had not Efficient Grace had sufficient, which I can scarce persuade mysele you do cordially oppugne this assertion, but let us consider what you say .

"To that Essay 5. What could have been done more (you answer) by a vinedresser in regard of outward meanes?' But this vinedresser in the culture of this spirituall vine useth inward meanes as well as outward. Which if you do not grant, you overthrow the frame of the parable: and deny that his husbandry

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is as effectuall to cause his vine to beare goode fruite (if it were not nought) as that of the ordinary husbandman. Compare this with Joh. 15. 2, 3.

“ 2, 3.] More (you say) he could have done, as he makes his new Covenant, Jer. 32. 40 &c., and if absolutely he would, he could of stones have raised up Children to Abraham. Very true; and therefore he speakes according to the ordinary course of his dealing with men to bring them to obedience, which is upon the faythfull and diligent use of former grace, to give more. Assuredly if they had brought forth fruits it must have beene of his gift, as Moses speakes, Deut. 29. 4, notwithstanding never so sufficient meanes. Yet sayth he the Lord hath not given you an heart to perceiue and cares to heare unto this day. And yet the lord asketh, Chap. 5: Who shall give that there were such an heart in them that they would feare me and keepe my covenants, v. 29. A plaine argument, that his purpose is not to give it by his infinite and absolute power to all those that he hath given meanes sufficient unto, but to such as by former grace use the same well.

“ To the place Matt. 23. 37: you say, *volui secundum modum et mensuram dispensationis, gratiae secundum ordinem administrationes divinae in colligenda Ecclesia (Nec ego plus postulo).*

“ As to that distinction of Jerusalem and her children, to which you would have a sound answer, &c. I am afraid it is but a quirke. Jerusalem and her children, are the City and Inhabitans, as in Luke 19. 44, and he speakes (if there be any difference) of both: ‘Ye would not, etc.’ Compare it with Isai. 49. 5.

“ 3dly, 4thly.] God would by way of command and imitation, and Christ would is the Minister of Circumcision. This is the same interpretation that I would choose. For God’s invitation is serious and frequent: and Christ’s ministry (if ever any man’s) effectual and

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sufficient, though frustrated by the perversenes of the people. Rom. 10. 21.

“ To that Math. 11. 21.] The text sayth not, they would have done more then Chorazin did, but plainely specifies repentance, even that for the want whereof he upbraideth these Citties, v. 20. That the repentance of Ninive was not outward only but true is plaine by Jonah 3. 10. God saw the changing their workes. If Sodomes repentance should not have beene true (at least in a regardable nomber) it could not have beene excused from destruction, Gen. 18. Your discourse that if God had given (antecedently) any special grace to Tyre and Sydon which was not vouchsafed to those of Chorazin and Bethsayda he could not have upbraided them: And that therefore it must be granted that God should give no more grace to the one then the other, is very sownd and strong. But the feare that, if this place be meant of true repentance they should difference themselves, is needlesse. It shalbe God that still shall difference them, giving to the one according to his promise, and free purpose, the grace of Fayth and conversion upon their diligent use of the meanes, and sorrow, confession, and prayer of pardon: leaving the other in their unbeleefe for their not improving the meanes as they might, as you well acknowledge. Or if we will seeke the roote of this difference in the subject, it is Chorazin and Bethsaida that difference themselves to destruction in that grand point of repentance, and Tyrus and Sydon should have had nothing which they had not received.

“ As to the place 2 Theus. 1. 8.] They shalbe condemned (you say) for not obeying so much as they might I accept the answer. And here I demand, how they might? By the streingth of Nature? I trow you will not say so. It remaines therefore by the power of the precedent Grace given them through the meanes: where to they were wanting, and so put a barre to

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themselves from God's further bounty. Consider the use of the words *ὑπακούειν* and *ὑπακοή*, Rom. 6. 17 and 10. 16, and Acts 6. 7, and Rom. 1. 5, 16, 26, and many like places.

“ Your second answer, which reduceth the justice of their condemnation for not beleeving to the obligation of Creation to beleve whatsoever should be revealed as the Gospell now was, I do not well understand: by Creation they were bound to beleve nothing in this kind, but that which should sufficiently be confirmed to them to be from God, if you grant that they had thus much; you have shewed they had sufficient Grace to make them even according to the law of Creation justly condemned for unbeleefe. If by the preventing Grace of God in the use of the meanes they were not thus farre elevated out of their naturall impotency, the proper reason of their condemnation is no more then for originall sinne.

“ 3, 4.] Thirdly, you say, so great judgement was due upon their sinnes by the law—so as this is but like the threatening of the Infants of Nineveh for not repenting, and of the posterity for the ancestors' sinnes, the punishing the people for Achan's theft and for David's adultery, there being cause enough for parte punishments beyond that which is alledged, I answer the sinne of not obeying the Gospell, is in the text alledged, as the reason in parte at the least) of so greate judgement. It is never said, that the 120,000 infants of Nineveh should have perished for not repenting. Nor of the posterity that they shall be punished for their fathers' sinnes, unlesse they fulfill the measure of them. The words of the Apostle are not a threatning but a foretelling of the unavoidable judgement of them that having the Gospell obey it not, whereto the cause of Achan and David's numbering the people hath nothing like, unlesse you reduce all perhaps to Adam's sinne. But refusing the Gospell

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doth aggravate the condemnation of those that obey it not [ Math. 10, 15, Acts 13. 51]. If those that refuse it, have no more grace then those that never heard, it is not a favour to offer it, but rather a judgement. I conclude still as before. Those to whose conversion and obedience God could doe no more according to the ordinary course of his dispensation of grace in the gathering his Church; whom he seriously and frequently invited by the most powerful Ministry that ever was; Those that had such meanes as would have brought Tyre and Sidon and Sodome to repentance; Those that are condemned for not obeying the Gospell—had sufficient Grace; some that never have Efficient Grace are such. Ergo.<sup>1</sup>

“ Concerning Freewill how it hath part of the worke, all the goodness sowndnes and spirituall life in it being in solidum to be ascribed to God’s working by the word and spirit,—sith we agree, it is but vaine to multiply words. As to that you add (and by others meanes besides) I will not contend: although I think it might be well defended that by the word and spirit alone the soule is converted, howsoever other meanes may helpe to dispose thereto.

“ In the Description of Sufficient Grace, I take the tearmes sufficient to Conversion, and to inexcusableness for lacke of Conversion as *Æquipollent*. For wee seeke the reason why a sinner is Condemned for not beleiving: seeing he cannot beleeve but by the gift of God. Where I said that Grace is sufficient, (that reduces lacke of fayth to the deficiency of man’s will, in such Acts as by former Grace he could perform.

“ Here you object sundry thinges: 1° g°. *Gratia habilitat tantum. R. Negatur consequentia de Gratia universe. Quod side ista Gratia praecedanea ad conversionem de qua iam loquimur intellegas, sive sit*

<sup>1</sup> Ergo: some that never have efficient grace have sufficient grace, and may be condemned. See page 374.

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conservatio habitus supernaturalis, sive impulsus, quis dubitat quin saepenumero nullum actum educat: quod tute paulo ante confessus es.

“ 2°. g°. hominis Arbitrium liberum est in iis (omnibusque consequenter operationiens Gratiae agere et non agere. R. Certe ad agendum liberum, ad bene agendum non nisi quatenus liberatumque; addo, modo operationes consequentes quas dicis, non excedant vim & facultatem gratiae antecedanae. Neque tute hoc negaueris, si tibi constas.

“ 3°. Ergo opera antecedentia ex gratia & libero Arbitrio, seu elicita ex Gratia per istuismodi liberum arbitrium merentur saltem ex congruo consequente conversionem. R. Aufer istam verbi vel invidiam vel ambiguitatem; et die clarè, vt ante scripsisti inpetrant & consequuntur ex merâ gratia & liberalitate Dej. Haec quoque responsa mihi occurrunt in praesentia, sed videro, vel potius tu videris.

“ Where you say the texts of Scripture whereupon I call the word the matter and forme of the new man as he is converted, import only the instrumentall Efficiency of it. I cannot be of your minde: who will say the seede in naturall generation is an Instrument only? Doth the instrument abide in the worke? These similitudes be not bare words sed quibus res subsunt, as I conceive it.

“ Where you say, the lively operation of God's spirit is included in the word, non exoranda semper & ubique. But when and where God opens the hart, as in Lydia, and as many as are ordained to life Act 13. It is true that the spirit doth not always convert and quicken in the ministry of the word: no not even towards the Elect, yet for my part I think the word is never unaccompanied with the powerfull operation of the spirit, even to those to whom it is the savour of death to death. It is not like to a lancet covered with a



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sponge, to be put forth upon occasion. It doth ordinarily accompany the arrowes of Christ, that they fall sharpe even into the hearts of the King's enemies.

