

Edwards

The Preacher
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1536

THE
PREACHER.

The Third PART.

CONTAINING

Farther Rules and Advices,

For the Right Discharging of the
Sacred-Office of PREACHING.

With Animadversions on some Passages
in the Book Entituled, *The Whole Duty
of Man*, and in the late Writings
of Dr. HICKES, Dr. NICHOLS,
Mr. BENNET, Mr. CLARK, and
Mr. DODWELL.

Together with a *Vindication* of the first Part of
the PREACHER from the Unjust Excep-
tions and Cavils of Mr. LIGHTFOOT and
others.

By JOHN EDWARDS, D. D.

L O N D O N,

Printed for Jonathan Robinson, John Lawrence, and
John Wyat, 1709.

make *Alterations* in the Principles of *Religion*, as if *New Fashions* therein were as allowable as in *Apparel*. This makes it of great Consequence to the general good of the *Christian* and *Protestant Religion*, and to the particular wellfare of the *Church of England* to observe what *Deviations* are made among us from the Stated Articles of Christianity, and what *Doctrines* are preached up that palpably swerve from them, and with due submission to offer such *Advices* as may be justly thought to be Proper Remedies against those Evils and Maladies.

This is that which I Undertake at present, and the first thing I caution my Brethren against is a *Tendency to Popery*. As we have all of us solemnly renounced the *Roman Religion* and Communion, so it concerns us to *abstain from all appearance of this Evil*, and to warn the People Committed to our charge against the least *Approaches* to it, against whatever hath a *Tang* and *Relish* of it. They must be reminded not to blanch any part of it, and to make it look fair: but they must look upon the Whole as Black and Deformed, that is, like the Parent of it.

With Popery I have joined *Enthusiasm*, because this is sometimes part of its Retinue and Equipage. At this time especially,

ally, when there are Strong Delusions under the pretext of *Inspiration* (*Spiritual Wickednesses*, which are a deplorable addition to those Groffer ones of Immorality and Debauchery which reign among us) it is seasonable to exhort Men to be Sober and Watchful, and not to mistake *Pretences to the Spirit* and the *Dreams of the Deluded* for True and Solid Religion. Besides those *Enthusiasts* whom I have mentioned in the following Discourse, there are others of a different class, but none more Conspicuous than the *High-Church Fanaticks*, among whom I take Mr. *Dodwell* (tho' otherwise a Person of great Worth) to be Chief, who Conversing with the Writings of *Tertullian* whilest he was a *High-Flown Montanist*, and of other *Fanciful* Writers among the *Ancients*, is deeply tinctured with their Notions, as we see in his Wild and Extravagant Conceits about the *Soul of Man*, and in his other Freakish Tenets. These are the result of pure *Enthusiastick Imagination*, and *Ecclesiastick Vapours*. And those of his Brethren who join with him at this day in their not paying Allegiance to their Sovereign nor holding Communion with the Established Church, shew themselves to be Over-run with the Worst and Rankest sort of *Enthusiasm*. Poor Men! Their Spleen

is vitiated and out of order, and Infects them with *False Zeal*, and makes them break out into *Strange Raptures* and *Religious Rhodomontades*, some of which I may Perhaps have occasion hereafter to present the Reader with.

I have more particularly Warned my Brethren against the Cheats and Impostures of the *Quakers*, for tho' 'tis not to be denied that their Carriage in some respects is Laudable and Worthy of Imitation, in so much that they shall Rise in Judgment against this Debauched Generation, yet there are so many Faulty things in their Principles and Practice, that I cannot see how we can excuse our selves from taking notice of them, and sharply rebuking them.

I have again made fresh Instances to our Clergy to embrace the *Calvinian Doctrines*, which heretofore were the very *Test* of the *Reformed Religion*, and therefore ought to be so now, unless you will say that the Reformed Religion is again *Reformed*, that is, changed, from what it was. Some passages I have Inserted into my following Papers out of Mr. *Strype's* late *Annals of the Reformation of Religion* in the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, which Incontestably prove that the Doctrines which go under the name of *Calvin* were received and approved of by our Church-men at the

Refor-

Reformation, and that the contrary Doctrines were rejected as very Erroneous and Pernicious. But because I find *Since* that I have omitted one or two Considerable Passages, I will Present the Reader with them *Here*. Among the *Orders* and *Directions*, for Regulation of the Inferior Clergy, drawn up by the Archbishops and Bishops, this was one, * *That Incurable Arians, Pelagians or Free-Will-Men be sent into some Castle in North-Wales or Wallingford, there to live of their own Labour and Exercise, and none be suffered to resort to them but their Keepers, untill they be found to repent their Errors.* These *Pelagians* or *Free-Will-men* were the same that we now call *Arminians*, and seeing the Archbishops and Bishops mov'd that they might be Banished and severely used, we may conclude thence Inrefragably that their Errors were thought to be very great and Pernicious, and that the Archbishops and Bishops with the generality of the Clergy held the Contrary Truths. Again, this is evident from what Mr. *Strype* relates of *Cheny* Bishop of *Bristol*, who it seems was suspected to favour the *Anti-Calvinian* Opinions, namely, that concerning those that opposed the Doctrine

§ Mr. *Strype's* Annals, Chap. 17.

of *Free-Will* he said thus, *They follow much, if not too much, the Learned of this Time, not considering what hath been thought and determined in the Oldtime*, Chap. 52. Whence it is Undeniably Manifest that *the Learned of that time*, to wit, at the beginning of *Queen Elizabeth's Reign*, were *Calvinists* as to the Doctrine of *Free-Will*, which was contrary to that which was held in the *Old time of Popery*. And from other passages in *Mr. Strype's Annals* it appears that our First Reformers were *Calvinists* as to their Doctrine.

So that it is evident that we at this day vary from the *First Reformation*, as well as from a Higher Rule, the *Sacred Scriptures*. I have several times presumed to set before my Brethren these two great Standards of Truth, and I have shewed that *Calvinism* is adjusted to both, tho' now it is an Unwellcome Doctrine, and seems to be just upon the point of Expiring. But let me tell the Reader, with its death will be revived a worse Evil than *Arminianism*, for the next Scene that opens is *Socinianism*, which we should have seen owned before this time among us, if the *Unitarians* had not Unadvisedly interposed, and took the work out of some Mens Hands, and made them take other measures. For this is certain that *Arminianism* is a Nursery to *Socinianism*,

nianism, and we see the *Arminians* and *Socinians*, in some considerable respects, take the same rout: and therefore if the former be not stopt in their progress, I foretell that they will assuredly and speedily let us know that they are well acquainted with the *Polonian Brethren*.

I have therefore endeavoured in the next place to prevail with my Brethren to look carefully to their *Principles*, and to make a Distinction between *Natural* or *Moral Principles* and those that are *purely Christian* and *Evangelical*: for herein many of them are very defective of late. I might have mentioned under this Head the Author of the *Three Practical Essays*, for in one of them, that is, his *Essay of Confirmation*, he undertakes to instruct those Young Persons who are to appear before the Bishop (which is a very good work) in *all the Principles and Duties of Christianity*, and yet he seems to make these to be only *Natural Notions of God and Moral Offices of Religion*. In a whole Chapter, where he designedly treats of *Faith*, the grand Fundamental Grace of the Christian Religion, he is not pleased to take notice at all of it, as it respects our Saviour Jesus Christ, he doth not so much as mention *Believing in him*, but makes this Grace to be only an *Assent* to the truths
of

of Religion, as the *Romanists* do. He reduces all Christian Duties to Morality, as *Love, Fear and Adoration of God: Justice, Righteousness and Truth towards our Neighbours: Sobriety, Temperance and Contentment towards our selves:* all which he describes as if they were Parts of *Natural Religion* only.

This is that which many others of our Brethren pursue, in imitation of the late Archbishop, who when he pretends to give an Account of *the Nature and Excellency of the Christian Religion* (which is a great Subject with him, and certainly most Worthy) he brings it all down to *Natural Religion*, and he saith no more of it than what is discovered to us by the Light of Reason. And this is observable in the present Writer of the *Essays*: he hath little regard to those Principles and Precepts which are proper and peculiar to *Christianity*. Yea, tho' he often mentions the *Instituted and Revealed Religion*, and acknowledges that * *the design of our Saviour's Preaching was to give Men a Body of more Spiritual and Refined Laws*, and confesses that † *Natural Religion was insufficient to make Men truly good*, there was

a necessity of setting up another Institution of Religion; yet, notwithstanding this, when he comes to give a Particular account of this Institution, that is, to describe its Laws and Rules, he makes little or no difference between them and those of *Natural Religion*, but seems to confound them. But by the way we may observe that he hath not forgot to crowd all the *Arminian Points* into his small Manual.

I have proceeded to deliver my Mind freely concerning the Notion of *Schism*, and the imputation of it to the *Dissenters*. For tho' I prefer our Church, that is, the *Church of England*, to all other Churches upon several accounts, yet I never thought I was obliged to damn all other Churches, and to believe that all that differ from us as to External Rites and Ceremonies are *Schismaticks*. This is as Unreasonable as 'tis Uncharitable, and I'm sure 'tis Unscriptural. The Essence of a Church consists not in *Indifferent Circumstances*, and therefore I conceive we ought not to Unchurch any Religious Congregation or Assembly of Christians on this bare account: but if any Assembly, greater or lesser, of Christians rejects the Substantial Doctrines of Christ, and Worships not God according to the Rules of the Gospel, and refuses to submit to
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the Discipline and Government of Christ's appointment, and deviates from the Precepts of a Holy Life, then it is not to be doubted that that Congregation or Assembly is not to be looked upon as a *True Church*, or any part of a *True Church*. There is no need of insisting long upon this, it being so plain and bright a Truth. Those that talk otherwise, and *unchurch* all the Conscientious *Dissenters* in this Nation, have a design of setting up themselves alone, and borrowing *Infallibility* from a certain quarter of the World, and destroying all those that differ from them, tho' but in smaller matters, as a late Rampant Writer hath told us, * *Till they go to their place, the World will never be quiet.*

There are *other Heads* which I discourse of in the following Papers, but there is no need of Prefacing to them.

I have spoken freely concerning the use of *Recreations*, because there is nothing of common use and practice in the Life of Man that is below the consideration of a *Preacher*; and because we most commonly offend about things that are Indifferent, and even Lawful, therefore I thought it requisite to furnish my *Preacher*

cher with materials for his Directions in this kind, when he sees occasion.

I have only this more to acquaint the Reader with, that I shall trouble him in the Close of all with a *Vindication* of some Passages in my late Writings which have been excepted against by some of our Ecclesiasticks, who look a squint on all that I have Written, and therefore I must expect that they will take nothing by the right handle. I pass by those that have been Mobbish and Rude, the Zeal of whose Cause hath eaten up all Sobriety and Good Manners. But to others who have moderately kept themselves within the bounds of Civility I have made due Returns. I have taken notice of Mr. *Elys's* Complaint of what I had said concerning *The Whole Duty of Man*, and I hope I have abundantly satisfied him by presenting him and other Readers with a short Survey of that Authors performance. I have more especially applied my self to Mr. *Lightfoot's Remarks*, who hath been animated to that work by some that lay behind the Curtain. I have made bold to draw it open, and to let in the Light both upon him and them: that Men free from partiality and prejudice may discern how vain and groundless, how delusive

delusive and Sophistical all their Allegations are against my *Preacher*.

If it be alledged that I lately told my Readers that *I was heartily glad I had done with the Main of my Reflections on the Writings of our Divines*, whereas now I seem to contradict this by my fresh Animadversions on some Passages in their Writings, I doubt not but every Intelligent and Wise Man knows how to interpret what I said. It plainly appears thence that I was very willing to be at quiet, and to lay aside all Controversies: and this was it which I designed and resolved upon. But I may truly apply the Psalmist's words, *I am for Peace: but when I speak, they are for War*. They willfully misunderstand what I have written, and have set up one to renew the fray, and to charge me with misrepresenting and flandering my Brethren. Wherefore the World might justly think me very regardless of my Credit, if I should not appear in my own *defence*. And if by the by I *offend* others, they may thank themselves. I should certainly have conformed my self to my foresaid Resolution, if Mr. *Lightfoot* had not by his late *Remarks* occasioned my bringing upon the Stage some more of our Divines, and the exposing more of their Doctrines. He may be reckoned the Au-
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thor of this my *Third Part of the Preacher*, for it is wholly owing to him that I assumed this Work again, and took up a Subject that I had before laid down. His bold, but groundless Objections against my late Writings easily suggested to me *These Advices* to my Brethren of the Clergy which I now publish. And whoever appears next, it is likely, will be the occasion of my offering *Farther Advice*, and of presenting the Reader with several other *New Specimens of Modern Divinity* out of the late Writings of some of our Clergy, and those of the chiefest Note and Rank. If I be forced to it, such Methods may be expected: otherwise I shall entirely betake my self to those *Known Subjects* which I have heretofore promised the Reader to entertain him with, and which I now find he impatiently expects. And so I bid him Farewell.

E R R A T A.

PAG. 4. Lin. 4 from the bottom, for *Limited* Read Permitted. l. 9. from the bottom, after *and* Insert *almost*. P. 5. l. 3. after *is* Insert *as*. P. 6. l. the last r. *Gentleman*. P. 8. l. 2. from the bottom for *Salvation* r. *Satisfaction*. P. 9. l. 21. for *their* r. *the*. P. 22. l. 6. from the bottom, r. *Cathedrals*. P. 25. l. 10. for *hearing* r. *having*. l. 16. for *loud* r. *loud*. P. 31. l. 9. for *for* r. *from*. P. 42. l. 10. for *in* r. *is*. P. 45. l. 13. for *the* r. *this*. P. 56. l. last for *two* r. *three*. P. 57. l. 8. Insert *Thirdly, I will take a view of their real Vicious Habits and Practices*. P. 58. l. 21. r. *Party*. P. 65. l. 1. for *Superstitious* r. *Superfluous*. P. 80. l. 9. from the bottom, r. *Worn*. P. 83. l. 6. *make a full Stop at the end, and begin the next line with a great letter*. P. 117. l. 13. r. *Fasting*. P. 146. l. 7. from the bottom, for *Common-Prayer* r. *Canon-Prayer*. P. 147. l. 3. r. *Canon-Prayer*. P. 149. l. 19. after *good* Insert *and*. P. 150. l. 2. from the bottom, for *abate* r. *alter'd*. P. 151. l. 18. for *they* r. *some of them*. P. 172. l. 5. from the bottom, r. *Historian*. P. 174. l. 20. r. *Courfers*. P. 179. l. 10. for *more* r. *most*. P. 180. l. 1. for *bleeding* r. *breeding*. P. 190. l. 2. for *and* r. *as*. P. 192. l. 4. from the bottom, r. *Stage Plays*. P. 196. l. 4. r. *Hale*. l. 5. r. *though*. P. 197. l. 5. from the bottom, for *these* r. *this*. P. 203. l. 6. from the bottom, for *that* r. *the*. P. 215. l. 9. for *their* r. *this*. P. 219. l. 2. r. *Reflections*. P. 232. l. 12. for *are* r. *were*. P. 238. l. 16. r. *Doctrine*. P. 245. l. 17. for *Clergy* r. *Charge*. P. 258. l. 4. from the bottom, for *the* r. *to*. before l. 7. Insert P. 60. P. 261. l. 7. for *the* r. *this*. P. 266. l. 1. r. *seems*. P. 270. l. 13. from the bottom, for *the* r. *that*. P. 278. l. 6. from the bottom, r. *Impunity*. P. 283. l. 4. from the bottom blot out *and Lawfully*. P. 297. l. 13. for *you* r. *them*. P. 304. l. 8. r. *formed*. P. 313. l. 11. r. *it*. P. 327. l. 1. for *breack* r. *Branch*.

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THE
Third PART

OF THE
P R E A C H E R:

Containing farther Rules and
Advices, &c.

TH O' I have already in Two Volumes endeavour'd to assign some of the Main and Substantial Duties of a *Preacher*, I will now further prosecute that Subject, and add some other necessary Requisites in one of that Character, especially such as I apprehend to be very *Seasonable* in this present Juncture.

I. We of the Sacred Office ought to stifle and suppress all *Tendency to Popery*.

II. This Age calls upon us to beware of all *Enthusiastick Delusions*, and to warn our People against them.

III. Let us with some concernedness take notice of the *Strange Doctrines* and *Pernicious Per-
suasions* which the Writings of some of our Brethren are furnished with: and let us think our selves oblig'd in Duty and Conscience to Remonstrate against them.

IV. We are not to think the worse of the *Calvinian Doctrines*, because we see they are rejected by the *generality* of our Brethren.

V. Let not *Devotion* and *Practise* exclude *Principles*.

VI. In order to promoting *Peace* in the Church, let us not in our Sermons and Writings carry the Notion of *Schism* too high.

VII. There are some *Particular Disorders* in the Manners of this Corrupt Age which we ought to be very sensible of, and endeavour a Reformation of them.

I. *We of the Sacred Function, ought to stifle and suppress all Tendency to Popery.*

It is true, our Clergy from their Pulpits and from the Prefs are wont to Remonstrate against the Church of *Rome*, and with some Zeal inveigh against Popery, and this was done especially in the late *K. James's* Reign; for there was good reason at that time to stand up stiff against *Rome*, and with some ardour to Preach and Write against it. Yea, it was observable that their Zeal was such, that they charg'd the *Dis-*
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senters with Designs of favouring Popery in that Juncture, according to the apprehension of some * Writers that they had conversed with, who tell them that all *Non-Conformists* are the *Jesuites* Tools, and are set on work by them, and are all running to *Rome*, and carrying on a *Popish-Plot*. But the best and only way to clear our selves of the imputation of Popery, is to give proof *at all times*, and *on all occasions* of the sincerity and reality of our detestation of it, by not fostering any part of it in our selves or others. This will be much more Convincing and Satisfactory than our Accusing of others, and than our most passionate declaiming against those that charge us with Popish Inclinations. It is too evident that the *Papists* and the *High-flown-Churchmen* maintain a mutual friendship, and have ever done so.

—————*Facies non omnibus una,*
Nec diversa tamen—————

Tho' they may seem in some things to disagree, yet they are the same as to the main; that is, they both join hand in hand to destroy the *Protestant Cause*, or at least to weaken and disable it. But the number of such I hope is inconsiderable, and therefore I shall address my self chiefly in these Papers to those of our Brethren, who I am satisfied have sincerely espoused the *Protestant Religion*, and in consequence of that have no designs of favouring the Corruptions of the

* *Lyfsmach. Nican. Evangelium Armatum. The Ax laid to Root of the Tree: and several others.*

Church of Rome, either in Doctrine or Practice: but because they appear not to be wholly averse to some things which seem to have a kind of Tendency that way, I humbly offer my advice to them to be careful of shunning even those things which may be thought to have the *Least Appearance* of *Roman Contagion*. And here now I will instance in the following Particulars.

First, I cannot but observe, that some of those Doctrines which our first Pious Reformers rejected, as having an affinity with *Popery*, namely, *Predestination on foresight of Works*, *Justification by Works*, *the Merit of Obedience*, *the Extravagant Power and Vertue of Man's Free-Will*, *the Final Apostacy of the Regenerate*, and some others of the like nature, which were esteemed as *Popish Points* by * some of the most Judicious of our Divines of the Church of *England*, at and after the *Reformation*; are now commonly preached up, and defended as Articles of Orthodox Faith. Tho' these were condemned by the *First Protestants* as favouring very rankly of *Rome*, yet now they pass for sound Propositions, and every Pulpit rings with them. But because I have treated of this in a former Discourse, I shall not insist on it here.

Only on this occasion here given me, let me be limited to exchange a Word with my Friend and Colleague Mr. Bennet, who declares himself such an Abhorrer of the Doctrine of *Predestination* (and I suppose he hath the same Abhorrence of

* Bishop Jewel in the Def. of his Apology. Dr. Sutchiff in his Survey of Popery. Bishop Hall in his Treatise of the Old Religion. Willet in his Synopsi Papismi.

of the other Points which go along with it) that he wou'd rather be charged with *Topery* than with it. And he is ^{as} free to go to *Maff.*, where he shall be sure to hear nothing of this Doctrin, as to go to a *Meeting* of the Dissenters, where he shall be troubled with it. He professes * *he can as well join with a Prayer that is made to a St. or Angel, as join in a Prayer where Absolute Predestination and Irresistible Grace are inserted.* And he adds, *To him the one is as certainly a Sin as the other.* This is very high, if we consider that the Inspir'd and Unanimous Prayer of the *Apostles* in *Acts* 4. had this very Doctrin in it which Mr. Bennet so abominates, as we may satisfie our selves by perusing the 27, and 28 Verses of that Chapter: *Of a truth against thy holy Child Jesus, whom thou hast anointed, both Herod and Pontius Pilate with the Gentiles, and the People of Israel were gathered together, for to do whatsoever thy hand and thy counsel determined before to be done, the very same with the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God,* *Acts* 2. 23. for both Texts speak of the same thing, namely, the *Absolute Decree* of God concerning the Suffering and Death of our Saviour. And certainly if there be an *Absolute* and *Irreversible Decree* concerning Christ's Dying for the Redemption of Mankind, it can't be denied that there is the like Decree concerning the issue of it, and all that depends upon it: and if there be such a Decree, we may *Pray* that it may be put in execution.

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* Of Joint Prayer. *Chap.* 2.

But there is another thing which seems to me very strange; namely, that my Friend's great Abhorrence of those Prayers into which these Doctrines are oftentimes put, did not hinder him from frequenting them, as he himself confesses by his practice that they did not. For he tells us, that *he went ten times to the Wednesday Lecture in Colchester, and he intended to continue going to their Meetings for a considerable time, perhaps six or nine Months.* Now, at some of those times, when he was actually there, it is highly probable there was mention of some of those *Doctrines*, which he so disrelishes, that he saith he can as well *Pray to Saints and Angels*, as make them part of his Prayers. Or supposing (which is very hard to suppose) there was no mention of any such Doctrines all the time of his frequenting their Meetings, yet surely it was very bold and daring to join with that Assembly so often (and he thought of doing it *oftner*) when he did not know but that those Doctrines *might* be uttered in Prayer, as well as in Preaching. This was a very hazardous and dangerous Attempt, and therefore looks strange to me in a Person of Caution and Prudence, yea in one who had so severely animadverted on all those who go to the Meetings of the Dissenters, and had pronounced them to be in a *Damnable-state*, of which I shall take some notice afterwards.

Now at present observe the wonderful Antipathy which is in the breasts of our Divines against the Doctrines of *Predestination* and *Election*, tho' it be the express Doctrines of the New Testament. They profess (for the foresaid Gentlemen professes for them all) that they
would

would choosc rather to pay Adoration to a Creature than own the Truth which the Sovereign Creator of all Things hath revealed to us in the Scriptures. I wish this doth not betray too easie an inclination in them to that Church which approves of, and practises the Worship of Saints and Angels. What! do we prefer this *Idolatrous* way of Worship to a Prayer wherein there is mention of a Doctrine which was frequently instill'd by the Blessed Apostle *St. Paul*, into the Minds of those he preached and wrote to, and which the Great and Renowned Light of the Church, *St. Augustine*, discoursed of in his ordinary *Sermons* and *Homilies* to the People? Surely we have forgot those remarkable Words of the foresaid Apostle to the Clergy of *Ephesus*, Acts 20. 18, 20, 27. *Ye know how I kept back nothing that was profitable unto you. For I have not shunn'd to declare unto you all the counsel of God.* In his discharge of his Ministry, and preaching the Gospel, he kept not back from them any Divine Truths, but delivered to them *the whole Christian Doctrine* (as *Dr. Hammond* expounds it) part of which is that of *Election* and *Predestination*, here specially and signally denoted, it is likely, by *the Counsel of God*. Those Preachers then are justly to be blamed who disregard this Apostolical Pattern, and *keep back* this Doctrine from the People, and *shun to declare* it to them. Such cannot acquit themselves as Faithful Ambassadors of Christ: they act most sacrilegiously when they rob the People of these Holy Truths, which are contained in the Sacred Scriptures.

This is almost as bad as the Tyrannical Decree of the Church of *Rome*, that the People

shall not be permitted to *read the Bible*. Indeed the same Reason (if we may call it a Reason) which is given by the *Romanists* why the Scriptures are to be kept back from the People, may be assign'd why the People should not be suffer'd to *hear Sermons* on these heads, namely, because then they would be acquainted with these Doctrines, and would discourse of them, and endeavour to propagate and disperse them, for this is the solid Reason given by * some of the Writers of the *Roman Church* why the Reading of the Bible is to be denied to the People. But if the Doctrines I speak of be part of the Contents of the Bible (as most certainly they are) then it can be no fault to communicate them to the People, and to suffer (yea to encourage) them to propagate them among others. Herein we follow the Examples of the Great Apostle, who *kept back none* of these Articles, *and shun'd not to declare them to the People*. And this hath been the constant practice of the Faithful Preachers of the Gospel in our own Church, as I have abundantly prov'd in another place. I will conclude with the Words of a Celebrated Doct^r of our Church, who hath the general repute of being Judicious and Solid, † *There is, saith he, no Argument in Divinity, wherein every Soul that earnestly seeks Salvation, or the avoidance of Damnation, ought in reason to be more desirous of Salvation than in the Point of Eternal Election and Reprobation*. He acknowledges

Dr. Jackson

* Pref. to the *Rhemish Translation* of the N. Testament.
 † *Dr. Jackson*. Vol. I. Book 10. Chap. 43.

acknowledges here the Decrees of *Election* and *Reprobation*, and he owns that there may be *Satisfaction* in our searching into those Points, and that we ought to *desire it*; and further, that these are Doctrines that must be studied by all those that have serious regard to their *Salvation*.

But some, it seems, think it more eligible to hold Communion with the Church of *Rome* in its idolatrous Adoration of *Angels and Saints*, than to hear the mentioning of such Doctrines in any Prayer they join with. I appeal to the Impartial Reader whether this Choice doth not look like a step (and a wide one) to *Rome*. And besides, when we reject the Doctrines of *Predestination*, and the rest before mentioned, we abandon our *own Church*, and so far may be said to side with the *Church of Rome*, as we take up those Doctrines which she professes and maintains in direct opposition to our Church, as we may see in their Writings of *Bellarmino, Stapleton, Harding, &c.* God grant that our Divines may duly consider these things, and act accordingly.

Secondly, It is the general Assertion of our Divines that the *Church of Rome is a true Church*, and that *Salvation* is to be attained in her, and that she holds all the Essentials of the Christian Religion. One who is lately come into the Communion of our Church hath got this language, and tells us, that * *the Errors of the Roman*

* G. Keish's Sermon, 2. at St. *Burcolph's*, P. 26.

Roman Church are not Fundamental. Tho' our Church expressly declares * that *the Church of Rome bath not the marks of a True Church*, and in several of her *Homilies*, and on other occasions, hath determin'd her to be *Idolatrous*, yet our Churchmen assert that she is a *True Church*, and that the Members of it are in a State of Salvation. It seems very strange to me that Persons of Learning and Sagacity (as I own some of the Patrons of this assertion to be) should take up such a Notion: and I challenge any Man to make good that the contrary Doctrine can be justly charg'd with any real absurdity, or is not adjusted to Scripture, and solid Reason grounded on it.

I will only observe this further, that tho' our Churchmen assert the Church of *Rome* to be a *True Church*, yet at the same time they hold that all *Non-Conformists* and *Dissenters* are out of the *True Church*, and are in a state of Damnation, because they are *Schismaticks*. It seems that *Separation* Un-Churches them and their Congregations, but *False Worship* and *Idolatry* do not so to those of the *Roman* Communion. This is the judgment of the generality of our Ecclesiasticks, and thereby they seem to me to shew how favourable they are to the *Roman Cause*, and how severe they are to *Protestantism*.

Further, *Thirdly*, It is held that there are *Proper Priests* and a *Proper Sacrifice* now under the Gospel,

* Second Part of the Homily for *Whitsunday*.

Gospel, that all Bishops and Presbyters are the former, and that the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper is the latter. Accordingly * one tells us, that he wou'd have a *Side-Board* or *Buffet* erected in the Chancel of every Church to set the Bread and Wine upon, before they are fetch'd thence to be placed on the Altar, for *this practise*, he saith, *would help the People to conceive how the Bread and Wine are their Oblation, and how it is made a Sacrifice by the Ministry of the Priest.* † Another Ecclesiastick is more plain, *When Christ was on Earth*, saith he, *he offered up the Sacrifice of his own Body and Blood, and he continually offers it in his own Person to his Father in Heaven, and he hath ordained the same Sacrifice to be offered up by his Priests on Earth, which are the Bread and Wine: and these being offered up in conjunction with that Sacrifice, which he in Person offers up in Heaven, becomes the same to us, and is so accepted by his Father.* Again, *This Sacrifice*, saith he, *the Priests offer up continually for the People, in representation and in conjunction with what Christ in Person offers to his Father in Heaven.* Which is no other than a gross Imitation of the Sacrifice of the *Mass*, which the Papists say is to be offered up continually for the quick and the dead. And 'tis not only a representation of the Sacrifice of the Body and Blood of Christ, but it is in *Conjunction with it*, as implying that it is of the same Virtue and Efficacy with it, and is an *Expiatory Sacrifice*, like that of Christ himself.

Those

* Dr. *Hickes* in his *Christian Priesthood* asserted. P. 54.

† Letter before *Scandaret's* Sacrifice, &c.

Those of the *Protestant* and *Reformed* Religion have generally laid aside the Expressions of *Priest* and *Sacrifice*, and *Altar*; but now they are in fashion again, and we talk of *Priesthood*, and *Oblations*, and *Altars*, as freely as the *Roman Catholics* do. This notion of *Christian Priesthood* doth mightily possess the Minds of our Clergy of late; They love those *Words* dearly, and use them when there is no occasion at all for them: as one lately hath attempted a *Vindication of the Christian Priesthood*, and the *Sacerdotal-Office* from a Text where the Clergy are only plainly stiled *Ministers of Christ*, and *Stewards of the Mysteries of God*. And the Writings of other Churchmen swarm with this Notion. See Mr. *Dodwell*, the Rehearser, Mr. *Scandaret*, the last of whom talks of *lifting up the Host*, in imitation of the *Elevation* of the Popish Sacrifice. And * another (tho' not of so high a strain) talks often of the *Christian Priesthood*, and the *Sacerdotal-Office*, and appropriates it to the Ministers of the Gospel, especially in the 5th Chap. of his Book. And he gives this as his Reason, why none but *Bishops* and *Priests* are permitted to Consecrate the Bread and Wine in the Lord's Supper, † [because, saith he, the Lord's Supper was always believed to succeed in the place of *Sacrifices*: consequently as none besides the *High Priests* and inferiour *Priests* were permitted to offer *Sacrifices* under the *Jewish Law*, so the Lord's Supper is Consecrated by none but *Bishops* and *Presbyters*, who alone are

Priests

* Dr. *Potter* of Church Government.

† Chap. 5. P. 266.

Priests in the Christian sense of that name.] Yet this Writer is so fair as to grant that * [those of the *Reformed* Religion have either wholly abstain'd from the names of *Sacrifice* and *Oblation*, or mention'd them with Cautions and Reserve in explaining this Sacrament.] And he owns further that † [in the Christian Church there is only one *Proper Sacrifice*, which our Lord offer'd upon the Cross: and consequently Christians cannot partake of any *Sacrifice* in a *Literal* and *Strict* sense.] Thus his *Christian Priesthood* and his *Sacerdotal Office* which he, in Compliance with others, pretended to defend, comes to nothing at all, and the *Sacrifice* as well as the *Priesthood* is but an Improper thing.

But those whom I mentioned before are not so modest and yielding, but boldly and Peremptorily pronounce the Eucharist to be a *Real* and *Proper Sacrifice*, and 'tis observable that they produce the very same Arguments, and the same Texts to prove this Doctrine, that the Writers of the Church of *Rome* make use of to prove the *Sacrifice of the Mass*. It is a sign they are very Zealous in the Cause, when they hunt up and down for Arguments from all Quarters, as we cannot but take notice they do. One in a Learned Audience lately offer'd it as a very Remarkable Observation, that the *Rubrick* bids the Priest *stand* at the Altar when he Consecrates the Bread and Wine, because that was the posture of *Sacrificers*, and consequently is proper when the great Sacri-
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* P. 274.

† P. 268.

fice of the Eucharist is offer'd by the Priest. But there is no such thing as this Observator dreams of, for first there is no mention of an *Altar* in the Rubrick, nor any where else in the *Order for the Communion*. Our first Pious Reformers had laid that Language aside, tho' we have since taken it up. Again, the Minister is bid to stand *before the Table*, and the reason of it is given, *that he may so order the Bread and Wine, that he may with more readines and decency break the Bread before the People*. Is there any ground here for imagining such a thing as *Sacrificing*? And again, is not *Standing* sometimes the Posture of *Praying* as well as of *Sacrificing*, and why then is it appropriated to this latter?

But say what we will, this Doctrine of *Sacrificing at the Altar* in our Churches must be kept up. It is now become a Darling Notion, and we see it every day more and more prevailing on our Church. And if any one suspects that the doctrine of *Transubstantiation* lies lurking under that of a *Sacrifice*, one of the foremention'd Patrons of the Sacrificing Priesthood will tell him that this suspicion argues *Ignorance* and *Weakness*. Accordingly the Doctor whom I before quoted, who declares that in the Christian Church none can partake of any Sacrifice in a *proper and literal sense* * *without allowing Transubstantiation*, is according to Doctor *Hicks's* Judgment, a very Ignorant and Shallow Writer. But tho' our Sacrificing Priests will not expressly own *Transubstantiation* (for they are on the Reserve in this, as in some other

* Chap. 5. P. 268.

other things) yet none of them refuse to profess the belief of the *Corporal Presence* of Christ in the Sacrament, and several of them have industriously maintain'd it. Moreover, they hold that the Sacrifice of the Altar is a *Propitiatory Sacrifice*, and hath the *same Virtue and Efficacy* with that which Christ made on the Cross. Can we then think otherwise of these Gentlemen than that they are good friends of the *POPISH MASS*? Can we forbear believing that these Men are not True Sons of the *Church of England*, and are no great Admirers of the *Reformation*?

To this purpose let me mention here what I lately met with in Mr. *Strype's Annals of the Reformation of Religion* in the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, *Chap. 12. p. 165.* He Acquaints us that certain *Injunctions* were put forth by her, among which she order'd the removal of *Altars* out of Churches, and the setting of *Tables* in their places. To which she was excited by the Reverend Divines that were then Employ'd in settling the Reformation, and who drew up their Reasons, *why it was not convenient that the Communion should be administred at the Altar*, and presented them to the Queen. Seeing Mr. *Strype* hath obliged the World with the Particulars *Verbatim*, as he found them in an Authentick Manuscript, I will set them before the Reader as worthy of his Observation, with respect to the matter, which is now before us: and I doubt not but he will be thence convinc'd that our *Reformers* thought *Altars* and *Sacrifices* were badges of Popish Superstition, and not to be allow'd of by Protestant Worshipers. The express words are these.

[*First*, The Form of a *Table* is more Agreeable to Christs Example, who Instituted the Sacrament of his Body and Blood at a *Table*, and not at an *Altar*.

Secondly, The Form of an *Altar* was Convenient for the Old Testament, to be a Figure of Christs bloody Sacrifice on the Cross: but in the time of the New Testament Christ is not to be sacrificed, but his Body and Blood Spiritually to be Eaten and Drunken in the Ministration of the Holy Supper. For Representation whereof, the Form of a *Table* is more convenient than an *Altar*.

Thirdly, The Holy Ghost in the New Testament speaking of the Lord's-Supper, doth make mention of a *Table* 1 Cor. 10. *Mensa Domini* the *Table* of the Lord, but in no place nameth it an *Altar*.