“ In the case of 2 alike capable, &c. (you add) et in se aequaliter dispositi et receptibiles, (and I meant no lesse) we do not vary about the subjects. Neither do we vary about the meanes, viz. the word with God's speciall concourse which what I conceive it to be, I have set downe before.

“ In the 2d man also we agree, the defect is in the subject. But here you add, such a Defect as is in it selfe irrecoverable. I do not understand your meaning, Such you say as was in Pharaoh, Simon Magus, &c. differing only in them in greatness of Degrees: Nay heerein excuse me; these be no fitt examples of the ordinary Deficiency of the subject. These were hardened, as being given over to a reprobate minde. *Nemo de repente fit improbus.*<sup>1</sup> But say, such as in some that beleevd not, at Paul's preaching Act 28. 24 who notwithstanding by reasoning among themselves v.29 by conferring againe with St. Paul, and searching the Scriptures (as Act 17. 11), by praying to God for his Grace, might after be disposed to conversion, and God's healing. For still the word is that which must remove the Defect, and not the naterall abilitie of their will, howsoever their Industry come betweene. And if this be your meaning when you say the former Defect was in it selfe (i.e. by themselves, by natural strength) irrecoverable, as farr as I see we agree. But what now if this 2d man be none of Christ's sheepe, be not given him of the Father, be not severed, as St. Augustine speakes, from the Masse of Perdition? Verily he shall perish in his sinnes; and the maine cause of his damnation shalbe, because he obeyed not the Gospell; and the stopping of his mouth, and making him guilty before God, is, because being enlightned,

<sup>1</sup> *Nemo repente fuit turpissimus.* Juv. II. 82.

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and perhaps convicted of the truth of the Gospell, he did not (as by the power of those Degrees of Grace he might) humbly desire further grace of God; as you say before, he obeyed not so much as he might. This is the condemnation, the greatest and justest cause of condemnation, as our Saviour shewes Joh. 3. 18, 19. But saving Fayth is the gift of God; yea but had he not beene wanting to himselfe the meanes, God would have given him that also. Herein I hope we shall agree also at length.

“ 3] the 3d section, you grant the word is light, and truth, yea exceeding righteous, and true with God’s special concourse such as you have expressed. This addition what it imports in your meaning I know not, for I do not find that expression. But be it what it wille, it is alike superflous, as to say the sunne is light, or the earth stable, or man a reasonable soule, with God’s common assistance. For as those creatures are so by their formes (though to their being it is necessary that they have God’s assistance) so is the word light in it selfe and truth too, though to the light and certainty thereof God himselfe concurre, which he doth so constantly, that heaven and earth shall pass ere one jote thereof passe away. The passage of Prosper is very true, but little pertinent to the purpose, as farre as I conceive. And for that which you add touching the Gentiles, be it true that *To τὸ γνωστὸν τοῦ θεοῦ* appearing in the creature was not able to free them from the hold of unrighteousness. The word of God is more potent. Consider Psal. 19.

“When I gave the terme to naturall weakness, I tooke it for voluntary, and such as the subject is well contented withall, which is somewhat lesse then wilfull and purposed. I followed herein your owne words in the former paper. So also in that speech of Devils. For as to men, farre be it from me to say, that the power of acceptance of God’s offers and promises is in

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our sole strength, or that the word of God and will of the naturall (yea or regenerate) may produce grace; or that, *initium justificationis et salutis nostrae sit a nobis*; or that we discern our selves (in melius). Whatsoever is done by the power which the word and spirit puts in us I account to be done by the grace of God; and he it is that differenceth by Grace.

“ 4 ] The praises of the word of God (you say) are not simply and absolutely true of it in it selfe, but by reason of the inward cooperation of the Spirit beyond all that power and efficacy which is in the worde.

“ Give me leave here to use that of Elihu. At this my hart trembleth and is mooved out of his place. What? is not the word of God light in it selfe? truth in it selfe, simply and absolutely? Is there some way, respect, or condition (without the transcendent cooperation of the spirit) with which it hath anie darknes or falsehood in it? Is it but true per accidens? for that is the opposite to per se. And remember that in our purpose wee take the worde not for letters and syllables, or phrases and sentences, but doctrines, assertions, discourses, promises, threats: even that which St. Paul calleth the truth according to Godliness. How do our men say of the worde written, *Scripturas per se veras esse et fide plenas*? *Evangelium est potentiam Dei ad salutem absolute, viz. semper et in sese consideratum*. Beza ad Act. Cal. Mompert, p. 76.<sup>1</sup> How doth Tertullean say of the same *Qui audierit inveniet Deum; qui etiam studuerit intelligere, cogetur et credere*? How do we urge the people to reade them and credit them, if they be not true in themselves? and how shall they be justly condemned which obey not the Gospell, if it be not the truth? And in deede this is St. Paul's owne phrase concerning unbeleevvers, Rom. 28, that possibly never have that transcendent cooperation of the spirit which you conceive. Consider the like phrases: Gal. 3. 1 and

<sup>1</sup> Whitak. cont. Duran. p. 113.

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5. 7; Eph. 1. 13; Col. 1. 5; 2 Thess. 2. 10, 12; 1 Tim. 2. 4, and 4. 3; 2 Tim. 2. 15, 18, 25, 3. 7, 8 and 4. 4; Tit. 1. 1, 14; Heb. 10. 26; Jam. 1. 18; 1 Pet. 1. 21; 2 Pet. 1. 12, with many more. Good Mr. Dr. consider of this matter well: for in deede this your assertion crosseth the streame of the Scriptures, and yet it follows upon the reducing Efficacy or Efficiency to a transcendent Act, beyond the power of the word. Neither can you avoide by this defence, but the word of truth shall have less truth in it selfe than anie proposition in Euclide. Unlesse of those also you will say, they are not true in themselves without God's common concourse.

“ As in the text Esai. 30. 21, That there is a voice of the spirit besides the voice of the hearers, no man I think will deny. And that often (even beyond the worde) God's Spirit doth by immediate impulse or restraint keepe the faythful in the right way. But doth this proove that the worde in it selfe is not simply and absolutely truth or light, but by reason of that inward cooperation?

“ John 6. 44. These that come to Christ must learne of the Father who doubts? But doth Bellarmine (whose authority is never much with me, especially where I professe to dissent from him, as in the roote of efficiency I do), doth Bellarmine, or can any man thence inferre, *Efficientiam non habere pro causa efficuciam disciplinae, sed transcendentem actum Doctoris?* Whereas to the contrary by the words *audivit et didicit*, it is necessarily included that God converts by hearing and learning.

“ The doubt whether God doth ordinarily concurre speaking to the heart that which man speakes to the eare, may be cleared methinckes by those texts that make the resisting the ordinary Ministry of the word to be resisting of the Spirit, as Act 7. 51 and Gen. 6. 3.

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And where the power of the word is mentioned, as Psalm 19 and 45. 5; Heb. 4. 12, so Heb. 6. 4. As for *auxilium concursus generalis*, that hath place only in nature. Where the meanes and end are supernaturall the concourse is speciall.

“ And so (as I conceive it) doth God ordinarily concurre with his own ordinances: else I see not how he should not delude men in his invitations and promises to the use of them.

“ Where I said the worde, even as it is the subject spoken by man, is as well able to convince as any demonstration in Euclide; you say I seeme to seerate it from that speciall concourse of God it selfe. I answer. I do so indeede cogitatione; as your assertion also doth: and your former distinction of the worde of God spoken by man and the worde of God as spokesman. But in deede, and exercise, they are not seerated ordinarily. And in the mention of a Demonstration of Euclide when I say it is convincing in it selfe, I do likewise set apart the consideration of God's common concourse. For my purpose is to consider *quid sit a parte rei, et non ad hominem*. As a Demonstration in Euclide is consequent and the conclusion true, though no created understanding did contemplate it, and God's common concourse doth not make it true, but shews it only to him that considers it, and judgeth from the principles; so in the Demonstration of the Spirit, the speciall concourse of God's Spirit doth not make the truth, but shew it; where God hath vouchsafed to give the habit of the principles by the supernaturall meane of the worde. This is what I meant to say.