Fourthly, The Old Writers do use also the name of a *Table*, for *Augustine* oftentimes calleth it *Mensam Domini*, the Lord's-Table. And in the Canons of the *Nicene-Council* it is diverse times called *Divina Mensa*. And *Chrysostom* saith, *Baptismus unus est & mensa una*, that is, there is one Baptism and one Table. *Tract.* 26. in *Joan. Hom.* 18. in 2 *Cor.* And although the same Writers do sometimes term it an *Altar*, yet are they to be expounded to speak *abusivè* and *impropriè*. For like as they expound themselves, when they term the Lord's-Supper a *Sacrifice*, that they mean by this Word Sacrifice *Recordationem Sacrificii*, i. e. the Remembrance of a Sacrifice, or *Similitudinem Sacrificii*, i. e. the likeness of a Sacrifice, and

and not properly a Sacrifice: so the same reason Enforceth us to think, that when they term it an *Altar*, they mean a Representation or Remembrance of the Altar of the Cross, and not the Form of a Material Altar of Stone. And when they name it a *Table*, they express the Form then commonly in the Church used according to Christ's Example.

Fifthly, Furthermore an *Altar* hath Relation to a *Sacrifice*, for they be Correlatives. So that of necessity if we allow an Altar, we must grant a Sacrifice: like as if there be a Father, there is also a Son: and if there be a Master, there is also a Servant. Whereupon diverse of the Learned Adversaries themselves have spoken of late, that there is no reason to take away the *Sacrifice of the Mass*, and to leave the *Altar* standing, seeing the one was ordain'd for the other.

Sixthly, Moreover, if the Communion be ministr'd at an Altar, the godly Prayers spoken by the Ministers cannot be heard of the People, especially in great Churches: and so the People should receive no fruit of this part of English Service: For it was all one to be in Latin, and to be in English not heard, not understood of the People.]

And then is annex'd the Judgment of Foreign Divines, as *Bucer*, *Martyr*, *Calvin*, &c. And of the late *Martyrs* in Queen *Mary's* Reign.

This Paper, which I have transcribed, contains in it some very *Remarkable* Passages, which will be of great use to confirm us in the Point that I have offer'd. Here we see what was the sense of the *Divines of the Church of England* in those Days,

the very same Divines then living who composed our Liturgy, and settled our *Articles of Religion*. These have reduced the matter first of all to *Christ's Institution and Example*, which one would think should be very prevalent with all Good and Wise Men, and who own Christ for their Law-giver and Lord. He made use of no *Altar* at the Celebrating of the Sacrament of his Body and Blood, nor used any such *Term* or *Appellation*: Why therefore should we presume to do it? Again, these Divines tell us that this is conformable to the Stile and Practice of the *Apostles* and the *Ancient Christians*, which is another Consideration that may Regulate our Language and Practice. Farther, we are told here by our First Reformers that this is agreeable to the Judgment of the most Learned and Pious Divines in the Protestant Churches *abroad*, and they reckon *Calvin* to be one of those. They add likewise that it is approv'd of by *Martyrs* and *Confessors at home*, which ought to be no small Inducement to us in the present case. And we see they explode the notion of a *Sacrifice* as well as of an *Altar*, the one depending on the other: and therefore if there be no Altars in the Christian Church, there is no such thing as a *Sacrifice*. We may observe that they Condemn the Doctrine of the *Real & Corporal Presence*, when they tell us that the Body and Blood of Christ are *Spiritually Eaten and Drunk*, for the Spiritual Eating and Drinking are contrary to the Corporal one. And lastly, we are told that the Administring of the Communion at an Altar is not for Edification, because the Prayers that are then made can't be heard and understood.

Thus

Thus we see these Pious and Learned Men, the Reformers of the English Church from Popery, were careful to settle it according to the Word of God, and the Practice of Christ and his Apostles, and of those that afterwards trod in their steps, and they would not allow either of *Name* or *Thing* in the Worship of God which deviated from this Pattern. Accordingly *Altars* and *Sacrifices* were rejected by them: and if by *Them* who were the First Happy Instruments of our Church's Reformation, surely it becomes not *Us* (who should derive from them) to talk of *Real* and *Proper Priests* and *Sacrifices* in the Eucharist: which I take to be one Instance of a Tendency to Popery.

Fourthly, I cannot but caution my Brethren against *Excess in Ceremony*, and *Affectation of Pomp in Religious Worship*. We are apt to be too much pleased with *Outward Shew* and *Formality*, which is the thing that runs thro' all the *Popish Devotions*, and causes the Worshipers to slight and disregard the *Inward Power* of Religion and Godliness. Is it not enough to shew our *Conformity* in those Observances which are *Commanded* by our Church, but must we be *adding* to them of our own heads? I have often wonder'd at the Practice of some of our Church-men, that they cannot be satisfied with the Rites that are prescribed by the *Rubricks*, but they must set things up higher than they found them, and Invent and Introduce new Observances. It is said that Doctor *Gunning*, who was at the *Savoy Conference*, was for the bringing in of *Holy-Water*, and other such

Rites of the *Roman Church*. He thought that (as some others did) the *Reformation* had proceeded too far, and that we must go back again, and take in some of the Ceremonious usages that had been in *Holy Church*. I humbly propound it, to avoid all suspicion of Innovations in our *Publick Service*, that nothing should be done in it, but what is according to the Prefixt Rules and Orders of our Church. Where is there any Injunction for *Alternate Reciting* of the *Psalms* and *Hymns*, that is, the Ministers reading one Verse, and the People another? Where have we any Command for the *Words* that are commonly used by the People before and after the *Reading the Gospel*? Which seem to be in Imitation of what is prescrib'd in the *Roman Rubrick*, that the Minister shall say, *Thanks be to God* after the Epistle, and *Praise be unto thee, O Christ*, after the Gospel. But seeing our Church hath prudently omitted this, why should we be so bold and presumptuous as to make use of the like Words? Our Church orders the *Surplice* to be worn at the time of *reading Divine Service*, and *Administring the Sacraments*, but the *Sermon* is not mention'd, and yet we may sometimes see the *Surplice* worn in the Pulpit, even when there is no part of the Service to be Read afterwards.

So the *Bowing towards the East*, and more especially *towards the Altar* (as some call it) is a Practice no where commanded by our Church, and yet it is in great vogue with us. To Defend and Vindicate which, some tell us that the *Jews* Worship'd towards a certain Place, Ps. 132. 7. *We will Worship at his Footstool*, i. e. the Ark of the Testimony or Mercy-Seat, for God

God was represented as sitting on the *Cherubims*, under which was the *Ark*, which was as it were his *Footstool*. So the Psalmist saith, *I lift up my hands towards the Holy Oracle*, 28. Pf. 2. that is, he pray'd looking towards the place where the *Ark* stood, and from whence God gave his Answer or Oracles. And afterwards, when the *Jews* were at a Distance from *Jerusalem*, or were in a strange Country, they prayed and turned their Faces towards the *Temple*, 1 Kings 8. 44. Dan. 6. 10. But what is this to us *Christians*, who have no *Sanctuary*, and no *Temple* where the Almighty dwells in an *Extraordinary* manner, as he did in that at *Jerusalem*? If we could prove such a *Presence* and such a *Shechinah* in part of our Churches as was in the *Holy of Holies*, we might have some thing to plead for our turning and looking towards it when we pray, and for our bowing our Bodies that way: but there is no proof of any such *Extraordinary* Presence or Habitation of the most High in our Churches. That was peculiar to the *Jewish Temple*, and therefore it is mere *Judaizing* to pray, or kneel, or bow towards any particular Place now. A Relique of this Superstitious usage there is amongst the *Tartars*, who Worship towards the North; and amongst the *Turks*, who are oblig'd when they Pray, to turn their Faces towards the South, *Mecca* being situated there. But we *Christians* are not confined to any quarter, we have no Warrant to Pray or bow towards any particular place. And there is no Command of our Church for it, tho' it be so commonly practised. Bowing towards the Altar is only commended to the serious consideration of

all good People, in the *Constitutions and Canons* made A. D. 1640. *Can.* 7. which were framed by Arch bishop *Laud* and his Party that too much favoured the Superstitious Observances of the Roman Church: and accordingly we find that this is used in the Church of *Rome*. *Missal. Rom. in Ord. Miss.* P. 210. But seeing the *Canons* of 1640 were null'd by the Parliament in the Thirteenth Year of King *Charles* the II. it is strange that this Innovating part of them should be observ'd by our brethren at this day.

So for the placing of the Communion Table *Altar-wise*, against the East Wall of the Church, when the Sacrament is Administred, 'tis no where enjoyn'd, nay, 'tis rather forbid, for the *Rubrick Orders* that *the Table at the Communion time shall stand where Morning and Evening Prayer is appointed to be said*, but this is said in the Body of the Church.

Nor doth the Church of *England* any where command or allow us to call the Communion Table an *Altar*, which yet is the Frequent Language of some Men: and then fancying the Table to be an *Altar*, they bow and cringe to it, in Reverence to the *Sacrifice* which is offered there, and particularly in Honour of the *Priests* who are Sacrificers.

There is no Command for setting up *Candles* on the *Communion Table*, and yet we see it done in all Cathedral and College Chapels, and in some other Inferior Churches and Chapels. And they give us very strange Reasons for it, as thus, in the Primitive times, which were times of Persecution, the *Oratories* were under ground or in dark places, so that they
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used *Tapers*: therefore the setting of Candles on the Altar is now a good imitation of what was done at first. Again, they tell us, That the Supper of our Lord was by Candle light, and therefore the Church sets up Candles or *Tapers*, tho' they be not lighted. There is another account given of this usage in *K. Edward the 6th's Injunctions*, where it is order'd that *only two Lights upon the high Altar before the Sacrament shall remain still, to signifie that Christ is the very Light of the World.* But this *Injunction* is now of no force in our Church (and would have been countermanded by that Excellent Prince if he had lived longer) nor indeed can be thought ever to have any, unless there can be produced better Arguments for the observance of it. I take this usage to have been derived from the *Lamps* set up in the *Jewish Temple*, which were always burning there: only the *Papists* and *We* content our selves with *unlighted Tapers*. Nor do we come up to the practice of the *Turks* and *Mahometans*, who use burning Lights in their Mosques all Night. We go not so far, but set up only dark Candles on our Altars.

But I protest most sincerely, that I wonder at this usage of ours, which hath no warrant at all from our Church. One would think we might be contented with those Rites and Observances which our Church hath instituted, and not out-run the *Rubric* or *Canons* by a Superfluous and Preter-Canonical Conformity, and by introducing a Practice which can signifie nothing among the *Papists*, but this (and I'm sorry it should signifie any such thing any where) that *Blind Lights* are sometimes prefer'd to the Altar:

and which may in time conduce not a little among us to that which I am warning my Brethren against. But I hope it will proceed no further, and I am satisfied that the Rules of our Church intend not thereby that Mens minds should be corrupted and tainted with Superstition. Only this I urge, for the sake of our *Holy Religion*, and for the honour and credit of our *Church*, that we be cautious of introducing or continuing any usages in our Churches that are in imitation of the Innovations of the *Romanists*.

We are no where enjoined the *use of Organs in Churches*, and therefore, I may justly reckon it amongst the Instances of *Super-Conformity*. Yea, our Church it self allows me to speak thus, for in the Second Part of the *Homily of the Place and Time of Prayer*, we find that the *Piping, Singing, Chaunting, and Playing, upon the Organs*, are rank'd among the things in the Churches which displeas'd God so sore, and filthy defiled his holy House and his place of Prayer: and 'tis added, that we ought greatly to rejoyce and give God thanks that our Churches are deliver'd out of those things. This is the Language and Sentiment of our Church, and therefore without doubt it griev'd her afterwards that these Musical Entertainments were in some measure restored. Accordingly Mr. *Strype* in his * *Annals of Q. Elizabeth's Reign* tells us, that in the beginning of it some of the Clergy of the Lower House of Convocation, Petitioned that the use of playing on the Organs might

* Ch. p. 29. A. D. 1562.

might be removed. And I cannot but observe, that tho' Dr. *Nicholls* in his late *Defence of the Church of England*, accuses the Dissenters for unjustly disapproving the *Musical Organs*, yet he hath not one Syllable in defence of them, either from Scripture, or the Writings of the Fathers, as being conscious that this did not belong to the *Defence of the Church of England*.

But I speak at present of the growing affectation in our days, of hearing these Musical Instruments set up even in ordinary Churches, and even in Country Towns. Tho' too many despise that *Preaching*, which is Warm and Pathetick, and scoff at *moving Sermons*, yet they pretend to be wonderfully affected and moved with this ~~Low~~ and Noisie Devotion. Not that I think there is *POPERY* lurking in the *ORGAN-PIPES*, (for then they would not be permitted by her Majesty and her Bishops in their Chapels and Cathedrales) but I am afraid that this Gaiety, Pomp and Sensuality which are mix'd with the Divine Service, will steal away the Peoples Hearts, and divert them from attending to the Simplicity, Substance and Reality of Devotion which they should chiefly be concerned for: which is a Preparative to something else.

The mentioning of Organick Musick in Churches reminds me of saying something of the *Change* that hath been lately made in the *Version of the Psalms*, which are sung and play'd in our Churches. The *Old Translation* of them in English Metre is now generally laid aside, of which give me leave to speak my Thoughts freely.

About the Fourth Year of *K. Edward the 6th*, *Ann. Dom. 1550*, some of *David's Psalms* were translated

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translated into English Metre, by *Thomas Sternhold* Esq; who was one of the Privy Chamber to the foresaid King. He translated 37 of them, and particularly the first twenty four. The rest were done by *John Hopkins*, *Robert Wisdom*, and some other Pious and well disposed Persons, in the time of *Q. Mary*: and when she was succeeded by *Q. Elizabeth*, these *Psalms* were generally permitted to be sung before and after Morning and Evening Prayer, and before and after Sermons in all Churches; and they continued in good repute till about the middle of *K. Charles* the First's Reign: at which time they began to be much disliked, and after that more and more to be slighted and disregarded, especially by our Highest Church-Men, who were offended at their being sung in Churches, because they thought they might in time exclude the *Singing of the Reading Psalms*, which was practised in *Cathedrals*.

Besides, this Version of the *Psalms* was thought to have had its rise from *Geneva*, and to be an imitation of *Marrot* and *Beza*, who had a little before turned the *Psalms* into *French* Metre, for the use of the Protestant Churches in *France* and *Geneva*. These were poor and mean pretences for their disallowing these Singing *Psalms*: but they discover too plainly the Spirit and Genius of those Men, who were Enemies to the Plainness and Simplicity of God's Worship, and had no kindness for the Practice of the *Reformed* Churches abroad.

But of late a more general dislike of these *Psalms* proceeds from the *strange* and *obsolete* words which are used in this Translation, and are now become Unintelligible. This Objection seems

seems to me to be of little weight, for those unusual words are but few, and the meaning of them is soon explained. As thus, *read*, *i. e.* Counsel or Advice, and sometimes 'tis of a larger signification, and is as much as Precept or Law, and so answers exactly to the Latin *lex*, from *reading*: *thrall*, *i. e.* bondage or slavery: *bebigbt*, *i. e.* promised: *bebests*, *i. e.* promises: *glose*, *i. e.* flatter, fawn, of Greek Original it may be, from *γλῶσσα*: *wark*, *i. e.* work, which was common in our Language heretofore, witness *Southwark*: *quail*, *i. e.* to decay or perish: *meed*, *i. e.* reward: *love*, *i. e.* law, commandment: *fain*, *i. e.* pleasant, glad: *ferly*, *i. e.* early or antient: *shend*, *i. e.* shield or defend: *shent*, *i. e.* undone, ruined: but sometimes it signifies shielded or defended: *fray*, *i. e.* scare, make afraid: *mickle*, *i. e.* great: *ire*, anger: *glee*, *i. e.* joy: *for aye*, *i. e.* for ever: *eath*, *i. e.* easie: *uneath*, uneasy, difficult, difficultly: *stout* is an Epithet for any thing or any Person: *lust*, *i. e.* list or desire, for the old English *lust* was a harmless word, and we have it in our last, that is, our present Translation of the New Testament as [the Spirit *lusteth* against the flesh *Gal. 5. 17.*] but afterwards it denoted an unlawful Concupiscence: so *libido* amongst the Latins was at first an indifferent word, but now generally it signifies a Vicious desire. *Womb*, *i. e.* the Belly or Bowels, *Pf. 31. 9.* [my Womb for woe doth ake] it was applied to both Sexes. *Fair and trim*, *Pf. 45. 12.* was according to the usual speaking in those times. *So, so, there goes the game*, *Pf. 70. 3.* expressed well enough the Wicked's rejoicing. And the word *game* was used more innocently, as in *Pf. 33. 21.* *our Soul in God bath joy and game.*

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And so the word *geare* was an Expressive term in those times, as in *Pf.* 35. 26. [*there there their geare goes trim.*] *Bauds* and *Ruffians* in *Pf.* 50. 18. was a plain and downright way of describing Adulterers and their Mates.

Some words are Contracted and Diminished, as *nointed* for anointed: *devor* for endeavour: *froy* for destroy: *long* for belongs: *bird* for herdsman: *sprite* for spirit: *mell* for meddle: *fro* for from: *dure* for endure, from the Latin *durare*, and that from the Heb. *dur*, *continuo habitavit*, *mansit*.

Now, all this should not startle any Man of good Sense, for the Composers of these Singing Psalms were the best Metre-men in their time, and their Language and Phrase (as strange as they seem to some) have been imitated since by some Writers of the most Exquisite Wit and Judgment. *Spencer*, the Prince of *English* Poets, retains this very way of speaking, which is Commendation sufficient. *Milton*, one of the best Poets of the Age, hath many Antiquated Words, for he was pleased therein to make *Spencer* his Pattern. So did the Learned Dr. *More* in his Philosophical Rhymes. The celebrated Mr. *Prior* chooses to make use of some of this sort of Words in a late Poem. And 'tis the Opinion of Mr. * *Dryden* that *Obsolete words* may then be laudably revived, when either they are more sounding or more significant than those in practice, and when their Obscurity is taken away by joining other words to them which clear the Sense. Thus he.

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* Epist. Dedic. before *Juvenal's* Satyrs.

Who then can reasonably disparage the *antient English Version of the Psalms*, merely because of these unusual Expressions, when he considers that they have been, and are still made use of by the most applauded Poets, and that they are more significant than some others, and more grateful to the Ear, and sometimes render the matter more Solemn and August?

Say that there are some unnecessary *Expletives* in *Sternhold* and *Hopkins*, as *Eke*, *also*, *I say*, *for ever* and *for aye*, *all* and *some*: and *a*, and *y*, are put before words, as *around*, *yclepe*, &c. be it known that *all these* and *more* are found in the famous *Spencer's Poems*, and are not counted Botches there. Yea, the grave Father of Poetry amongst the Antients hath his little Particles $\rho\alpha$, $\nu\upsilon$, $\pi\epsilon\rho$, $\tau\omega\iota$, &c. to fill up his Verses, and no Man ever found fault with him for this, yea, some great Criticks have reckon'd them as Ornaments and Embellishments.

Again, 'tis not sufficient to alledge that this is an *Old Translation* of the *Psalms*, and therefore must be laid aside. For this Arguing is contrary to what was used heretofore by the *Antient Christian Fathers*, and others, who, when all the rest of the Bible was translated a new, would have the *Psalms* remain the same as they were in the *Old Latin Version*, because these were daily used in the Latin Churches, and could not therefore without offence to the People be changed.

And see now moreover the unaccountable humour of those Men who cry out so passionately against these *Singing Psalms*: they do not dislike the *Old Translation* of the *Reading Psalms*, which is in use in the Service of our Church, tho' it hath several very odd and uncouth expressions in it, to say no worse.

I shall add further, that besides the retaining some of the *Old English* or *Saxon* words, which are a piece of laudable *Antiquity*, there is *Real Worth* in this Translation that commends it to us: for let any unprejudiced Person peruse it well, and he will find that it comes nearer to the *Original* than the *Reading Psalms* do: on which account the Learned Dr. *Duport*, who turn'd the *Psalms* into *Greek Verse*, extolls this Version.

At other times we may observe that it is a *good Comment* on the *Psalms*, as *Pf.* 18. 25, 26.- 22. 12.- 31. 2, 3.- 45. 14, &c.

And in all places the *heartly Piety* and *Religious Sense* of the Translators are discernible, tho' their failings otherwise are not to be disguis'd, and they are in some places very defective in their Rhymes.

The longest *Psalms* generally fare worst, as the 50th and 78th: and yet the 103, 104, 105, 106, and 107, (which are some of the longest) are done as well as any.

Upon the whole, this may truly be said that a considerable number of these *Psalms* may be pick'd out, and soberly and devoutly made use of, to the edifying of the People, and to the Glory of the most High. The shortest, and the most devout and pathetick, which are suited to the most, and are general expressions, either of Godly Sorrow and Repentance, or of hearty Joy and Thanksgiving, are plain and easie, and translated well enough. And besides, they have been in use amongst Pious Persons, and committed to their Memory, and they have a good liking of them, and they profit by them. In short, let there be an *Alteration* and *Amendment* where

where Necessity requires it: but let the *main body* of these *Old Psalms* still remain.

This I think is adviseable till there can be produced another Translation that is in all respects better. I see that after several attempts by others, the New Version of the *Psalms*, by *Tate* and *Brady*, hath met with a fair reception, and is now used in many Churches, instead of the Old Translation: but for the following brief hints we may gather that their Work is not unexceptionable. There is an *Obsolete* word that is frequently used by these Poetick Reformers, *e're* for *before*. When they think fit, they make words, or cut off part of them, or leave out words at their pleasure, to mould and shape them for their Verse: as for example, *partake thy grace*, *Pf.* 68. 18. instead of *partake of: the festal day*, for *festival*, *Pf.* 42. 4. and the same again, *Pf.* 122. 1. *vengeful*, *Pf.* 35. 5. and 6. and *Pf.* 135. 8. for *revengful*. One would think that *stingy*, *founder'd*, *growling* are very unfit Epithets in Sacred Verse, and yet these are used by our New Translators.

And as sometimes these Poets are too Coarse, so at other times they are too Fine and Spruce, as *lawn and rills*, *Pf.* 104. 10. *liquid store*, 13. v. *oozy bed*, *Pf.* 114. 5. *fresh altars raise*, *Pf.* 43. 4. *hells infernal plains*, *Pf.* 139. 8. *the Potters brittle-ware*, *Pf.* 2. 9. *the bird that wings its airy way*, *Pf.* 8. 8. *the conscious earth*, *Pf.* 18. 7. *the conscious moon*, *Pf.* 89. 37. *the conscious ravagers*, v. 22. (for *conscious* is a darling word with them) *unballowed gore*, *Pf.* 68. 23. *untouch'd mines*, *Pf.* 119. 72. *the joyful choire*, *Pf.* 106. 5. In another place they bring in *the blind strokes of chance*, *Pf.* 121. 8. tho' there be nothing in that Verse that hath any

any the least resemblance to this. Their Rhyme is very sorry in these following places, *forth* and *resort*, Pf. 107. 7. *heard* and *Lord*, Pf. 97. 8. *harm* and *perform*, Pf. 119. 94. *seiz'd* and *vaz'd*, Pf. 79. 1. *state* and *complete*, Pf. 138. 8. *name* and *theme*, Pf. 71. 17. *estate* and *meat*, v. 9. This is wond'rous good Chiming.

To conclude, Dr. *Brady's* and Mr. *Tate's* Version of the *Psalms* is well done as to the main, but too well done for ordinary capacities, which are most of all concern'd in it. The choice and quaint Epithets with which their Poetry is adorn'd, and the high strains and flights they sometimes affect, seem not to be agreeable to the plain Song, and simplicity of that Stile which the common People are capable of. And I wish this bringing in of a New Version of *Psalms*, which is now become so common, may not preface some farther Change in our Publick Devotions. I remember it is * *Plato's* Remark of old, that when there is an Alteration of Songs and Tunes in a City or Commonwealth, it is a sign of a Change of Laws and Manners there. And therefore it was a Law among the Old *Athenians*, that the Musick should remain the same that it was. We have seen the Ordinary Singing *Psalms* put down by a general consent as it were of the People, and new ones have been introduced, which to me seems Ominous and Foreboding, as if we were weary of *Old Devotion*.

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* De Repub. lib. 4.

Next, I might take notice of the frequent use amongst us of the *Pictures of Christ*, and the *Virgin Mary*, drawn with a *Roman Aire*. And some Common-Prayer Books are printed with *Crucifixes* and *Images*, which too openly discovers the Genius and Disposition of some of us. But most certainly this is repugnant to the Spirit of those *Protestant Reformers* whom we pretend to imitate: for we are told by the late * *Industrious Annalist*, that the famous *Dr. Cox*; Bishop of *Ely*, one of the Compilers of our Book of Common-Prayer, and a hearty Promoter of the welfare of the Church of *England*, refused to Officiate in *Q. Elizabeth's* Chapel, because she retain'd a *Crucifix* there: for it seems it was some considerable time before she could be prevail'd with to part with it. But at another time she shew'd that she had other apprehensions, and that she was a great Enemy to all Superstition of that kind (yea, tho' of a lower sort) for; as the fore said † *Author* acquaints us, she was very much incens'd at the *Dean of St. Pauls* for laying before her at *St. Paul's-Church*, in her Seat where she commonly sat, a Common-Prayer-Book with *Pictures and Cuts of the Saints*: She plainly told him, that she esteem'd them as *Superstitious and Romish Reliques*. And this Displeasure of the *Queen* occasioned the washing out and defacing of all Paintings and Pictures in Churches, in *London* and thereabouts, that seem'd to favour of Popery. This Royal Pattern deserves imitation at this Day, but condemns

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* *Mr. Strype* in his *Annals of Q. Eliz.*

† *Annals* Chap. 23. p. 128

the practice of those who affect to have their Devotion stir'd up by Crucifixes and the Pictures of Saints.

Fifthly, Who sees not that *Popish Authors* are in great esteem of late with our Clergy-Men? As *Parson's Christian Directory*, or *Treatise about Resolution*, publish'd by Dr. Stanhope: The *Introduction to a Devout Life*, by Dr. Nicholls. Especially *Popish Books* mixed with *Prayers* and *Forms of Devotion*, have been render'd into *English* a new, and reprinted: as the *Reformed Devotions*, publish'd by Mr. Dorrington, and since new-model'd by another: *Devotions in the Antient way of Office*, by a Person of Quality, and published by Dr. Hickes. There is the *First Volume* of *Thomas à Kempis*, translated by Dr. Stanhope: and the *Second Volume* by a Friend of Dr. Hickes, and recommended by the Doctor. He Dedicates it to a *Derbyshire Knight*, and closes his Epistle to him thus, [methinks I see how the blessed Spirit of *Thomas à Kempis* is pleased with me for presenting his Book to you, and beckning his request to you from Heaven to accept and peruse it.] A very fine Rapture for a Protestant Divine, and next to praying to the Saint, and his praying to the Knight.

This sort of Clergymen love dearly to give us some Tasts of the *Popish Devotion*: and this Writer particularly hath presented us with a *prescribed Office for the daily and nightly Devotion of the Seven Hours of Prayer*: and withal he is pleased to give us the *Reasons* of this Observation of the *Seven Canonical Hours*; namely, because we read of the *Seven Gifts of the Holy Ghost*,

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Iſa. 11. 2. (tho' there are but Six named here) and *Seven wicked Spirits*, Mat. 12. 42. and *Seven deadly Sins*, Prov. 26. 25. And, beſides, the Lord's Prayer conſiſts of *Seven Petitions* (tho' there are but Six) and God finiſhed the Works of the Creation in *Seven Days*, tho' we are expreſly told that they were finiſhed in Six. Further, the *Seven Canonical Hours* are ſignified by the *Seven Trumpets*, wherewith the Walls of *Jericho* were beaten down. Yea, the number of the Canonical Hours is denoted by the *Seven Stars*, the *Seven Churches*, and the *Seven Golden Candleſticks* in the *Revelation*: he might as well have added that it is denoted by the *Dragon's Seven Heads*, and the *Seven Mountains* mention'd in that Book. Here is their Profound Devoti- niſt, who gives us the *Rationale* of the *Canonical Hours*.

And becauſe he acquaints us that it was the *Purity of this daily Office* that invited him to publiſh it, take a Specimen of it in this following Prayer, [*Let the Holy Mother of God, the Virgin Mary, and all the Saints of God interceed for us ſinners with the Lord of Lords, that we may be worthy to be aſſiſ- ed and ſaved by him.*] Such ſtrains of Devotion as theſe might juſtly invite him to make them Publick, and to commend them to good *Prote- ſtants*.

And other *Popiſh Offices* and *Forms of Devotion* have been lately put into *Engliſh*, and printed, and diſperſed abroad, and applauded by our Clergy, and conſequently are much prized and bought up. We ſee how they are daily multi- plied, and grown into faſhion with our Modern Devotiſts, as if the Prayer-Books which were compoſed by *Proteſtant Divines*, are but

Mean and Poor, or as if we had not Devotional Books sufficient of our own, but stood in need of the help and assistance of the *Papists*: as if our present Prayers were defective, as if there were not so much Vertue in them as in those of the *Roman Devotionists*: and as if it were the design (as most certain it is) of the Publishers of these latter to inspire People with this Notion, That the *Roman Catholicks* are very Devout and Religious, and much exceed *Protestants*.

One would think there is no need of reprinting in this Age the *Funeral Sermon* on the Lady *Margaret*, Countess of *Richmond* and *Derby*, preach'd by *Bishop Fisher* her Confessor, about Two hundred Years ago, in which are sundry gross Strokes of *Roman Superstition* and *Idolatry*, which might very well have lain dead and buried with her. Undoubtedly she was a most Religious and Pious Lady, according to the times she lived in, and her Charitable Foundations of *Christ's College* and *St. John's*, shall perpetuate her *Memory* to all Generations. But why should we thus obscure it by the fresh remembrance of her *Popish Bigotry*? I will not censure the Author of this revival, but some would be inclin'd to look upon it as a design to retrieve those Corrupt Principles and Practices, and to commend them to us by joining them with so bright an Example of Charity and Bounty. It is to be feared that things of this nature may prepare the way for *Popery* among us. They seem to be plain Steps towards it, and we shall be the Readier to entertain it if it comes to us. Therefore, I beseech my Brethren of the Clergy to be very Cautious here.

Sixthly, Other Signs and Promoters of the *Roman Religion* are the *French, Italian, and Spanish Novels*, the *Memoires*, the *Romances*, the *Travels of Missioners*, and other such like Writings which have lately been translated out of the Originals, and of which we have a great plenty every day. By this Artifice the *English Readers* are acquainted with the Opinions and Practices of those of the Church of *Rome*, which are always intermix'd with those Narratives and Stories, and are set off to the greatest Advantage, and with flourishes of Wit are rendred as Entertaining and Plausible as the Relations themselves. Hereby the Minds of Readers are deprav'd, corrupt Sentiments about Religion are instill'd into them, and with the Charms of History, and Novelties they suck in Popery at the same time, or at least begin to have favourable thoughts of it.

Seventhly, Another great Advancer of the *Roman Cause* amongst us is that *General Prophaneness* which hath invaded the Minds and Manners of this Age, that *Debauchery* and *Immorality*, which have been cherish'd of late in a more than ordinary manner. Pride and Luxury, Wantonness and Uncleanness are every where indulg'd, Oaths and Execrations are heard in all Places, Cheating and Defrauding are common practices, and that Day of the Week which was set apart by God himself, for the Solemn Exercises of Religion, is now become a time of Idleness, Vanity and Licentiousness, and even some of our very Churchmen are backward to assert the *Religious observation* of it, tho' their greatest Gains arise from the Service of that Day.

Permit me on this occasion to transcribe a few lines out of a *Letter* which a considerable Divine of our Church was pleased to Write to me, and I hope I have his leave (seeing I publish not his Name) to make this known. Which I the rather do, because I would let the Reader see that some of our most Serious, Pious and Learn'd Clergy concur with me in my Apprehensions, and are sensible of this very Disorder amongst us which I have now named. His Words are these, " I think fit to make it matter of desire and request, that you would be pleased to oblige the World with a *Discourse upon the Lord's Day*, which I take to be a Defect in our great Men of this Age, that they have not sufficiently undertaken, and which I look upon to be necessary at this time, because several even of the Clergy have diminutive thoughts of it, looking upon it only as an Ecclesiastical Institution, and little better, if at all, than a Common Holy Day. Also because, There is a wicked fashion coming up of playing at Cards on that Day, which I hear great Men allow themselves in, and which I fear will not stay there, and so by degrees we shall have Camping and other Sports come into vogue again, which will ruine the design of that Day, and make our Preaching ineffectual, and the Word of God will be choak'd, tho' not by the Cares, yet by the Pleasures of the World.

Therefore he earnestly puts me upon treating on this Subject, wherein perhaps I may comply with him, when I'm more at leisure. In the mean time I can't forbear exhorting my Brethren of the Clergy, to press with some Vigour the
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Strict Observation of this Holy Day, and the rather because some among us (I with the numbers be not great) have openly declar'd to the World that it is a mere Ordinance of Man; and not of Divine Appointment. Their Language is, * *The 4th Commandment, as to the alteration of the Day, stands wholly upon Church Authority.* And again, † *There is nothing for the observation of the first Day in the Week, but the Authority of the Church.* And we see what effect such Doctrine as this hath in all parts of the Kingdom, and I'm troubled to hear of the bad fruits of it, which have been in a Place where there should be the brightest Examples of Vertue and Piety. I will presume to take notice of the allowing of *Travelling and Riding with Addresses, and the conferring the Order of Knighthood, and other such things, which were done on that Day in the former Reigns, but did not become the Sacredness of that Season.* I humbly move that my Lords the Bishops, or some of Her Majesties chief Chaplains would reckon it as part of their Office, to request her *Majesty*, and her Court, to adjourn these Secular businessses to a fitter Day: and I'm perswaded that Her *Majesty's* most Pious Disposition would prompt her to receive this request with Thanks.

However, I have discharged my Conscience, and that in pursuance of my present Subject, which requir'd of me to urge upon the Clergy, whether Fathers or Brethren, the discountenancing of all *Immorality and Prophaneness*, especi-

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* Rehearsal. Jan. 12. 1708.

† Jan. 15. Eod. an.

ally with respect to the *observation of the Lord's Day*; which is now generally disregarded, and is like to prove an Inlet to all other kinds of Irreligious Practices, and those in the Church of *Rome* especially; for the Prophanation of the Christian Sabbath is more particularly derived to us from those Popish Countries, where *Plays* and *Opera's*, and all kinds of Gambols and Dissolute Sports are usual on that Day, and they go from their *Hymns* and *Anthems* to their merry *Jiggs* and *Madrigals*. In short, the Disorderly and Vicious Lives of both Clergy and People, unless we speedily betake our selves to Reformation, will certainly make way for the Embracing the Corruptions of the Church of *Rome*: for Vicious Affections and Manners taint the Understanding, and deprave Mens Principles, and cause them to model and shape the Articles of Religion as they please, and consequently to change the *Protestant* Faith for that of *Rome*.

**Lastly*, The *Divisions* and *Dissentions* which are nourished amongst us, are Signs of *Popery* returning to us, and if they continue, will be the real Causes and Procurers of it. We take no care to remove those misunderstandings which are among different Parties, and will not condescend to terms of Ecclesiastical Agreement and Unity. Yea, our very Churchmen jar with themselves, some being of a Higher, others of a Lower Class, and those who heretofore condemned the *Non-Conformists* as *Schismaticks*, because they separated from the Communion of the Church of *England*, and at this very Day condemn them, are themselves turn'd *Separatists*, and have abandon'd the Communion of our Church.

Church. This shews what *Affection* and *Reverence* they bear to our *Church*: which yet they have always boasted of to a High Degree. We now by a plain Experiment are convinced that they never were Sound and Hearty Members of our Church, for otherwise they would not have left us so soon. So that of *St. John* concerning the Seducers of his times could never be better applied than now, *They went out from us, but they were not of us: for if they had been of us, they would no doubt have continued with us: but they went out, that they might be made Manifest, that they were not all of us, but rather belonged to another Communion.*

And truly some of them have Sufficiently Manifested this in their Publick Writings, one more especially, who is the Top of them. It is plain that by *Catholick Communion* (which he talks so frequently of) he means the Communion of the Church of *Rome*. To maintain that which he calls the *Catholick Doctrine* he Wretchedly Misrepresents and Perverts the Sense of the *Ancient Fathers*, and miserably contradicts himself. A middle State after Death, and Praying for the Souls of the Deceased are sound Doctrine with him. If the Bishops have omitted in this life to exert their power of making the Souls of Men Immortal by Baptism, then he Prescribes that Baptism be Administred to the Separate Souls of those who died Unbaptized. And we may observe of late that his *Dark and Confused Stile* is so contrived that it is Serviceable to Instil into his Admirers those Heterodox notions which at present he is not willing to own in plain and express terms.

Thus

Thus I have briefly made good what I Undertook, namely to shew that there seems to be a *Tendency* amongst us in some of our Opinions and Actions to a Defection to the *Romish Church*. This is evident from those Ominous Prefaces of it which I have recited, from those lesser Approaches to it which I have mentioned. Now therefore to remove all the Suspicions we lie under of introducing Popery: *Now* in the Season of applying our selves to this work: *now* when we are told that the Professed *Papists* in *England* are very Sedulous and Industrious in propagating their Religion here. * The Boldness and Success of the Popish Priests in seducing some of her Majesty's Subjects, and gaining Profelytes to their Church have been complained of to the Great Senate of this Nation. Let us not then joya with the *Roman Priests*, and promote the same Cause with them, tho' in a *different* way and in a *lower degree*. Let us remember that, laying aside all Transports of Inordinate and Indiscreet Zeal, we cannot be too much Concern'd against the Corruptions of *Rome*. If we would shew our selves to be no Friends to Popery, let us do it in *Good Earnest*, and to *Purpose*. Let us not retain any Reliques of it, but discover a Perfect Aversion to all of it. *Luther* in his last Will bequeath'd his *Detestation* of *Popery* to all the Pastors of the Reformed Churches. And 'tis related in the Life of
Dr.

* See Dr. *Gibson's* Sermon of the Growth and Mischief of Popery.

Dr. Holland, Professor of Divinity in Oxford, that when he was taking any Journey, he used to call the Fellows of his College together, and in way of Valediction, commended them to the *Love of God* and *Hatred of Popery*. It is this *Detestation*, this *Hatred* that will keep us firm and stedfast in the *Protestant Religion*, and secure us for ever against *Rome*; and it must be like that of *Hannibal's*, who was sworn by his Father to be a *Perpetual and Mortal Enemy of Rome*.

The Proper *Advice* therefore here is, that we stand off from Popish usages, and keep at a Great distance from them; that we Symbolize not with *Rome* in any thing in Religion and Worship which deviates from the Primitive Institution. Entertain nothing that Approaches to Popery: Extirpate the very Remains of it. Not that *every thing* which Papists do in the Worship of God is to be accounted unlawful, for the *Lord's-Prayer* is in the *Mass-Book*, but it is not for that reason unlawful to use it. Some passages in our own Publick Liturgy are made use of in the Church of *Rome*, but they cannot be said to be Popish, for they were used before Popery was, even when the Church retained a great measure of her Purity. But when I say we must fly from *Rome*, and make no Approaches to Popery, my meaning is that what *Opinions* and *Doctrines*, Rites and Practices have had their rise and beginning from *Rome* since she was corrupted, and Particularly what *Ceremonies* in Worship have been introduced by the Papacy, ought to be rejected by us. It is the opinion of *Maimonides*, one of the most knowing and Learned *Jews*, that most

of the Rites prescribed by the *Law of Moses* to the Jewish People, were in direct Opposition to the Usages of the *Zabians, Phœnicians, Arabians, Egyptians*, and other Heathen Idolaters that were round about *Judea*. God would not have his People Communicate with *Pagans* in their customs and manners: they must do all things Contrary to what the Gentile Idolaters did, lest otherwise they should be tempted by Degrees to like their Religion. The very same course is to be taken by us with Relation to Popery, we must go as far from it as may be, we must Act in Opposition to it, we must tread Antipodes to *Rome*. All the vain and corrupt Practices of the Papists in their Worship are to be abhorred by us. We must retain nothing that is like them, for these may Conduct us at last to the approving of the Popish Idolatry. For so the Church of *Rome* rose to this excess: it lost the plain and simple service of God by Admitting at first of one or two Vain Ceremonies only, but then by continually adding of others in every Age, we see what at length it came to.

To prevent the like, let us stop at the beginning, let us check the first rise of Superstitious Vanities which have been derived from the Church of *Rome*, lest they insensibly betray us to the whole Mass of Superstition and Idolatry in that Church. Certainly we have no better way to baffle Popery, and all its Designs upon us for ever than by throwing off those Principles wherein we Symbolize with the Church of *Rome*. It must be always upon our minds that we have professedly separated our selves from the Church of *Rome* at
the

the *Reformation*, and therefore we must not entertain any thoughts of an Union and Coalition with her. And to maintain and uphold this Solemn Separation that we have made, we must cut off the Branches as well as strike at the Root. This is the First Advice I presume to tender my Brethren in the Ministry, and I hope their Sermons and Writings will let the World see that they condescend to listen to it.

II. This Age calls upon us to beware of all *Enthusiastick Delusions and Impostures*, and to warn our People against them. The Advice is as Seasonable in these days as that other preceding one which I have so amply insisted upon. And truly there is too great an Affinity between these two, *Popery* and *Enthusiasm*; they have often met together in the same Persons, and it might easily be evinced that this latter is very Serviceable towards the promoting and advancing the former. I wish there were not some ground to think that we have Instances of this in the deluded People called *Quakers*, and in some of those who have lately pretended to an Extraordinary and Prophetick Spirit. So far as I have enquired into the Conduct of both these sorts of Persons, I am enclined to believe that there are among them some that are downright Cheats and Impostors, and have nothing but Mischief at their Hearts, designing to Impose on the World, and foster Error and Falshood, and particularly to Advance the *Roman Cause* in the sequel of all. These are the First Movers, and are Active and Intentive on the Design they have

have formed. But then, there are others (and who are far the greatest numbers) that may be said to be Passive, in Comparison of the former; they have no direct designs of Mischief, but mean well: only 'tis their unhappiness to be of that peculiar nature and disposition which makes them apt to take evil Impressions from others: Fancy and Imagination have the Ascendent over them, and Reason runs low with them: they Affect new discoveries in Religion; and Perswade themselves that a Divine and Extraordinary Spirit moves and actuates them, and powerfully influences upon them: and they wholly give themselves up to the Conduct of it, tho' in things very Unreasonable and Unjustifiable. This is the Pernicious Spirit of *Enthusiasm* which possesses the minds of many, and doth a great deal of Hurt in Religion: and therefore those who by their Office are the Publick Instructors of Mankind are Obliged to warn them against this Great Evil.

I would not here be misunderstood: *Enthusiasm*, as * *Tully* well observes, is taken both in a good and a bad sense, namely, Either for a Divine Afflation and Inspiration, or for a Pretence to it. The first is the Proper Signification of † the Word, which Imports the Presence of *God in us*, the Divine and Holy Spirit moving and actuating us: The *True Enthusiasm* is † when the Soul of Man is wholly and Entirely Enlightned, and set on work by God.

* De Divinat.

† Ἐνθουσιασμός ab ἐνθεῶ, Contract. Ἐνθεῶς.

‡ Ἐνθουσιασμός ἐστὶν ὅτε ἡ Ψυχὴ ὅλη ἐλάμπεται ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ Helych.

God. So the Patriarchs, Prophets and Apostles of old were right *Enthusiasts*: and such are all Holy Men in some measure, especially at that time when Christ is formed in them by the New Birth. No Man is effectually turned unto God, unless the *Spirit* speak unto him, and acts upon him Immediately: for the First Conversion of the Soul unto God is from the Immediate Influence of the Holy Ghost upon it. This is the Sole and proper act of the Spirit, and no outward means and Instruments are able to do it of themselves. And afterwards through the whole course of a Godly Mans Life, he finds himself wonderfully acted by this Divine Principle, but most of all when he is about any Great and Worthy Enterprize: Yea, the very Moral Philosopher above mention'd could say that † there never was any Great Man or Brave Action without an Impulse and Inspiration from God, which is Right *Enthusiasm*.

But this word which is Good in it self hath by the fault of some men been depraved, and distorted to a Bad meaning. This *Enthusiasm* which is taken in the worst sense, is only a Pretence of being acted by the Spirit, when indeed the persons have experience of no such thing. They have a false conceit of Inspiration, and Dream they feel a Divine *Impetus* when it is only the Height of their Pulse. Or the Vapours that fly from an Obstructed Spleen are fancied to be Sacred Inspiring. A *Melancholick*

† Nemo unquam vir magnus sine afflatu divino. Cic. de Divinat.

cholick Flatus is taken for the Strong Breathings of the Spirit. A Rumbling in the *Hypochondria* passes for a Voice Celestial. Or, sometimes the Impure and Diabolical Spirit actuates their fancies, and yet is taken for a Divine Guest: some who are little better than Possessed, imagine themselves Inspired. This is the Root of this *Mistaken Enthusiasm*. Now let us see it's Branches, let us view it in its Fruits. That *Enthusiasm* which is deservedly blamed by all sober men is known by these Effects,

I. A Wild and Raging Behaviour, which yet these Persons think fit to Entitle the Holy Spirit. Thus, whatever the *Right of Zealots* among the *Jews*, whereby private Persons by Extraordinary Impulse might do Strange Acts and not be question'd, was at first, it is certain that it was turned at last into Sedition, Rapine, and the most Bloody Outrages: the Pretenders to it were rather Assassines and Cut-Throats, than men Sacredly Inspired. This is the right meaning of *Fanatick*, which Imports a mans being Inspired with an *Enthusiastick* Fury. Such were the *Pagan Priests* oftentimes, who were first dispossessed of themselves, their Reason and Sense, before they were possessed by a Deity: they were said to be Inspired when they Raged, and were really Mad. We are told that the *Indians* take *Mundungo* to Stupify their Brains, and confound their Senses, that they may comprehend and entertain their *Gods*. So among the *Turks* not only Fools and Idiots, but Mad Men are in great Esteem, and are thought to be *Inspired* Persons. It is Deplorable to add that

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it is thus sometimes among those who Profess *Christianity*; when they do the most Uncomely and Unchristian Actions, they conceit they are Inspired, as the *Anabaptists* of *Munster* about the beginning of the 16th Century. When they shew most of the Devilish and Hellish Spirit, they think they have most of God in them. We have known some of our Modern *Enthusiasts* turn *Libertines* and *Ranters*, one Exceeds making way for the other; pretending to too great heights in Divinity, they sunk at last below Humanity. Or,

Secondly, If they run not so high, their *Enthusiasm* is a pretending to *Extraordinary* and *Immediate Revelations*, such as the Prophets had who were before or under the Law, such as some Holy Men had in the days of our Saviour and his Apostles, which are since ceased. Many Impostors of this rank have appeared in the World, of whom Ecclesiastical History will give us an Account, but none hath been more Eminent for the Mischief done by him than he who gave Name to the *Mahometan Sect*. This wild and Frantick Enthusiast, by professing himself to be the Last and Greatest Prophet whom God would send into the World, and by feigning that he had Extraordinary Visions and Discoveries from Heaven, Cheated an Incredible Number of Men into the belief of his absurd Doctrines. The *Romanists* have been noted for this sort of *Enthusiasm*: many of them have pretended to Immediate Revelation; especially their most Celebrated Women have been Eminent for this, as *Macbildis*, *Gertrude*, *Juliana*, *Briget*, *Catharine*, *Donna Maria d' Escobar*: and who hath not heard of the Rapturous and

High-flown *Teresa*? The deluded *Quakers* among our selves Bragged at their setting up that they dealt in Visions and Revelations, and held Immediate Converse with God, and by this Artifice gained many Profelytes to their Impious Errors and Unchristian Practices.

Thirdly, Another Ingredient of *Enthusiasm* is a preferring of these Revelations (which they would Perswade us they commonly have) before or above the *Holy Scriptures*, or even against them. They have not been ashamed to oppose the Written Word of God, when they knew it spoke not in their behalf, and Instead of those Written Oracles they have alledged the *Dictates of the Spirit* (so they called them) and made these Confront the other. Of this sort in *Luther's* time were those heady and rash Enthusiasts *Nicolas Stork*, *Thomas Muntzer*, Anabaptists; *Islebius* the Ringleader of the *Antinomians*, *Caspar Srenkfeld*, and several other bold Sectaries, of whom *Luther* Complains. With whom may be reckoned *John of Leyden*, and *David George of Delph*, with others who pretended to the Spirit in an Extraordinary manner, and by their ill Practices Eclipsed and Defamed the happy *Reformation*. Nor is it Unseasonable to mention here what *Faustus Socinus* saith of his Uncle *Labinus*, that he had his Interpretation of *John* 1. 1. and *John* 8. 58. and other places, by Revelation. The very denying of the Son of God, he will have to be from God. So he may as well say, that his Uncle's denying the Divinity of the Holy Spirit, was from the Spirit, tho' the Scriptures Abundantly attest that he is God. But this is down-

downright Cheat and Imposture: for the Spirit cannot teach any thing contrary to the *Scriptures*. If therefore Men pretend the *Spirit*, and by it Baffle *the Word*, they are Impostors. This I Undeniably Demonstrate thus; it was the Spirit that Edited the Scripture, for we are assured by St. *Peter* (2 *Ep.* 1. *ch.* 21. *v.*) that *the Holy Men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost*. If then they by the Spirit's Assistance penned those Books which contain the Rule of our Faith and Manners, it follows that the Scriptures are the Word of the Spirit: and if this be so, the Spirit cannot possibly Dictate any thing Contrary to the Word, for then it would Contradict itself, which no Christian-man will allow of.

Fourthly, It is an Instance of *Enthusiastick* folly not only to pretend Revelations in Opposition to the Written Word of God, but also to Despise and Reject this Word as a *dead Letter*, and to prize only the *Mystical* part of it. This some, who boast of a Sublime and Seraphick Genius, are known to do. They proudly vilify the Literal Sense of Scripture, they scorn to take notice of so Low and Mean a thing as they Imagine that to be. The Historical part of the Bible, yea, of the New Testament, and that concerning the Incarnation, Passion, Death and Resurrection of our Blessed Saviour, are Disregarded by them, as a Mean and Contemptible thing in their Eye, and is mentioned by them as such. And all the other Great things which the Scripture Testifies were done by our Saviour, are poor and sorry things with them, and whether they were done or

no is no Great Matter, they think. They mind not the *History*, they tell us, but their way is to resolve all into *Mystery* and *Allegories*. Of this sort was *Henry Nicholas* and his Followers who called themselves the *Family of Love*, and some *Quakers* (as I shall shew anon.)

Fifthly, Another part of this *Entbusiasm* is to make it their care to serve God *Invisibly*. All their Religion lies within, and is confined to their own Breasts. As for the Outward Worship and Service of God, they are stiled by them External Forms, and the Rudiments and Elements of Children. Several have affected this *Spiritual way*, as they call it: and it hath been lately revived by some *Quakers*, and by *Molinos* and his Disciples. Inward and Mental Prayer is all the Devotion of the *Quietists*: for Religion they say, consists in the mind and Spirit alone, Contemplation, is the only Devotion. This Questionless is a Limb of *Entbusiasm*, and is Repugnant to the true Spirit of Religion, which is Constituted both of the Inward and the outward Man.

Sixthly, It Excludes the Exercise of the *Rational faculty*. Those that have drunk deep of the *Entbusiastick* Spirit bid Defiance to *Reason* as an Utter Enemy to Religion. They hate to *Discourse* and *Argue*: they are exceedingly taken with *Allusions* and *Metaphors*: a *Similitude* is more powerful than a *Syllogism*: they love Canting and Gibberish; they are pleased with Non-sense, and mere Raving sometimes. This is Rank Enthusiasm. And so

Seventhly,

Seventhly, is Flying above the Prescribed *Means*, and scorning those *Ordinances* and *Institutions* which Christ hath appointed in his Church. An *Enthusiast* talks of nothing but Extacies and Raptures, Inspirations, and Ravishments, and fancies that he is taught of God in this Extraordinary way, without the usual Methods and Instruments of Knowledge. This without doubt is a great Delusion: for what God hath joyn'd no man should dare to put asunder. We must Observe the Method and Order which God hath appointed, and not vary from it. We ought to Remember that the Holy Spirit moves not Disorderly, but in such a way as is Congruous to its own Rule and Directions. This Blessed Instructor teacheth us in the use of Reason, Scripture Read and Preached, Visible Representations and Symbols, the Emergencies of Providence in the World, and in the use of all the means of Salvation. The Inward and Outward Teachings must go together, according to that of the Apostle. *Quench not the Spirit: Despise not Prophecies*, 1 Thess. 5. 19, 20. He joyns the *Spirit* and the *Word of Prophecy* together, letting us know that the former Enlightens Mens minds by the latter, and that it is a fond fancy and Presumption to pretend the one, and despise the other. We read indeed that a *Great Wind* ushered in the Holy Comforter on the day of *Pentecost*, but those are most *Prodigious Gales and Blasts* of the Spirit which Blow Men out of the Appointed Assemblies of God's Servants, and Hoist them Above Ordinances, and make them Apostates and Fugitives from the Places of God's Worship. These Persons

are not content to go to Heaven in the same Track that Good Souls usually find the way thither. They contemn the Word and Sacraments, and all those Outward Means whereby God is wont to give his Holy Spirit.

But I hope all Sober and Discreet Christians are sufficiently fortified against these Cheats and Impostures. Therefore I will add no more, only concluding this Head of my Discourse with a Remarkable passage of * one who was thought to be a Well willer to that Spirit of *Enthusiasm* which I have Described. He hath these following Words by way of Objection and Answer. [“ Objection. You will
 “ say, Doth God teach without Means? An-
 “ swer. No: God teacheth, but by the Word,
 “ and that chiefly is the Ministry of it: and he
 “ that pretends to be Taught of God without
 “ the Word, is not taught of God, but of the
 “ Devil. And therefore no Man is to despise
 “ the Ministry of the Word, which is God’s
 “ own Ordinance, and to depend upon I know
 “ not what Revelations and Inspeakings with-
 “ out the Word: seeing God teacheth all his
 “ Children by the Word, and none without
 “ it. And therefore it is not the Prophets
 “ meaning when he Prophesied [*all thy Children*
 “ *shall be Taught of the Lord*] that They should
 “ Neglect and Despise the Word and the Mi-
 “ nistry of it. Thus he; and we see he Re-
 nounces that *Enthusiasm* which some Imputed to him.

Eighthly,

* Mr. *Dells* Sermon entitled the Building of the Spiritual Church.

Eighthly, and *Lastly*, A man may be an *Enthusiast* and a *Deist*, yea and an *Atheist*; as we see in the *Turkish Spie*. Sometimes he is *Scrappick*, and falls into Raptures and Extasies, and pretends to Inspirations and Extraordinary Impresses: he hath Extravagant Heights when he speaks of God, and of another World. But at other times he is Prophane and Impious in the Highest Degree; he shews himself to be a Blasphemous Buffoon, and Ridicules all Religion, and Exposes it to Contempt and Laughter, and turns it into Rhodomontade. *Bigotry* and *Septicism* meet together in this Man. And 'tis probable that in other *Enthusiasts* they do so too, tho' they carry the latter quality in Masquerade.

This is a brief Account of *Enthusiasm*. And those whom I now speak to, my Brethren of the Ministry, cannot but be conviaced that it is part of their Office to appear with some Earnestness against this Great and Growing Mischief, which hath shewed itself in new shapes among us of late, and in some of those Persons of whom there was no Umbrage taken. But this I hope is but a short Blaze, and is almost Extinguished.

Our greatest fear and danger is from another Quarter, I mean that Sect which hath in a manner Distinguished itself from all others by Pretensions to a *Light within them*, and by perpetually inculcating this in all their Discourses and Writings. They are by their great Sedulity and Boldness grown up into a Formidable Body of Men, and are Busy and Zealous in

Asserting and Vindicating their Opinions, and decoying of the unwary Souls to their Societies. On which Account the Preachers of the Gospel are obliged to warn People against these Impostors, and to Caution them against their Dangerous Errors and Practices. And truly it is my Perswasion that these Seducers ought to be reprov'd sometimes from the Pulpit, tho' none of them are present to hear what we say: for I do not see why they should not have a share in our Reproofs from that place as well as *Jews, Papists, Socinians, Deists, Scepticks, Hobbists, Atheists*, and others, whom we generally presume to be none of our Auditors. And I might add that they Defend some of the very Opinions which these are noted for. And it is certain they are as Considerable for their Numbers and Interest as some of these are. It is true, they are not Worthy of a Publick and Solemn Rebuke, but we are not so much to Consider that, as to take care that our Holy Religion be defended and asserted against the Insults of Seducers, be they never so Contemprible and Vile. And it is Absolutely Requisite that all should guard themselves, in this Giddy and Apostate Age, against the Suggestions of these Professed Hereticks and Deceivers.

Wherefore, if not to open the Eyes of these Men, yet to keep our own in that Posture, and to declare our just Abhorrence of their Principles and Behaviour, and to Establish and Confirm ourselves in the Contrary Truths, as also to prevent the falling of others into their snares, I will undertake these two things:
First,

First, I will shew how *Light within them which they so much Boast of, is Darknes*, by observing to you the *Gross Errors in Doctrine* which they Maintain. Secondly, I will speak of their *Seeming Strictness and Holiness above other Men*, and there examine whether that glaring *Light* also be not *Darknes*, yea great *Darknes*.

First, I will let the Reader see the *Light* which these Men pretend to is *Darknes*, by observing to him the *Gross Errors in Doctrine* which they maintain, and whereby they have done so much Harm in the World. To begin with the Foundation.

I. They take away the very Ground-work of all Christianity, that is, the *Historical part of the New Testament*. Like their old Friends (before mentioned) of the *Family of Love*, they Vilify the *History of Christ*, of the *Resurrection*, of the *Last Judgment*, and of *Heaven and Hell*, turning them into *Allegory*. So did the *First Quakers*, as is Evident form the *Affertions of George Whitehead and Pennington* in the Pamphlet Entituled *The Quakers Principles*, and of *William Pen* in his *Answer to Faldo*. Indeed most of them of late are loth that this should be imputed to them, and they cry out that we mistake them when we lay it to their Charge: but it is Undeniable, and may be Attested by Sundry Credible Persons that they raught after this rate at their first setting up. Some of them Despised, but others of them even disowned and denied the *History of the Gospel*. The higher sort of them (for
there

there were at that time, as there are now, different ranks of them) were for the *Mystery* of the Holy Writ, excluding the *History* or *Dead Letter*, as they called it. The *Man that was Crucified at Jerusalem* was a sorry thing with them, and next to a Fable: and some were heard to utter most Blasphemous words on that occasion. But hear what even one of their late Oracles said, * [The Knowledge and belief of the History of Christ's outward Coming, Birth, Life, Death, Resurrection and Ascension are not an Essential and Necessary part of Religion. It belongs not to the being of Religion, but only to the Entireness and Fulness of it. So that true Religion may Subsist without the belief of these.] Again, [True Religion and Christianity may subsist without the History of Christ in the Letter, to wit, in the Mystery of the Life of Christ in the Spirit.] So the same Author. And he was highly approved of and applauded by all the Parties, though of late he is come off from them. You see then that according to the Determination of these Men, the History of our Saviours Undertakings is not necessary to the Christian Religion, and consequently we may be Christians, and be saved without the Coming of Christ, without his Sufferings, Death and Resurrection. For if there be no necessity of *knowing* and *believing* these things, there was no necessity of the *things themselves*, for they *were*, that they might be *known* and *believed*, because the knowing and believing of them are made the necessary Means and Conditions

* G. Keith of Immediate Revelation.

tions of our Salvation and Happiness. Whence it must needs follow that the Historical part of the Evangelical Writings, which Conveys the Knowledge of the Coming of Christ and of those Great Things which Accompany'd it, is of the very being of the Christian Religion, and that this cannot Subsist without that.

It is true, the Scripture Speaks of Christ not only as a Person, but as a Divine Life and a Principle of Grace in Regenerate Souls: thus *Christ* is said to be *formed in us*, Gal. 4. 19. and he is said to *dwell in our Hearts by Faith*, Eph. 3. 17. and Perhaps those words *Christ in you* Col. 1. 27. may be so understood. For as Believers are said to be *in Christ*, according to the Stile of the New Testament, so Christ is said to be *in them*, to be formed in them, and to dwell in them, *viz.* by a Vigorous Faith and hearty Obedience. The Divine Nature and Life of Jesus are to be seen in theirs. Thus there is *Christ in us*. But this is it which we Condemn the *Quakers* for (especially the High-flown sort of them) that they cry up a *Christ within*, so as to Disparage and Vilify, or (which is more) to exclude a *Christ without*. To which purpose hear what a Noted Author among them saith, * [To believe and obey the Spirit God, which he hath sent into the World, and placed in Mens Hearts, which Convinceth and Reproveth for sin, is the only way and means which God hath Ordained for the Restauration, Life and Salvation of

* W. S.

of Mankind, and is indeed the Christ of God, which in Scripture hath many names, but is but one pure Eternal Holy Thing.] This is it that he maintains, that obeying the light within them is *the Christ of God*, and they are not willing to acknowledge any other. Conformably to this they expressly declare that * [Christ's coming in the Flesh is but a Figure.] And † [what is Christ but Meekness Justice, Mercy, Patience, Charity and Vertue in Perfection?] saith another. || [Christ was never beheld with Carnal Eyes; and when the *Jews* Crucified him, they Crucified not his Body, but only his outward Garment] saith a third. And a fourth asks this Question, * [What Scripture Proof is there that Christ Existeth Bodily and without us?] All which shews that they have no regard to that *Jesus* who suffered at *Jerusalem*, but that they annul his Meritorious Undertakings, and Evacuate his Priesthood and his other Offices. Thus they overturn the very foundations of Christianity, and pluck up the Gospel by the Roots. So that if we should stop here, and go no further, we have a Sufficient Caution already against the Principles and Doctrines of the Men I'm now speaking of. But more Particularly,

II. They

* Truth defending the Quakers.

† *W Pen's* Address to Protestants.

|| *Woolrich's* Declaration to the Baptists. *Pennington's* Quert. to Professors.

* *G. Whitehead's* Nature of Christianity.

II. They have laid the Foundation of many Falſities in Religion in their Doctrines of *the Light within them*. Concerning this *Light* they all Unanimouſly aſſert theſe two things, namely, that it is in All Perſons, and likewiſe that if it be followed it certainly leads to all ſaving truth and to Eternal Happineſs. *The Light within is ſufficient to Salvation, without any thing elſe*, ſaith *Whitehead* in his *Antidote*, P. 28. Now, whether they mean the *Light of Nature*, or whether they Underſtand that of *Supernatural Grace*, there is groſs falſhood couched in thoſe Aſſertions. For firſt, if they mean bare Reason or the *Light of Nature*, it is an Affront to the Spirit of God and the Discoveries of the *Gospel*, and the Manifeſtation of the Holy Scriptures, to Aſſert that this *Light* is able to lead them to the Knowledge of all Saving Truth, and to Conduct them to Heaven. This makes *Paganism* to be as good as *Chriſtianity*, and by Conſequence it implies that *Chriſt* and the *Evangelical Diſpenſation* are Needleſs and Superfluous, for if the Condition of the Pagans was as good as that of Chriſtians, there was no reaſon to Introduce and Superadd another State: and it being Superadded, it is to no end and purpoſe at all. This is the Excellent Divinity of thoſe who mean a Natural *Light* by the *Light within them*.

Or say, Secondly, that they understand by this *Light* a *Supernatural* one, as the * chiefest of that Party maintain, for they are pleased to call it [*Divine Revelation in the Heart, the Revelation of God by the Spirit, a Divine Image, the Divine Birth, the Light of Christ in the Conscience, the Word of Life, the Anoynting*] all which Titles and Epithets denote some thing more than the ordinary and common light of Natural Reason. But now observe the Palpable Falshoods and Absurdities which follow hence: for first, if this Light within them be Divine Revelation, and the Illumination of the Spirit, distinct from the Light of Nature, how is it actually in all Men, even in the most wicked and Profligate? *If any Man walk in the Night, he stumbleth, because there is no Light in him,* John 11. 10. from which words of our Saviour 'tis plain that there is not a Divine Light in every Man, to keep him from stumbling. The *Divine Birth* and the *Anoynting* are proper to those that are really Holy, and therefore not Common to All. † *The natural Man, saith the Apostle, receives not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are Foolishness to him: neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discern'd.* Which one Text alone overthrows their Perswasion that every Man hath a Saving Light, and is Born with it, and is never without it. We are told

* Barcl. Apol. G. *Keith* of Immediate Revelation,

† 1 Cor. 2. 14.

told by the same Inspired Author that || *all Men have not faith, nor * the Spirit of Christ;* but these Men flatly oppose it, and say they all have: and thereby take away the great Difference between the Regenerate and Unregenerate, between the Children of God and of the Devil.

Besides, the absurdity and ridiculousness of this Doctrine appears in this, that notwithstanding the Light they talk of is *Christ within them, and the Birth of Christ, and the Manifestation of the Spirit of Christ,* yet it doth not so much as reveal the knowledge of Christ, to the Persons in whom it is. It is the Judgment and Determination of the ablest of their Writers that nothing concerning our Saviour's Person or Undertakings for us is taught by the Light within them. This cannot discover to any Man that Christ was Born of a Virgin, that he died on the Cross, that he rose again, and Ascended into Heaven. Whence it follows that the way and Method of Salvation, which is by Christ Jesus alone, are never made known to Men by this Light, though this Light is able to Conduct them to Everlasting Blessedness. A Man knows nothing at all concerning Christ by having this Light, and yet it is the Light he must be Saved by. These are such Absurd and Contradictious Notions, that the bare exposing of them is their Confutation. Surely such *Light* as this is mere
Darkness.

|| 2 Thess. 3. 2.

* Rom. 8. 9.

Darkness. If we look yet further, we shall see that the rest is like this.

3. The Doctrine of the *Blessed Trinity*, and particularly that *Christ*, the Second Person, is *God*, is denied by the Principal Ringleaders of this Sect. You may be satisfied of the Truth of this by consulting a Pamphlet put forth by one of their Chief Champions, from the *Title* of which we are told that the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity is a *Sandy* and *Unsound* Point in the Christian Theology, but much more in the Undertaking it self, he endeavours to instill that belief into Men. [* If God, saith he, as the Scriptures testifie, hath never been declared or believed but as the *Holy one*, then it will follow that God is not an *Holy Three*: neither can this receive the least prejudice from that frequent, but impertinent distinction, that he is one in *Substance*, but Three in *Persons* or *Subsistences*.] And if we consult the † First Founder of Quakerism in his *Great Mystery*, as he calls it, we shall find that he opugns the Plurality of Persons in the Deity. [The Scripture, saith he, doth not tell People of a Trinity, nor Three Persons; but the Common-Prayer, Mass-Book, speaks of Three Persons, brought in by the Pope.] And in this persuasion he is followed by all those that stile themselves *the true Primitive Quakers*. They are in this downright *Socinians*, though some of them, especially of late, with much difficulty and reluctancy disguise it, because they would
not

* *Will. Pax's Sandy Foundation.*

† *George Fox.*

not be thought oppose *all* the received Articles of the Christian Faith: however, it is not safe to do it *at once*. I pass to the next Head, for this that I am now upon is so vindicated a Subject of late, that I believe it will not be expected I should say any thing in defence of it.

4. In the great Article of *Justification* also, these Folks are very Unsound and Erroneous: for they openly averr that Justification is not by or for Christ's Righteousness, but by or for Man's inherent Holiness. * [They see no need, saith a great Teacher amongst them, of directing Men to Jesus Christ, or his Blood, as it was outwardly shed at *Jerusalem*, for Justification.] And a little after, in the same place, he asks, [Where doth the Scripture say that the shedding of Christ's Blood outwardly was the meritorious Cause of our Salvation?] *It is by the inward Birth of Christ in Man, that Man is made Just, and therefore so accounted by God. Wherefore to be plain, we are thereby formally justified in the sight of God, saith Barclay in his Apology, P. 370.* Nay *William Pen*, hath the confidence to use such Language as this, † [Justification by the Righteousness of Christ, or which Christ hath fulfilled in his own Person, for us is the Doctrine of Devils.] And yet we all know that Justification through the Merits of our Lord Jesus is that Point of Christian Divinity which *St. Paul* expressly asserts, and insists upon so often,

F and

* *George Whitehead's Light and Life.*

† *His Serious Apology.*

and presses with such earnestness and vigour in his Epistles as a grand fundamental Doctrine of the Gospel. But because we follow the Apostle's steps, and assert that the faithful are justified by the Meritorious Righteousness and Satisfaction of the Son of God, we are in derision stiled * *Satisfactionists* and *Imputarians* by their beloved Friend whom I last mentioned, and who taught them before to deride the Sacred Trinity. Yet this is the Gentleman that doth not love to coin Words and Phrases, as elsewhere he professes.

5. These People are great asserters of *Absolute Perfection* in this Life, as is undeniably evident from † their Writings. [It is the Doctrine of Devils, saith their Great || Founder, to Preach that Men shall have Sin, and be in Warfare so long as they are on Earth.] * Another makes himself merry with that part of our Church's Confession, *There is no health in us*, and with those words in the Litany, *Have mercy upon us, miserable sinners*, as if it were a shame to be always repeating such Acknowledgments before God. These Sons of Perfectness have no Ignorance or Vice to lament, as others have. They think themselves not only Wiser, but Holier than all other Men, as if they had monopoliz'd all Knowledge and Vertue, and had stolen the Urim and Thummim, *Light* and *Perfection*,
from

* His Sandy Foundation.

† Barclay's Apology; W. Pen's Key opening, &c.

|| G. Fox's Great Myltery.

* Pen's Truth Exalted.

from the High Priest's Breast-Plate. Hereupon they despise the poor Attainments of their Neighbours, and insult over imperfect Mankind. Though they reject the Complete and Perfect Righteousness of our Lord Jesus, yet they can firmly rely on their own Works and Performances, and reckon them as Entire and Perfect; when, as the whole Book of God abundantly testifies the *weak* and *imperfect* state of the Faithful in this Life, it represents to us their frequent slips and failings; yea, it acquaints us that they are subject sometimes to miscarriages of an high nature, and consequently that Perfection is not the attainment of this present state.

6. These perfect Creatures *vilifie the Holy Scriptures*, as defective and imperfect. What a pitiful useles thing do they make the Bible; when they maintain (as you have heard) that the Historical part of it is not necessary to Religion, and when they extol their *Light* above it, assuring their Disciples that *Heathens* and *Pagans* have the Divine Light and Life, and are saved by it, but none are or can be saved by the Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, which are a Dead Letter? They blasphemously tell us, that [the Revelations which they have, and the words which they speak in their Meetings by the Spirit, are as Authentick, Canonical and Infallible as the Scriptures.] Besides they vouch that [the Bible is not the Rule of Doctrine or Life, but their own revelations and immediate discoveries are to be the standard of their Thoughts and Actions, of their Opinions and Practices.] Which Assertions, and others of the like nature, are to be found in express terms in the Writings

of *Barclay, Fisher, Keith*, and others. * [The Scripture, saith one of them, is a mere Graven Image with Ink and Pen on Paper and Parchment: 'tis a very Nose of Wax, and a Lesbian Rule, and no certain stable Standard], and, as another is pleased to call it, † *dust and Serpents food*. It is no wonder therefore that at their Meetings they have sometimes read the *Letters* and *Epistles* of their Chief Friends, as *Fox* or *Whitehead*, to shew what an high esteem they have of those Mens *Writings*, though they have so low an Opinion of the Sacred Volume. || [The Scriptures in no sense can properly be call'd the Word of God.] Saith a topping Man of the fraternity. Another rises higher, * [To say the Scripture is the Word of God, is a Lye] saith he. And another higher yet, † [It is the Devil that contends for the Scriptures to be the Word of God].