“ As to the testimonies which you heape up to proove *consensum veritati nobis a Deo dari* and that we cannot apply or dispose our selves to Grace, or make saving use of the meanes of Grace, The Father's Arguments, texts, and authorities to that purpose,

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That Naturall strength cannot beleve and give assent to the mysteries of Christian religion &c., of all this I am most firmly persuaded and there is not a syllable which I will not subscribe unto. I could also be copious in this kinde, but let us retourne to our purpose.

“ The advice that Similitudes deceive us not I do as willingly take as give, and on the other side let us take heed that we fancy not differences in those of God’s owne making, where none are, Bread, milke, oyle, and seed (you say) with God’s concurrence have an inward faculty. But it seemes not to be so with the worde; it being an Arbitrary instrument and no naturall cause. This difference is not sound. For surely that is a naturall cause, and hath an inward faculty which it pleased the Almighty Author of nature to appoint: without whose arbitrary appointment bread could not nourish, and when it should please him otherwise, *Non ex solo pane vivit homo* &c. And in like manner that hath an inward faculty as a supernaturall cause to reach to a supernaturall effect, which the same God appointes so to be; be concurring by his Gracious and speciall assistance; as the foolishness of preaching to save them that beleve.

“ Yea but, *Verbum non semper habet conjunctam sibi operationem spiritus*, sayth Arnold Corvinus. No more hath bread, water, clothes and wages, God’s common concurrence, Hag. 1. 6, 9: like to which case is that of those that are given up to be hardned according that Prophet cited by our Saviour. By hearing you shall heare and not understand, etc.

“ Where you say by a Tropicall speech the Effect of the principall Agent is given to the instrument, when the word is said to beget, nourish, and save us. Indeede if the Acts of the principall Agent be reported of the meanes it cannot otherwise be, but a tropicall speech. But the word is not said to begett us, but the

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Father of lights with the word of truth. And when the Holy Ghost speaks thus Jam. 1. 17, who dares now put to that guesse without, beyond, besides, not by any inherent vigor of the word but by an outward and concomitant force. The like speeches are else where as 1 Pet. 1. 23, 1 John 3. 9, ec. As to the terme nourishing, it is most properly reported of the meanes, as milke, or stronge meate. Who ever deduced this to the causes instrumentall? Otherwise the principall giver of nourishment I confess may be said to nourish, as Joseph nourished his Father and family, and our Heavenly Father gives us the true bread of Heaven; but this is still in the word and sacraments the meanes of nourishment.

“ Concernige Esai. 5. Where you here add, that wee must take heede that wee limit not the power of God. He doth not limit it, that confesseth, if he would use his absolute and unresisting power, without any dutie or condition in the creature, he could easily do all that it pleased him to make Israel fruitful and and here to beleeve: But, where as the lord excuseth himselfe and layes the blame upon the vine, where he accuseth and condemnes the urblievers,—who seeth not from hence, that he did not withdraw the ordinary concourse of his Spirit, but that Spirit was resisted?

“ As to the trebling of the spirit of Elias, it would not alter the case. For this were infinitely lesse then that which was performed to Jewes in the Ministry of our Lord Jesus Christ, who had the spirit without measure. But the manner of dispensation of saving Grace to them that are called, was alike, as in the Ministry of other Prophets.

“ But Actually (you say) he doth more to the salvation of the Elect than he did to those Jewes. What is that to the purpose to prove that Potentially if I may so speake he did not enough for the former?

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“By this phrase of speech (you say) God only intends to set forth the greatnes of those meanes which he used to them, whereof they made no good use at all, but the contrarie. And therefore in that regard it selfe they were justly inexcusable. Add for not beleeving, though not having saving fayth given to them. Wherein do we then differ? For this is all my defence.

“ In this place (I said) you were more liberall than I desired. I pray mistake me not, I intend not to put you to prooffe of that you affirmed, but shewed only that you had no reason to oppose me, your selfe confessing more than I said, yet for the thing, I will never asseuere that a speech never so wise in itself and apt to moove will moove so wise a man without God’s common concourse. No more will God’s word though it be his wisdom without his speciall concourse. Here I am glad to finde that you acknowledge the worde in it selfe even without the operation of the H. Ghost to be the wisdom of God. There is the same reason of the truth and light &c. And now me thinkes, we have enterchanged places: you speake for me and I for you. *Mirum ni imprudentis idem dicamus.*

“ You add, the words of God are powerfull in themselves if they had a fit subject. *At auditor forsan non attendit, forsan intellectum ridet.* What other thing said I in my first Paper? The motives used in the word are such as have even in right judgement power to moove and persuade. But through the indisposition of the Auditor or reachlessness often persuade not. I add now, that all this was well enough knowne to God ere he appointed this meanes; and with all this the meanes, if they may be permitted to have their worke, are powerfull to enlighten, purge and perfect: including still the concourse of God’s spirit.

“ Yea but this power to moove is *pro suceptibilitate subjecti pro capacitate hominis Naturalis.* They moove in that Sphaere. But as farr as God’s word is super-



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naturall, as in matters and mysteries of Fayth etc., *elevandae sunt potentiae animae virtute aliquâ supernaturali ut redantur susceptibiles.* Heere I could have desired you had not presumed so much of my capacity but had declared your meaning more fully. If I conceive your meaning aright, it is this: The Scriptures (so you seeme to take the word of God) in matters morall and naturall are able to moove a naturall man, but not in the mysteries of Fayth. This is byond the Sphaere of their activitie, unlesse first the powers of the soule be elevated by some supernaturall power to make them capable: such you conceive to be the transcendent concourse of God's spirit beyond the Scriptures. To this I say. (1) Illumination and conviction must goe before all motion, as in oratory, *delectare et docere*, before *monere*: (2) In naturall things what motion you meane I know not. In Morall and divine things the word written (or understood rather) is able to enlighten; (3) and (diligently considered) to convict the understanding, that it is from God: still with God's gracious concourse; (4) when this is done, I make account that *elevate sunt animae facultatis virtute supernaturali fidei dogmaticae, ut jam susceptibilis sit motiones Spiritus Sancti, ut quod ipse Scripturae docent, deum invocet. Neque hic opus ulla motione Physica aut ipsum transcendente, sed concursu tantum cum verbo.*

“ 1. At nos (iniquis) de qualitate operantis Speritus conjunctae cum verbo etiam num quaerimus. 2. Et in quibus mensura graduque tali et tali operatur. R. Ego pro mea virili ad istam investigationem quod potui contuli, Tu si quid indagaris, adjura in partem.

“ 3. If such an operation be ordinarily joined to the word, then among all the hearers of the word *Quis te discernit?* Then *principium discriminans non est in Salvante sed salvando*: and so forth out of Prosper's Epistle: save that in the comman, *divinae voluntate humana voluntas praefertur*, you leave out *impiè* and

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again in the close malè; where Prosper hath, a se ipse inchoare malè creditur. Sir I acknowledge your descreite charity in avoiding hard tearmes. But put them in hardly, you shall not offend me, if you apply them to those of whom Prosper speakes. Look a little before, and you shall find they were the grossest sort of the remnant of the Pelagians in France who held that by mans naturall faculty (which they styled initiall grace) through asking, seeking, and knocking he may come to saving grace, and (as in this sentence is contained) originaliter malus receptionem boni non a summo bono sed a se ipso inchoare (malè say I with Proper, and impie) creditur. But this is not our case: we suppose that a man received supernaturall Grace, not only to understand the Gospell, but to call Jesus the Lord, which he could not do but by the Spirit of God.

“ You will aske still, if this concourse with the word be ordinary, *Quis discernit?* I answer, ‘*in pejus se discernit qui spiritui sancto resistit: In melius, qui non resistenti, sed ex gratiae precedentis dono petenti, pro mera et indebita sua liberalitate comulatiorem gratiam donat.*’

“ The place Acts 6. 10, where it is said of those that disputed with Stephen that they were not able to resist the wisdom and spirit by which he spake, was brought to shew that those that resist the word resist the spirit. You thinke, it seemes rather to make for the inesity of the spirit in the Ministry of the word, and work of conversion. This cannot be; for these are the same men which suborned false witnesses against him v. 11. 2ly you add, that in deede that place speaks not of conversion but of Conviction by Argument in Stephano,—Divinity disputations. The place mentions neither conversion nor conviction, but shews that the Jews opposing St. Stephen in disputation opposed also the spirit by which he spake: which notwithstanding was too hard for them, and albeit they could not but be

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vanquished, yet they made risistance still, by suborning false witnesses &c. This was resistance to the spirit, but as to Conviction and to Conversion.

“ To the other place Acts 7. 51, you answer granting the Jews resisted the H. Ghost speaking in the mouth of the Prophets and working upon them too but in an inferiour degree as you shew out of Corvinus. Which is the selfe same thing that I affirmed.

“ To deny that to be in the power of the word which properly belongs to God’s most excellent Majesty is no abasing (you say) of the excellency or majesty of God’s word. The word in itself strictly considered hath not power to enlighten purge and perfect the naturall man dead in sinne. Here (I) you must first be entreated not to be so strickt in the consideration of the word, as (cleane besides the state of our question) to strip it of the concourse of God’s spirit working, as your selfe even now confessed, upon the auditors though in an inferior degree under the last effect.

“ (2) Secondly consider I beseech you that, which you have acknowledged before, the worde even without the operation of the holy Ghost to be the wisdom of God: and by like reason you must confesse it is light, truth, desirable, even in itself, considering it as strictly as you can devise. Thirdly remember I pray you that which you well acknowledge after, the fayth of Assent, which some call historicall or dogmaticall, is a supernaturall Grace wrought by the H. Ghost, so as he that hath attained that gift hath something supernaturall; and hath heard in parte the voice of the sonne of God to quicken him though he be not yet perfectly quickened. When wee speake of such a man, and of the power of the word to him, with the concourse of God’s spirit, what looseness in disputing is this, to bring in the consideration of the word in it selfe strictly without the operation of God’s Spirit in a meere naturall man?

“ Yea, but, to enlighten purge and perfect are super-

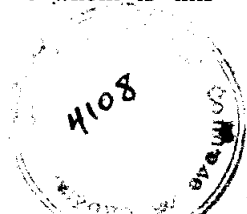
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naturall Actions, and the word with the speciall course of God's Spirit is a supernaturall Agent: by it selfe, is a supernaturall meane which God hath chosen to work upon the Naturall man by it, to quicken him, and give him spirituall life, and not onely to worke at the presence of it, but to work by the power of it.

“ It is the Spirit of truth (you say) and not the word of truth as the subject spoken by man that leads us unto all truth. Good Mr. Dr. be not of the number of those that oppose things subordinate. It is the spirit of truth, in and by the word of truth; as appears by this, that he leads into truth, by calling to remembrance the words of Truth. Joh. 14. 26.

“ Our Saviour (you say) after he had opened the Scripture Luk. 24. 23, was faire to open their understanding that they might understand the opened Scriptures v. 45. This interpretation is not agreeable to the analogy of Faith, or reason. For if there were any difference in tyme between the opening of the Scriptures and the opening of the understanding, this must go first; else the labour would be lost to open the Scriptures while the understanding was shutt. But the next wordes do cleare all, and shewe how he opened their understandings, to understand the Scripture by saying to them, Thus it is written and thus it behooved Christ to suffer &c. Soe, by the opening the Scriptures themselves with accurate comparison of them, he opens their understanding, as before in the Chapter vv. 25. 26. 27. 30.

“ David, though he had God's statutes, thought he had not a sufficient light in them for this blindness, but prays God to open his eyes, that he might understand these enlightning statutes themselves: And if this were necessary for him, being in some part light in the Lord, how necessary then is it for them who are yet darkness and not light. Against whom is this spoken?



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“ Not against me; who do require prayer even of those that are enlightened, no lesse than you: and do acknowledge that to the opening the eyes the supernaturall act of the Holy Ghost is absolutely necessary to them that are darkness as well as you. One thing I will entreate you to marke, that even this opening that is desired is still subordinate to the word: as is cleare by the words following that I may behold wonderful things out of thy law. Compare it with v. 130.

“ Though the word be powerful by a transcendent act of God, yet Tullyes officeis nor any other humane writing is halfe so powerful as the worde of God, is even in it selfe. *Honesta oratio*: in respect of that which others speake, depressing the word to exalt that transcendant act which they imagine, yet in my opinion the comparison is too unworthy; not only of the halfe but the thousand and ten thousand part. For of that which is finite to that which is infinite there is no proportion.

“ Without the transcendent act of the Spirit, the word cannot do all the whole worke of conversion, shall it therefore be able to do nothing at all that appertains unto it? This demand I suppose you make not to me, but to the depuisers of the word, to give me content. I could have desired you to specify what this your non-nihil is, which the word can doe without the transcendent act of the Spirit, either to the worke of conversion or that which appertaineth to it. To the contrary I defend that the word with the concurrence of spirit in and by it, is able to do the whole worke of conversion and salvation—the demonstration whereof is made by S. Paul. 2 Tim. 3. 15. 16.

“ In the place of 1 Cor. 3. 6 it seemes to me that you doe not rightly take the terms proportionall. For Paul's planting and Appollo's wating are not correspondent to the word, but only to the labour of the ministry in the word. The word is the plant or seede it

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self: the planter and waterer are both nothing, as it follows in the next verse. As for Plato and Tully neither is their doctrine the seede, nor their labour any part of this husbandry. Yet by your opinion that the grace of conversion is transcendent to the meanes, you have shewed no reason hitherto, why Tullyes offices may not as truelie be said to convert as Paules Epistles, if it could please God to concurre thereto.

“ Yes, for the worde is of that sort of meanes which is fitted for the worke as a knife to cut, and a medicine to heale, and is so fitted farre beyond Tullies offices. This in deede is somewhat; though to be farre beyond Tullies offices is infinitely short of fitnes of the word. For that is absolutely fitt so as nothing is lacking: Tullies offices contrariwise absolutely unfitt as a sawe to cutt a mans meat, poison for Physick. Let us not speake, to halves, and mince the matter on this fashion; but give glory to God’s wisdom, and power, which if it have made choice of this meanes, as you confesse, certainly it is perfectly able to attaine the end for which it is destined.

“ Nay (say you) I would not have you imagine that I grant the word is so well fitted for the supernaturall worke as the meanest fore mentioned are for their naturall operations. To the contrary I affirme that it is more fitted then these are: No knife so powerfull to cut, as the word, sharper than any two edged sword: no medicine so able to cure the body, as the word which hath life it selfe in it. No meate, no manna so able to preserve, and continue naturall life, as the word contayning ( which is the prose used by our Saviour, John 6. 64) the bread of life that came downe from heaven. And consider if it be not absurdity in terminis, that God making choice of naturall meanes to naturall ends, they should be fully and perfectly able to their ends: but choosing a supernaturall ordinary meanes to the greatest work of salvation, this should

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not be so well fitted as the other: Especially the Lord himself witnessing to the word of his grace that it is *νάμειον σωσαι τις ψυχὰς ὑμῶν* (Jam. 1. 21).

“ But so we must wholly exclude God’s special concourse by the spirit, working (as you conceive and thinck wilbe found true) beyond the power which is in the worde) what necessity? More then we do exclude God’s common discourse working when it pleaseth him beyond the ordinary power of naturall meanes. As to the repast of Elijah a barley cake and a cruse of water, he did concurre in such sort, as he went in the strength of that meale forty dayes and forty nights, 1 Kings 29. 8.

“ But you prove this exclusion, because, That speciall concourse is God’s act; not included in the worde but transcendent above the letter of the word. Heere I thinck you retourne back againe to the ordinary concourse of Grace with the word: and possibly I did mistake your meaning in the former sentence, and there also you meant of this. I answer First you are too strickt and cautelous, when you put insteede of the word the letter of the word. The word, as I said above, is not in letters or syllables: but in notions, doctrines, exhortations, as the Scriptures still use the terme, Acts 2. 41, 4. 31, 8. 4, 14 and Chap. 14. 3) The Lord gave testimony to the word of his grace with signes and wonders. Secondly as to the term included, neither I nor any man of the least capacity can accompt God’s act to be included either in letters, or wordes, or concepts of any creature; or meane naturall, or supernaturall, as ointment in a box; or a quality in the subject or as heate in pepper. This is the meaning of that terme when we say the word is effectuell, including God’s concourse by His Spirit and meate nourisheth including God’s common concourse, not severing or excluding, but presupposing God’s assistance, and as it is Acts 11. 21, God’s hand, with

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those that minister the worde: as the hand must be with the sawe, otherwise it cutts not, how fitt soever it be.

“ When you add,—That if I include it in the word it selfe and make it no transcendent act beyond it, then I hold the Holy Ghost doth therefore concurre only with the worde in special manner, because it was at the first penned and indited in special manner by the Holy Ghost; He working no more afterwards at the poste deliverie of the word than men absent or deceased at the reading of their workes. This consequence I do deny. For although I should speake of the word indited and penned (as I have often said I do not) yet to every use of the word, I account the Holy Ghost cooperates more or lesse, even as the smith doth with the hammer that he hath forged. And I demand of you, if because God’s common concourse is included in the use and worke of naturall meanes, we must say it is because he created them at the first, but at the present use concurs no more then men absent or deceased do at the reading of their workes?