All which passages, and many more, give us an account of the Prophane Spirit of these Men, who directly oppose the Holy Ghost in his bearing witness concerning the *Scripture*, that || *it is all given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for Doctrine, for Reproof, for Correction, for Instruction in Righteousness*, and that * *it is able to make us wise unto Salvation*. Wherefore God's People were

* *Sam. Fisher*. Rustic ad Academ.

† *G. Fox's News* out of the *North*.

|| *Barclay*.

* *Lanston's Untaught Teacher*.

† *James Naylor's Answer to the Jews*.

|| 2 *Tim.* 3. 16.

* 15. V.

were commanded to repair * to the Law and to the Testimony, and are assured that if any speak not according to this word, it is because there is no Light in them. A Text which points as it were at the Delusion of these very Men, who despise the Law and the Testimony, and at the same time magnifie, not to say deifie, a Light within them. But the Holy Spirit informs us here, that, notwithstanding their pretences to Light, there is no such thing in them, they are wholly in the Dark: and that is the true reason why they disregard and even revile the Written Word and Law of God.

7. And lastly, They anul both the Sacraments of the New Testament. As for Water-Baptism (as they call it in derision) it is a weak and beggarly Element: and though the Materials of the other Sacrament be much stronger, yet this Bread and Wine are sorry Entertainments to these Mens Palates. They having all agreed to own no other Baptism but that of the Holy Ghost and of fire, they peremptorily declare that † [Circumcision is as much in force as Water-Baptism]: Yea, they are not afraid to aver that || [the Doctrine of Baptism is the Doctrine of Devils]. And yet we know that Baptism was instituted by our Lord himself, and we find it recorded as certain matter of Fact in the Acts of the Apostles, that in those Primitive times of the Gospel they admitted Persons into the

F 3

Church

* Isai. 8. 20.

† W. Pen's Reason against Railing.

|| E. Burroughs.

Church by *Baptizing them with Water*. And in the same Holy Records 'tis said that they constantly * *broke Bread*, that is, celebrated the Lord's Supper. Or if they will not admit that to be the Sense of those words, yet they can never with any shew of reason evade what *St. Paul* hath delivered concerning that Sacrament, in *1 Cor. 11. 20.* to the end of the Chapter. There they will find the Apostle severely rebuking the *Corinthian* Christians for prophaning this Sacred Ordinance: whence we gather it was the practice of the Faithful in the Churches of Christ at that time to celebrate the Lord's Supper. There we may observe the Apostle setting before them, and urging upon them the *first Institution* of that Sacrament by our Lord, which he would not have done unless that Institution was of concernment to *them*, and unless it was the will of Christ that *all Believers* should partake of that Sacrament. And lest any should object against it, that it was only a Temporary Ordinance, and was soon to cease in the Church, the Apostle fully satisfies us as to that, saying, † *As often as ye eat this Bread, and drink this Cup, ye do shew the Lord's death till he come*; as much as to say, This is a lasting Ordinance, and must continue amongst Christians until the coming of Christ. And yet, notwithstanding this, these pretenders to Christianity do unanimously slight and vilifie this Sacred Institution, telling us, that † [the Paschal Lamb is as much in force as the Bread

* *Acts 2. 42, 46-- 20. 7.*

† *V. 25.*

‡ *Peu's Reason against Railing.*

Bread and Wine,] yea that * [this Sacrament is Carnal, and that this Communion is the Table of Devils, and the Cup of Devils.] The very reciting of the Words strikes an horror into Christian minds. This is sufficient, I think to discover the Impious sentiments of these Persons concerning the Lord's Supper.

And thus I have given the Reader a Taste of the Mad Divinity of this Generation of Men. And the Omniscient God is my witness, that I have done it not to expose them, but to present to us an impartial Character of them, I mean of their Ringleaders and Chieftains, and the designing part of them: but as to several others, I'm willing to believe that they are Innocent and well-meaning Souls, and do what they do in the simplicity of their Hearts. And here I must add that I could have inserted other things into the Catalogue of their Errors, as their *disbelief of a Local Heaven and Hell*, &c. for their First Founder tells us, that *there is no Heaven but within themselves*. Fox's Great Mystery, p. 214. but because these Doctrines are not so commonly and so expressly mention'd in their Writings as those that I have before named, I have purposely omitted the consideration of them.

If after all it shall be said, that some Persons of this denomination talk after another rate of late, and seem to be very Orthodox, I answer in brief, That the Sayings and Writings of the most Eminent and Approved Men of their Party, are and must be the Standard of *Quakerism*.

* G. Fox's News out of the North.

The Ruling and Directing Heads of that way, who hold frequent Assemblies on purpose to Form and Model their Religion, are, as I may so say, their Church Representatives, and therefore from these we learn what is the Sense and Perswasion of the whole Body of them. And they have lately declared to the World that they will stand to their *Ancient Friends*, who are the Persons I have all along quoted. And because of their firm and resolv'd adherence to these, they signally stile themselves of late *the true Primitive Quakers*. So that though we may meet with some alteration in their Stile, as to some of the forementioned Particulars, yet we are to look upon it as a Blind and a Collusion; for they permit some of their Friends to seem to flinch from their Opinions, that they may avoid the odium which they are sensible the whole Tail of them would bring upon them. We must not therefore be imposed upon by this Artifice, but we are to take our measures of their Opinions from the Declarations, Professions and Writings of their Old Primitive Brethren, whom they at this Day applaud as *sound in the Faith*, and whose Doctrines they call *the Ancient Principles of Truth*: which they tell us, are adjusted to the *Light* within them, but upon examining and scanning of them, we find that they are *Darkness* it self. But setting aside their *Doctrines*, let us next enquire what their *Lives* and *Actions* are: which leads me to the next General Head of my Discourse.

Secondly, Then, I will speak of their *seeming Strictness and Holiness above others*; whereby some weak, but well meaning Persons are enclined to
 have

have a good Opinion of them, and so imbrace their Tenets. For so it is, these People by their being different from others in their behaviour as to some things, by their affecting a Conversation seemingly innocent and blameless, have marvellously insinuated themselves into several Persons, and have thereby had an opportunity to spread their Errors, and to advance their Cause. Wherefore it is requisite to enquire into this matter, and to examine whether *This Light* also be not *Thick Darkness*. The things which give them the repute of *Strictness above others* may be reduced to these following Particulars,

1. They are observ'd to be *Industrious* and *Diligent* in their Callings. They give not themselves up to sloth and idleness, as too many do, but take care to employ themselves in some honest way, whereby they may gain a lively-hood, and maintain themselves and their Charge, and live with Credit and Content in the World. Hence it is that they are all well provided for, and there are no Beggars amongst them.

2. They are *Sober* and *Temperate*, which is a rare thing in this Age. They carefully avoid all Excess of Drink, and like the good People of the Old World content themselves with a spare and simple Diet.

3. Their *Looks* speak Sobriety, they are Grave and Serious: and none of that Laughter and Jollity, which other Persons are given to, disfigure their Faces or marr their Behaviour.

4. They

4. They are *Plain* in their *Apparel*; which is a great piece of Self-denial in the Age we live in, where nothing doth more allure the Hearts of Men and Women than a Gay Habit and a Delicate Drefs.

5. They are different from others in their *Words*, as well as in their Garb and Looks. They cannot abuse their Mouths by saying *you*, when they should say *thou*. They cannot call the Months of the Year, nor the Days of the Week by their Heathenish Names, for this favours of Superstition and Idolatry. They have learnt to reform their Speech, and Scripture language is much used by them.

6. This also distinguishes them from others, that they are no vain *Respecters of Persons*; they refuse to uncover their Heads, and to Salute others when they meet them, and to give Titles of Honour to any: and in other things they scorn to comply with the fond *Customs and Usages of the World* which lieth in Wickedness.

7. Here likewise may be mention'd their shunning of all *Oaths*, and their refusing to Swear upon any occasion whatsoever, which argues that they are Men of a Nice Conscience.

8. And so their abhorring of all *Fighting* and taking up of Arms shews them to be Meek and Peaceable Souls.

9. They

9. They are against all *Outward Ceremonies*, and whatever is External and Formal in Religion: which may incline us to think that they are very Spiritual Men, and more profoundly skill'd in Religion than others are. And to this their *Silent Meetings* are extremely serviceable.

10. They have this likewise peculiar to them that they converse familiarly with the Spirit by *Immediate Revelations*, which shews them to be the Favourites of Heaven. * [Their giving forth Papers and Printed Books is from the immediate Eternal Spirit of God] saith one of them. † [They are in the same Power, Understanding, Knowledge, and immediate Revelation from Heaven that the Apostles were in.] And therefore it is no wonder that they pronounce themselves *Infallible*, as their || Great Master doth. [He that is not Infallible is not in the Spirit, and so is not a Minister of Christ.] [How can ye but delude the People that are not Infallible?] And again, [He discovers himself to be no Minister of Christ, who cannot give an Infallible Character of another Man.] All this you will find in *Fox's Great Mystery*. This surely must needs commend this People to us, for this is such a Privilege as is not wont to be vouchsafed to any but those that are Extraordinary.

Lastly,

* Truth's Defence.

† G. Fox's Great Mystery.

|| Ibid.

Laſtly, What *Dangers* and *Difficulties* do theſe Men *undergo*? They ſuffer, and that moſt joyfully, for their Conſcience ſake, and may we not thence infer that their Cauſe is Good, and their Opinions are Right, and that they themſelves are very Pious and Good Men? This is the ſhew they make of a *burning and a ſhining Light*: let us now ſee whether it be Real, or a mere Appearance, or rather (according to what our Saviour ſuggeſts) whether this ſeeming *Light* be not real *Darkneſs*. Yes, it will prove to be ſo upon an impartial examining the ſeveral Particulars before ſpecified. As,

1. The *Induſtry* which ſome of theſe Perſons are noted for in their Callings is no certain ſign of their being better than other Men: for their Worldlineſs and Love of Riches prompt them to be very Induſtrious and Diligent, and to take pains in their reſpective Employments. They are a ſort of Men that are obſerved to uſe all Arts, to try all Trades, to mix themſelves with all Buſineſs, to run into all Company, to make uſe of all Hours, to ſolicit the help of their Friends, to Collogue their Enemies, to be Crafty and Cunning as well as Laborious and Diligent, and all in order to promote their ſecular Gain and Advantage, to increaſe their Income, to advance their Condition in the World, to make themſelves Greater and Richer than their Neighbours, in ſhort to procure and purchaſe a fair Eſtate. Nothing hinders them in this deſign. If a Father or a Son, yea, if a Wife dieth, they make no Truce with their Labours and Buſineſs; but fall on as earneſtly as they did

did before. If a Day be Appointed by Authority for Cessation of Work in Mens Callings, they take no notice of it, but follow their Trade with their usual Diligence and Greediness. In their Judgments they make no Difference of Days, and they would never do it in their Practice if they were not even Forced to it. They would Sell and Traffick on the First Day of the Week as briskly as on all the other Six. So eager are they to employ all Times and Seasons whatsoever in the prosecuting of their Worldly Designs and Interest. This is the effect of their great Avarice and Desire of Gain, which are no very commendable qualities in a Christian.

Besides, being a sly and cunning race of People, they know how to make the best Advantage of their Trades and Callings, and this is an Encouragement to them to be very Busie and Industrious: for Craft and Diligence will effect great things. And there are those that will tell you from their Experience they have of some of these Men, that they will practice Knavery when they have an opportunity. As for what was said further, that there are no *Beggars* among them, it may proceed from the Pride of their Hearts, which will not let them Beg: and so they set themselves to Work, not out of a Principle of Industry, but because they are Proud, and scorn to be beholding to others. Or, if it be true that none of them Beg, it may arise from this, that those People Club to Relieve their Own Party, and by that means also they Increase them.

2. Whereas they are said to be very *Sober* and *Temperate*, this cannot be universally pronounc'd
of

of them, and therefore it is not to be alledged as a Character of that Party. Nay, even some of the best of them pretend not to any strictness in Diet: they guzzle, and cram themselves with the most delicate viands, and they swallow down the richest and choicest Wines, and indulge themselves the freedom of the Wanton and Luxurious. So that one of the grand things which they heretofore depended upon, and reckoned would do such great feats in the World, is almost lost, that is, * *the plain way of living*. But that many of them are very Temperate and Abstemious in their Lives, I am willing to grant; so were some of the *Pagans*, who were of the worst sort; they were Eminent for their Abstinence, as *Apollonius the Tyanean*, that great Impostor and Magician, who frequently fasted, and a long time together: So *Julian the Apostate* bragg'd, and not without Truth, of his great Frugality, and that he was not Superstitious either in his Diet or Clothing, as † one who liv'd in that times relates. But this did not hinder him from shewing his Enmity against the Christians: and so as to these Men, (as the Case stands with them) I do not think them the better Men for that: nay, they prove much the worse, for their Sobriety makes them capable of doing the greater harm. Were they generally a Drunken generation of Men, we might expect that their Errors and False Doctrines would not be so taking as we have seen they have been, for then their Teachers would

* *W. Pen's* No Cross no Crown.

† *Greg. Naz. 4. Orat. cont. Julian's*

would not have an opportunity of insinuating themselves into Men of Sobriety; and those who swallow their Doctrines would be inclined to disgorge them, if they saw they were handed to them by Men of Intemperate Lives. These Persons therefore come sober to destroy Religion, and their Dry Temperance makes them the more hard and obstinate in that undertaking.

3. As for their *Grave* and *Serious Looks*, there was (it is true) something of this at first. Like the *Pharisees* they *disfigured their countenances* to seem to be more Religious than they were, but now many of them are pleased to look like other Men. And that all of them will not give themselves leave to do so, it is not Gravity, but Affectation or Sullenness. It may be observed of several of these People that whilst they compose their Countenances, and restrain Laughter, they make themselves and the Company sport with their Dry Jests, and Sly Jeerings, at which they think they have a very good Talent. And even in serious matters, though they seem grave and demure, yet they are very Comical; yea indeed they are the most Trifling People under Heaven, for when they are encountred by an Adversary, we see that they fly to Sophistry and pitiful Shifts, they betake themselves to Childish Evasions, they talk lightly, they quote Scripture ludicrously and impertinently. Which is a proof of their light and toyish Spirit, and that they dissemble when they put on grave and solemn Looks. But indeed as to *Laughings*, we must excuse the Ringleaders and Grandees of them for not doing that *Openly*, for there is reason to imagine that these, like those Soothsayers of old,

Laugh

Laugh amongst themselves, when they think how they gull and cheat the People. But

4. What shall we say to the *Plainness of their Apparel*? Is not that a visible token of Mortification, Self-denial and Humility; especially in an Age which is so foolish and extravagant on the account of its Dress? I answer first, some of them have been as foolish and fantastick on the other Extreme: they have refused to wear such an Habit, as no wise Person can justly except against: some of them would not indure a Hat-band: others have thought it Religion to wear no Bands or Cuffs: but as for Ribbands and Lace, these are unpardonable Follies with them. Next, the Singularity of their Apparel which hath passed with some of them for a Badge of their Humility, is a mark of the contrary Vice. It is not to be doubted but that they speak against the Pride of Apparel in others with a greater one of their own: for questionless they are exceeding proud of their Mean and Plain Habit, as one told *Diogenes*, that his Pride was seen through the holes of his ragged and tatter'd Clothes.

Farther, it is to be suspected that many of them wear not some sort of Apparel which is commonly Woven, merely because they love to oppose and contradict the Customs which they observe the generality of Men comply with. This may be one reason of their not being clad altogether like other Folks. But I might here remind them of the practice of the Primitive Christians, who were very exact and circumspect in their Lives, and yet were not distinguish'd from others by their Exterior Habit.

Tertullian

Tertullian doth signally bear witness to this, when he purposely undertakes to clear them from that Imputation which some had fastned on them; namely, that *they were not like other Men*: He proves the contrary, and more particularly shews that the Primitive Christians wore the * *same Habit* with the *Roman Pagans* whom they lived and conversed with.

I might further add that some of the Persons I'm speaking of are employ'd in Selling, yea in Making and Fashioning; that Modish Apparel for others which they talk against, and will not wear themselves: which shews that they approve of those Habits, so far as they can get any thing by them.

But lastly, The subject of the Question is now almost taken away, the number of those amongst them that differs from others in their Attire is very small; they generally change their Habits as others do, and have their Garments of the Newest Cut and Fashion. So that it is expected, that this part of *Strictness* will quite wear off and disappear: at least, there will be only so much remaining as will barely distinguish them from other Folks, which is the thing they much affect.

5. Their differencing themselves from others as to *Words* and *Phrases*, I look upon also as mere Affectation. If I should acknowledge that the using *thou* and *thee* are the more proper and simple way of speaking, yet it is ridiculous and
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* Apolog cap: 42:

absurd not to comply with a general mode of Speech, which in it self is innocent. For this we are to know that there are certain Modes of speaking in all Languages, which are Receiv'd and Us'd, and Approv'd of by all Wise Men, notwithstanding they are in themselves Improper and Forced. *Thou* is the Proper and Genuine Address to a *single Person*, and a Quaker may justly Laugh at the Man who denieth it. Yet notwithstanding This, he that refuses to say *You* to a single Person in Common way of Talking, deserves much more to be Laugh'd at: The Reason is this, because he betray's his Ignorance, and sheweth that he hath no True Notion of the Nature of Words, and their Use and Signification, which is derived wholly from Custom and Usage, and the Reason why this word Imports one thing and that another is because Men have Agreed by Custom and Use to take and understand them in that Particular sense and meaning. Now then it is not the *Original Propriety* of a Word that an Understanding and Prudent Man is to look after in his Common Speaking, but how the word is used and applied in the Universal Practice of Men. Thus the Pronoun *You* by general Consent and usage of *English Men* (as *Vous* among the *French*) is applied to a Single Person in the usual way of speaking, and by that usage is Approved of; and they are very Conceited and Captious who boggle at it; and make it an affected *Sibilatib* to Distinguish their Party by.

Further I will observe to you that the Pronoun *Thou* hath but these three Significations amongst us at this Day; that is, when we
 speak

Speak to *God*, it denotes Reverence, for no Man ever saith *You* to *God*. But when we speak to *Men*, who are our *Equals*, then *Thou* to them is a token of Familiarity or Kindness: or to our *Inferiors* or such as we Undervalue, then *Thou* is a word of Scorn and Reproach, by Continual Use (which is the Mistress and Governess of all Language.) These are the only Denotations of the Pronoun *Thou* in Our Tongue, and it being so, it is Absurd to use this word in such Common Discourse, where we neither Address ourselves to *God*, nor have occasion of speaking to *Men* to express our Familiarity or Scorn. It remains therefore that *Thou* is to be lay'd aside, and *You* to be made use of in the General way of speech.

These Men cannot but see this: yea, I will prove that they do see it, and Consequently that they are Perverse and Obstinate. Do they not call every one Promiscuously *Friend*? Is not this the usual Appellative for Any Person they speak to, whether he be of their Party or not, whether they know him or not, whether he be Friend or Foe? yes, I have heard them call All Persons by this Name. And do they so, and yet will not use the word *You* to a single Person? Then it is plain they Confute themselves: For they plead that they say *Thou* instead of *You* because that is the more *simple* and *proper* way of speaking. For the same reason they should not use the word *Friend* in a Promiscuous way, nor give it to every one they meet with; because it is *Improper* to call those *Friends* who are not, or whom they do not know to be such. Yet they make no scruple of using the word thus Improperly, and of

altering the plain and genuine Signification of it. Why then do they not use the word *You* to a single Person, when it is now the Idiom of the English Tongue to do it, and when it is so applied by the general consent of all Men but themselves; and (in short) when by use and custom it is become Proper and Legitimate, and the contrary is grown Uncouth and Absurd?

As to their refusing to call the *Months of the Year*, and the *Days of the Week* by their Common Names, this also can be reckoned no other than an absurd Piece of Singularity. For tho' I'm of Opinion that it were better among Christians if we were agreed upon it to use other Names, that is, such as are not taken from the Superstitious Pagans; yet, till that be done, the retaining of these which we have in use is a thing that a Wise and a Christian Man may lawfully submit to: for though these Names be taken from Superstitious Pagans, yet we Condemn their *Superstition*, and only use these Names for *Distinction* sake. * *Diotrephes* is blamed for his Pride and Ambition, but not for his *Heathen Name*, which he still kept tho' he was a Christian. So † *Apollo* was the Name of a Worthy Believer, the same with *Apollo*, only with the change of an Accent and one letter (for it was usual to borrow their *Names* from their *Gods*, or rather to Insert the Names of their *Gods* into their own, as before of *Jupiter* in the Name of *Diotrephes*; and here of *Apollo*, whence *Apollonius*, *Apollonia*, *Apollodorus*, &c.) || *Hymeneus* was

* Eph. 3. 9.

† 1 Cor. 3. 6.

‡ 1 Tim. 1. 20.

was a Christian by Profession, but he did not lay aside his Name, neither did St. Paul refuse to call him by it, tho' it was the Name of a *Pagan God* among the *Greeks*, to which *Thalassius* answered among the *Romans*. So we read that * *Hermes*, † *Phœbe*, || *Fortunatus*, * *Tychicus* (the Greek of *Fortunatus*) † *Syntyche* were Persons Converted to the Christian Faith, and yet they were not Sollicitous to alter their Names, neither did the Apostle scruple to call them by them, tho' 'tis certain those Names were *Heathenish*, yea carryed in them the Remembrance of *Pagan Deities*. *Sylvanus* or *Silvanus* is a Christian Name, || but is the *God of Woods*; a Poetick Deity: yet they thought it not Unlawful to use that Name. Now if Christians retained their Heathen Names, then 'tis not Sinful to call *Months* or *Days* by theirs which are of the like Original.

Again, may I not as lawfully call the first and second Months of the Year *January* and *February*, as St. Luke, who wrote the *Acts*, calls a place in *Athens Mars-hill*, tho' that Name was given it on an Idolatrous Account? May I not as lawfully call one of the Days of the Week *Tuesday*, and another *Wednesday*, (though these Names were first imposed by Heathens) as St. Paul call'd the Ship he Sailed in *Castor* and *Pollux*? Or, which is the same thing,

* Rom. 16. 14.

† Rom. 16. 1.

|| 1 Cor. 16. 17.

* 2 Tim. 4. 12.

† Phil. 4. 2.

|| 2 Theff. 1. 1.

* the sign of it was *Castor and Pollux*: and the Ship itself was called by the Name of that Sign, and accordingly *St. Paul* refuses not to give it that Name. He doth not say, after the nice rate of the *Quakers*, as it was commonly call'd, but he in Plain and Downright Terms saith, *the Sign is Castor and Pollux*, who were Worshiped as *Gods of the Seas*, and Tutelar Deities of the Mariners, and accordingly their Images were set upon the Fore-deck of some of their Ships. So I might observe that though the *Olympick Games* were Sports Instituted in Honour of the *Heathen Gods*, yet *St. Paul* frequently takes Metaphors from thence to set forth the Duties of Christianity. *St. Peter* was pleased to use the word † τάρταρος, though it was borrowed from the *Heathen Poetick Fables*, where *Tartarus* is the word for *Hell*. He borrowed a Term from the *Pagan Fictions* to express the real *Hell*. The *Vulgar Latin Translation* mentions *Cocytus*, *Job* 21. 33. and *Onocentaurus*, *Isai.* 34. 14. And both the Version of the *Septuagint* and the *Vulgar Latin* have *Amalthea's Horn*, *Job* 42. 14. which are Names of *Heathen Invention*. So *Arcturus*, *Orion* and *Pleiades* are *Heathenish Names*, and have their Original from *Pagan Fictions*, and yet the *Seventy Interpreters* and the *Vulgar Latin* thought fit to exchange the *Hebrew Words* for these, and our *English Translators* do the same in *Job* 9. 9. 38. 31. We see then, from the Examples and Practice of the *Inspir'd Penmen*

* Acts 28 11.

† 2 Pet. 2. 4.

Penmen and others, that *Names* first given by *Pagans* may lawfully be used by *Christians*: We see that words first Invented and used on Idolatrous and Superstitious Accounts may Innocently be retained, at least for a time.

I could add here further that many words and Expressions which were used by Pagans are taken into Christianity and made use of there. The terms * *Regeneration* and *Restitution* which we meet with in the Writings of the *Platonists* and *Stoicks*, are retain'd by Christ and the Apostles, *Matt.* 19. 28. *Acts* 3. 21. The Greek word † in the New Testament which we render *Church* is of *Pagan* Extraction. The Holy Ghost is pleased to give that Name (used among the Greeks for any Assembly of the People called together by the Magistrate) to the Company or Assembly of Men that Profess the Christian Faith, and are Solemnly met together to serve and worship God. The Names of the *Ministers of the Church* and other Sacred Persons and Things are taken from the *Heathen Officers* and Employments. Tho' some think that the Title of *Apostle* was taken from the *Jews*, and that these were *Nuncio's* of the *Synagogue*, that were dispatched on several Ministeries, thro the Land of *Judaea*, for these men were called † *אֲפֹסְטוֹלִים* those that were sent, the same with *Apostles*. Yet it is not Improbable that the Name was borrowed from the *Gentiles*, for among the *Athenians* of old, one sort of *Secular Governors* was Stiled an * *Apostle*.

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In

* Παλιγενεσία, Ἀποκατάστασις.

† Ἐκκλησία.

‡ Talmud, and Maimonides.

* Ἀπόστολος.

In other Instances it may be shewn that those words that are now apply'd and appropriated to *Ecclesiastical Governors* were at first used of *Civil* ones, thus * *Bishops* and *Presbyters* were Anciently used by the *Pagan Greeks* and *Romans* to denote such as had the Oversight in *Secular* matters. so a † *Deacon* was of Old, an Officer Employ'd in Administring the Affairs of the Commonwealth, or in a Family: It Signifies a *waiting Servant at a Feast* in the best Authors. And so in the *New Testament*, the Office of *Preaching* is expressed by || Greek Words that Signify, the Employment of a *Publick Cryer* among the *Grecians*. Ἐκκλησίας κηρύττειν was to call an *Assembly*; *Heliodor.* l. 4. *Æthiop.* So that the *Preacher* and his *Congregation* are both taken from Officers and Actions among the *Gentiles*. The word *Pulpit* (which perhaps some think not of) is a *Pagan* word, and taken from the *Common Theatre*: It was the higher part of the Stage before the Scenes where *Comedy's* were acted, and where the *Musick* was planted. The word *Sacrament* was borrowed from the *Heathens*, who called the *Oath* which the *Soldiers* took to be true to their *Captain* *Sacramentum*. * *Diocese* was a word frequent in the *Constitutions* of the *Roman* Emperors, it was a *Division* of the parts of the *Roman* Empire, but thence came to be used by the *Church*, to signify such a division or part of it under a *Bishop*. † The word

Parochus,

* Ἐπίσκοπος, Πρεσβύτερος.

† Διάκονος.

|| κήρυξ, κηρύσσειν.

‡ Διοίκησις.

† πάροχος.

Parochus, which was used for an Officer that provided Entertainment for Ambassadors, became an Ecclesiastical word, and Signifies a *Parish Priest* or Curate. *Κύρια ἐλέησον*, *Lord have mercy upon us*, was an Old *Litany* used by the *Pagans*: When they called upon God they used † these words, but that makes it not unlawful now. The Old || *Salutation* which was in use among the Gentiles is not refused by the Christian Apostles, *Acts* 15. 23. *James* 1. 1. These things were used by *Pagans*, but are not *Pagan*, that is no *Pagan* Superstition or Corruption is included in them. This is Sufficient to shew that the *Quakers* are over-nice in bog-gling at words, tho' they were of *Pagan* Original.

If I should take notice of these Mens *using the Language and Phrase of Scripture*, it must be said that this is the Practice but of a few of them, for the generality of them converse seldom with the Bible, and are unacquainted with its way of speaking. But as for those who peruse that Sacred Book, and learn some of its Dialect, this is an Accomplishment which they make use of either to commend their Doctrine, glossing it over with Scripture Phrase, or by this means to seem to be very Religious Persons, as having Great Knowledge of Scripture, and being able to Discourse in the Holy Stile. This then is no Argument of their Holiness. Besides that it is well known they have a Low Esteem of Scripture tho' they speak the Language of it sometimes.

VI. Their

† Arrian: in Epictet. l. 2. c. 7.

|| χαίρειν.

Sixthly, Their denying to *Uncover their Heads*, and to give other Testimonies of *Civil Respect*, according to the Custom of the place they live in, ought not to be accounted a thing Commendable in them, but it rather redounds to their dispraise: for Religion doth not Introduce Rudeness and Incivility: Men must not be Clowns because they are Christians. They greedily snatch at Scripture when they think it makes for them, and accordingly they produce the example of *Mordecai*, who refused † to bow and do Reverence to *Haman*: but I would have them observe whether he was a *Quaker* when he was array'd in *Royal Apparel*, and wore a *Crown of Gold*, and mounted the *Great Horse*, and Rid in State thro' the Streets of the City, and had it Proclaimed before him, *Thus shall it be done to the Man whom the King delighteth to Honour*. It is plain therefore that this Instance is nothing to their purpose.

No more are those words of our Saviour, *Salute no Man by the way*, Luke 10. 4. and yet thence they Endeavour to prove the Unlawfulness of Greeting or Saluting those they meet. But then I might ask them, why do they wear *Shoes*, which is forbidden in the same Text? Yea, why do they carry *Purses* or *Money* about them? for this likewise is expressly forbidden in the very same place, tho' this Covetous Generation of Men take no notice of it, notwithstanding their insisting on the other. From this and divers other Instances it is plain that these Men make no Conscience
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† Esth. 3. 2.

of wresting and perverting the Holy Scriptures, and making them speak what they please. The true meaning of those words, *Salute no Man by the way*, is this; I command you, O my Disciples, that you go about your work with all speed, see that you loiter not by the way, impede not your course by unnecessary diverting your selves: you have no time now to make formal Salutes and Greetings when you are upon your Journey, for by this means you'll be hindred from that great work which I send you to Dispatch, *viz*, the Preaching of the Gospel, which Requires all hast and expedition. This is the plain and Genuine Sense of our Saviour's words: and at the same time he forbids his Disciples the use of *two Coats*, of *Staves*, of *Shoes*, of *Purses*, of *Gold and Silver*, i. e. in short they must not be Sollicitous about their *Provision*: they must go about their Masters Work, and expect that he will provide for them, and that in a Miraculous manner. So that you see these were Extraordinary Precepts, and were Calculated for that time only, and therefore do not oblige us. But Civil Respect and Good Manners are always our Duty, and we may lawfully submit to the innocent usages of the place we live in.

That *Respectful Salutations* and *Wishes* are not Unlawful may be gathered from the Practice of the Holy Prophet *Daniel*, who was not shie of using the Common Congratulation [*O King Live for ever*] which the *Assyrian* and *Babylonian* Subjects gave to their King. And we read in other places of Scripture that the form of Salutation or Acclamation [*Let the King Live*] was used not only amongst the *Assyrians* and other Nations, but by the *Jews* themselves,

even

even among those of them that had the greatest sense of Religion and Piety.

But a greater than these is here, even our Lord *Jesus Christ*, who both by his Command and Example Authorizes the Practice of Salutation. Notwithstanding that Particular and Extraordinary Injunction given to his Disciples before mentioned, he gives them this Express Order for their common Practice, [*When ye come into a House salute it*]. Matt. 10. 12. which St. Luke Explains thus, *Into whatsoever House you enter, say, Peace be to this House*, Luke 10. 5. which was the Common Form of Salutation among the *Jews*: So that tho' our Saviour would not have his Disciples retard their Journey by needless Greetings by the way, yet, at other times he would have them use kind and civil Salutations, yea he particularly enjoyns them here to do so. Nay, he bids them Salute not only their Friends and Brethren, but their Enemies, as is imply'd when he saith [*If you Salute your Brethren only, what do you more than others?*] Matt. 5. 47. We read that Our Saviour himself often used the Forementioned Salutation, viz. † *Peace be unto you*; and to the Women that returned from the Sepulcher he used that other form of Civil greeting *χαίρετε*. Matt. 28. 19. [*all Hail.*]

And there were other *Common Practices* and *Customs* which our Saviour was pleased to comply with, and yet if we look into the Original of them, they were none of the best. Tho'

† Luke 24. 36. John 20. 19, 21, 26.

Tho' the *Sitting at Table* was the Primitive Posture of Eating (of which we have some early Instances in Scripture) yet afterwards, when Men grew soft and luxurious, they no longer sat upright at their Meals, but lay down with their Bodies stretch'd out, only with their left Elbows they kept their Heads up higher than the rest of their Bodies. *Athenæus L. 1.* complains of the Luxury and Effeminacy of his Age, as to this very Particular, *viz.* that they had Degenerated from the Antients who used to *Sit* at their Feasts, whereas at that time they used *Discumbiture*. And the *Romans* especially were observ'd to affect this kind of Posture at their Feasts. From them it was derived to the *Jews*, who being brought under the *Roman* Power, Jurisdiction and Laws did soon comport with all their Fashionable Customs. And even *Christ* and his *Apostles* refused not to conform to this Particular usage of *lying or leaning at their Meals*, when it was Common and General. We read in *Matt. 26.* that They *Eat the Passover* thus, yea, tho' it was at first Instituted to be *Eaten standing*, *Ex. 12.* So ready were they to comply with the Custom of the Country in an Harmless Circumstance. And the same may be observed with respect to their usual Practice at Festival Entertainments, namely their *Anointing of their Heads*, wherein they Imitated the *Gentiles* both *Romans* and *Greeks*, as is evident from * *Athenæus*, † *Pliny*, *Horace* and others. Our Blessed

* *Deipnos. l. 15. c. 14.*

† *Nat. Hist. l. 3. c. 3.*

Blessed Lord permitted this custom to be made use of to himself, as we read in *Matt.* 26. 6. *Mark* 14. 3. *John* 12. 3. And thence it was that our Saviour expostulated with *Peter* not only for not washing his Feet, but for *not Anointing his Head*, *Luke* 7. 44, 46. which was a token of Friendship and Civility in those times: and we see our Saviour was no Enemy to it. Shall we then be more precise than our Blessed Master, who Vouchsafed to conform to the usual customs of his Country? But I shall say no more here, because some of those whom I am Animadverting upon have of late seen their folly, and have in part abandon'd it, for they begin to salute by words, tho' not by the Common Gesture of veiling the Hat. And some of them will bow their Heads a little, and lay their Hand on their Breasts, to let us see they are more ready to comply with the Practice of the *Turks* than of their own Countrymen.

Seventhly, I might touch upon their *not Swearing*, and shew that it is so far from being an Argument of their Strictness and Piety, that it is a proof of the Contrary, for *Swearing* is Comanded as a part of Religious Worship which is due to God upon occasion, *Thou shalt Swear by his Name*, *Deut.* 6. 13. and 10. 20. And when there is a just Call to it, the same may be done under the Gospel as well as the Law: Else the Apostle would not have said, *An Oath for Confirmation is an end of strife*, *Heb.* 6. 16. Neither would he himself have used a Religious Oath as we read he doth, *2 Cor.* 1. 23.

Eighthly,

Eighthly, Then as for their great *Averseness to War*, and their professing it to be Unlawful, they are not to be listen'd to, seeing Scripture and the Law of Nature and Right Reason, and the Exigency and Necessity of affairs at certain seasons, and the Good Effects and Issue of Going to War at some times, sufficiently Vouch the Lawfulness of it when it is Undertaken on Lawful Accounts. Nor do I look upon their not using the Sword of Steel (as they call it) as any Indication of their Meekness, or Peaceableness, or self denial, or any other good quality, but only as a Politick Dissimulation, which may be improved afterwards to some great Advantage. I take it for granted that they that *Revile*, have in them a Principle, of *Fighting*. We are sure they have done the former, and therefore there is no doubt of the latter. It hath been their way to Reproach and Vilify all that are not of their Perswasion with the Infamous Title of *Egyptians* and *the Seed of Cain*. And as for the Ministers of the Reform'd Churches, especially that of *England*, they come off well if they are stiled only *Baal's Priests*, *Dumb Dogs*, *Hirelings*, and *Antichristian*. Any one who has conversed with these Men and their Writings some Years since, is not a stranger to their Virulent Rail- ing. They raged and foamed rather than spoke or wrote: nay, whatever aversness they had to *Swearing*, they ventured to *Curse*, and that bitterly. Now, when I hear them make such ill use of their *Tongues*, I cannot but think that they will find some employment for their *Hands*. Besides, Reviling shews that they are

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very *Angry*: as that Passion is Interpreted by our Saviour to be a Species of Murder, so accordingly we see that it frequently breaks out into Actual Violence and Slaughter. And therefore notwithstanding the Pretences and Professions of this Sect, we are not to believe that they are averse from using the Carnal Weapon. What the *Anabaptists* of old did, you may guess these will do, who resemble them in so many things. That Sect in *Germany* professedly maintained that *going to War* was Unlawful, and against the Rules of the Gospel, but yet afterwards under *Muntzer* and *John of Leyden* they briskly took up Arms, and Fought and Kill'd in a most Bloody manner. Why these Men will not follow their example, we have no reason to alledge, especially when we see that in some Instances they have come off from their former Practices. Who knows therefore what kind of Creatures they will prove at last? Tho' some of them look simply and sheepishly, yet we may suspect that the Woolfish nature is in them.

Nimble, Nor is their *declaiming against Outward Ceremonies and External Rites and Performances in Religion* any sign of a more Spiritual Temper than there is in other Men, as they pretend. For under the name of *Ceremonies* they Comprehend all outward and Bodily Worshipping of God, and Condemn it as Formal and Hypocritical, which no Good Christian ever yet did. Again, notwithstanding their Outcries against formal and outside Religion, they are the most guilty of it themselves, for they place a great part of their Religion
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and Sanctity in outward Garb and Dress, as their Old Friends the *Pharisees* heretofore did.

And as for their *Silent Assemblies*, which are so much applauded by them, and are a great part of their Character, wherein they wholly lay aside the external and audible part of Religion, it is easie to point out the first rise and source of this Whimsical way of Devotion. The *Pythagoreans* (from whom that *Jewish Sect*, the *Essenes*, borrowed many of their Practices) taught their Disciples a Quinquennial Silence; and the Fond and Affected Reservedness of some other *Philosophers*, * *Juvenal* takes notice of; yea, it was one of the usual *Mysteries* of the *Heathens* even in their *Worship*. † *Plutarch* bears witness that *Taciturnity* was a great part of the *Gentile Religion*: and ‖ *Philostratus* in the Life of *Apollonius* the *Tyanæan* takes notice of this. This was one reason why they call'd the Solemnities of their Religion *Mysteries*; namely, because they were enjoin'd a profound *Silence*, as * *Tertullian* observes. Hence this was borrowed by some *Heretical Christians*, who placed their Religion in holding their Peace: whence they were stiled *Silentiarii*, and to this purpose they were wont to thrust their Fingers into their Mouths to stop them. These were imitated afterwards by a particular Sect of *Anabaptists* in *Moravia*, a Province in *Germany*, who

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(as

* Rarus Sermio illis, & magna libido tacendi. *Sat.* 2.

† De Institut. Pueror.

‖ Lib. 1. cap. 11.

* Omnibus mysteriis silentii fides adhibetur. *Apoloq. cap. 7.*

(as we are * told) sprung up a little after *Luther's* time, and were hugely addicted to this way of Silence as part of their Religion, whence they had the name of *Silent ones*. And the *Quietists*, who are lately talk'd of, seem to have a smack of this old way. *Lastly*, The *Turkish* History informs us that there hath been a considerable time among that People a *Religious Order* that professes a long silence, and will not be compelled to speak, tho' very much provok'd: for it is their Opinion that God is served in an Eminent manner in that Mute way.

10. In the next place, whereas they pretend above others, to the *Holy and Divine Spirit*, and declare that they have all their Teaching from that, I will only ask this Question, If it be so, how comes it to pass that none was ever made a *Quaker* by the Spirit's Teaching alone, or, which is the same with them, by the *Light within them*? They hold that this *Spirit* or *Light* without the concurrence of any outward Word or Ordinance converts them, and teaches them all things. How is it then that this *Light* never doth its office by it self? How is it that those of their Perswasion are always converted by some of the *Teachers* among them who repair to them, or whom they go to hear, and so are brought to be of that way? This exceedingly lowers their high pretences to the Extraordinary influence of the Spirit.

As

* Florimond. Raymond. de Orig. Hæres.

As for their *Revelations*, their *Immediate Impulses* and *Inspirations* which they boast of, it is thought by very Wise Men that what they call Inspiration depends upon their Humours, and Blood: they owe it and their particular Religion to their *Spleen* and *Hypochondria*. Yea, I fear that the Inspiration of some of them, (for I am not so severe as to lay it to the charge of them all) is no other than a *Demoniack* Impression, accompanied with great disturbance of Body. I reckon it to be the same which the *Pagans* heretofore felt. The Devils us'd to enter their Priests, and forthwith to fill them with all Disorder of *Body* and *Mind*. Which of these two was greatest was hard to tell. Only the former was visible, and therefore the more Observable. When those Impure Dæmons took possession of their Bodies, it was to be seen and lamented how the poor Wretches foamed at the Mouth, how their Limbs were Distorted, how their Hair stood on end, how they Trembled and Quak'd, how their Eyes Roll'd, how their Hearts beat against their Breasts. These were the Symptoms of the Deities Inspiring them (as they call'd it), or rather of the Devils Possessing them. To be Inspired, was to be every way Distemper'd and Diseas'd: nay, to be Inspired was to Rave and run Mad. This was truly *Divinatio per Furorem*, as *Tully* calls That of the *Roman Priests*: it was accompanied with Alienation of Mind, and horrible Disturbance of Body. This very thing was to be seen also among some of the deluded *Hereticks* in the *Christian Church*. *Epiphanius* tells us, that the Disciples of *Simon the Sorcerer* (as well as the Heathen Priests) were seen to Foam, and Sweat

and Quake extraordinarily : and when they felt these things, they said they were Inspired : and so they were, but by an Infernal Spirit. The *Gnosticks* pretended to Divine Revelation, and thence asserted things in defiance of what the Apostles had said and wrote. *Montanus* and his followers held they were Divinely Inspired, and under pretence of that, vented their Blasphemies, and caus'd them to be entertain'd of many. The *Church of Rome* hath afforded many such Inspired Persons. *Ignatius Loyala* * lay in an Extasie, as a Person devoid of all Sense, Eight Days together. But several others of their Saints have given more Visible Testimonies of their Spiritual Possession. That Excellent Person who hath Writ of the *Phanaticism of the Church of Rome*, hath let the World see that that Church hath bred many *Crack'd Enthusiasts*, of both Sexes, who were really acted by the Spirit of Satan, and at the same time were admired as Divinely Illuminated Creatures.

This I fear is the Case of many *Quakers*, who are their Off-spring : whilst they would make others believe (and they partly do so themselves,) that they are moved by the Spirit of God, they are acted by the Spirit of Darkness. It can't be denied that several Bodily Extravagancies and Agitations discovered a kind of Possession in them at first. They let Men see that they were extraordinarily disturbed both in Mind and Body. Like Possessed Persons they Foamed, they Trembled, they Acted, Spoke,
and

* Ignat. Vita

and look'd Distractedly; they were Wild and Raving. Indeed now of late they do not Quake and Tremble, or shew any signs of Discomposure and Distraction. What the Devil did before, he can do now without all that great Stir: he now enters silently and stays the longer. To be brief, these Men, notwithstanding their Pretences to immediate Revelations and familiar Converse with the Spirit, Indulge themselves in Evil Habits of Vice, and in a Continual Practise of Ungodliness: Therefore their Revelations and Inspirations cannot be alledged as a Testimony of their Striçtness and Holiness. The Antecedent shall be proved under the next general head.

Lastly, As to their *Sufferings*, these are no Infallible proof of their *Holiness*. For Natural Hardiness and Valour will enable them to endure much. The Boys of *Sparta* us'd to be Scourged at *Diana's* Altar, and yet made no Complaint at all; they never were seen to make a sour Face, nor heard to give the least squeak. Hardships are acceptable to some, and they are very Proud of what they Suffer. A *Capuchin* thinks himself Fine in his Embroider'd Flanks, and Carved Back and Shoulders. There are many other Papists besides them, who take a Pride in going Barefoot, in wearing Hair-Shirts, in undertaking Tedious Pilgrimages, and in other kinds of hardships and uneasy Penances. It is probable the Men I'm discoursing of, being of the same Stock, have the like Sentiments, and can with Patience and Content suffer Confiscations, Imprisonments, and all sorts of Penalties. But who hath required these things at their hands? Who bids them undergo so much?

This they are to ask themselves, and if they cannot return Answer that God hath enjoin'd this, that his Word and Law, and a Rectified Conscience authorize them to do so, they can never Suffer with any true Comfort and Satisfaction, and (which is most to the present purpose) they cannot rationally think that their Sufferings, be they never so many and great, are any argument of their *Holiness* and *Strictness* above other Men. But from their Pretences to Holiness, let us pass to their Positive Unholiness, which is the next thing I propounded.

III. I will take a view of their *real Vicious Habits and Practices*. And here i will reduce all to these five Particulars :

1. They are Men exceedingly addicted to *Covetousness*: they mind the World and Profit of it with extraordinary application and concern. The generality of them pursue it with much more Eagerness and Vigour than any other sort of Men: which is too evident an eviotion of their Avaritious and Worldly mindedness. And I am apt to think that the spare Diet and Plain Cloths of some of them are to be resolved into this, *viz.* their extreme Covetousness.

2. Their *Uncharitableness* is a Vice which cannot but be taken notice of. And this sheweth it self in their Censoriousness and Peremptory judging of others, in their reviling and even hating all Professors (as they call them) that is, all that are of any Church or particular way of Worship and Discipline, and live something suitable to it: they reckon these to be a great
deal

deal worse than the Debauch'd and Prophane, with whom you shall see them Converse very pleasantly and contentedly. This Aversion, this Hatred and Reproaching are no Good Character of Christian Love and Charity; (which yet some of them make a great shew of, as hath been said before) but we may justly impute that Temper and Behaviour to their Uncharitableness, which is a Vice of the most Heinous nature imaginable.

3. Their *Pride* is very Visible and Notorious. Which discovers it self in these following things,

First, In their denying to Uncover the Head, or give any other Testimonies of Civil Respect, according to the Custom of the Place they live in. They may pretend Conscience for it, but any Man of Impartial Reason and Sense cannot but see that this proceeds from Haughtiness and Stubbornness of Mind. They scorn to comply with an Indifferent and Harmless Usage; their Proud and Surly Nature will not permit them to shew any sign of submission. And yet tho' they will not veil the Hat themselves, yet the Richest and Wealthiest of them are great Exacters of it from others, *viz.* those their Inferiours and Servants who are not of their Perswasion: and they are offended if they be not respected in this manner by them. Which still argues Pride and Stubbornness, and that they will by no means shew a compliant Spirit.

Secondly, Their Singularity and Affectation in passing by those they meet with (even those they know very well) without saluting them, is another sign of their Pride. They have refused, till of late, not only to Salute by Gesture, but by Words. They have disdained to Greet others when they met them, or to signify their wishing well to them when they parted from them. Which can be no other than the Result of that Uncharitableness which I spoke of before, and of an *Insolent* and *Arrogant Spirit*, which will not be brought to an innocent Comporting with the Custom of the Place, and indeed herein of all Mankind, but loves to shew it self singular, intimating at the same time that they would have others submit to them. Hence it is also that they will not *speak* as others do.

Thirdly, Their Apparel (which they would have us think is a Badge of their Humility) is an Argument of their Proud and Lofty Hearts. For it is certain that they take a Pride in Censuring and Reproving others for wearing of Fine Cloaths.

Fourthly, Their High Conceit of their Knowledge and Wisdom is too plain an Evidence of their Pride. You may say of these Men as one of the chief * of their Party saith of another Rank of Persons, *Who of Mankind are more self-conceited than these?* I have in my Hands a
Hebrew

* *Will. Per.*

Hebrew Letter, which they wrote some Years ago to the *Jews*, to convert them to their *Light*, and *Life*, and *Words* (as they there speak). That Epistle alone is sufficient to make the Persons they writ to to continue *Jews* all their Days, and to think the worse too of *Christians* ever after, when they see such a Conceited and Perverse sort of Men (who stand in need rather of Conversion themselves) make use of *that Name*. This over-weening Opinion of themselves carries them into the Courts of the greatest Princes, and pushes them on to offer their Sentiments to them, and to devote their Books to their Royal Names, as *Barclay* did his *Apology* to King *Charles* the Second. But what will not a High Opinion of their Wisdom prompt them to? What will not these Men of Extraordinary Illumination attempt, who have the singular Privilege of that sort of Birds which see even in the Dark, and are quick-sighted in the gloomiest Night?

Fifthly, Is it not horrid Arrogance to aver openly to the World that they are as intimate with the Holy Ghost as the Prophets and Apostles heretofore were? Is it not rank Pride to tell the World that they are able to dictate as good Inspired Scripture as any the Holy Bible containeth? And yet this is delivered by the Mouths and Pens of their most noted and applauded Rabbies.

Sixthly, Their Bold Asserting the Doctrine of Perfection, is as manifest a Demonstration of their Pride, as any of the forenamed Particulars. These Sons of Perfectness have no Ignorance

rance or Vice to lament, as others have. They think themselves not only Wiser but Holier than all other Men; whereupon they despise the poor Attainments of their Neighbours, and Insult over Imperfect Mankind, and shew themselves very Haughty and Domineering. Here I might add that this is the worst sort of Pride, which renders this Vice in them the more Abominable. Pride of Apparel is a very excusable fault in comparison of the Pride of supposed Holiness, which these are guilty of.

4. Their *Hypocrisie* is as Egregious as their other Vices. They dissemble with the World: they are nothing of what they seem to be: they seldom or never act as they pretend they do. This is a very high Charge against them, and therefore it will be expected that I should make it good: which I will do in these ensuing Instances.

First, it is well known that in their Writings and common Discourse *they use Equivocations*, and betake themselves to Ambiguous terms: they accustom themselves to shuffling, they fly to foolish Evasions and pitiful shifts, which always argues want of *Sincerity*. This likewise may be observed of them, that they profess they are Enemies to *All Swearing*: yet it is well known that some of them have Sworn in *Chancery*. Tho' for others they refuse to do it, yet for Themselves, and when their Particular Interest hath been concern'd, they have submitted to it, which argues their Covetousness as well as *Disimulation*. So likewise their affecting Plain Apparel is a Deceit: for whereas they declare all
Ornament

Ornament to be Unlawful, and whatever is worn must be for real Use and Necessity, it is manifest that they Contradict themselves, for the Richer and Wealthier sort of them are not content to wear Woollen (tho' indeed it suiteth best with this Generation of Men who come in *Sheeps Clothing*), they are not content (I say) with the Finest Woollen, but they put on the best Silks, they strut in the choicest Plush and Satin, and (as you may observe of some of them lately) are scarcely distinguished from other People. What is become then of their Plain Habit which is only for Real Service and Necessity? Why is not their Apparel a square Sack with two holes for their Arms, and two for their Legs without any more ado? This would answer to mere Necessity better than those which they now use: which is an undeniable argument that there is *Hypocrisie* at the bottom.

They say they must not, and do not follow the *Fashions* of the World, and yet every one may see how their Practice is a contradiction to their Profession: for their Men and Women have their Garments of the Newest mode, and they change their Habits as others do: And is not this Conforming to the Fashions of the World? The Men do not wear Beards, but Shave all or most of their Hair off, as others generally do: And what is this but to be in the Fashion? The Furniture, which is the Apparel of their Houses, their Plate, and all their Household-Stuff are Modish, and even approaching to the Court; they are so Sumptuous and Stately. What do you call this but the *Fashion*, which is another Proof of their *Dissembling*. In brief, many of
 them

them are outwardly Abstemious and Sober, but are Strangers to the Inward and True Sobriety of Mind, which consisteth in Regular Thoughts and Apprehensions, and in a governing their Hearts and Lives according to God's Word. There is a Spiritual Drunkenness, which is a bidding defiance to Reason, and throwing off good Manners: and this is the Intemperance and Intoxication which they are addicted to, which as long as they Indulge, we cannot be Uncharitable in determining, that their Bodily Sobriety is but a Cloak for this Spiritual Drunkenness and their other Misdemeanours.

It hath been noted also, that they will *not speak* as others: yet one may see that this is mere *Hypocrisie*; as for Example, they will not say *your Servant*, or call one *Mr.* because they are not the real Servants of those they speak to, nor is he their real Master, and yet (as was observed before) they use the word *Friend* to any body, tho' it's a term that can properly be applied but to a few. Further, if they were truly careful of their *Words*, they would be careful of them in greater Instances, they would watch over their *Words*, and take heed that they *Sin not with their Tongues*, as the *Psalmist* piously Resolved, *Psal.* 39. 1. But can they be thought to do this when they count it no fault to Rail and Revile, and to use all Reproachful and Unchristian Language? (as the manner of too many of them hath been) which shews the exactness of Speech, which they pretend to, is partial and counterfeit.

Furthermore, that they will not Cozen and Defraud any, is another Cheat: for there are known Examples, of some of their Grandees

Defrauding those who have put their trust in them, and that in a very scandalous manner. I question not, but verily believe that some of them are Men of Integrity, Honesty, and Just dealing as to the main, and the contrary in others must not redound to their discredit. But there is as it were an Universal agreement among the Party to Cheat the *Parochial Minister*, if they can, of those Tithes which are due to him by the established Law of the Land, and several have refused the payment of them.

Then again, they pretend to be Meek and Humble, and to give great Evidences of it by their Self-denial and Patience, and unwearied Reproving of Sin in others. But this likewise is a Pious Fraud, and no Persons on the Earth are further than they from true Humility, and none are greater affecters of vain Glory. In this they resemble the *Old Cynicks*, who delighted in Meanness and Obscurity, and cared not for Pomp and Gaiety, and were sordid and sour in their behaviour. They bore Scoffs and Reproaches patiently, they were great Censors of Manners, and severe Reprovers of all Vices, especially Pride: yet it is generally acknowledged that they were the Proudest Sect of all. So some of our Modern *Cynicks* seem to be Humble Souls, but those that scan them will find them addicted to a contrary Temper. These are the Instances of the *Hypocrisie* of these Men.

Fifthly, and *Lastly*, Their *Irreligion* and *Prophaneness* deserve to be considered as well as their other Vices already rehearsed. These Men tho' they pretend to greater Sanctity than the rest of the World, are defective in many great

great Acts and Indispensable Exercifes of Religion; as first in *Prayer*, that solemn Duty which all Pious Souls delight in. It is said that when King *James* the First sent for *Vorstius*, and admitted him into his presence, and asked him whether he us'd to *pray to Christ*, and received this Answer from him, *that he never did*, the Incensed King spurn'd at him with his Foot, and bid him be gone out of his presence forthwith. What Usage then might some of these Men expect, who have wilfully neglected *Praying*, either to God the Father, or Christ Jesus, and that many Years together? If to spend a great part of their lives without praying ought not to be deem'd Prophaneness, I am to seek what Prophaneness is. And thus whilst they pretend to be more strict and religious than others, they are egregiously defective in one of the greatest Exercifes and solemn duties of Religion. Yea, one that * is accounted a great Man among them tells us expressly that [performances in Ordinances, Family Duties, Hearing, Reading, Prayers, Fastings, are Will-worship.] If it be said that some of these People have of late prayed in their Meetings, yet it can't be denied that they never make any Confession of their Sins in these publick Prayers, and their Friend Mr. † *Pen* ridicules our Church and all Christian Worship for this, *viz.* their *Confession of Sins*.

As

* *Solomon Eccles's* Musick Lecture. p. 25.

† *Truth exalted*, p. 8. 9.

As for that *Occasional Praying* to God, and *praising* him every Day before and after our Meat and Drink, how Irreligiously do these People omit it themselves, and how Rude and Irreverent hath their behaviour been when those Acts of Prayer and Thanksgiving have been performed by others? If it be alledg'd that some of them lately not only pray in their Meetings, but use a Grace before Meat, I answer first, This is in a manner a Confession, that they have been Impious and Prophane all the while they omitted Praying, and that is the reason that they now begin to do otherwise. Secondly, this shews the Inconstancy of these Men: they differ from themselves, and they may yet differ more, so that we can have no certain Idea of them. This is a confirmation of what I suggested before, that no Man can tell what this People will be in time, and consequently that there is no believing them. They alter every Year, and who knows where they will end at last?

Next, if we speak of *Religious Conference*, which is a singular help to Devotion and Piety, and the Practice of all Godliness, who ever heard any of these strange Religionists Confer together about Holy things in a serious manner? Nay, if you will be so Curious as to listen to them, when they are going to, or coming from their Meetings, you shall always hear them talk of their Worldly Business and Affairs: which is not only an Indication of what I blam'd them for before, *viz.* their Worldly mindedness and Covetousness, but it is also a plain Testimony of their Prophane Spirit.

If I should here mention their Constant neglect of that Holy Ordinance of the *Lords Supper*, which is the Entertainment and Solace of all Devout and Pious Christians, it would be another Proof of the same Irreligious Temper. These Men are likewise against *Singing of Psalms*, and hold that it is no part of Worship.

And thus I have finished those Three Main Heads, which I propounded to speak of. I will finish all with these Two brief *Inferences* from them.

First, From the Premises we may understand aright the true nature of these Mens Principles and Practices, and be convinced how requisite it is that People should guard themselves against them. I grant that we ought not to condemn any Religion for the mere Personal Errors and Failings of some few of the Professors of it: but the things which I have mention'd are not the Faults of one or two Men, but of the Perswasion it self. The Opinions which I have instanced in, are not only universally found in the Party, and go along with the whole Race of them, but they are even of the Essence of *Quakerism* it self, which renders it the more dangerous and pernicious. You may gather from the several Particulars which I have insisted on, that this Sect is of a Mungrel-breed, and several have clubb'd to its Monstrous Generation. You cannot but take notice what a strange Medly and Rhapsody of Opinions are couch'd in One: You cannot but see that *Quakerism* is a reviving and calling up again the Old Errors and Delusions of some Fantastick and

Hare-

Hare-brain'd *Jews*, of Superstitious *Gentiles*, of perverted *Hereticks* and wild *Enthusiasts*.

First, they seem to have borrowed something from those Factious *Jews* who are called *Galileans*, Luke 13. 1. because their Ringleader, one *Judas* of *Galilee*, mentioned in *Acts* 5. 37. refused to give the Title of *Sir* or *Lord* to any Man; yea, (as * *Josephus* relateth) they maintained that it was so Proper to God only that it was not lawful to give it to the Emperor himself: and they were (he saith) so settled in this Perswasion that no Penalties whatsoever could force them to the Contrary: This is the very guise of the *Quakers*, they deem it Sinful to give this or any other Honorary Title to Men, and they will suffer rather than do it. That Antient Sect among the *Jews*, the *ESSENES*, shunn'd all Oaths; and herein are followed by these Men. The same Persons avoided all Pleasures and Recreations: and so these People pretend to deny themselves, in some Lawful and Innocent Delights and Diversions.

And sometimes *Pagans* are their Precedents, as in the Meanness of their Apparel which they at first affected, therein imitating the Old *Persian Philosophers*, who disallowed of the use of all Bodily Ornaments, as *Laertius* tells us: and in some other fond Singularities they were like *Diogenes* and the Old *Cynicks*.

But they seem chiefly to tread in the steps of the Antient *Hereticks*. As will appear in
I these

* Antiq. l. 18. c. 2.

these Instances, most of the Hereticks of the first Ages, as *Simon Magus*, the *Valentinians*, the followers of *Cerdon* and *Marcion*, &c. either denied Christ's Nativity, Sufferings, Resurrection and Ascension to be Real, or slighted them, as of little Value. Some of our Quakers Imitate them in their disanulling *Those Undertakings* of Christ, whilst they hold them Unnecessary in Religion. Again, many Old Hereticks slighted the *Historical* and *Literal* part of Scripture, as the *Origenists* and others: This all Quakers do. The Doctrine of *Perfection* was first set on foot by *Pelagius*, and the *Cathari* also defended it; and long after them the *Beguardi* and *Beguini* took it up. From these the Quakers have borrowed the Opinion of a Sinless state in this Life. All *Hereticks* disregarded the Holy Scriptures, and so do These. Both the *Pelagians* and *Cathari* held it unlawful to Swear at all: hence these Men also refuse to Swear on any Occasion. *Cerdon* and *Marcion* (two very Ancient Hereticks) Condemned all Wars as Unlawful, as also did the *Montanists* (from whom *Tertullian*, who turned to their way, derived that Opinion, and saith 'tis not lawful for a Christian to Fight. *Lib. de Idololatriâ* :) The *Manichees* afterwards held the same. The *Anabaptists* of *Germany* took this up, and so do the *Quakers*, who declare at this day against Going to War as a thing Unchristian and against the Rules of the Gospel. The *Montanists* were against all *Authority* and *Dignity*, and disliked all the *Habits* of *Magistrates* which were worn as Badges of Distinction, and marks of Honour. And our Quakers hold that not only those but all Signs of Distinction among Men, and
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Tokens of Respect and Honour are Unlawful. Several Old *Hereticks* held that the Magistrate hath no Power in Ecclesiastical matters: so do these Modern ones.

It is well known that the Old *Hereticks* admitted *Women* to the Offices of the Church: *Montanus's Prisca* and *Maximilla* Prophesied in Publick. The *Quintilians* Consecrated *Women* to the Orders of the Church, and they, being made *Bishops*, *Priests* and *Deacons*, Preach'd, Pray'd, and Administer'd the Sacraments. So when the *Quakers* set out first, *Women* were a Considerable part of them, and they were suffered to Speak and Rule in their Meetings, and some of them were in Greater Vogue than any of the other Sex. There were a sort of *Hereticks* under *Valentinian* the Emperor (about 340 Years after Christ) who had the Name of *Syllabici*, because they were Exact and Precise in Words and Syllables. To these I may Resemble our Goodly Precisians, who have *Thou* and *Thee* in their Mouths, and refuse to submit to the Receiv'd Modes of Speaking. You may read of another sort of *Hereticks* who were called *Nudipedales*, because they went Barefoot in Imitation of *Moses* who pulled off his Shoes, and of *Isaiab* who walked Barefoot: and in the last Century these Sprung up again in *Aravia*. Now, he that knew the *Quakers* Forty Years ago can bear Witness that they did the same: nay, they went not only Barefoot, but with the Greatest part of their Bodies bare, only with Dust and Ashes spread upon them: nay some ventured into the Streets stark-naked. I might here Instance in what I mentioned before, namely, their *Silent Meetings*,

wherein they ape at once not only some *Jews* and *Pagans*, but *deluded Christians* and *Hereticks*, as I particularly shewed. In short, they Imitate many of these in abusing the Doctrine of the *Holy Trinity*, in Despising the *Sacraments*, in Vilifying a *Regular Ministry*, and in a decrying *Study*, and *Learning*, and *Universities*.

But more especially it is Obvious to Remark that tho' these Men express a great Abhorrence of the *Church of Rome*, yet they Symbolize with it in sundry things. It is certain that at this day there are *Quakers* of the *Roman Communion*: and *Molinos* the *Spanish Priest*, and the *Quietists* who were his Followers, not only at *Naples*, but *Rome*, were a sort of *Quakers*, as any Man may be convinced who hath read their *Principles*. We may gather from the foregoing Reflections on this Sect, that there is a great Agreement between them and those of the *Church of Rome*, tho' they pretend an Opposition to them. The *Papists* Blasphemously Disparage the Bible, calling it a *Nose of Wax*, a *Leaden Rule*, &c. But the *Quakers* do not only use these very Terms, but far surpass them in their Language concerning that sacred Volume. The *Papists* contend that Men are Justified by their own Good works; and herein they are outdone by the *Quakers*, for these in plain and Peremptory Terms teach this Doctrine and that Universal-ly, whereas the others have done it for the most part in a Scholastick way, and they have many Dissenters from it. The *Church of Rome* holds that a Man may keep all Gods Laws without the Least Failing, but then they think this is the Attainment of some few only, viz. some *Cloyster'd Monks*, or retired *Hermites*.

mites, or some other Extraordinary Great Saints. But the *Quakers* hold that Perfection is a thing Common among them, and that the greatest number of their party have attained to it. So likewise their high Enthusiastick Strains and Extraordinary pretences to the Spirit are of the *Roman* Extraction. And I might add further that *Papists* and *Quakers* agree in this, that they both pretend to Infallibility. Some of the *Papists*, especially some of their *Orders of Monks*, are famous for the Austerity of their Lives, they mortify the Flesh by Excessive Fasting: but yet no wise Man looks upon the Generality of them to be the better Christians for that. And there is the same Reason that we should not think the *Quakers* to be Better Men or Christians because of the Sobriety and Temperance of some of their Party, or because one of their Tribe Attempted to Fast Forty Days, and hastned his Death by it, as is well known in a Great Town of this Nation. I could hint that some of them by the Singularity of their Habits acquaint us that they have had some Converse with some of the *Roman* Church, yea the Greatest Bigots of it: they have learnt of the *Capuchins* and other severe Orders there to be Sordid and Slovens, to hate Clean Linen, and have no regard of their Dress.

Secondly, I will close up all with this other Inference; Let not the seeming Holiness and Strictness of some of these Persons tempt any to entertain a liking of their Doctrines. Which cannot but be thought to be very Reasonable Advice, seeing the sum of a *Quakers* Strictness

amounts only to this; He is one that follows his Trade, and will not grow poor by Idleness or Intemperance; He is not Lavish in his Clothes, and will not put himself to Charges for Riband and Lace. He keeps on his Hat when others take theirs off, and will not Wear out a Good Beaver with too much Handling it. He is so far from Swearing Prophanely that he Swears not at all, running into one Extreme to avoid the other. He saith *Thou* to every one instead of *You*, because he loves to be Familiar, and to make the Highest his Equals. He holds Fighting Unlawful, that is, the Party is not strong enough yet to use the Carnal Weapon with Success. He saith he is Perfect, and that you may not Confute him, he pleads Revelations and Visions, as if no Man would dare to gainsay him when he is got so high. If to be more Clownish than their Neighbour, if to be Worldly and Covetous, if to be Censorious and Uncharitable, if to be Self-conceited and Proud, if to Dissemble and play the Hypocrites, if to Omit the Grand things of Christianity whilst they pretend to a Greater Exactness of Christianity than others; in brief, if to be palpably Irreligious and Prophane be to be *Good Christians*, then these Men are such. Otherwise they are the Worst Men that lay claim to that Name. They are Cheats and Impostors, and they make their Pretence and Shew of Holiness to be an Engine to promote their Damnable Errors in the World. Whilst they talk of *Light* they have most of the Contrary Quality, as *Lucifer* is no other than the *Prince of Darkness*.

If any Man, seriously reflecting on these things, can see any Extraordinary Holiness in such People, it is very strange and prodigious. But because it hath been found to be Experimentally true that some by observing the smoothness and fairness of these Mens Manners, and by taking notice how they refrain from some Gross and Scandalous Vices, have been Enclin'd to Imbibe their Principles, and (which is the same thing) to take down greedily the Poison and Venom of their Erroneous Assertions, therefore others should take warning from this, and learn hence to invoke the Divine Assistance, that they may not be Deluded and inveigled by a Shew and Semblance of Vertue, and thence be enticed to believe and embrace these Mens absurd Opinions.

And with our Prayers, let us consider this that tho' there are some Strictures of *Moral Vertue* and *Goodness* to be Espied in these Men, tho' there are such Commendable things in their Lives as Industry, Temperance, Frugality, &c. Yet it is not to be denied that these were to be seen in the Greatest *Pagan Idolaters*. Yea, these things, even according to their own Testimony, are not signs of True Godliness, if they be not Accompanied with Higher Endowments and Graces. There is no reason then that the seeming Vertues of some of these Men should so Entertain our Eyes as to Divert us from taking Notice of the Positive Vices of most of them, and of the dangerous Errors they maintain.

In the Conclusion of all, let us Pray for the People of this deluded Sect, that God would vouchsafe to shew them the Error of their ways, and to give them that Unfeigned Repentance whêreby they may disown and abandon all their Vile and Mischievous Doctrines. Or, if the Almighty shall think fit yet further to suffer them, let us pray that they may be kept from spreading their Venom, that they may not Corrupt the Souls of Men by their Infectious Leaven, that they may not be able to disturb and molest the Church of Christ. And to our Prayers we must add Endeavours, and labour to prevent the Mischief which is threatned by these Mens Opinions and Practices. Especially those of the Sacred Function, the Preachers of the Gospel, are concerned to strive to stem this Dangerous Tide, and to hinder the Farther Increase or Swelling of it by their Pious Admonitions and Exhortations, and by Inculcating on the minds of their Hearers those sound Principles which are opposite to the Errors of these Seducers. And *where-ever* they espie Unsafe and Pernicious Doctrines creeping into the Church, they must be careful either to obstruct their Entrance; or, if they have already made it, to expel and eject them: Which brings me to my next Head.

III. Let us with some Concernedness cast an Eye on the *Strange Doctrines* and *Wild and Pernicious Notions* which the Writings of some of our Brethren are furnished with, and let us think our selves obliged to Remonstrate against them. These Writings are in the Hands of many Persons at this Day, and are in repute
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with some for their Authors sake: but because I am fully convinced that there are several Dangerous Positions contained in them, I hold myself engaged as a Minister of the Gospel to warn those of my Brethren against them who have not yet been corrupted by them. I have had occasion in my several *Treatises* and *Discourses* to make mention of *some* of them, but now I will present the Reader with them and *some others at one View*, that those especially whose Publick Office it is to Instruct the People, and to give them true Notions of Divine things, may be reminded of avoiding these or any other Errors of the like nature.