“ But if I make it to be any new operation of the Holy Ghost then the word hath not that power included in it selfe. Concerning the meaning of that terme I shall not neede to use words. The sawe hath a power of cutting in it selfe, which yet is not operative without the hand. Therefore when we say it is operative, we include the handes assistance and influxe.

“ And as for that other transcendent act of God (the spokesman which you conceive) no question but all the acts of God by meanes or above meanes are free and just (yea merciful) workes of his Grace, which were no grace if it were not every way free; without merit of any man and freely communicated as the word it selfe.

“ The issue which you make; vizt that the power of the word of God is not so much questioned in it self as in the subject in whom it workes, I do not well



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understand. Questioned it seemes it is, in it selfe, but not so much. And in truth the consideration of the subject cannot be excluded in the inquiry of the power of it in it self, since it is chosen as meanes to worke upon this subject. The subject (you say) may sleight it, and gainstand it without any abasing of the excellency of it: which is very truelie said of you, and therefore much more give way to it, and the operation of it with out any such abasing; nay with glorifying the word of the Lord as S. Luke expressly hath it, Acts 13. 48.

“ But if it shall be in the power of the subject wholly to give way to the operation of it or not, this is both a great abasing of the Word and also a presumptuous advancing the corrupt nature of man, for so all shalbe left first or last to the will of man. That it is in the power (or impotency rather) of mans corrupt will to resist the worde and spirit of God, not working out of his absolute will, but by way of perswasion, is a thing cleare in Scripture, Acts 13. 45, 46, and it is a thing so manifest in experience, as I cannot but marvell if you denie it. Againe, that after the receipt of some degree of preventinge Grace it is in the power of mans will (so farre forth bye that Grace enlarged) with God’s concourse to give way to the further operation of the Word and Spirit; yet to perform some act, not exceeding the measure of Grace received, in order to further Grace, is no presumptuous advancement of corrupt nature but an humble glorifieing of restoring Grace. And as all deficiency is thus reduced to mans free will, so all goodness, soundness, efficiency to the free grace of God.

“ As to that which you add of the installing of free will in the Porters office of letting in God’s grace: It lieth not in the power of mans Free will to open the dore to God’s calling before it be enlarged also by the Grace of God so to do. When it is opened, it can also

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knock that God may open. Here I would entreate you to signifie that opinion in your next concerning the text Joh. 10. 3, To him the Porter openeth; whom ye take there to be the Porter. Compare it with Revelation 3. 20.

“ You sayd the word has no power to charme the deafe Adder being spoken never so wisely. I admitted this, when it cannot patiently be heard. Now you say, the Psalmist describes not in the 58 Psalm the singular and notorious obduration and obstinacy of some particular persons, but the common impiety of the wicked. Here I crave leave to dissent. The Prophet speakes of notorious and desperately wicked men, as is plain by the 2nd verse, that wrought wickedness with the hart, and whose hands did weigh or ballance violence; which seems to be a metaphor from them that poize the dart or other like weapon ere they throw it, and after, in the rest of the Psalme, he doth betterlie curse them; an argument of their finall incorrigiblenis. Tremellius expounds this verse de obstinato eorum studi seipsos confirmandi in malo, and these are in the 1 verse manipulus וְאֵלֶּם a pact of unjust men. As far that

which he sayth they degenerate or turn strange from the wombe; it is brought in by way of a proverbe as we say, it soone prickes that wilbe a thorne.

“ Hearing in that place, you say, imports not a patient lending of the outward eare, but an obedient opening of the inward eare of the heart. The wicked will most of them sit in God’s house like his owne people. Herod will hear John Baptist willingly yet he himselfe was that deafe adder—In that sense the prophet takes the word hearken in that place. That this place speaks not of the outward ear only, but the inward also I do easily grant, and was never of other minde; but the understanding hath inward eares said He that hath eares to heare let him heare, mean it besides those of the heart. Did our Saviour when he

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thus, he that hath an heart to obey let him obey? The patient eare is that which giveth attentive heede to the things spoken, marking and weighing what is said although it be harsh and offensive.

“ Your demand ; Or els may we thinck that the very patient hearing of it (the word) will serve the turne? Hath the word that power, or man dead in sinne rather that power, as upon the patient hearing of the word to raise himselfe up to newnes of life is strange to me. Did I ever say that the very patient hearing would serve the turne? or that man dead in sinne hath power upon the patient hearing of the word to raise himselfe to newnes of life?

“ The power in the voice of the sonne of God, Joh. 5. 25, is able to raise the dead, The patient heareing of the voice puts a man more under the influence of that power, than him that cannot endure to heare it; and if the Poet durst promise touching Morall discipline

*Invidus, iracundus, iners, vinosus amator:  
nemo adeo ferus est ut non mitescere possit,  
si modo culturae patientem accommodet aurem.*<sup>1</sup>

“ Shall I be affrayde to promise so much of God’s schoole in the use of his worde by the concourse of his Spirit?

“ As to the place Joh. 8. 43. Here (you say) our Saviour by hearing, meanes obeying ( *ἀκούειν ἀπάκούειν* ) as himselfe uses it afterward verse 47, He that is of God heareth God’s words, i.e. obeyeth: ye therefore heare them not, i.e. obey them not, because ye are not of God. Give me leave here likewise to dissent from you. Our Saviour speakes of the patient hearing of his doctrine. It had been *ἄωποταυαί*<sup>2</sup> to say, yea do not understande because ye cannot obey. But that is right order, ye do not understand ye cannot

<sup>1</sup> i.e., A reversing of natural order, Eurip, *Media*, 408.

<sup>2</sup> Hor. Ep. 1-38.

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heare. See Oecumenius, Augustinus, Jansenius, Osiander, Deordati: whose wordes I will set downe. I know you will understand them, perche vostra malignità non vi lascia esser attenti e docili alla mia dottrina. And no otherwise would I interpret the 47th verse; nor that which is there quoted I Joh. 4. 6. Not that to heare do not so signifie as you expound; and that often, as I Sam. 15. 22, **יָשׁוּ** 'to obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken then the fatt of rammes,' but because in these places the other which is to attend may suffice.

“ Nay, say you, a patient outward hearing they gave to this speech it selfe, and many more of our Saviours. But for true and saving hearing, i.e. obeying, our Saviour denies them power thereto. And so this place makes against Freewill. I answer.

“ The hearing, they gave to speech was not very patient, as appears by the 48 verse. But if you marke the text before verses 39 and 41 you shall see they had a hatefull minde to him, and cutt him off in the midst of his discourse, not suffering him to bring his purpose to an end: as they did St. Stephen, and St. Paul, also Acts 22. 22. As for the word **δύνασθε** Chrysostom and Oecumenius tell us that **τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι** is put for **τὸ μὴ θέλειν**. So long as envy and a murthering minde governed them, they could not with patience heare his speeches, nor consequently understand his language **λαλιάν**. Thus is seemes to me, neither am I alone in the understanding it thus.

“ You add, If you will understand it of an outward patient hearing only, then it quite overthrowes all naturall abilities to receive the word by Fayth. For if he cannot so much as endure to heare it with the eare, how can he entertayne it into the heart? If we runne with footemen and are wearied, how shall we runne with horsemen and not be tyred? How do I understand it, I have shewed. And let it hardly overthrow all

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naturall abilityes to receive the Word by Faith. That which is impossible to man is possible to God. Some of these when they had lifted up the sonne of man, verse 28, knew him to be the sonne of God; and, which is more, their very crucifieing him becomes an argument to induce them to believe in him (Acts 2. 23). God's purpose according to Election breakes through all these difficultyes.

“ Yet (say you) I see not by your tenet that God doth anie thing more for the Elect then for the rest. Yet I signified both in speech and writing different enough, and you your selfe observe it in the next wordes. God opens the eares of his elect, and he will certainly do it; and this speciall grace I plead for, as well as you.

“ This grace (you say) necessarily converts, and leaves not the worke to the arbitrary pleasure of the parties will, as my speciall concourse doth; which (you say) I make generally to accompany the outward Ministry of the word, and so leave cause to thinck that the salvation of the Elect may be uncertaine. Here I would first demand, whether do you denie that there is such a special concourse of God with his worde as we have spoken of, or that it doth ordinarily accompany the outward Ministry thereof? And if not, why do ye call them mine, and assay now and then to make head against them, which are your owne as well as mine? If you do deny these, let that be our first issue; as in reason it ought, if you doubt only of the extent, and effect of this speciall concourse, let us seeke together; and possibly by our humble subjecting our selves to the meanes, and that very concourse this goodly spark of heavenly light shall shine unto us. To the matter in hand, This (myne or as I had rather say God's) special concourse, which I thinck we both do confesse, leaveth not the worke of conversion to the parties arbitrary pleasure, otherwise then thus, that when he

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is converted, he is voluntarily and freely converted. It was expressly set downe in the First Paper, that the Grace of Justifying Fayth (which I account all one with the grace of conversion) is a free gift of God transcendent not only to God's former concourse but also to the former habits of Fayth of Assent, and illumination. And how can that be uncertaine which God out of his unchangeable purpose will give? Unlesse perhaps you respect the dutie of calling upon God, or making request of the Grace of conversion, which they may neglect as well as those do that are not elected. But herein stands the speciall mercy of God to them, that he doth not cease by his word and the concourse of his Spirit thereto, and to the Grace already received (afflictions many tymes helpeinge hereunto) to excite and move them, till at length notwithstanding all their naturall deafenes, blindnes, recklessnes, and dulnes, he prepares their wills in such manner as they desire the Grace which he hath purposed to give them. In this point see the suffrage of our Brittish Divines at the Synod of Dort, Art. III. De antecedaneis ad conversionem, Thesis VII., whose opinion in this whole matter I do not vary from any whitt at all, as you may perceive in that whole title.

“ The words in your first notes, upon which I reflected were these: How can any get Faith by praying seeing he cannot pray unless he first have Faith? he must have what he askes, or else he cannot gett it. The encrease of Fayth and other Graces may be gott, but not the beginning of Grace, for then the action of a man without Grace might procure Grace. These were your wordes and thus pointed. To which I answered, that Fayth of Assent to the Principles of Christian doctrine is in deede, necessary to incocation, as the Apostle shewes Heb. 11, but this is not justifying Fayth. This you grant now. But you say a man cannot by that Faith or the prayer of that Fayth get justifying Faith. Why so? Because God heares the

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Prayers of those only who are justified. This Assertion I thinck to be utterly untrue, against the holy Scripture and evident reason. Yon confirme it with this discourse:

“ The person must first be pleasing to God in Christ before the prayer be pleasing. God had respect to Abel and his offering. First Abel, then his offering: and the person cannot be pleasing but in the Sonne in whom he is well pleased. And we cannot be in the Sonne but by a justifieing Faith. And therefore by the Prayer of Faith not justifieing, we cannot get justifieing Faith. Thus you.

“ But first That the prayer be pleasing to God, and be heard or granted of God, are not all one, or convertible.

“ The prayer of the Israelites asking a king was heard of God yet it was not pleasing. Againe there is a double kind of pleasing both of persons and praiers; one complete, another in some respect; as namely in that it is in order and tendeth to that which is complete, which we may call of acceptation. I say then that before the person or prayer be completely pleasing, they may be allowed with some acceptation, as was the yong man and his answer, whom our Saviour is said to have loved, Mark 10. 21, and that other to whome he said that he was not farr from the Kingdome of heaven, Chap. 12. 34. Ahab's humiliation was so farr forth accepted of God as to prorogue the execution of God's vengeance upon his house. The state of heaven and earth in the ende of everie one of the 5 daies, was good, but incompletely; in respect of the goodnes and approbation of the 6th day: And thus in the new Creature the hearing the word, conferring of Scripture and (after illumination and Assent) praying for Fayth, or Christ's grace, do please God before a man be justified; in as much as they tend to justification; though not in that sort and degree as the prayers of a

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man that is already justified. Consider with me the historie of the Conversion of St. Paule; he was stricken from his horse, blinded, neither ate nor druncke for 3 dayes; at last he prayeth, presently the Lord sends Ananias, who exhorts him to baptisme, and washing away of his sinnes calling on the name of the Lord, Acts 22. 16. This calling on the name of the Lord, and the prayer before Ananias was sent, I demand whether they were out of Justifieing Fayth or no. If so, how are his sinnes yet unpardoned. If not, but of the Faith of Assent only, then, it is cleare that such a prayer may be. Nay more it may be accepted of God as thereupon he may send a Minister of reconciliation to restore the penitent, and may vouchsafe to bestow upon him the Fayth that justifies, and remission of sinnes. Here I will be bold also to communicate with you another consideration that comes to my minde as I was writing this. The persons of the Elect, before these prayers are accepted of God out of the Grace of Election, whereby they are destinated to Christ. As Christ sayth to Ananias, Go thy way for he is a chosen vesell unto me &c. According to which sense the rule may be allowed, the person must be accepted before the worke be accepted, Prayer or anie other.

“ Your interpretation of Heb. 11. 6 is very sound. Neither did I intend to proove anie more from that place then this, that at least the Fayth of Assent is necessary to Prayer. Not that this beleefe only will secure the turne. He that comes to God (you say) must beleefe that Christ is, and is his. If this be so, then Christ cannot be called upon, or any prayer made unto God pleasing (according to your assertion) till a man have not only justifieing Fayth, but Fayth of God’s promises or speciall Faith also. Which I am affraid is not true. Consider St. Paul’s example before.

“ Here you demand—admittinge a man by the Faith of assent and the prayer of it, may get justifieing Faith,



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how shall a man gett the faith of assent which you allow rightly to be called a Grace supernaturall? He cannot get it by Prayer for there is no Faith in his Prayer. And if he have it, why should he come to God for it? You take it absurd to say: a man must have what he askes, or else he cannot get it, and so set it downe in your former answer (you say) as an absurdity, not as a Paradox defended by you. This absurditie whose so ever it be, is none of mine, who did sufficiently in my first Paper distinguish Justifieing Faith from the faith of Assent. But to our purpose. Though I did not take upon me at the first to answer ever question, nor did I ever so much as in a dreame say, that a man must gett the Faith of Assent to the Principles of Christian doctrine by Prayer. It seemes to me that the Apostle satisfies this Demand, when he sayth Fayth is by hearing and hearing by the word of God, Rom. x. 17.

“ Invocation (you say) is not a worke of Nature, but of Grace; God must give the spirit of Prayer to change nature, and store it up after a supernaturall manner. But Faith of Assent you approved right now to be a supernaturall Grace, wrought by the Holy Ghost: The texts of Scripture Rom. 8, Zach. 12, 1 Cor. 6, and the authorityes of Prosper, the author de vocatione gentium, Fulgentius, Prosper againe, St. Augustine, to prove that by prayer the unregenerate man cannot attaine the Fayth of Assent, nor by other endeavour of his owne, as hearing or reading the word (I hope you meane without the speciall assistance of God, else I must tell you this runnes farre wide from Scripture) and all the rest of your discourse till you come to the differences of the Faith of Assent, and justifieing, I read with some patience, marvelling that either you should doubt of my assent to these things; or if you doubted not, would digresse from our question and paint this Cypresse.

“ You say a lively Assent in the understanding it

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selfe to the promise of God in Christ may be truly called justifying Faith carrying affiance and trust after it as the inseparable Effect thereof. I am of your mind, for I hold no tropicall speech to be an untrue predication. But that Justifying Faith properly is in the heart, and hath for the object of it the person of Christ himselfe, and is that trust it selfe which you require to follow the Faith of Assent, was once your opinion, unless my memory do much faile me. Whether the Faith (Heb. 11) be one and the same true Faith that workes all that is there set downe as one soule hath life, sense, and reason; or is nomen *Æquivocum* including all the sorts and kinds of it, as the Assent to the Principles of Christian doctrine, Affiance, Faith of promises, and Miraculous acts I will not contend, so long as wee agree it justifies only as it embraces Christ.

“ That Justifying Faith is not the beginning of Grace I was occasioned to say, by your objecting against the obtaining it by Prayer; that a man cannot get the beginninge of Grace by Prayer. Now since we are of accord in this point, the objection falls of it selfe.

“ You admitt that one degree of Grace may obtaine another, but require these two famous tenets of the Fathers against the enemies of Grace to be remembered, *Gratia non secundum merita datur; et Gratia ad singulos actus datur*. I do firmly hold and beleve them both. Concerning the former, I shewed my mind before. Touching this latter, I hold it as necessary to all supernaturall motions, as God’s common concurrence to all naturall. But whether any habit of Grace (Especially after conversion) abiding in the soule, the Person not withstandinge may not produce an act without some new impulse I doubt and rather thinck yea than nay. Neither are such Actions done by the helpe of nature in any degree, otherwise then as the subject which must be the Agent performing these

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Acts; all the sufficiency is from God, as the Apostle speakes 2 Cor. 3. 5 . 6.