They are such as these, That there are Manifest Faults in the Text of the Bible: That there are Real Repugnances in several parts of it: That the History of the Fall of *Adam*, as'tis related in the beginning of the book of *Genesis* is Fabulous and Fictitious: That what is said there of the *Creation* of the World is not to be understood in a Literal Sense: That we must measure and judge of the Works of the Creation by the Common and ordinary Laws of Nature, and even by the Principles of Geometry and Mechanicks: That the Works of the Creation were not finished in six Days, but in six Years: That it is harsh and cruel that so small a fault as Eating the Forbidden Fruit, thro' the levity of a silly Woman, should be charged on all Mankind: That we are no more Concerned in *Adam's* Sin than in the Sins of *Beelzebub* and *Lucifer*: That it was by God's help, and not the Devils, that the *Egyptian* Sorcerers wrought their Miracles, which were as True and Real Miracles as *Moses* wrought:

wrought: That there are no Types in the Old Testament, and that the Scripture is not capable of Typical Interpretations: That the Laws and Commandments which God gave to the *Jews*, according to the Literal Sense of them, obliged them to an External Obedience only: That in all the Scripture of the Old Testament we read not that the People of God did ever joyn together in the Publick Worship of God, till after the Return from the Captivity: that in all the Old Testament there is no Discovery of a Future State:

That there are Mistakes in compiling the *Gospel* according to St. *Matthew*: That there are there Erroneous placings of Stories, and that the Copy is not the same that it was at first: That there is not in all the New Testament so much as one Exhortation to any Christian to believe in Christ: That it is Unscriptural to say that Faith consists in relying on Christ for Salvation: That those that hold the Doctrine of Justification by Faith are trespassers against all Logick and Common Sense: That to say that Christ's Righteousness is made ours, is Non-sense and a Sottish Doctrine: That to cast our selves on Christ, to rest on him, to lay hold on him, and rely on his Merits and Righteousness is mere Juggling and Magick: That a Man's Conversion is to be ascribed to the Self-determining power of his Will: That tho' God's Grace be Almighty, yet Man is not a proper Object for this Omnipotence to exert itself upon: That the Grace of God is under the Command of our Wills, and is limited and overway'd by them: That there is not one place in the Bible that speaks of Eternal Election.

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That there is no Promise of Perseverance made to any Godly Man: That those who by Adoption are made the Real Sons of God, may become the Children of the Devil: That Good Nature and Good Humour are the chiefest marks of a Gospel Temper: That Moral Goodness or Natural Religion is that whereby we do what God himself would do if he were in our place: (This is a Masterly stroke indeed:) That trouble of Conscience and Sense of Divine Desertion are to be resolved into Melancholy and ill Temper of Body: That the Evidences and Proofs of Natural Religion are more certain than those of Revealed, and the Particulars of which it consists are of more Importance: That God requires us to glorify him for no other purpose, but that thereby we may Glorify our selves: That the Distinction of Venial and Mortal Sins is to be preach'd up: That Lust and Concupiscence is no Sin: That many of those that Sin against the Holy Ghost do afterwards Repent, and are saved: That true Repentance after a Vicious life rarely happens but in Men of great Parts, not in ordinary Sinful Wretches, because these are not so capable of Divine Grace as the others: (What think you? Is not *Predestination* as good Doctrine as this? but I go on.)

That Preaching is not God's Word, nor the Means of Salvation: That there is not one Instance in the New Testament (no nor in the Old) of the Joint use of any one Prayer conceived Extempore: That we have not one Instance in Scripture of the Apostles Celebrating the Lord's-Supper: That the Observation of the Lord's-day is not an Institution of Christ or his Apostles, but is only a Law of the Church

Church and State: That Christ's Ascension into Heaven is to be Understood only concerning his Ascending to the uppermost part of the Airy Region, and no further: That the Heaven of the Blessed is but somewhat more than Forty Miles Distant from the Earth: That there is a middle State or place of departed Souls, where they are from the time of Death till the last Judgment: That the Saints departed remain there under an Effect of Sin and a Mark of the Divine Displeasure against it: That the light of the Gospel may be discovered to some *Pagans* after this Life, and that there is a State of Trial for them in another world: That if hereafter we have not an Infinite Good to Enjoy, it will be at least the worst Ingredient of Hell and Damnation, if not all that is to be Understood by it.

These are some of the Theological Notions which our Preachers have enriched the World with, and without doubt they are very Acceptable to the Miscreants of this Age. *Spinoza* could not have out-done some of them. And now I pray may not these wild Conceits be taken notice of? Is it a Sin to do so? And am I Justly Condemned by some because I have done it? Have I wronged my Brethren in laying their Faults before them, and before those who must otherwise be Hurt by them? Yea rather I may be thought to have been their Friend, and to have tender'd the welfare both of them and their People.

But I proceed to some other Instances of our Modern Divinity. We are told that *Idle words*, that is, Vain and Unprofitable words are not to be accounted for at the Day of Judgment:

Judgment: That the Christian Religion hath hardly any thing in it that is Positive except the two Sacraments: That a Mans denying his Natural Reason in some Sublime Points of Christianity is not a part of the Christian Duty of Self-denial: That the only design of Revealed Religion is to Revive and Improve the Natural Notions which we have of God: That Mothers nursing of their own Children, being a Duty of Natural Religion, is of more necessary and indispensable Obligation than any Positive Precept of Revealed Religion: That Morality is all in all in the Christian Religion: That Satan never casts Wicked Thoughts into Mens Hearts, nor can he do it: That the Preaching of the Gospel depends upon the Magistrates Leave, and none are obliged to discharge that Office if he forbids them: (If Mr. *Hobbes* had Preached, he would have delivered just such Doctrine as this :) That when the Apostle bids us *Examine our selves* before we come to the Lord's-Table, no more is meant than this, that we take care not to come Drunk to it, nor be guilty of any Irreverence in the celebrating that Sacrament: That Faith is nothing else but a belief of the History and Doctrine of the Gospel: That the assurance which we have of the Miracles which Christ and his Apostles wrought is not an Infallible Assurance:

Again, That the Devils, to uphold false Doctrines, can Work as True and Real Miracles as any that Christ and his Apostles wrought: That it is only a Scripture Phrase to ascribe good motions to God's Spirit, and evil ones to Satan, not that there is any such thing

thing in reality: That Christ's Incarnation and his Suffering Death on the Cross, and his Ascending into Heaven and sitting at the right Hand of the Father, and his Interceding in Heaven for us, and the other Great Transactions and Mysteries in the Christian Religion were all of them in Compliance with the Vile Notions and Practices of the *Pagan* and Idolatrous Nations. (This was a Master-piece of Christian Divinity.) And how Unfavoury, and bordering on Prophaneness are such passages as these? Eternity, Immensity and Self-existence are Perfections that must be granted to us some where, and therefore they may as well, nay much better, be ascribed to God, than to any thing else. If there were no God, this would be a Thousand times greater loss to Mankind, and of more dismal consequence, and, if it were True, ought to affect us with more grief and horror than the Extinguishing of the Sun. If a wise and Considerate Man were left to himself and his own choice, the sum of all his Wishes would be this, that there were just such a Being as God is. (This is precious Language in a Sermon.) And what shall we think of such Propositions as these? It is no where reveal'd in Scripture that there is a God. We have not Infallible Assurance of his Existence. There is no Express Revelation in the Bible that assures us of a Future State and the Soul's Immortality. The threatenng of Eternal Torments to Sinners is no Argument that those Torments shall be actually inflicted on them: and tho' the pains of Hell be said to be Eternal, yet they may have a Period.

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These and fundry other passages of the like stamp are to be found in the Writings, Sermons and Discourses of some of our Chief Divines and Preachers: some of which are so Irreverent, Irreligious and Prophane, that they are fitter for a Prophane Stage than the Pulpit. Who can allow of such Monstrous Divinity as this, who (I say) that hath any Concern for the Cause of Religion, any love and regard to the True Faith, any Esteem for the Church of *England*, and any Compassion for the Souls of Men? Is it not strange and prodigious that these Doctrines should be Preach'd in an Age of Scripture Knowledge and Gospel Light, and by those who solemnly Engaged at their Ordination that *they would be ready with all Faithful Diligence to Banish and drive away all Erroneous and Strange Doctrines, contrary to God's Word?* I could not therefore reconcile it with my Conscience and my Duty to behold with Indifference such a spreading Contagion as now Reigns in our Pulpits. My ardent desire and zeal for advancing the Truth will not suffer me to suppress my Resentments. And I hope the same of you my Brethren who remain Uninfected with these Notions, and who retain a true Sense of Religion. I earnestly call upon you to assert the Truth, and to take its part when you see it thus oppressed. This you will find your selves of necessity obliged to do, if you Consider how Disservicable the contrary Practice will be to our Holy Religion, and how it will Confirm the Prophane and Irreligious in their neglect and contempt of Sacred Truths, yea, how it will Encourage the Scoffers and *Atheists* of this present Age. And,
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by the way, let us not (as we have been wont to do) make our selves merry with the Extravagant Sayings (as we think them to be) of some Dissenting Preachers in their Pulpits, till we are sure that they have none of ours more seriously to censure.

IV. We are not to think the worse of the *Calvinian* Doctrines for their being rejected by the Generality of our Brethren of the Clergy: nor are we to think the better of the *Arminian* Doctrines because we see they are so generally received by our present Divines. I know indeed that it hath startled, and even shock'd the minds of some Persons to observe that there is such an *Unanimous Consent* among our Church-men about this matter. And thence they are apt to infer that the former Doctrines are very Faulty, and that the latter are not so, but ought to be embraced by all Men. For thus they argue, the *Clergy* are Men of more Knowledge and Understanding than others, and therefore they are the *best Judges* of these Matters, yea, they are the only and Proper Judges, and therefore since we find the *Calvinists* Doctrines Condemned by these Judges, and the *Arminian* Points approved and allowed of by them, 'tis reasonable we should acquiesce in this Judgment and Determination, and in Consequence of that abhor the former Opinions, but heartily Entertain the latter.

This seems to be very Plausible, but when we come to Examine it, there is no Solidity and Weight in it; yea, it is very Precarious
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and trifling, as I will Demonstrate in these following Heads,

1. It is not universally true that those of the *Function* know more than other Men: yea, some of them know less than those of the Layety. I pay the greatest Reverence Imaginable to our Learned Clergy, and I believe the number of them is as great as in any Country whatsoever, but 'tis no detraction from their *Learning* to own that *some* of our Coat are not overfurnished with that Commodity, for it is their Infelicity (not their Fault) to be Men of Mean Parts and Low Attainments. And this is the Condition not only of some Poor *Subalterns*, whose Necessities are a Bar to their Studies, but of some that have Encouragement sufficient to mind their Calling. But can we think that such are the *Best Judges* in Points of Divinity? That Knowledge which will serve *others*, is not enough for *Divines*. To know that there are Four Winds at Sea as well as at Land, from four several quarters, is sufficient for common Passengers and Travelers; but Mariners and Expert Seamen tell us of many more Points from whence the Winds come, and they find it necessary to learn so much. Semblably, those whose Office it is to direct and steer others must be more Particular and Exact in their Knowledge than others, and their Accomplishments ought to exceed those of the Vulgar. I am Charitably Perswaded that the *meaning* of those Persons I now speak of may be good, and their *Intention* Laudable, and they may serve to be doing among those that are content to be as weak

and shallow as themselves. But it will be miraculous if any skill in Divinity, and particularly in these Points before spoken of, can proceed from Inability and Weakness.

2. Some of the Clergy, both Knowing and Ignorant, both Learn'd and Unlearn'd, are not the *Best Judges* of these foresaid Doctrines, because they (as well as others) are wont to shift from one Opinion to another, and either change their formerly profess'd Sentiments, or act contrary to them: as is plainly seen in the Points of *Passive Obedience* and *Non-Resistance*. It is notoriously known that there was a time when *some Preachers* made the Pulpits and Prefs roar with these Doctrines, and yet it is as well known that they lately dropt them when they had the greatest occasion, according to their avowed Principles, to defend them, and actually to make use of them. These are such as our Saviour speaks of, who *bind heavy burdens and grievous to be born, and lay them on Mens Shoulders, but they themselves will not touch them with one of their Fingers*. So that there is no heed to be given to that Sect of Churchmen: they Preach and Unpreach, they Write and Unwrite as they please. The Battle at the *Boyne* is a good and able *Casuis*t with them, and *Dr. Overall's Convocation-Book*, clears Mens doubts far beyond *Azorius* and *Saa*. These Men, *Proteus* like, are changeable and fickle, and stand ready to close with any Proposition that will be for their advantage. Wherefore their Judgment (if we may call it so) is not to be relied upon. They have by too plain an Experiment taught us to distrust them. And I may at some other time instance in other

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Particulars wherein the change of their Opinions is seen, and shew that what is cried up by them for Orthodox at one time, is declaimed against as false Doctrine at another.

3. There are Ecclesiasticks in all Ages, that make their Parts and Knowledge either useless or pernicious, and these can't be of the number of those that are the *Best Judges*. These Men, tho' they are not uncapable in themselves of understanding and judging aright, yet they willfully take the course to deprave their Minds. For they seldom consult the Sacred Scripture, the Book from which all True Doctrine is to be derived, unless it be for a Text to Preach on. So that it is no wonder that those who are not well acquainted with these Writings, especially the New Testament, suffer themselves to be carried away with those Doctrines which are so repugnant to the whole tenour and strain of the Gospel.

But say that they consult the Sacred Oracles, and peruse and study this Inspired Volume, yet of what advantage will this be to them whilst they make God's Word speak what they please, as is the usual practice of some? They garble the Bible, and pick and choose what Doctrines they like, or rather it may be said that they make all Texts comport with their own Liking and Pleasure. Such conduct as this proceeds oftentimes from humour and caprice, from levity and giddiness, and from an ungovernable itch of Novelty. They are weary of the Ancient Scheme of Theology, and therefore are prone to entertain a new one. *Their minds are cor-*

rupted from the simplicity that is in Christ, and they change Divine Truths for Humane Inventions. Sometimes their perverting of God's Word owes its rise to a Tame and Servile Compliance with the general Fashion, or to a delign of raising themselves into Favour; this wretchedly warps their Understandings, and forms all their Arguments. Sometimes Spight and Rancour, and a Spirit of *Contradiction* influence them wholly, so that if *Calvinism* were now in Vogue, they would certainly appear against it for *that* very reason. There is an unaccountable Pleasure which some take in opposing of others, tho' they don't believe the Arguments which they propound, to have any Weight, tho' they are not perswaded of the validity of what they offer: only they think it may be serviceable to amuse their Adversary, and to keep up the Dispute, and to prevail with some weaker sort of Men to become Profelites to them. They find it turns to some account to obtrude that on others which they are not convinc'd of themselves. But a little *Honesty* and *Ingenuity* would hinder such practice. If they would sincerely make the advancing of Truth their End and Design, we should have nothing of this.

4. It is probable there are others who act *sincerely* and *honestly*, and urge these Opinions on their Auditors because they believe them *themselves*: But these Men are to be blamed because their Error commences generally on too much *Credulity*, and a forwardness to receive what *some Authors* have dictated, without a due examining the Grounds of what they assert. These Persons have taken no pains to search in-
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to the matters that have been propounded to them. What they have read, they have read with Prejudice and Prepossession, and they take up Doctrines on Trust, and believe with other Mens Faith. For there is a strange Inclination in Men for the *Prevailing Opinions*, there is a silly Imitation of others in their Sentiments. These are those poor Souls that run with the Herd, that think and speak with other Mens Thoughts and Words, and never give themselves time to think and speak what is their own. It would be surprizing to see such Multitudes of Men among us impos'd upon by such gross Errors as those of the *Remonstrants*, if we did not resolve it into this very thing, which is the common spring and source of delusion in this present Age. Men Swear to the Words and Principles of their Masters, and never take care to examine the Truth of them. They tamely imbibe Error, because they are not willing to take time to *search thoroughly* into what is before them, which is absolutely necessary in order to the finding of Truth. For this is certain that some Erroneous Opinions have a great appearance of Truth. There are many Texts of Scripture that *seemingly* favour the *Socinians*, against Christ's Divinity: and there are as many that seem to justify the *Arminian* Doctrines; and Humane Reason is alledged for both. Now, here is need of great *Pains and Industry* to establish our selves in the Truth with reference to these persuasions: but this can never be when we give up the conduct of our Thoughts and Consciences to other Men, and take up our persuasions upon their Words. This is the common guise of Men at this Day, they love

to have Opinions thrust upon them, and make no use of their own Judgment: as Fowls that are Cramm'd care not to Feed. These are they that look but upon one side of the Question, and content themselves with a Partial and Imperfect view of whatever comes before them. Yet 'tis observ'd of some of these Men, that they are very Magisterial and Grave, and dictate with a certain Grimace, and this is most of their Learning. Hereby they are fatally betray'd to Error, and having first deceived themselves, they delight to deceive others. Doth any Wise Men think that these are the *best Judges of Truth*?

5. Let me be permitted to say that *some of us* are not so fit to judge as some other Persons, because our *Profession* oftentimes leads us to the embracing of Doctrines not out of *Choice*, but *Custom*, which is apt to corrupt our Judgments, if we be not very careful. As *Physicians* by their daily familiarity with Diseases and Death are not much affected with either: or as *Sextons* and *Gravemakers*, who frequently converse with Mortality, have not so quick a Sense of it as others, for it is their Trade, and that takes off from their Sense and Apprehension: So it is here, many of our Clergy-Men had been more Orthodox, if they had less conversed with Points of Religion, which is their common Employment. Or, as the People that live near the *Cataracts of Nile*, who are deafned with that excessive Noise; so it is with these Persons, too great a Din of Religious Disputes, and Clattering of Arguments dull their Sense and their discerning power. They are so plentifully regal'd

gal'd with these Entertainments, that they are over-cloy'd and gorg'd, and thereby their True Taste and Relish is spoil'd. You may more successfully propound your Arguments to some discreet Layman, whose Judgment is more quick and sincere on the account of his being not *skinn'd with Theological questions*, than to such a one. He is more capable of discerning the Truth, because his thoughts are free and unprejudiced, whereas the others are prepossessed. My meaning is that it thus *sometimes* happens where the Grace of God hath not taken good hold on Mens Hearts: otherwise without doubt this *Sacred Profession and Calling* in it self is a Great and Singular Help to the understanding of the grand Points of Religion, above what other Persons are capable of. By virtue of his Office and Employment a Clergy-Man hath great advantages above others in order to attaining to right Notions concerning God and all Divine matters.

6. Let us consider how it was in the time when our Saviour lived on the Earth. The Corruptions in Religion proceeded from the *Jewish Priests and Doctors*. Tho' they were Men of great Knowledge and Learning, yet they understood not the true meaning and scope of the Law, or they willfully perverted it, as may be gathered from our Lord's frequent checking them for this very thing, and from his vindicating the Law from their fond Glosses and gross Expositions.

7. Let us observe how it hath always been and is at this Day with the *Church of Rome*. Many Learned and Pious Persons of the Laity,

have right apprehensions concerning the Articles of Religion, and would publickly profess their Sentiments, but the *Ecclesiasticks* put a Bar to it. Those that ought to be Patterns and Examples of Reformation in Doctrine and Manners, stiffly oppose it. I would not be mistaken: far be it from me to compare my Brethren with *Jews* and *Papists*; my only intention is that none should be surpriz'd when any of our Order introduce false Doctrines into the Church, for this hath happen'd in all Ages. Now, I pray tell me, Are we to have favourable thoughts of the Corruptions of the *Jewish* or the *Roman Church* because the *Clergy* had the greatest hand in them? Is *Popery* the better because it is defended by their *Priests*? So we may truly say in our present case, Are the *Remonstrant Doctrines* the better because some *Churchmen* have espoused them? No certainly: but we ought the rather to reject them, because all Church-men are not (as I said before) Competent *Judges* of the *Truth*, which requires a continual Application to the Study of it, and a sincere Love of it, to which some of these Persons are too much strangers. For this reason, and for those before mentioned, the Judgment of some Divines in this or any other Church, concerning the matters above referred to, is not to be relied upon.

V. Let not *Devotion* and *Practice* exclude *Principles*. The ground of this Advice to my Brethren is what I have observed of late, that the *Principles of Christianity* run very low among some of us, and are strangely neglected and overlook'd by us. Some cry out with a Tragical tone against *Immorality* and *Prophaneness*, but take
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little care to instil those *Principles* into Men which may Effectually guard them against those Evils. One lavishly tells us that *God will sooner forgive a Man a hundred defects of his understanding than one fault of his Will*, and that *the greatest Heresy in the World is a wicked life*, and such quaint sayings as these may be met with in other parts of this Author's Writings, who frequently rubs those that are taken up with deep Points and Mysteries of Religion, and blames Men for being concerned about Opinions in Religion. And other Preachers I could name who seem not to care what Errors their Hearers take in and nourish, so they do but live Moral lives. One in his late *Sermon at the Meeting of the Gentlemen concerned in promoting the Charity-Schools* advises that Young People should be *Instructed in the Principles of Religion*, but it is Observable that he thinks not fit to mention any Particular one that is peculiar to *Christianity*, not a word of acquainting the Youth with their State by Nature, with the way of Salvation by Christ, with his making himself a Sacrifice for Sin, with the Necessity of the Special Grace of God in order to Conversion, &c. not one Doctrine of purely Revealed Religion: but he seems rather to rank some of the Principles properly so called among the *Niceties of Speculations or Controversy*, which will not do them much service, he saith. Is it not very strange and surprizing that this Learned and Worthy Divine of our Church, treating purposely of the Education of Christian Youth, should industriously avoid the very mentioning of the Grand Principles of Christianity, as if thereby he meant to insinuate that there is no difference between *Natural* and *Revealed Religion*, or if there
be,

be, that the Principles of this latter are of little Worth.

I will speak my mind freely, I verily think that this notion of *Morality* which now so prevails (and the Preaching of it above all other things) was taken up on purpose to introduce *Indifferency* in the *Articles of Faith*, and to render the belief of the Main Principles of Christianity as unnecessary: wherefore let us beware of our mere *Pulpit-Moralists*.

And seeing I have gone thus far, Permit me to proceed further. We cannot but observe that there is a Great and General Run of *Books of Devotion* at this day, and a Multitude of *Authors* that treat of *Moral Subjects*, and give Rules for a *Vertuous Life*. Never were there higher pretences to *Ethics*, and ample Commendations of it in the Sermons of our Divines: never more *Practical Discourses* Preached and Printed: and they are mightily prized and esteemed, and bought up every where. Whence we might expect a Wonderful *Reformation* in Mens Lives, and that their Manners should be much better than formerly. But we see no such thing, yea, the Age was never more corrupted and debauched than 'tis now. What is the Reason of this? Why do Impiety and ill Manners every where increase, even whilest *Books of Devotion* and *Rules of Manners* are daily Multiplied, and even oppress us with their numbers?

It is my apprehension that this Account is to be given of it, namely, that it is *Satan's* great Masterpiece of Policy in this Age to put Men upon extolling and applauding the External Practice of Vertue, but at the same time to push
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them on to Undermine the *Fundamental Principles of the Christian Religion*, and to nourish such *Doctrines* as run counter to those *Principles*. I do not blame this Age for their *Devotional Books*, unless it be for such as they borrow from the *Roman Worshipers* (of which I spake before) nor do I in the least disparage the *Charitable Disposition* of those Persons in this Nation whose minds at this time are set upon *Benefactions to the Poor*, and Erecting of *Work-houses*. Only I enter this Seasonable Caveat, Take heed that you be not deceived, think not that your acts of *Devotion* and *Charity* will make amends for that flagrant *neglect of Principles*, which now prevails among us. This I tell you is a Delusion of the Evil Spirit at this time: he is designing to extirpate the True Faith and Doctrine by an undue extolling of Devotion and Works: he Emploies Men wholly about these latter, that he may the more effectually ruine the former, and at length destroy both. For he knows that the Practice of Godliness will vanish without Faith. A Good Life is founded on Good and Right Principles, and consequently if these fail, the other cannot be Durable.

Here then we see is a Grand Plot: the crying up of Outward Acts of Vertue without regard to Christian Principles is a Sublime Invention and Stratagem to destroy Religion itself, seeing this cannot be maintained and upheld without those Principles. We all at this day cry up Devotional and Practical Writings, but in the mean time we decry some of the Doctrines which are the chief support of Christian Devotion and Evangelical Obedience. I wish this
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were well observed. Those among us that talk most of *Charity* and *Piety* are the least concerned for *Soundness* of *Doctrine*: those that are most for *Living well* have the least regard for what they *Believe*. Which plainly shews that there is an ill design at the bottom, and that this present Fit of the Ostentation of *Devotion* and *Good Works* is on purpose to divert Men from being careful about the *Doctrines* they Entertain. And it must needs be so because a Firm Belief and embracing the sound Doctrines of the Christian Religion is the Foundation which must be laid for a Christian Life. A settled Perswasion concerning the Truth of the Gospel is the Ground-work of Christian Practice. Where the former is wanting, all the other is made void. It is like a Defect in the first Concoction, which remains uncorrected in the others. I do not doubt but there have been published already by our Divines above five hundred *Expositions* and *Paraphrases* on our *Church Catechism*: and if there were as many more (as we are in a fair way at this time to Complete that Number) it would signify little unless those Important Truths (unto which the *Catechism* itself doth give plain Attestation) were received into their System of Divinity. As long as there is a designed Omission of these, we shall make but little progress in our Belief or Practice.

I grant it is a very excellent design to furnish the unlearned with Books of Divine Knowledge: it shews compassion to the Souls of the Younger sort to instruct them in Religion. I hope there is no corrupt and sinister End in it, as we know the *Jesuites* have in their teaching

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Young People *Gratis*, thereby the more effectually to instil their Corrupt Doctrines into the minds of Youth. I am unwilling so much as to suspect that it is *intended* by some that by this Free Giving and Dispersing of Books in the City and Country, there shall be propagated that Set of Notions which may in time wholly exclude and expel the Old Principles which had got footing in some Families. Why should I believe that it was *designed* by any that the teaching of Children the *Common Catechism* should Countermine that of the *Assembly*? If these suggestions seem to have too bold an air, I hope I shall meet with Pardon for hinting at them from those who are acquainted with my Intention, which is only this, To put Men upon looking into their *Principles*, as well as their *Practice*, and not to confound one with the other, and so to destroy the true idea's of things: for Principles are such Doctrines as are the *basis* of Practice, and consequently are really distinct from it.

VI. Let us not in our Sermons and Writings carry the notion of *Schism* too high, lest we incur the imputation of *Schism* our selves. This I tender as Good Advice, especially in this Juncture. To render it the more useful and effectual, we are to acquaint our selves with the Nature of *Schism*, as 'tis represented to us in the New Testament. I find in the *Apostles* Writings that these two things are meant by *Schism*, 1. A neglect of the *Orders and Injunctions* of a lawful Church, and doing things that are not commanded and required by that Church. 2. A downright *Separating*
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from such a Church, by abandoning its Communion. This is the true notion of *Schism*, as appears from 1 *Cor.* 1. 10, 11. 11. 18. Now therefore, with respect to the *First* sort of *Schism*, we should be very Cautious how we charge the Dissenters with it, lest we be found Guilty of it our selves. There are many *Injunctions of our Church* which none of the most Conformable Clergy-men have regard to. Yea, I can prove that there is a third part of the *Canons and Constitutions* of our Church which are observed and Practised by very few Churchmen; and yet they would be loth to be called *Schismaticks* for their not observing them.

I will instance in some of them, The Form of Prayer, commonly called the *Bidding Prayer* is to be used by all Preachers before their Sermons, *Can.* 55. All Priests and Deacons are to say daily the Morning and Evening Prayers, either privately or openly, as is enjoyned in the Admonition prefixed to the Book of Common-Prayer, concerning the *Service* of the Church. Ministers are to Catechize upon every Sunday and Holy Day before Evening Prayer, *Can.* 59. Four times in the year at the least the Kings Supremacy is to be Preach'd by all Preachers, *Can.* 1. When any are passing out of this life, a Bell shall be tolled, and the Minister shall then do his last Duty, *Can.* 67. No Minister shall admit to the Holy Communion any of his Flock that are openly known to live in Sin notorious without repentance, *Can.* 26. No Minister shall admit any to the Holy Communion that are depravers of any thing contained in any

of the Nine and Thirty Articles, *Can.* 27. No Minister shall Preach in any other Ministers Church without shewing his Licence to Preach: and he shall set down his Name in a Book, and the day when he preached, *Can.* 50. 52. No Minister, otherwise than for his honest necessity, shall at any time resort to any Taverns or Alchouses, and he shall not by day or by Night spend his time in playing at Cards, or Dice, or Tables, or any other Unlawful Game, *Can.* 75. No strangers are to be admitted to the Communion, *Can.* 28. None shall be admitted God-Father or God-Mother to any Child before the said Person hath received the Holy Communion, *Can.* 29. There are many hundreds of Clergy-men, and some of them the strictest Sons of the Church, that have no regard to some or all of these express Injunctions of our Church.

Who sees not how these other *Canons* are neglected? Namely that the Minister shall celebrate Matrimony between parties in the Parish-Church where one of the Persons to be Married dwells, and in no other place: and the Licence is to be granted on this Condition, *Can.* 102. Where a Minister hath Plurality of Benefices, he shall make his Personal Residence in each of his said Benefices for some Reasonable time in every Year, *Can.* 41. And other Ecclesiastical *Canons* lie fast asleep, such as these, Gowns with standing Collars, and Square Caps are to be worn by all Ministers always, *Can.* 74. In their Journeys they must all wear Cloaks with Sleeves, without gards or welts, long Buttons or cuts. It is not so much as *Understood* what these are: and yet
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this is to be the *usual Apparel* of Ministers that have Ecclesiastical Livings. I might mention other things in the *Canons*, which were thought worthy of the Establishment of a *Convocation*, and were nine Years after confirmed by Act of *Parliament*, and yet now they are like an *Almanack* out of date, they are neglected and laid aside by some of the most severe Criers up of *Canons*, and the rigidest Accusers of others for not observing the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church. If this were rightly Considered, it would be a check to some Mens so forward complaining of *Schism*, for if we desert the Laws and Injunctions of the Church in some things, we cannot reasonably find fault with those that do so in others. Let us therefore be sure to keep close to our *Canons* before we fulminate the Censure of *Schism* against the Dissenting Brethren.

And then as to our very *Liturgy*, 'tis observ'd by very Good Church-men themselves that we fail in many things, and Act without any regard to the Rubrick, which is the Rule that is to direct us. The *Sentences of Scripture* at the beginning of the Common-Prayer are order'd to be read by the Minister *with a loud Voice*: which he doth not observe but reads them with the same Voice that he reads the other parts of the Service with. Thus he neglects the very first thing which the Church requires of him. Next, he Prays and beseeches the People to say after him the *Confession with a humble Voice*, that is, a low Voice, and yet they generally pronounce it with a loud one, always as loud as they pronounce their other Prayers. Thus the Minister is disobey'd in the first
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thing he desires of them: nor doth he take notice of their fault, tho' it be common. Nor can he well do it; because the same *Rubrick* obliges *him* as well as the *People* to say the Confession with a *Humble Voice*, but he minds it not. With reference to this * a late Writer saith, *Some of the Clergy are guilty of a great Fault*, (for we must know some have a Licence to find fault with their Brethren, tho' 'tis denied some others) he blames them because they attend not to what they are *Enjoined*, but Act contrary to the Orders of the Church. But I ask him, would it be fair to call this *Schism*?

One of our own Communion declares that † *the Common Practice of reading together the Litany and Communion Service, besides the other Morning-Prayers, is an Innovation*; for they are Three distinct Offices, and should be read a-faunder. And the Writer before quoted tells us plainly that || *the Morning Prayer, the Litany, and Communion Service are now used at one and the same time, in one continued order, contrary to the first Intention of our Church*. Thus he and other Churchmen confess that they deviate from the Prescriptions of our Church, that they mistake her Meaning, and even Innovate in her Publick Worship. The same Writer takes liberty to Correct our Liturgy, and to complain of the Length of it, * *it might very conveniently be shorter*, he saith: For there are

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* Mr. Bennet in his Par. and Annot. on the Common Prayer.

† The Clergyman's Vade mecum.

|| Mr. Bennet's Paraph. and An. on the C. P.

* Hist. of the use of Forms.

*some things in it which may well be spared. In another place * he thinks it capable of Considerable Improvements: it is easie to furnish the Liturgy with such Occasional Prayers as may reach more Particular cases than those in our own. He seems to be very desirous to bring some of his own Petty Prayers (lately publish'd) into the Liturgy, and with those weak Crutches to supply the lame Prayers of the Church as it seems he unjustly holds them to be. The sum of his Complaints is that these Prayers are too Long and too Short. If any Dissenter had suggested so much, it would have been voted to be a depraving of the Common-Prayer.*

But is it not strange that one should designedly Undertake to defend the Common-Prayer, and to shew the Excellency of it (as in his late Book,) and yet be so free and bold in censuring it? But in this without doubt he is Right, namely, that he more than once blames his Brethren for not sticking to the Rubrick, but palpably acting contrary to it, in several Particulars which he names. The plain Truth is we Act not only contrary to our Rule, but to *Our selves*: thus some of us use the *Common-Prayer* in the Pulpit before our Sermons, and others Compose a Prayer of their own: yet he tells us (in his Treatise of *the Joint use of Prayer*) that the generality of the Clergy by using a Prayer of their own at that time Transgress *the Canons of our Church, and the Act of Uniformity in the First of Queen Elizabeth*:

* Of the Joint use of Prayer.

Elizabeth: and tho' he Condemns those Clergy-men that use a Prayer of their own, yet he will not give them leave to use the *Common-Prayer*. Nor indeed would a Man be very forward to do it if the *R. R.* and Learned Author of * the *History of the Reformation* hath given us a true Account of the Rise of it (as I doubt not but he hath) namely, from the Form of *bidding the Beads* in the time of *Pope-ry*, for the Preacher after he had named his Text, bid the People go to their Prayers, and told them what they were to Pray for, after which the People said over their Beads.

There are other things in which we vary from one another: some Bow towards the East, others decline it. Some read the Second Service in the Chancel, others in the Reading Pew. We have Prayers of different kinds: some are plainly said, others are artificially Sung. But 'tis to be observ'd that the *Chanting of the Prayers* which hath been heretofore used in the Queen's Chapel, is now laid aside, as 'tis also in one of the Chiefest Colleges in *Cambridge*. There are Organs in some Churches, in others not. Some of our Brethren keep *Lent*, and others not, and of those who may be said to keep it, some do it in one Fashion and others in another. Some of our Clergy Fast on *Ember Days*, and *Rogation Days*, on all *Frydays* and the *Vigils* of Holy-days, but others mind it not. Some read the service appointed for *ordinary Festivals* and *Saints Days*, but o-

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thers wholly neglect it. Some make *Good Fry-day* a Sacrament day, others not. There is *Cathedral* Worship and there is *Parochial* Worship: and there is a great difference between them, in so much as an ordinary body would take them to be Two Sorts of Worship, and would be apt to Imagine that there is a Cathedral and a Parish Deity. And in other Particulars it might be shewn that the Church of *England* men differ from one another, and some of them can scarcely *walk in the House of God as friends*. One more Particularly whom I have mentioned, swaggers against all his brethren that Pray in their Pulpits before Sermon. Thus they dissent both from the Church and from themselves in some *Modes* and *Circumstances* of the Publick Worship: and the *Non-Conformists* differ from us only as to *these*: on which Account *We* may be said to be *Schismatics* as well as *they*.

Wherefore it is my Opinion that it is not Prudence in any Man of our Church to fix the Crime of *Schism* on our Brethren that dissent from us in the point of External Rites and Ceremonies, lest they should be tempted to Recriminate, and to fix the same Character on some of our professed Church-men. If every one be a *Schismatick* that Conforms not to all things prescribed by the Church of *England*, then most certainly great numbers of our Clergy lie under the just Imputation of Schism. The Rules that all the Sons of our Church, especially if in Sacred Orders, are to be directed by, are the *Liturgy*, the *Rubrick*, the *39 Articles*, the *Homilies*, and the *Canons*. Whoever swerves from any of these Five Rules, swerves from
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the Church of *England*, and is justly said to *separate* from her: and so far as he follows not all these Prescriptions, he is a *Schismatick*. Whether he comes short of them, or goes beyond them, he must have this Title, because in either of them he departs from the Church: but in great part he varies from them All; which surely must be reckoned as some degree of *Schism*, according to the Apprehension which some have taken up of Schism. We ought therefore to be Cautious how we use, and where we fix this Reproachful Title of *Separatists* or *Schismaticks*. Thus I have consider'd *Schism* as it denotes a *Neglect of the Rules*, a *transgressing of the Orders and Injunctions of the Church*, and we cannot but see that according to this first notion, Caution is to be used about the Imputation of this Crime. I speak this for the good wellfare of our own *Church* that we our selves may not Unadvisedly be Instrumental in Unchurching it.