“ Where you add, against it is an inconvenience to grant that men in grace should get more Grace then others by their owne labours though they have no more grace from God then others. This assertion had need to be declared. For if to get be to obtaine, by the meere liberality of God: and their owne labours their diligent actione or pacient sufferings, out of the ability which God gave, and those others be loyterers, which did not employ their talents; it seemeth to crosse that which you did in the beginning grant to be orthodoxe doctrine and to make men negligent and slouthful in the worke of the Lord.

“ If you mean no more but this, that every new degree of grace is a new giff of God, as well as the first degree was, it were impius to thincke otherwise. And this may very well stand with God’s constant rule, *Habenti dabitur*, i.e. *ex gratia praeconciissa plus habere satagenti*:

“ You add, the Apostle Paul knew he could not labour more then his fellows unlesse he had received the oile of gladnes above his fellows where to omitt the phrase proper to Christ. In the sense which I conceive you meane, it should be impossible for two that had received of God equall Grace, to labour unequally, which I hold to be inconvenient. For if the one worke according to the tallent and ability which God gave; and the other be less diligent then he ought, (as every mans hart I thincke beares him record that wee do not the good, not only which we might, but which we would), there must needes be inequality in the worke.

“ Where you say, he adds by way of anticipation least anie man should thincke he had cause to boast, that the sole and whole cause why he laboured more than they, was because it pleased God to give him more grace to stirr him up to labour. I am of the mind

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that he speakes this by way of correction, because he might seeme to have boasted in his own industry, wherefore he refferrs (as was fitt) all to the Grace of God; not only stirring him up to labour (as you expound it) but assisting the grace formerly given to him, subministring occasions, remooving impediments in the worke. Not as if he had not spoken properly, when he said: ' I laboured ' (or it were not an improper speech to say the Grace of God laboured) but that all his industry was nothing to the worke in comparison of the sufficiency and assistance supplied by God.

“ Bellarmine, you say, doth not persuade you that St. Augustine (Cap. 15° De gratia et libero Arbitrio) understands the place otherwise. I do not understand what you meane by otherwise. If you meane that St. Paul did not concurre with his Industry to the grace of God in St. Augustine's judgement reade the place (it is lib. citat Cap 5°) Non ego ante sed gratia Dei mecum: id est non solus, sed gratia Dei mecum; ac per hoc nec gratia Dei sola, nec ipse solus, sed gratia Dei cum illo—Bellarmine adds quid clarius? and well he might for ought I see.

“ But you are sure, Faustus the Semipelagian is of Bellarmine his opinion therein—wherein? touching St. Paul's meaning and St. Augustine's, as Bellarmine conceives it? What then? as if the most detestable hereticks might not concurre in the expounding a place of Scripture with Orthodoxall Divines?—yea but.

“ This assertion (you say), to use the words of Maxentius is Epistola ad Hormisdam, Augustine himselfe so contradicts ut credas cum jam tunc non nisi contra scripta Fausti respondere. Indeed these be Maxentius wordes in his Answer to an Epistle which he accompted to be forged under the name of Hormisdad Possessorem. But these concerne another assertion, viz. Gratiam cum labore conjugendam, as if Faustus

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meaning hereby had been this *initium fidei esse a nobis*. Which Assertion St. Augustine largely refutes (1<sup>o</sup> lib. ad Hilarium et Prosperum), accordinge as Maxentius cites his workes; *Nolens ego tam claris testimoniis repugnare, & tamen volens a seipso sibi esse quod credit, quasi componit homo cum Deo, ut partem sibi fidei vindicet, atque illi partem relinquat. Et quod est elatius, primam sibi; sequentem dat illi: & in eo quod esse dicit amborum primum se facit, posteriorem Deum.* This is not the Assertion that industry being adjoined to Grace a man may improve his Talent more to his Master's advantage then his fellow servants which are not so industrious. As for Faustus, though he were a Semipelagian and more, yet he gives the precedency to Grace. And that made Maxentius thus to object to himselfe in the next wordes. *Sed Faustus (iniquiunt hi qui eum Catholicum conantur defendere) Primas partes non homini sed gratiae Dei tribuit.* Then follow these words—which you shutt up this matter with all. *Nam Faustus in 6<sup>to</sup> ejusdem libri capite, cum Apostoli sententiam dissereret, ita ait: Gratia Dei, inquit, sum id quod sum; primas partes soli gratiae piè subjectus ascribit, media quaeque laboris magnitudine et obedientiae deputat, utrumque in consummatione moderatus gratiam laboremque conjungit. Non dicit, ego sine gratia nec gratia sine me, sed gratia Dei mecum.* To which objection he thus answers *sed gratia cui hoc loco Faustus primas partes tribuit, non eam qua per Spiritum sanctum fit ut verbo Dei forinsecus insonanti assensum praebeamus, et obedientes efficiamur; sed predicationem divinorum asserit eloquiorum, ut videlicet Gratiae sit quod nobis divina eloquia praedicantur, nostrum autem sit ut eidem praedicatione consentiamus.* But let us not wronge the Divell. In all that chapter of Faustus there is not a word to this purpose. And certainly Faustus was not such a babe, as when the Apostle testifies plainly, that he had not his calling or his Gospell from man, nor

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was taught it, but had it by revelation from Jesus Christ, to conceive or affirme that the grace whereunto ascribes his labour should be the vouchsafing him the outward hearing of the preaching of the Gospell: that this could be with him and make him labour more then all the Apostles besides.

“ But thus it often falls out, *Nimium altercando veritas amittitur*. Maxentius, and his fellow monks having beene shrewdly branded by Hormisda, and finding him in the same Epistle ad Possessorem to tollerate the reading of Faustus workes, labours by right or wrong to proove him impius, that he may make Hormisda odious. Whom that wee follow no longer in vaine, let us returne into the way, treading backe the same steppes by which he led us out of it.

“ Faustus doth make the Grace which was with St. Paul to be meere preaching—That is not so, by Maxentius leave;

“ He challenges part of Fayth, and the first part to man, and leaves the latter to God: wherein he is so contradicted by St. Augustine that a man would beleieve St. Augustine had written against him.

“ That appeares not to be true neither.

“ At least he makes our industry to follow God's Grace—That may be, for so (sayth Bellarmine) doth St. Augustine. Nay, let not Bellarmine persuade us that . Let us heare St. Augustine's owne wordes—*ne ipsa voluntas sine gratia Dei putetur boni aliquid posse, continuo eum dixisset, 'Gratia eius in me vacuit non fuit, sed plus omnibus illis laboravi,' subjunxit, atque ait 'Non ego autem sed gratia Dei mecum,' i.e. non solus, sed Gratia Dei mecum: ac per hoc, nec Gratia Dei sola, nec ipse solus sed Gratia Dei cum illo.*

“ Heere give me leave (Good Mr. Dr.) to go one stepp further ere we shutt up this matter. Suppose

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that all Maxentius accuses Faustus of be true; all that Bellarmine saith of Augustine be false. Say that Augustine confutes in one place what he sayth expressly in another, what shall we say to those expresse testimonies that call for our labour industry and diligence after Grace. As I Tim. 1. 6, stirre up the gift of God in them, shew the same diligence &c. to the end, with your former worke and labour of love. Heb. 6. 10, 11, lift up the hands that hang downe, and the feeble knees. Chap. 12. 12, 13, study to shew thy selfe a workman approved of God, 2 Tim. 2. 15. Indure hardnes as a good soldier, verse 3, &c? What shall we say to all those places where God proves his Children, as Abraham, Job, Hezechiah, Paul? If their industry out of the ability which he hath given them already can do nothing, how can he proove them? Nay if he give them a new impulse, if it be not resistable, how can he proove them? It it be, there is a place for industry; and of 2 that have received the same grace to stirre them up to labour, one may employ his Talent; the other may loyter; which is the thing that I conceive you denie, and the Parables, from whence you fech that forme, do evidently proove, let Faustus, Maxentius, Bellarmine and St. Augustine say what they will.

“ You conclude with a large passage of Vossius who setteth downe as you say, the summe of all, with whome heerein you fully content your selfe. I do joine with you, in Vossius determination in every letter and syllable. And sith we agree in the whole summe, I hope if we cast it over againe, we shall not much vary in the particulars. As for reducing things to fewer pointes, it may be done hereafter if we forbear to draw out of Common places, and draw not other thinges to the pointes of difference which belonge not to them.

“ And for Pelagianisme Semipelagianisme and Arminianisme (to all which I say Arathema) if in your

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owne judgement, you doe absolve me from such not only worthless, but wicked opinions, do not I beseech you by accumulating testimonies against them, raise a suspicion in the mindes of those to whose hands so ever these papers do come, that my lippes speake wickednes, and my tounge utters deceit: That secretly at least I nourish such monsters, to the quelling whereof your labour is intended. So with all thancks for your love and good opinion (which I am desireous to retaine, and answer with the like) I commend you to the Grace of God, and the Peace, which evermore according to the Apostles rule be moderator in our hearts, and keepe them in Christ Jesus. Amen. [W. BEDELL.]

“Written by Patrick Cuddan my Lds. Register in his Consistory.”

No man was better versed in ancient Church history and customs than Bedell, and he showed that on many occasions.

His letters also show scholarship. He was a copious letter writer. His letters to Dr. Ward of Cambridge, and to Dr. Wadsworth of Spain, would alone fill a volume. His correspondence with Wadsworth, Chaplain at Madrid, shows Bedell to be not only a great controversialist, but a first-class Theologian.

Bedell's sermons were scholarly, as he went to the fountain head, the originals.. He had an answer from the Scriptures to meet every case, circumstance and emergency. He was “mighty in the Scriptures.”

Perhaps Bedell's crowning literary achievement, at all events it is the one by which he is best known, was his Irish Bible, which he produced when Bishop of Kilmore, and a few copies of which are still extant and highly prized.

Other well known works of Bedell's not mentioned above, were: “The Shepherd's Tale of the Powder



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Plot," "An Examination of certain motives of Recusancy," "Quaestio quodlibetica an liceat stipendia subrincipe religione discrepante merari," and "Rights of Sovereigns and Subjects."

One who knew Bedell well has said: "In his conversation there was always something worth listening to, as he had a vast store of knowledge. Yet with all his learning, he was never pedantic, nor did he try to monopolise the conversation, but was always ready to listen to anything interesting, or profitable, from others." These were the marks of both the true gentleman and the accomplished scholar.

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### AS REFORMER



**B**EDELL was a man who lived, not years, but centuries before his time. A man of vision when others were blind. He ploughed, as such men often do, his lonely furrow.

He was a born reformer. Wherever he went, and whatever calling he pursued, the reforming spirit was always to the fore.

Particularly as Bishop, he was scarcely ever free from controversy and litigation through his reforming zeal, but it was done from the highest motives and to redress wrongs.

At his institution to Horningsheath, as we have seen, he disputed the institution fee as exorbitant, as no doubt it was exorbitant, and won his case, making it easier for after generations of poor men in similar circumstances.

He was also a watchman of Church property, Church dues and Church rights. Was it not high time for some one to put a stop to the encroachments on, or the alienation of, ecclesiastical property, which had grown to a public scandal, as we saw it in the English parochial system, and in the case of the Irish Bishoprics? If Bedell never did anything else, other than to put a stop to this plunder, he would deserve well of the Christian Church.

Then the crying out need for Church repairs, and Church renovation, a want so well met by the constructive policy of Bedell, as revealed in the history of that period.

Who that knows anything of the evils of Pluralities

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and non-residence but must rejoice that they were stamped out, and that Bedell's "Form of Institution," and Scheme of exchange, barred the door against their return.

Who, again, can but applaud him for exposing that mercenary traffic, carried on by the Diocesan Chancellor in Church Courts, to the disgrace of the Christian religion and the oppression of the poor.

Again the establishment of Diocesan Synods, so bitterly opposed and criticised at the time, have proved of incalculable value to the life and work of the Church in this land. The same might be said of his periodical Visitations, and of the attempt to instruct the natives through the medium of their own language. All these were praiseworthy objects, and were attended with beneficial results.

Lastly, who that knows the early 17th century history of Trinity College, Dublin, but must admit the wisdom and value of the reforms carried out by Bedell in that ancient seat of learning.

Can any one say, that, in any of these instances, Bedell's reforms were wrong or unneeded. Every one of them was necessary, and time and the judgment of posterity have proved that he was right.

All this helps to explain why Bedell exercised such a remarkable influence, or rather fascination, on every one with whom he came in contact. He inspired reverence, admiration, and trust in all classes and creeds.

Moreover, he had a striking personality, a wonderful make-up. He was a man of parts, a man eminent for godliness, integrity, humility, learning, hard work, zeal for reformation, and for patience in fortitude.

Bedell was a scholarly, well-read man, who added to the world's store of knowledge, a man with whom learned men delighted to consort, and who always profited by the association.

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He had also to his credit a record of work well done, of health, fortune, and happiness, sacrificed to ameliorate the condition of his fellowmen, to right wrongs, and to make the world a happier and a better place.

Yet with all his learning, social status, and accomplishments, he was humble. Humility was an outstanding mark of Bedell, whether in company, in apparel, or in housekeeping. He dressed plainly and lived plainly. He wanted no pomp, but walked where others drove in carriages.

His humility was very noticeable on his elevation to the Episcopal rank, as he only complied in part with the usual custom of the time. He declined to travel in full state, but modified this in accordance with his principles and desires, and although it brought upon him, at times, the ridicule and contempt of some, it raised him in the estimation of others.

Another trait of Bedell's character, and one which endeared him to many, was his unselfishness. He never showed any selfishness, nor worked for his own emolument or aggrandisement.

A remarkable characteristic of Bedell all his life was that he would never court the great for what he could get. If preferment came it came unsought.

It was his humility, sincerity, unselfishness and kindness which won him the respect and good will of the native Irish, an esteem and affection which he retained till his dying day.

In his intercourse with men Bedell was very shrewd and tactful, and a good judge of character and of ability. The part he played at Venice showed he was a man who knew how to assess his fellowmen at their true worth, and to take advantage of opportunities. For example, his translation of the Prayer Book into Italian.

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His wonderful foresight and sound common sense were also shown in his establishment of Irish lectures in Trinity College, and the translation of the Bible into Irish, to train men to preach in Irish among the natives, not only for their souls' sake, but as the solution of the Anglo-Irish problem.

Instances could be multiplied, from his public and official life, to show that Bedell was truly a man of vision, and a zealous and fearless reformer.

It is amazing too, that notwithstanding his early religious training (Calvinism), he should have turned out such a redoubtable Churchman. He was a loyal son of the Church of England, and was very guarded in his public utterances, to say nothing that would be to the detriment of the Church. When he disagreed with any act of discipline or doctrine he was careful to make his opinions known privately, as far as possible, so as not to create dissension or cause offence.

But I think the finest trait in Bedell's character was his wonderful fortitude in adversity. That fortitude was manifested on many occasions throughout his long life and in the hour of his death.

It was characteristic of the man, and in keeping with his whole life, that he should select as his seal a crucible standing in a flame, with this inscription, "Purge from me all my dross," afterwards used on his Episcopal ring.

If Bedell had a failing it was, perhaps, that of being too great a controversialist. Opinions will differ as to the value of controversy, but speaking generally, controversy leads no where. It often does more harm than good, and only creates and engenders bitterness.

Bedell, however, was always fair in controversy, and made no enemies, a rare thing. If he ever appeared dogged, it was due to no part of the man's nature, but was done in the sole cause of truth and of justice.

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It is hard to form a true estimate of this remarkable and gifted man, who stands in a class by himself, and who filled such a large place in the life of the 17th century, but enough, I trust, has been said to enable readers to assess him at his true value, and accord him a rightful place in the Temple of Fame.

As Dr. Reid, the historian, truly says: "The Protestants of Ireland, of all shades of politics and religious sentiment, are of one mind and voice in placing Bedell in the front rank of the many learned and great Divines who flourished in the 17th century, which was par excellence, the age of great men. There were giants in those days."

Another writer has said of Bedell: "A truly pious Bishop, who lived and died a martyr to Bible Christianity, and whose holy life and gentle manners are still thought of with that unfeigned respect, which unaffected piety and sterling worth, claim, as their due, from a grateful posterity."

Bedell, indeed, deserves these tributes. They are only his due. Brave, rugged, zealous, faithful man of God, like the Prophets of the Old Testament, whom he resembled, he counted not his life dear unto himself so that he might finish his course with joy.

If ever required, a fitting epitaph, and one true to life in Bedell's case, might well be this: "To give and not to count the cost. To fight and not to heed the wounds. To toil and not to seek for rest. To labour and not to ask for any reward, save that of knowing that we do Thy will."

THE END.