But Secondly, if we speak of Schism in the *other acceptation* of it, as it denotes a *downright separating from the Communion of a Church*, even then we shall find reason to moderate our Censure: for we must distinguish between *Willful or Obstinate Separation* and that which is merely out of *Conscience* and a *Fear of Offending God*. The sober and moderate Dissenters profess most solemnly that it is this latter which is the true spring of their not Communicating with our Church: and I do not see how we can prove that this Profession of theirs is not True and Hearty, unless we can prove at the same time that we know the Hearts of Men,

which none of us I think pretend to. But it will be said, *Conscience* can not stand out in things merely *Indifferent*, such as the use of the Ceremonies and Rites of the Church, and therefore we must not give heed or credit to them when they plead *Conscience*. To which they reply that tho' *We* Account those Ceremonies and Observances to be *Indifferent* things, yet *they* do not, but believe them to be either Unlawful, or at least Disputable and Doubtful, and therefore not fit to be made use of in the Worship of God, where all things ought to be Clear and Plain, and free from disputes. If we tell them (as we generally do) that their differing from us in disputable and doubtful things will not justify their Separation, they reply that then it will never justify the Church's Imposing them: and so they are left Free, and what then becomes of the *Separation* and *Schism* which we charge them with?

And truly some among us are concerned to be very sparing and tender in this Point, because 'tis well known that there are some of our Clergy and others that actually separate at this day from the Communion of the Church of *England*, I mean the *Non-Jurors*, who always pretended to be the most Zealous Friends of our Church, and were the most Flagrant Enemies of *Schism*, but now they are become *Schismaticks* themselves according to their own notion of it. To separate from the Worship of our Church was heretofore held a Damnable Sin by them, but now the Case is abated, 'tis no Sin, yea, to join with the Worship of our Church

Church is a great Sin. The Father and Ring-leader of these Men, Archbishop *Sancroft*, when he was ejected out of his Place, went and lived in *Suffolk*, and never went to his Parish-Church, but had the Service performed in the House where he Inhabited, a Practice which he had heretofore utterly Condemned. Mr. *Dodwell* who had very warmly writ against *Separation*, and declared it to be utterly unlawful, unless in the case of *Heresy* or *Idolatry*, and the rest of those of his Perswasion (some of whose Names are well known) who bel- lowed it forth with very affrighting accents that all the *Dissenters* and *Non-conformists* were in a *Damnable State* because of their *Separation* from the Church of *England*, are at this time professed *Separatists* from it, and refuse to hold Communion with it: yea, they set up private Meetings of their own in Opposition to and defiance of the Church of *England*. Are such as these then to be attended to, or rather are they not to be Laught at when they charge the *Non-conformists* with *Schism* and *Separation*? Is it not owned and confessed by them that Separation from the Communion of the Church is *not Schism*? Otherwise they must acknowledge themselves to be *Schismatics*.

I could adjoin here what I have been in- formed of, that Dr. *Bates* and Mr. *Baxter* were often admitted to the Sacrament of the Lord's-Supper by Dr. *Sharp* (now Lord Arch- bishop of *York*) at St. *Giles's*, and by the Right Reverend Bishop of *London* in other places: and the same Admission to the Holy Table was granted to Mr. *Gouge* the Non-conformist: Which, if it be true, plainly shews that these

Persons, who at other times withdrew themselves from the Communion of the Church of *England*, and set up Assemblies of their own, were not reputed as *Schismatics*, for according to all the *Fathers*, and according to our own *Canons* a *Schismatick* is to be barred from the Sacrament. He then that fastens the name of *Schismatics* on the present *Non-conformists*, reproaches the Practice of the most Eminent Fathers of our own Church.

Here likewise I will observe concerning one of our Ecclesiasticks whom I before mentioned, that his own notions of *Schism* (which are as high as any mans) are confuted by himself and his own Practice: which would encline one to think that our Divines are not very Hearty in the Cause which they seem to be so Zealous for. It is well known that he hath in his Writings condemned the *Publick Preaching* and *Praying* of those Men who separate from our Church: but how is this Reconcilable with his being *Voluntarily* present at both? He hath told the World in his late Writings that *it is utterly Unlawful to join with those who are not lawfully ordained* (as he holds the *Dissenting Ministers* to be) and how then could he join with them at their Meetings, where he owns he was Present?

He hath told us in Express Terms that the Extempore Prayers of the Dissenters are *Defective as to Matter and Manner, and hinder Devotion*, that in them *Scripture is misapplied*, and *Phrases of Scripture are abused*, that they abound with *Uncouth, Indecent, and Ridiculous Expressions*, yea, with such as are *Impious and Blasphemous*. Why then did he go, and hear these Prayers,
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and hear them very often? Is not this a sharp Reprehension of himself for the Character he had given them? He lets us know that 'tis his Judgment that this way of Worship is *displeasing to God, contrary to the Practice of Christ, his Apostles, and the Primitive Christians*, and yet he did not abstain from it. Yea, he tells us that *the Dissenters are to abhor the Prayers offered in their Separate Assemblies*: and must they abhor them, and not he who bids them abhor them? In short, he declares that 'tis *absolutely Sinful and Damnable to hold Communion with these People*, and Consequently it cannot but be a Damnable Sin in himself.

I sincerely profess that I cannot see how he can avoid this Terrible Doom which he hath brought upon his Head. He holding the thing to be *in itself Unlawful and even Damning*, it is all one whether he did it out of Principle, or Curiosity, or any other Motive. And he having drawn his Pen against *Occasional Conformity*, I do not see how he can defend *Occasional Dissenting or Non-conformity*, and especially in that Spot where he hath appeared against both. Is it not Entertaining to hear one cry out against *Schismatics*, and yet to see him repair often to their Assemblies? As if a Man should Remonstrate very warmly against Drunkards and Debauchees, and yet be frequently at their Clubs.

Now then, this Doctrine of *Schism* which Mr. Bennet hath so much insisted upon, and endeavoured to scare the World with, is quite baffled by his late Behaviour. Never let him talk any more against *Schismatics* after he hath freely and of his own accord frequented the
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Conventicles of *Schismatics*, for such he hath publickly asserted the Meetings of the *Nonconformists* to be. If he saith he did not *join with them*, tho' he was often present in those Meetings, and therefore can't be said to be a *Schismatick*; the same may be alledged by any others that come to the assemblies of the *Non-conformists*, and are actual *Non-conformists*, and so *his* inferring from their being often present at Meetings that they are *Schismatics*, comes to nothing, and all his *Treatise of Schism* is insignificant: for if being often present at the Meetings of *Non-conformists* be not a proof of their Non-conformity, and of their *joining* with *Non-conformists*, and consequently of their being *Schismatics*, then he hath in vain charg'd them with that Crime. This shews what palpable Inconsistencies Mr. *Bennet* is hurried into.

To represent the Case more sensibly to him, let him turn the Tables, and suppose a Nonconformist (as his friend Mr. *Sb.* or the like) should have said or Writ as much against the Common-Prayer, and frequenting our Assemblies as *he* hath said and writ against the Meetings of the Nonconformists and the way of Worship in use among them, that is, that he should have publickly told the World that the *Service of the Church of England* contains in it *things indecent and ridiculous, yea, impious and blasphemous, and that it is a Worship displeasing to God and contrary to the practice of Christ and his Apostles*, and that it is *absolutely sinful and damnable to join in this Worship*, and yet, notwithstanding all this, he should repair to our Churches, and often join in the Prayers there used according to the prescribed Rules of the Church of *England*, I appeal to

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Mr. *Bennet* himself whether he would not look upon this Person as *Self-condemned*, and one that acts contrary to his solemn Profession, and destroys his own acknowledged Principles by his Practice, and makes a mere Property of his Conscience. Wherefore Mr. *Bennet* will oblige the World by giving them at his leisure an account of his strange Conduct, and by helping them to reconcile those forementioned Particulars which seem to Clash, and speak plain Contrarieties. This may be fairly expected from him for the sake of our Common Conformity, and to satisfy those of our Dissenting Brethren, who are very much enclined to think that going to a Meeting, and joining with the Worship there is not the Sin of *Schism*: wherein they persuade themselves they are confirmed by so good an Example as his.

But this by the way only, which I hope a Person of his Candour and Ingenuity will bear with in a Friend, who ventures to use that Freedom which he is not a Stranger to himself. And I cannot think he will take it ill that I give him an occasion to explain himself upon the foregoing heads and practice, and to resolve those Queries and Problems which none can do but himself. Till that time I hope we may think somewhat favourably of that which he calls *Schism*, and approve of the *Indulgence* which is given to our Dissenting Brethren.

And truly it is my persuasion that it will be Dangerous to insist on an Universal and Exact Uniformity, and to attempt the rooting out of the Dissenters. Wherefore from that sincere concern I have for the Welfare and Prosperity of the *Church of England*, I advise that we all
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live together in love as Brethren, and as Professors of the same Protestant and Reformed Religion, and as agreeing in most of the Articles of the same Christian Faith. I am very much mistaken if this be not the *Right and Only way* to cultivate Peace and Unity in this Nation, and to defeat the Designs of our Common Enemy the Church of *Rome*. But I hasten to the last Member of my humble Advice to my Brethren of the Clergy of the Church of *England* which is this,

VII. There are some more *Particular Disorders* in the Manners of this Corrupt Age which we ought to be very sensible of, and to endeavour a Reformation of them. For tho' I have in the *former part* of the *Preacher* been very earnest with my Brethren to let their Publick Discourses be levell'd against all kinds of Immorality, and I have particularly instanced in some, and even in this present Discourse have reminded them of urging the strict observation of the Lord's Day, and of sharply reprov'g the Violation of it, yet 'tis not improper to add this *Last Advice*, because I shall take occasion here to animadvert upon some *other Particular Practices* which are not the *Common and Usual* Subjects of our Reproofs from the Pulpit, but yet are justly to be blamed and censured by us when we have fit Seasons and Opportunities of addressing our selves to those Persons whom we observe to be blameable in this kind.

Recreations are that uncommon Subject which I mean at present, and I apprehend that there is very great need in our Days of insisting upon it,
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that we may apply proper Remedies to this great and growing Malady, and prevent the pernicious Consequences which are threatned by it. It becomes us who are *Christian Ministers* to take notice of *every thing* in Mens Lives that is a transgression of the Christian Rules, and because I am fully perswaded that some *Recreations* and *Diversions* in use among us at this time are of that nature, and come under that consideration, therefore I will faithfully and impartially give my thoughts on this subject, which I take to be as *Seasonable* and *Necessary* as any I could remind my Brethren of. Because there are many *Recreations* which are in themselves Lawful, Innocent, and Commendable, and several others that are either in their own nature Unlawful, or may become occasions of Sin, and consequently prove Unlawful, when not used aright; Therefore I will briefly premise something concerning the *Lawfulness* of *Recreations* in general; and secondly (which is the main thing I design) I will distinguish between those that are Lawful and the others that are not so. And at the same time I will shew how those that are in themselves Lawful, may be Lawfully used.

First, It is not to be doubted that there are certain *Harmless* and *Innocent Refreshments*; which are either of the Body, or the Mind, or both, for what is not for the exercising of either is no *Recreation*. And these are dictated by *Reason*, legitimated by *Necessity*, and authorized by *Religion*,

In the first place, the Natural Reason of Mankind pronounces some Relaxation to be in it self Lawful and allowable, and no ways unworthy of a sober Person. It was rightly said, * *It is brutish to follow all Pleasures, and altogether: but, on the contrary, to shun all, and altogether, is Stupidity and Senselessnes.* Some Diversion is agreeable to the Temper and Genius of Humane Creatures, who were designed to be Sociable and Cheerful, and not to indulge themselves in Morosity and Sullenness, or always to be upon Design and Enterprize, and ever dictating dispatches. Therefore the Gravest and most Serious Heads have sought out for some Intermissions, they have chosen some time to be Free and Unconcern'd. And this they thought rational and accountable because there is a good and advantageous use of such *Vacuiums*. For the *Husband-man's* Maxim may be applied here, and that very deservedly: Land when it lies Fallow, gets heart, and gathers strength. Busie and Active Minds are apt to be worn out and broken by too much Exercise, but seasonable Refreshments and Ease repair them, and set them up again, and add a new heart and vigour to them. A Wise Man throws not away his hours when he submits to a cheerful Relaxation, but he rather gains Time by the prudent intermitting of his Labours. He that by Abstinence and Forbearance whets his Appetite to serious Business, prepares himself for fresh Encounters: and his discreet and timely Retreat is in order to a brisker

* ἡδονῆς ἢ πένις μὴ περιέχεσθαι καὶ πάντως, ἀλόγιόν ἐστι, πᾶσαν ἢ φεύγειν καὶ πάντως, ἀφαισθητόν. Plutarch.

brisker Onset. His Parentheses, his Intervals are not useleſs, but ſervicable to good Ends, and conſequently *Reasonable* and *Justifiable*.

Yea, *Secondly*, Recreations become *Necessary* to us in this ſtate. We ſhall not be able to move unleſs we reſt: as ſome Philoſophers hold that all *motion* ſuppoſes a *Vacuum*, and can't be without it. The Bird of *Paradiſe* (as they call it in the *Molucco Iſles*) which continually flies, and hath no Feet to reſt upon, is a mere Fiction that ſome Travellers have palm'd upon us. There is no ſuch thing as Perpetual Motion in Animals. 'Tis requiſite that there be a *Mixture* of that and Reſt: as in the making up of Gold and Silver there muſt be an *Alloy*, elſe they will not Work. Labour and Toil can't conſtantly be indured: neither our Bodies nor our Minds can be always exerciſed. The Spirits would waſte and decay, and be utterly exhausted, unleſs there were ſome time allow'd to Recruit them. Nature would be overburden'd if there were not ſome ſeaſon allow'd to relax the Thoughts, to eaſe the Tone and Attention of the Spirits, and to provide for the weakneſs of the Body. The brief is, ſome Refreshment is abſolutely requiſite, for the Outward Man calls for Reſt and Eaſe, as the Mind for Divertiſement: and of both theſe *Recreation* is made, and therefore it may not only be lawfully uſed, but there is even a *Necceſſity* of it.

Thirdly, *Religion* allows of it, for this debarrs us not of any harmleſs Delights, but permits us freely to enjoy them. It doth not exact of us to be always actually ingaged in ſome Exerciſe

of Piety or Devotion; it requires not that the Parlour should ever be a Chappel, and that every Discourse should be a Sermon. No: it suffers us at certain times to refresh our selves with bodily Diversions and Entertainments. Pleasure was consistent with Primitive Innocence and Integrity in the Garden of *Eden*. And ever since, the Comforts and Delights of Life have been indulged by God to Mankind. Ease, as well as Labour, hath been enjoin'd by this Bountiful Lawgiver and Governour. Nor is *Christianity* it self (which is the strictest Institution) an Enemy to Lawful Pleasures. It is true it is no Patron of Loosness and Vanity, it declares against all Licentiousness, but it no where forbids those Delights and Refreshments which are natural and harmless, and altogether void of Luxury and Wantonness. It allows of all Pleasures of the Body that are not destructive to higher and nobler ones, and which corrupt not our Minds, and take them off from relishing those Joys which are refined and spiritual. We read in the Evangelical History that the great Example of Purity, our Lord and Master, shewed himself a Friend to Innocent Entertainments and Intercourses of Gladness, as appears by his honouring the Wedding-Feast with his Presence, and with the first Miracle he wrought. And 'tis observable, he *turned their Water into Wine*, the proper Emblem of harmless Mirth and Joy. St. *John* the Evangelist was wont to recreate himself with sporting with a tame *Partridge*. And he and other Primitive Worthies disdain'd not to go to the Common *Baths*. Finally, such Comfortable Diversions as are natural and necessary become *Religious* in a manner, because

because they are in some sort our *Duty*, they being in order to our Health and Chearfulness, that we may be the better fitted to serve God in our Spiritual Offices and Exercises. Thus I have concisely argued from *Nature*, *Necessity*, and *Religion*: and it is manifest that on all these accounts there are *Lawful Recreations*, and such as a Christian Man may lawfully make use of.

I proceed then to the *Second* thing I undertook, *viz.* to settle the True Difference between *Lawful* and *Unlawful Recreations*; and to shew what Recreations we may use, and what not. To which purpose I will offer these following Rules, 1. Those Recreations and Pleasures are Unlawful which are injurious to *our selves*; either our Estates, our Bodies, or our Souls. 2. Those that more immediately offend *God*. 3. Those that are hurtful to our *Brethren*. 4. Even such as argue a cruel disposition towards *Brute Creatures*.

First, We may justly pronounce those Recreations to be Unlawful which are injurious to *our selves*. *He that loveth pleasure, or sport* (as our Margin reads it) *shall be a poor Man, and he that loveth Wine and Oyl shall not be rich*; Prov. 21. 17. Mens addicting themselves to Pleasure and Pastime, their immoderate delighting of the *Palate*, and the excessive affecting of what is for *Ornament* (for these are meant by *loving of Wine and Oyl*) are attended with too lavish Expences, and therefore often prove hurtful to them. 'Tis remarked of the *Italians*, who are very frugal as to Meat and Drink, that they are extravagantly Expensive in things that are

for Shew and Diversion, as Gardens, Musick, Statues, Pictures, Fine and Stately Structures, and hereby they too often Exhaust their Revenues, and sacrifice their Estates to their Pleasure. And the same may be said of that common, but pernicious Pass-time of *Cards* and *Dice*, and indeed of all *Pecuniary* and *Costly Sports*; they being generally attended with the Profuse Loss of what their kind Progenitors or frugal Parents bequeathed them, or what their own Industry in a Lawful Calling procured them, and what ought to have been laid out (when occasion offers) on good and laudable accounts. Such *Gaming* and *Recreation* (if those Sports that commonly prove so *destructive* may have this latter denomination) can never be reconcil'd with Innocence and Honesty, unless these also can be reconcil'd with Injuring and Defrauding our selves. The short is, those Persons cannot be guiltless in their Pleasures and Festivities who are so far from keeping within the limits of their Estates, that they apparently waste them, and impoverish themselves.

Again, Recreations that impair the *Bodily Health* are to be reputed Unlawful. For if they do this, they evacuate the design of Lawful Pleasures, which were allow'd in order to the preserving of Health. It was one end of them to be Refreshing Exercises to the Body, to keep it in a good temper and sound plight, or to restore it to such. Therefore whatever Recreations are attended with Drunkenness and Intemperance, and sitting up late, and disordering the Body, and exposing the Persons to dangers and sicknesses, cannot be thought justifiable.

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There are great numbers of Men every where that by their Immoderation and Excess make Recreation a Toil, and so pervert the nature and end of it: they labour at the Wine, and moil and drudge at their Games and Sports, and thereby contract Distempers and Maladies: or else by too profuse a Mirth and Jollity they dissipate and dissolve their Spirits, and hereby indispose and weaken their Bodies, and prepare them for Diseases.

Further, Those Pass-times and Divertisements are undoubtedly unlawful which are hurtful to our *Souls*, the Better and Nobler part of us, and that which far excels the other Moiety, our Bodies. Now, it is certain that they hurt this Choice Part and its Faculties, when they excite Men to Wrath and Revenge, when they administer to Impatience and Rage, which are Commotions so harmful to humane Minds. If therefore a Man finds any Recreation or Disport to be an occasion of Anger and Choler, and the Consequents of these, he must by no means use it, for whatever Entertainments or Pass-times foster Passion, are mortal Enemies to our Souls. Or, if they nourish Covetousness and Love of Money, we may pronounce the same of them; and consequently we know how to make our judgment concerning the Lawfulness or Unlawfulness of any particular way of Diversion. If we perceive that a greedy desire of Gain is increased by it, we must forthwith refrain from it, for no Game, no Play, no Diversion is Lawful that is attended with Avarice.

Next, if they breed in us a Trifling and Childish Spirit, and support Vanity and Levity,

they are questionless very hurtful to Mens Minds. 'Tis observable that the Cardinals and Prelates at *Rome*, who would be thought Men of great Gravity, do at the *Carnavals* shew themselves Sportive and Frolick, and countenance loose Revels and Jollities. The *Spaniards*, that are the Gravest and most Demure People, when they feast and divert themselves, are of all Men most Apish and Ridiculous; which shews it is but a feigned Gravity they take upon them, and that they really are delighted with Fooleries, which discovers great Meanness and Lowness of Mind. It is this that fills the *Grand Signior's* Court with so many *Mutes, Tumblers, Dwarfs,* and *Buffoons*. He and his *Grandees* entertain themselves with such Companions and Play-fellows as these in the *Scraglio*; whence it is that these Vain, Sordid Sports, wholly unbecoming the Persons of such Men, render them Effeminate, and make their Minds weak and unmanly. And therefore we may conclude upon it that those Entertainments and Divertisements which are Trifling, and are apt to beget the like quality in our Souls, are very dangerous and noxious to them.

Moreover, so are all those Recreations or Pleasures which any ways administer to Lust and Wantonness, to Lewd Thoughts and Lascivious Desires or Practices; such are mix'd Dances and Balls,* and all Plays where Obscene Dalliances and Amours, are represented and acted on the Stage, of which I shall particularly speak afterwards.

Again, whatever Disports or Recreations steal away our Hearts, are to be deemed as destructive to them. It is an ill sign when Men
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place their Affections on their Diversions, when they Long after them, and are Restless without them; which shews that they are * *Lovers of Pleasures rather* (for so I think it should be translated) *than lovers of God*, yea that they love them solely, and make them their chief Content. When it is come to this, they are bewitched and besotted by them, and they know not how to pass their Minutes without them. Then they are impatient till they have fresh Disports and Delights: they call for more and more new-invented Pleasures, and they are clearly for adding an other *Book* to those *Six of the Genial Days*. Thus when Mens Recreations ingage their *Affections* too much, and seize their *Hearts*, it is not to be doubted that they will prove their Bane.

Lastly, They are injurious to Estate, Body and Soul, when they take us from our Calling, and breed in us Sloth and Idleness. I had said before that Recreation is to prepare us for Labour, and it is commendable because † it makes us fit for that. Wherefore whatever Diversions call us from that honest Employment which Providence hath set us in; or makes us unfit for or weary of Business, is not worthy of a Rational Man. The end of Recreation is lost by this means, and Sloth and Inertness are introduced. For

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* φιλόδοτοι μᾶλλον ἢ φιλόθεοι.

† — Ut tempestivâ laboris intermissione ad laborandum fiant vegetiores. *Valer. Max. de Otio laudato*, l. 8. c. 8.

as it is generally an Idle and Sauntring Spirit that puts Persons upon Sports, (for you shall hear them complain that their Time lies on their Hands, and they have nothing to do, whence they Hunt after Diverſion) ſo thoſe Sports nourish their Idleneſs, and increaſe it, yea even compleat it. And thus whereas *Recreations*, properly ſo ſtilled, and lawfully uſed, are thoſe Exerciſes whereby our Bodies and Minds are reſreſhed, we ſee that theſe Diverſions of theirs hurt both Body and Soul in this World, and Endanger the Eternal Salvation and Happineſs of them in another.

Secondly, Thoſe Recreations and Sports which more immediately offend *Heaven* are to be Condemned as Absolutely Sinful and Unlawful. For this is a certain Truth, that as our Recreations were deſigned to fit us for our Secular Work and Buſineſs, ſo their moderate and lawful uſe ſhould fit us for *Religion*, and enable us to ſerve our *Maker* with the greater Chearfulneſs and Expediteness. And thence it follows that thoſe ſhould not hinder theſe, and therefore that all Pleaſurable Entertainments which are attended with Immoderation and Exceſs are Unlawful becauſe they tend to the neglecting of God and Religion: for by Inordinate Freedom and Merriment Mens minds are diverted wholly from what is Serious. Diſſolute Revels, looſe and wanton mirth bereave them of the Senſe and reliſh of Vertue, and alienate them from the Divine Life, ſo that they are *without God in the World*. We are ſure then that where there is *Exceſs* in any Delights and Recreations, the Great Sovereign

Sovereign of the World is dishonoured in a high degree. This may much more be said concerning those Sports and Exercises which are accompanied with Swearing and Cursing, Blasphemy and Imprecations, or which in any direct way tend to Irreligion and Prophaneness; and therefore we are certain that these are not to be allowed of.

Nay, those Diversions and Delights which barely hinder Men from Exercises of Religion and Devotion, by consuming too much of their Time, are on the same Account Unlawful. For the most Serious Concerns, and especially the things of Heaven do justly claim the greatest part of our Time, and therefore no Worldly Diversions ought to encroach upon these. *Recreation* is supposed to be but for a short time, for it is a thing by the by, in order to something else. I do not mean that your Intermissions and Refreshments should be like the *Secular Plays* among the *Romans*, but once in an Age; but this is requisite that they be *Seldom*, lest they take up too much of your Time. It was decreed by *Solon*, one of the *Athenian* Lawgivers, that there should be a Penalty inflicted as well on those that often came, as those that never came to Publick Feasts: which without doubt was founded on this, that we must not be Profuse and Prodigal of our *Time*, a thing which we cannot possibly retrieve when once lost.

And as Recreations must not take up too much Time, so not the Best of it, that is, the Entrance of every day, which should be more particularly devoted to serious Studies

and Pious Thoughts, and that Special Season in every Week which God hath Consecrated to himself. These are certain Portions of Time which are interdicted; and those Pleasures and Relaxations which are lawful at another time are not so now, especially on the Lord's-day, because they hinder the Service of God (which is the design of that day) as much as Labouring in our Callings. The Christian Sabbath is not a time to be spent in Carnal Mirth and Sensual Entertainments, no not in those Diversions which at other Seasons are Needful and Useful. Of those that do otherwise I will not say, as *Job* of his Sons, *It may be they have sinned*, but positively I averr that they have. There is no room for doubting in the case, they have sinned, and that most heinously, for they have prophaned that day which God sanctified, and set apart for Holy uses.

How Deplorable is it then to observe in this Nation that this Holy Day is spent in needless Gratifications of Mens Pleasures, yea, that the greatest part of most Mens Hours at other times is thrown away in the same manner? They *sit down to Eat and Drink, and they rise up to play*, and consume whole Days and Nights in frolick disports. Nay, there are those who consume their Whole Lives in Pastimes and Gaeties. But let us remember this, that if we lavishly dispose of our minutes in prosecuting things of this Nature, we are Injurious to *Heaven*, we Rob *God* of that time which is due to him, and therefore we shall pay dear for this Sacrilege.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, Those Recreations are Unlawful which are Injurious to our *Bretbren* and *Neighbours*, and any we Converse with; and that either as to their Bodies, Estates, and Souls. *First*, to their *Bodies*, and therefore those Sports cannot be allowed of that are attended with Slaughter and Blood-shed. Thus the *Romans* of old brought Persons upon the Publick Stage to kill one another. This was the fate of the Poor Captives, and it was either for their Masters or the Peoples Diversion. So that it became one of the Publick Entertainments to behold Men Wound and Slay one another. But certainly it is a sign of the Worst Temper to delight in tormenting and hurting others; it is Salvage and Inhumane to make other Mens Pain and Torture our Pass-time; and therefore it could not but be a Publick Crime and Enormity to take delight in those Bloody Spectacles of the Gladiators. For this reason some sort of Games are at this day Unwarrantable, because they are for the most part attended with *Quarrels*, which proceed to maiming and hurting the Bodies of others, and oftentimes to Blood-shed and Murder.

Again, if any Diversions be a damage to the *Estates of others*, and impair their Goods and Fortunes (as they are commonly called) we are to pronounce them Vitious and Criminal. On which Account *Playing and Gaming* are to be voted such by all Impartial Judges, for they are usually Accompanied with Defrauding and Cheating. And truly all Games that are for *Money*, i. e. for any Considerable Sum, are
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very Dangerous, because at one time or other they prove Injurious to the Goods and Possessions of their Neighbours, they conduce to the Impoverishing not only of Single Persons but whole Families.

And then, any man of sober thoughts will readily grant that there are Sports which are Prejudicial to the *Souls of Men*, and that these are no ways to be approved of: Such are all those that promote any of the Vices before mentioned, as Injustice, Prophaneness, Idleness, Wrath, Avarice, Levity, &c. And there is another way of hurting *Souls*, viz. by giving Offence, and *making our Brother to offend*, 1 Cor. 8. 12, 13. Wherefore we must be careful that we do not Scandalize our Brethren, that we do not Addict our selves to any Practice which may Administer to their Sin, that we do not by our Examples Incourage them to, or harden them in their Vainer Merriments and Disports, to the hazarding of their Immortal welfare. In a word, we must Remember that what Recreations are *any ways* hurtful to our *Brethren* are *Vicious*.

Nay, I will add in the fourth place that those are such which are Injurious to the *Brute Beasts*. This is founded upon that Aphorism of the Wise Man, *a righteous Man regardeth the life of his Beast*, Prov. 12. 10. *A merciful Man* (for that is the Import of the Term *Righteous* here, as in several other places of Holy Writ) shews a benignity of spirit towards the very Irrational Creatures that do him service, or are any ways useful to him. For there is a Justice we owe to the Creatures, we must not do them wrong: but to be Cruel
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to them is doing so, and therefore is forbidden. We read that *Balaam* is reproved by the Angel for his Unmercifulness to his Beast that he rod upon. Consequently the *tiring* and *Ill using of Horses* for our pleasure is Unnatural and unbecoming a Good and Merciful Man. And not only *Cock-fighting* but *Throwing at Cocks* is an Unlawful Sport, because it argues a cruel nature, and taking pleasure in the pain of those Brutes. Whence it was well and Christianly said by a Great Man, * *I have abhorred those Sports which consist in the torturing of the Creatures.* The Reason is because that cannot be a Lawful Recreation which is accompanied with a *delight* in putting poor Innocent Animals to pain, or, I may add, in any ways Abusing them. And thus I have briefly assigned certain *General Rules* whereby we may know what *Recreations* are Innocent and Lawful, and what not. And though I have all along, as I propounded the Rules and Qualifications, lightly mentioned some *Particular Diversions* which are in use, yet now I will more *distinctly* and *purposely* insist on some others, and crave leave to offer my thoughts freely concerning the using and practising of them.

I begin *First* with *Hunting* and *Coursing*, the one with Hounds, the other with Grey-hounds, which are known *Diversions*, of Gentlemen especially. This I may call *Hunting on the Ground*

* *Judge Hales's Account of the Good Steward.*

Ground, for *Fishing* is a kind of Hunting on the Water: and *Fowling* I may proportionably call a Hunting in the Air. To which latter belongs *Hawking*, a wanton, expensive, unnecessary Exercise, for there are more natural and convenient ways of catching Fowl than this. Therefore, that Excellent Gentleman Sir *Philip Sidney* was wont to say, *Next to Hunting I like Hawking worst*. But I will pass this by, and speak of *Hunting* only. In the general, I cannot but pronounce it reasonable to assert that this is a Diversion that may be lawfully used, I say *it may*, though it seldom is. For I am partly of *Cornelius Agrippa's* persuasion (if what he saith was his persuasion) who represents it as the † *worst Exercise*, and as the *Exercise of the worst Men*. And he adds, † *neither in S. Scripture, nor in any other Moral History shall we read of any Holy or Wise Men, or Philosopher that was addicted to Hunting*. He is in the right before as to that, and moreover it is no mean blemish to this Exercise that all the *Hunters* mentioned in the S. History are Men of a very Ill Character, as *Cain, Lamech, Nimrod, Ismael, Esau*: and *Herod the Great* was of this number according to the * *Jewish Historians*, who tells us that he hunted down Forty Beasts (as Boars, Stags, &c.) in one day. This hath been, and is at this day the Employment of the most *Salvage* People in the World, especially of the *Americans*. So that
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† De. Van. Scient. Cap. 27.

‡ Ibid.

* Joseph. de Bello Jud. l. 1. c. 15.

it seems to be a *Rude* and *Barbarous* Exercise, and I may add *Brutish*, it being a *Conversing* with the *Bestial* kind.

But we cannot hence positively infer the *Absolute Unlawfulness* of this Sport; for if we take a view of it in itself, it seems to have some thing *Useful* and *Laudable* in it. The *Moderate* use of it may conduce to the exercising and stirring of the *Limbs*, to the rendring those who use it *Active* and *Nimble*, and to the keeping of the *Body* hale and in good plight. Whence † *Galen* reckons it among the *Exercises* that are conducing to health and a good habit of *Body*. And on that Account it is commended by || *Plato* and * *Aristotle*, and it is called by † *Xenophon* a *Gift* or *Boon* of the *Gods*. But notwithstanding this, there are many things very *Blameable* in it, as it is commonly used among us, by reason of which it frequently becomes *Unlawful*.

For *First*, Some, while they pretend to refresh themselves by this Exercise, *Injure* their *Bodies* exceedingly, and *impair* their health. By their too violent and fatiguing motion they *dissipate* their *Spirits*, they *disturb* and *weaken* their *Joints* and very often by sudden falls *displace* them, yea sometimes *break* them. I have the worse *Opinion* of this Exercise because

† De tuend. Valet. l. 2. c. 3.

|| De Legibus lib. 7.

* Politic. lib. 1. c. 5.

† De Cyri Instit.

cause it occasioned the Loss of the Great Deliverer of these Nations, who fell from his Horse when he was Hunting. However, 'tis plain that by this Exercise Persons do apparently *Indanger* themselves, which is Inconsistent with the notion of *Recreation* and *Pleasure*, for who thinks that *Dangerous* is a fit Epithet for these? Again, if we *Abstract* from this, yet who can deny that this is a Turbulent and a Boisterous Exercise, and therefore unfit for sedate minds? Their motion is frequently so furious that a sober Man beholding them would guess them to be Men pursued for some Villany, and flying for their Lives, or to be Wild and Distracted People, not Persons taking their Recreation. The best you can say is that it is a *Gothick* way of Diversion, and it may fit *Warriors*, and Men of that Robust Genius.

Next, it is a general complaint against this sort of Courses that they are *Regardless* of the Common Good as well as of the Laws of Particular Justice and Charity whilest they invade their Neighbours Fields, and trample down the Corn, and break in upon Enclosures, and Endamage Mens Fences, and with a Scornful Rudeness, Violate Mens Rights and Properties. Likewise, it is observable that this Exercise is oftentimes accompanied and followed with Debauchery. Drinking is usually an Appendix to the Sport. When they have overheated their Bodies by that Violent moving, they add a new heat by Excess of Liquor. Further, this sort of Diversion is attended with a great loss of Time, not only at the Game, but afterwards, when they come to talk over
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all their Sport, and their Tongues run as fast as their Dogs. Moreover, sometime an Unwarrantable Expence of Money, as well as of time goes along with this Exercise, whilest there is lavishly maintained a breed of Creatures that may well be spared; for the Hares and Foxes, &c. may be caught with the Country-mens Nets and Traps without the Costly Trouble, which proves so Destructive to many persons, who it is plain have *Acteon's* fate, to be devoured by their Dogs.

Lastly, You may conclude this Recreation to be Unlawful (though not in itself, yet as to the Abuse of it) when they make it Administer to Passion and Anger, when it becomes a Provocation to Swearing and Cursing, as generally it doth, or if any thing Irreligious, Profane or Sacrilegious Accompanies this Exercise, as in that noted Instance of the *Norman Conqueror*, who (as our Chronicles tell us) to provide for his Pass-time caused whole Towns and Villages, and Thirty six Parish-Churches to be pulled down and laid level with the Ground, and here laid the bounds of his *New Forest* for Hunting in. But this Offence escaped not Unpunished, for *Richard*, the Kings second Son, was goared here by a Deer, and died, and his third Son *William Rufus* (afterwards King) was here accidentally Slain by Sir *Walter Tyrrel*, and his Grandchild *Robert Curtoise* being in pursuit of the Game in this Forest was Struck by a Bough into the Jaws, whereof he died. Thus we see how *Hunting* may be made Unlawful; but on the contrary, if you can use this Recreation moderately, soberly, frugally, with-

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out injury to others or to your selves, and so as it shall lead you to no vicious Practices, it becomes Innocent and Lawful. In my Apprehension, it is not below the Office of a *Preacher* (who is to have an eye to all the Actions of Mens Lives) to Interpose his good Advice and Directions even in this matter.

The next Diversion I will mention is *Horse-racing*; which, as it is commonly used, is not to be placed in the number of *Lawful Recreations*, and that for the like Reasons why the former Sport was found faulty. For this is too great a Devourer of *Time*, in how few Minutes soever the Race be dispatched. They spend whole Years sometimes in preparing their Brutes for a Match, which continues but a short time. But when they return from it, they run over the Course again, which is not so soon finished. And generally at other times it is to be observed that these Men fill up their Hours and Discourses with this sort of Talk. But not only *Time*, but that which they have a greater sense of, is too lavishly laid out on this Sport. How sumptuously are their Steeds kept, maintained and ordered? They are dressed up in Body-clothes of good Broad-Cloth, and stand and lie down in them in the day time. In winter nights they are Clothed with fine Flannel Sheets, and in Summer with fine Holland ones. Which baffles that of Mr. *Herbert*,

* *Nothing*

* *Nothing wears Clothes but Man, nothing*
(doth need
But he to wear them. —————

And as they wear the Clothing even of the Rich, so they eat the Bread which the Poor want, and which the Richest do not Disdain. A *Horse-Bread Tost* is Meat for a King, hath been said at *Newmarket*. Nor is it strange seeing their Loaves are made of the best Wheat sifted, with a portion of Bean-Flour. They are lavish of Corn, and chiefly of that which is *Mans Food* properly. This they give to their Beasts, which was never designed for them. And answerable to their *Apparel* and *Feeding* is their *Physick*, which proves very Chargeable sometimes. When they are ill, the Jockeys are generally more concerned than for any Sick Man, and then the Farriers and the Apothecaries Bills run high. Yea, all the Year long they tick for Drugs, and will not be without the *Queen of Hungary's Water* to Batli the Limbs of their Brutes. And that which is the worst thing of all is that all this Expence is for no use and service. The Horses on which all this Cost is bestowed are not, like others, fit for Carriage or Draught, they are not for the use of Life, and consequently unnecessary. The Animal bred up for Race is used but once or twice in many Years, and sometimes scarcely at all, but still the Creature

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is to be kept for the owners Pleasure. Certainly God and Nature never intended it for this way of living.

I might take notice that there is too much Care, Pains, and Attendance bestowed on this sort of Animals. I have thought sometimes what a Badge of the Degeneracy of Mankind it is that there are *Men* whose sole Employ it is to attend on *Brutes*: but then I considered that some of these are for the Necessary use of Life, as *Shepherds, Herds-men, Grooms, Hostlers*. But here is waiting and attending on Beasts to no service of Mankind at all, but only for Pleasure and Recreation. Sometimes you shall find the Gentleman himself giving Attendance to his brutes, lifting their Corn, cutting their Bread, examining their heels. But the chief Attendance is Performed by the Jockeys and their Boys, for every Horse hath a Boy, besides the Groom. These are to take care that the Creatures be exactly dieted, that at certain times the Muzzle be put on, to force an Abstinence, and that they have no Racks before them at any time. They are to give them now and then a small pittance of Hay, which these disciplined Steeds must pick and pull out, as if they were tozing of Wool. Every time they come in from Airing or Watering their Feet are to be nicely picked, and wash'd with a spung. When they sweat, their Feet must be bathed with warm Water. In heighth of Winter the Grooms rise at Midnight to feed them, and shake their litter, or make their Beds, that they may lie down soft again. There must be no Noise about them, no crying of Children especially, as I have heard
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the Name of a Gentleman that threatned to put away his Groom because his Wife, lying near the Stable, suckled a young Child that cried sometimes in the Nights. To make the Horses fit for the Race, how carefully are they looked to? How exactly are they dressed? How warmly and delicately are they lodged, and (as I said before) how exquisitely are they clothed and fed? The Summ is, here is a more Scandalous throwing away of *Time*, *Charges*, and *Attendance*, which would be no small Kindnesses to many a poor Christian, tho' not accompanied with half of that Curiosity and Niceness which are used towards those Animals. And all this while the poor Beasts are put out of their way, and so are the Fellows and Lads that look after them, for these are brought up to an Employment which seldom proves serviceable to them through their whole lives, as some honest Calling would: but as most of their time now is spent in Idleness, or that which is worse, so afterwards they generally live in want.

But all this, you will say, is in order to bring the Master in great Summs of Money. So 'tis pretended, but on that very Account it is an Unlawful Sport, for *Recreations* are not design'd for *Gain*. But then I say likewise that that Gain cannot be Lawful which arises from such Unnatural and Scandalous Layings out. Nay, to balk this Consideration, they *Lose* as much as they *Winn*. This is a modest word: I believe some of the greatest Jockeys will confess they lose more. And then what is the result of all that mad *Apparatus*, the maintaining of Men and Boys, the Chargeable lodging

and bleeding of those Beasts, the Monstrous ordering of them, even to Debauchery (if I may so say) and the perverting of Nature, &c. what is the use of all this but the paying of the Forfeiture for not Running, as it often happens; or, if they run, Losing the Wager; or, if they winn, not getting half as much as they had laid out upon the Premises? Do you call this a *Recreation*? You may if you please: but I must tell you, you very much abuse the Word. Here is little Refreshment in this, little Pleasure, sorry Entertainment. They put themselves to vast Charges, they lose a great deal of good Time, they employ themselves to no Commendable purpose, they dance Attendance to Beasts, and I wish I could say, they do not too much resemble them. At least one would take some of these for *Centaures*, they and their Horses are so joined in one, and are never asunder. When they are thus always Riding, the Man and Beast may well be supposed to be but *One Creature*.

But especially this sort of Sport (as that other of *Hunting*) is very unfitting for *Ecclesiastical Persons*; not only because their Sedentary Life doth not agree with it, but the Company, the Talk, the manner of spending their Hours do not become them. It is a blot upon *Theophylact Patriarch of Constantinople* that he was wont to be too busy in his Stable, especially when he ran from the Altar in the midst of his Office, and in all his Pontificals, to see a Colt new fallen from his Mare *Phorbante*. It is no Credit for a Clergy-man to be a Jockey, and to turn his Cassock into a Frock.

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He ought to do nothing *unbecoming* his Separate and Studious way of Life: but such without doubt are those *Diversions*, or *Employments* rather, which I have named, especially *Horse-racing*, which, though in itself (that is, so far as we understand by it a Trying of the Horses Heels, and knowing their Swiftnes, yea and even their Emulation and Sense of Honour, which are worth observing in those Generous Animals) it be Harmless and Innocent, yet if we consider it according to the Account which hath been given of it, and which is matter of Fact, and therefore cannot be denied, it is Impossible to manage it without doing things very unsuitable to a sober-mind and honest Man. What is Horse-racing according to the usual Practice of it but a gaping after Gain from a Vain and Needless Trouble, or an Unlawful Pleasure? And then, if I should mention the *Gaming*, *Roeking*, *Cbeating* and *Dissolute Companions* that are brought together at the Meetings which precede the Matches, I should further display the Evils and Mischiefs of this Practice. But I proceed no further; only I advise that none of my Brethren give Countenance to this Folly, but that rather in civil and obliging terms, they dissuade Gentlemen from pursuing such a sport.

I might to Horse-racing tack *Bear-bating* and *Dog-matches*, which are both of them unworthy of a Reasonable Creature; for the former is wholly Rude and Salvage, and the latter is Sordid and Shameful, and not fit to be so much as mentioned among Christian Men, unless it can be proved that it is a becoming Employment to breed up those Animals to

softness and delicacy, to feed them with the best baked Meats, to lodge them and look after them as if they were of humane race, to keep Men and Boys in constant pay for this very purpose.

From these *Recreations* (if some will so call them) which properly belong to *Men* only, I proceed to say something of those that are used by *both Sexes*. And here I will speak of *Reading Romances* and such like *Books*, of *frequenting of Stage-Plays*, of *playing at Cards and Dice*, and of *Dancing*.

1. *Reading of Romances* is made use of as a Recreation and Diversion by many Persons. But though they that are Wise may perhaps learn some Good thence, yet this is very little in respect of the Evil which accompanies the frequent reading of them. For First, some of these Papers fill the Imagination with Vain *Chimera's* and Ridiculous Fictions about *Fairie Knights* and *Giants*, devouring *Beasts* and *Monsters*, *Witches* and *Inchanted Castles*: all which do wonderfully nourish Folly and Vanity, and stock the minds of Men with false *Idea's* of things, and thereby do them a great deal of harm. Or suppose the Fictions be of a loftier nature, and the Turn of them be more Manly, yet even these cherish a fond Invention, and unfit us to discern what is True, and to make a difference between what is fictitious and what is real. Romancers are Pleasing-Lyers: they not only deceive and delude us, but they make us delight in the delusion. We find ourselves as violently moved and affected with reading those Counterfeit Relations as if they were Realities. Hereby Real Truth comes to be despised.

spised, and we lose that Concern and Passion which should be shew'd for True and Unquestionable Narratives. And these Romantick Stories being full of *Impossible Atchievements*, they consequently leave Vain, but very Troublesom Impressions on Peoples minds: which put them, especially if Young, upon wild Adventures, and tempt them to seek their Fortunes (as they call it), and to hunt for that Abroad which they can't find at home: or else, if they stay here, they are Uneasy and Weary.

Again, they debauch the minds of Young Persons with fond *Love-Stories*, and thereby inflame Lust, and stir up Lewd thoughts and desires in them. The Sanguine Readers are put upon acting those Amours, and making those Follies Real which before were Imaginary only. It so happens sometimes that one page of such Authors so effectually Poisons the mind, that no Antidote can be found in others, or any where else to expel the Venom. Besides, they nourish *Revenge* by propounding Examples of Insatiable Thirsters after Blood, and who travel far and near to allay that Thirst, and yet as they go along they meet with one thing or other to Increase it. This is a Vice of a most enormous nature, but 'tis easy to observe that these Writings, which are furnished with so many Patterns of Retaliating Fury, are the Great Fomenters of it.

Also, it is to be added that this Foolish and Mischievous Diversion takes up too much Time. Who sees not that some are so bewitched with those Stories of Inchantments, and others with the Amorous and Revengeful Narratives, that they will not let the book go

out of their Hands day or night? Certainly when there are so many Good Books extant in the World, it is Inexcusable to throw away our Time in reading these.

Lastly, (which is the Consequence of the former) these Persons are not at leisure for Serious Business and Necessary Affairs: nor indeed are some of them fit for such Employment, for it hath been taken notice of that they have indulged too vitious a Contemplation, and their minds have been so possess'd by those delusions, and even absorpt by them, that their Conversation hath been thereby hurt, and they have not been able to throw off the Impressions which these Foolish Diversions have made; which hath rendred them unfit for such Business as requires Attentive thoughts.

And I might adjoin this, that this sort of Men have not time to consult and Peruse the Holy Scriptures; or, when they do, they disrelish them, for their Heads being busied with these vain and fanciful Relations, the Sacred Truths of the Word of God find no Acceptance with them, and hereupon Irreligion and Prophaneness are advanced both in their Hearts and Lives. These are the *Evils* of reading that kind of books, and from all you may infer how Undue and Unlawful a *Recreation* that is.

And indeed the Best-men have always disliked this Fantastick sort of Writers: thus when the Renowned * *Plato* banishes the *Poets* out

out of his *Common-Wealth*, we must not think that he was an Enemy to all Poetry, and simply Condemns that way of Wit, but that he only strikes at the *Fabulous* conceits of those *Poets* who were the *Romancers* of those times, and filled Mens Heads with the Relation of Incredible Exploits, and stained their Verses with Irreligious and Prophane Fictions, and propounded the Examples of Debauched Deities, and so corrupted the Manners of those that read them. It might more justly be said of some of them than of *Homers Iliads*, * A Woman (and a very bad one) is the beginning and end of them. They are Rhapsodies of Vanity and Effeminacy; and they have nothing of Poetry but Madness and Fury. And then, to come down to that which in latter times hath been known by the name of *Romance*, it is worth our Observation, that the Great Sir *Philip Sidney*, whose *Arcadia* is the most modest and harmless Composure of that kind that ever was Writ, made it his request on his Death-Bed to the *Lord Brooks* that it might be committed to the Flames, as being Conscious that that way of Writing, though performed with very great Caution, carries with it some thing of ill Import. The sense of this made the *Lord Brogbil* (that Great Master of Wit and Romance) in his *Preface* to his *Parthenissa* tell the Reader “ that he could say more against Romances than for them, nay so much that if he had been of the same mind
“ when

* Ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος γυνή. Just. Mart. Orat. ad Græc.

“ when his Romance was first designed, as
 “ he was then of at the finishing of the Fourth
 “ Tome, he had never begun the First: and very facetiously he adds, *If I should continue the two remaining last Tomes, it shall be as a Pennance for having writ the four first.* This shews that the very Authors of this way of writing, when they are free and Ingenuous, are enclined to dislike it, and are displeas'd with themselves for what they do.

But if we must needs be for a *Romantick strain*, Why may not that which is tinctured with *Religion*, yea, which chiefly favours of it, be acceptable to us? Such is *Spencer's Fairy-Queen*, where *Twelve Vertues* or *Graces* are represented in so many Books. There are Knights and Ladies, Castles and Enchanted Rings, Giants and Monsters, but Excellent *Morals* are couch'd in all these. We have *Bentivolio* and *Urania*, the *Parable of the Pilgrim*, and sundry other Productions of the like kind, which under fanciful Disguises contain very *Pious Ethicks*, and may be stiled, if you please, *Religious Romances*. There are also those which may be call'd *Political* ones, as *Barclay's Argenis*, and *Euphormio*, *More's Utopia*, *Bacon's Atlantis*. Nay, I am not so straight-laced, as wholly and universally to condemn the looking into the other sort of Compositures, because some of them contain excellent Descriptions and Characters of things and Persons; and they may serve to furnish some Persons, and at some times (when there is no other Instructor) with Examples of Hero's and Worthies, and excite them to Valorous and Noble Atchievements. But this is that which I assert, that those Books cannot safely be put into the
 hands

hands of raw unexperienced Persons, of unwary Youth, and such whose Passions are strong. These ought not to be trusted with Writings which have so many Vain things in them, and some that are purposely calculated for the promoting of the most mischievous Vices.

And with these may be rank'd some of the Modern Productions of *Poetry* (if I may call them such, seeing *Poetry* was designed for Excellent Purposes, to soften Mens rudeness by the Charms of its Numbers, and to Inspire their Breasts with noble and generous Thoughts) by these, I mean *Burlesque* and *Drolling Rhimes*, which are so fashionable of late, and are the Corruption of *Poetry*, for they ridicule the bravest and most Heroick Actions of the Antient Worthies, they deride what is Manly, Serious and Grave, and scandalize steady and sober Vertue, as well as the noble Vein of *Poetry*. Mens heads are so light, and their Brains so frothy, and with all so Prophane that we may expect they will turn the Scripture into *Travesty*, and give us a Mock History of the Bible, not to tell you that some great pretenders, to wit, did once attempt it. I think my self therefore obliged to caution our Gentlemen against this Vain and Ridiculous kind of Versifying, as well as against that species of Writings which I mentioned before. They both of them have a bad influence on Manners, but especially the former, because they contain in them more Images and Idea's of Evil and Vitious things. Therefore 'tis a shame to see how zealously these Books are sought after, how diligently they are turned over, how laboriously they are thumb'd, and how extreamly they are delighted in, as if they were the best and choicest
of

of all Recreations, and as if it were (what is usually said and thought) a great Crime in a Gentleman or Lady to be ignorant of Romances, but a greater and unpardonable one to despise them. I wish our Publick Teachers would choose out some fit opportunity to convince them of the contrary, and it would become even the Pulpit to remonstrate against a practice that is grown so common, and so fashionable in this degenerate Age.

2. *Stage-Plays*, or the Entertainments of the *Theater*, whether Comical or Tragical, as they are now managed in those Publick Houses (for there may be an Innocent and Lawful Representation of Persons and Actions in a Dramatick way) are not to be numbred among those *Recreations* which ought to be permitted to Christians, yea to any Persons professing any measure of Morality. For these places are the Shops of Impiety and Impudence, where Persons of both Sexes, of different Ages, of various conditions, are daily corrupted; especially Young Men and Virgins, the hopes of the Nation, are apparently endangered, and frequently ruined by the Licence of the Theater. I had glanced upon this in the *first Part* of the *Preacher*, but now I will beg leave to enlarge upon this Theme, because I apprehend it to be very Seasonable in these our times, wherein Persons are more than ordinarily addicted to the love of the *Stage*, and in some neighbouring Places make it their Diversion even on the Lord's Day. But at present I speak chiefly of our *Stage-Plays* at home, which all Sober Judges condemn as unlawful: for here both the *Ear* and the *Eye* are debauch'd; the *former* be-
cause

cause they hear the vilest pranks related, and the methods of Villany gracefully set off. They are instructed in the foulest Vices, and taught the worst Circumstances of them. They hear Vertue condemned, and Religion scoffed at, and sacred things turn'd into Ridicule. But more especially these Theaters prove the Schools of Obscenity; and those Filthinesses which ought not so much as to be thought of, are there loudly rehearsed. The *latter* likewise, *viz.* the Eye is no less corrupted by these publick Shews and Spectacles, for here by feigned Actions exposed to *view* they are taught Real Vices: and the effects of Lust become *Visible* in actual Revenge, Murder and Bloodshed. Here is represented to the Sight all manner of Lewdness; and the impudent Behaviour and Gestures of the Actors teach Vice more effectually than their Tongues. Thus through the Ear and Eye, the Souls of Persons are wounded, their Minds are infected and debauch'd, which is the most pernicious kind of Debauchery.

Some excuse this sort of Diversion, because it prevents other Debaucheries. Gentlemen may by this means be kept from Drinking and Gaming, here they may sit soberly a great part of an Afternoon, and not be engaged in the mad Frolicks of the Town. But is it *necessary* that they must be either at a *Tavern* or a *Play-House*? Or is it a less Vice to be intoxicated with Lust and Vanity than with Wine? Certainly the Excess is equally bad on both sides, and therefore equally to be avoided. As to the Theater, this may be justly said of the frequenting it, that it is designedly to expose ones self
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to Temptations, it is venturing on the Devils own ground, and he * confessed himself concerning the Woman who had been at the Theater, and thence returned Possessed. It is voluntarily to hazard our safety, it is a willful indulging of folly and Lewdness, it is a Palpable nourishing of Effeminacy, and it is the way to Prostitute our shame and honesty: or at least, to go purposely to one of those Houses is to resolve to be Idle and Vain, and Unconscionably to waste our precious time. Wherefore an Eminent Man left this Advice to one of his Sons, † *Go not to Stage-Plays: they are a most profuse wasting of Time.* In short, the Theaters are both a great Disgrace to Christianity, and a Hindrance to it, and no Good Man or Good Christian can frequently repair to them with a safe Conscience.

If I seem to determine too severely in this matter, I have (besides the *Reasons* before alledged) the Antient *Councils* and *Fathers* of the Church to back me. They often express their utter dislike of the *Common Scene*, both as to the *Actors* and *Spectators*. The former were reputed Scandalous Persons, and accordingly || were denied the Eucharist. A Comedian or Actor of Plays shall not, if he would turn Christian, be received into the Church unless he renounce his Profession, saith the Council
of

* In meo eam inveni. *Tertul. de Spectaculis.*

† *Judge Hales's Letter to a Son.*

|| *Decret. l. 2. Tit. 5.*

of * *Eliberis*. St. *Cyprian* † complains of a Stage-Player who had embraced the Christian Faith, and yet followed his former way of living, that is, though he appeared not on the Stage himself, yet he taught his Art to others. The Pious Father represents this as Scandalous and Unbearable, and that such a one was not to be in the Communion of the Church. And in || other places he peremptorily determines that the *Scenici* and *Histriones* are not to be admitted to the Sacred Mysteries. Whence it is evident that the Profession of Publick Actors on the Stage was thought to be Vicious, yea and Infamous. As for the latter, the *Spectators* of those Plays, and the *Plays themselves*, they are censured and condemned by several Writers of the Christian Church, as * *Theophilus* of *Antioch*, † *Clement* of *Alexandria*, *Tertullian* de *Spectaculis*, *Minutius Felix*, *Lactantius*, *Ambrose*, *Jerom*. || St. *Chrysostom* with great Zeal reproves the People of *Antioch* and *Constantinople* for their resorting to Plays and Comedies, that kind of Sport being usual in those Great Cities. St. * *Augustin* was bold to say that Stage-Plays were more Abominable than Idolatrous Sacrifices offered to the Pagan Gods. In his *Confessions* he with a great grief and
regret

* Can. 62.

† Epist. 66.

|| Epist. 10. and 62 ad *Eucrat*.

* Ad *Autol.* l. 3.

† *Pædag.* l. 3.

|| *Homil.* 1. 7, 17. in *Matt.* *Hom.* 32. and 58. in *Johan.* *Hom.* 17. in *Eph.* & alibi.

* De *Civ. Dei*, l. 2. c. 7. Vide Epist. 5. ad *Marcellin*.

regret reflects on his going to Plays when he was a Young Man, and on the great Hurt he received by them. Against Comedies and Comedians you will find * that Excellent Writer *Isidore of Pelusium* speaking very earnestly. And Lastly, I might mention the *Imperial Law*; which censures the Theaters as Scandalous and Infamous, as may be seen in the *Theodosian Code* and other places.

I know some have thought that those Good Men, the *Fathers of the Church* disallowed of the Theaters only because of some *Idolatrous Shews* in them (to which *St. Augustin* chiefly might referr) and therefore that those Spectacles which are not stained with *Idolatry*, are not disapproved of by those Fathers. To this I answer that the Plays and Shews among the *Pagans* (particularly among the *Romans*) were of three sorts. The First kind were Games in Honour of the *Gods* or *Goddesses*, as those that were called *Capitoline*, *Circensian*, *Floral*, *Cereal*, &c. Whence we understand that their Plays were a Piece of their *Religion*: so that an Actor was a kind of a *Priest*, a Theater a *Chapel* or *Temple*: to frequent the Stage was a kind of Worship. The Second kind was *Fencing*, which was of several sorts, but the worst was that which ended in killing one another. The Third was *Common Stage-Players*, in way of Comedy or Tragedy. The *Pagan World* was taken with nothing so much as these: both in *Greece* and *Rome* this Diversion was infinitely Charming.

* Lib. 3. Epist. 336. lib. 5. Epist. 433.

Charming. Now, any one that Peruses the Writings of those Holy Men before mentioned shall find that they speak not only against the First sort, which was Grossly Superstitious and Idolatrous, and the Second which was Bloody and Cruel, but the Third also, which was of the same kind with the Scenical Entertainments on the Publick Stages at this day. Against frequenting of these the *Fathers* plainly declared, and forbad the Primitive Christians to visit those Shews, and the Reasons they gave were because they were Lewd and Vitious, and excited and nourished all manner of Disorders by a plausible representing of the frauds and crafts of Usurers, the dalliances of Lovers, the wild pranks of Young Sparks, the Avarice of Old Misers, the Particular disorderly Practices of Merchants, Soldiers, Servants, Parasites, &c. which are so many Instructions in vice and folly.

It is true the *Fathers* inveighed against the Stage because of the *Idolatry* mixed with it, but they Condemned it for *other reasons* also, *viz.* the Licentiousness of the Persons that acted, and the Wickedness of the things acted, as may be seen in the Writings of the fore-mentioned Antients. They more particularly remonstrated against the frequenting of Stage-Plays, because it was a renouncing of the Solemn *Renunciation of the Devil and the Poms of the World*, as we may see in * *Tertullian* and † *Cyprian*. And so *Chrystom* and *Salvian*

O

and

* De Spectac. c. 4.

† De Spectaculis.

and others expressly declare that those Diversions were a direct Violation of their *Baptismal Vow*.

Yea; the Wisest and Soberest of the *Pagans* themselves disallowed of the Theatrical Sports. * *Plato* suffers no Play-houses or Actors in his *Commonwealth*. † *Aristotle* forbids the seeing of Comedies to Youth. *Solon*, the famous Greek Sage, and Governor of *Athens*, strictly forbid them because they corrupted the Youth. The *Lacedæmonians* would suffer neither Comedies nor Tragedies to be acted in their Country, as *Plutarch* relates. *Seneca* was an Enemy to the whole business of the *Spectacles*, and doomed them as ‡ the *Bane of Good Manners*. *Valerius Maximus* tells us that the *Roman Senate* voted the Publick Theater to be Demolished, as that which Debauched the *Roman Youth*; and the *Censors of Rome* ordered the pulling of it down. And it is certain that the Actors in those places were looked upon as a Vile and Contemptible sort of Men, yea, as Scandalous and Opprobrious among the *Romans*. Even *Ovid*, when he began to think of Reforming advised the utter Suppression of all Plays:

* *Ut tamen hoc fatear, Ludi quoq; semina præ-*
(bent
Nequitie, tolli tota Theatra jube.

Thus

‡ *Politic. lib. 10.*

† *Polit. l. 7. c. 17.*

‖ *Nil est tam damnosum bonis moribus quam in aliquo Spectaculo desidere. Epist. 7. Vide Nat. Quest. lib. 7. c. 32.*

* *De Fratrib.*

Thus you see what has been the Opinion of *Christians* and of *Heathen Moralists* concerning this sort of Entertainment. We have little reason then to speak in their behalf, especially at this time when the Stage is so corrupted and vitiated, as all Wise and Sober Men complain. Nay, it is confessed by the very *Poets themselves*, who contrive the Diversion of the Theater, that the design of their Plays is to Represent Vice as Genteel and Fashionable, and becoming Persons of Wit and Honour. Not only to act the part of a *Fool* or a *Buffoon* is the Entertainment of the Stage; not only barely to unman a Mans self is the allowed sport and pastime, but there are things more directly Pernicious and Mischievous than this, for the two main Ingredients of the Plays at present are *Lasciviousness* and *Prophaneness*, which alone are Sufficient to Contribute towards the Corrupting of this Age. But the Stage (as I have suggested before) is also in *other* points intolerably Vitious, so that no Vertuous Person can addict himself to it, and continue so long, for all manner of Vice is set forth to the liking of the Spectators, and Vertue is disgraced and laughed at. Hence the Theater becomes a Publick School and Nursery of Immorality, where Wickedness is openly taught and professed, where the sense of Religion is Industriously Rooted out, and where all Debauchery is Rampant. From whence it follows that Publick Shews and Comedies cannot pass among *Christians* truly so called as a fitting and lawful Recreation.

I wish therefore that those who have accustomed themselves to this Pleasure would tread in the steps of that Great and Good Man, Judge *Hales*, * who (as he tells us himself) thought “when a Young Man and Student at *Oxford*, he was much delighted with this sort of Sport, he loving Wit and Gallantry, yet he soon corrected himself, and made a solemn Resolution or Vow never to see a Play more; which he most strictly observed ever after. From the Authority and Practice of so Wise and Experienced a Person I would offer this Advice, that those who have Mis-spent their Hours in the Prosecution of this Unlawful Pleasure, would for the future abandon it. And as to *Publick Authority*, it is the wish of all Men that are Masters of Sobriety, that as the Stage-Plays were heretofore put down by an *Ordinance*, so now they may be forbid by an Act. For it is the reproach of a *Civilized Country*, and that boasts of being *Christian*, that so Unjustifiable a Diversion goes uncorrected. And if the Ministers and Preachers of our Church would Publicly Shew their dislike of it, and produce their Arguments against it, this might make way, I hope, for a Reformation as to this Particular. Far be it from us to follow the Example of † one of our Function, who Industriously defends going to Plays, and speaks in the Commendation of them: This I fear hath Encouraged too many of his Brethren to read *Plays*

as

* His Preface to the *Discourses of the Knowledge of God and our selves*

† Friendly Debate P. 137. to p 142.

as much as any other Book, and to frequent the Stage without any remorse.

3. The same that was said of Stage-Plays may be said of *Dice-Playing*, as it is used commonly by Gamesters, namely, that it is an Unjustifiable Diversion. I know some have thought it Unlawful because there is *Chance or Lottery* in it, and on the same Account they Condemn all *Playing at Cards*, viz. because it is a Game of *Chance*. For this reason *Mahomet* in his *Alcoran* forbids Cards and Dice as Abominable Sports: I suppose he doth so because *Fatal Necessity* is his Principle. On the same score the *Turks* disallow of playing at *Cheffe*, thinking it depends wholly on *Chance*: but truly *Cheffe* is so Serious a business that it cannot be called a *Recreation* properly, therefore I say nothing here of that. But as to what I alledged against Cards and Dice (not only by *Mahometans*, but some *Christians*) in respect of *Chance or Lottery*, which they suppose to be in those Games, and therefore are rendred Unlawful, I will endeavour briefly to represent the Truth of this matter. *Lottery* or casting of Lots is threefold. 1. *Divine*, and by God's command, and therefore must not be used but in Great and Weighty matters, as it is always in Scripture. 2. *Diabulical*, i. e. such as the Gentiles used in a Magical way, and in their Divinations. None will question the Unlawfulness of these. 3. *Civil or Politick*, made use of in choosing of Officers, as among the *Athenians* and *Romans* of old, and the *Venetians* and several Corporations among our selves at this day: which being in Weighty

Concerns may be allowed. Now there remains the *Lottery* used in *Playing*, which hath no affinity with any of these, but only (as *Playing* at *Bowls*, or the like *Exercise*) is *Casual as to the Event*, which in my *Opinion* makes it not *Unlawful*. Besides, the forefaid *playing* is not *wholly Fortuitous*, but depends on the *Art* and *Industry* of the *Players*: whereas in *Lottery* there is no place left for *Mans industry* and *cunning* in the least. This is a short *Account* of the matter, but notwithstanding this I hold *playing* at *Cards* and *Dice* (as it is made use of generally) to be no *Christian Diversion* or *Recreation*, but extremely *Vicious* and *blameable*, and that for these ensuing *Reasons*.

1. It usually provokes *Passion*; it ingenders *Wrath* and *Anger*; for few *Men* are *Contentedly* beaten and calmly lose their *Money*. Hence come *Quarels*, thirsting after *Revenge*, *Wounds* and *Slaughter*.

2. It is frequently attended with *Prophane Imprecations* and *rash Oaths*, and the breach of them at the same time, with *Blasphemous Language* belched forth in extremity of *Passion*. Whence it is a *Maxim* agreed upon by the *Canonists* and *Civilians*, * *A Gamester is always presum'd to Blaspheme*.

3. Cheat-

* *Mascard de Probat. Vol. 1.*

3. Cheating is its usual Companion: for when fair Play will not do, they count it no crime to use that which is foul, and by all the Artifice they are Masters of to win the Game or Sets.

4. It generally wafts their Revenues and Estates, for besides their Great Ventures which are commonly followed with Great Losses, the Luxury and Riot which are the Attendants of Gaming must needs impair their Incomes, be they never so Plentiful. But the Devil is content that they should be great Winners sometimes, only that they may be enticed to continue this loose way of living.

5. It engages them to keep the Lewdest Company that can be had; it brings them into converse and familiarity with Men of desperate fortunes, and as desperate Principles and Practices.

6. It unmercifully devours great portions of that Time which ought to be spent in another manner. These are the known Evils of Gaming, and which make it an Unlawful Diversion.

If you say, it is hard the *Thing itself* should be Condemned because of the *Abuse* of it, I answer, when we cannot well divide the one from the other, in such a case the Thing must be disallowed for the sake of the ill Use of it: Seeing this kind of Sport is generally attended with those Evil Circumstances before named, and is never separated from all of them, for

these very reasons it is not a Diversion of Good Report, but is Offensive and Scandalous, and hath always, especially *Dice-playing*, been decried by the sober part of the World. A Dice-player was excluded from being either a *Judge* or a *Witness* according to the *Talmudick* Law. *Dising* hath been forbid by *Christian Emperors* and *Councils*, as by the General Council at *Constantinople* under *Justinian*, and by the Provincial Council of *Eliberis*, and the penalty was *Excommunication*. And the 75th Canon of our Church forbids Clergy-men to play at *Dice, Cards or Tables*, and calls them *Unlawful Games*. And *Pagans*, no less than *Christians*, shewed their dislike of this sort of Game, yea counted it infamous, as we may gather from *Tully, Philip. 3. Ovid de Arte amandi lib. 3. Suetonius in August. c. 71.* The *Romans* forbid it by their Laws, or else we should not read in *Horace* of * *vetita legibus alea*. And I could prove that other Countries did the same, which is an Undeniable Argument that they thought this to be an undue Recreation. The People of *Japan* never play for Money, but are punished severely if they do, saith *Tavernier*. † Another tells us the like of the *Turks*. And to conclude, Playing at Dice being wholly for *Gain*, and that which many Live upon, it is not to be stiled a *Diversion* or *Recreation*, but rather a *Calling*: and so indeed the Gamesters make it, and for that very

* Lib. 3 Ode 21.

† Monsieur de *Teco*.

very reason it is egregiously faulty and Vicious.

We are concerned then to warn People of the Evil and Danger of this Sport, and especially to exhort Parents and Governors of Families to keep *Youth* from the knowledge and Practice of this *Pernicious* Exercise, lest they find it to be *Actually* so when they arrive at Years.

It may justly therefore raise any Mans Wonder who reads what a late Writer hath dictated in his *Thoughts of Education*, where he advises Parents to teach their Children to *Game*, and to *Play at Dice*, the first thing they do: on which he spends four Pages. It is true he would have them learn the *Letters* of the Alphabet by this, but who knows not that this will bring them up to *Playing* and *Gaming*, and cause them to affect it in the remaining part of their Life? If they handle the *Die* so soon, they, (according to what he observes himself of the genius of Children) will not forget afterwards to shake their Elbows. However, in Prudence a Wise Tutour would not Entrust them with the *Dice*.

To conclude this head of my Discourse, the pernicious practice of *Gaming* is now become one of the most *Prevailing* Vices of this Age, not only among those of the greatest figure, but even among such as are of a lower rank. The Country, as well as the City and Court, is infected with this Poisonous Disease, and if it be suffered to spread with impunity, it will be the Bane of our Nation. Wherefore I call upon my Brethren to cry aloud against this Pestilential Evil, and to be very serious and earnest

earnest in reprovng offenders of this kind; and to be sure that none of them give a bad example Themselves.

4. There is another Recreation, *viz.* *Dancing*, which is much prized by some, of which let me speak a few words. Dancing was in use Antiently in the *East*, and even among the People of God, the *Jews*, who at their Festivals and Solemn Times of Rejoycing were wont to *Praise God in the dance*, as the Psalmist speaks. But I am not assured that these Dances were in Artificial Measures, as those are which are in use with us at this day, but it may be they were Untaught motions of the Body, and a kind of leaping and skipping up and down in a free and pleasant manner. As for Dancing now used according to Art, so far as it is helpful to a good Mien and behaviour, so far as it gives a Comely and graceful Deportment of body, it is commendable and lawful, and in some Persons very necessary. Also, as it is a moderate breathing and gentle exercising of the Body, for pleasure and healths sake, and likewise as it is a mutual entertaining of friends when they are met to rejoice with one another on some very solemn occasion of Joy, as at Weddings, and such like choice times of mirth, if care be taken that lewd and obscene Companions be not mixed with them, so far, I conceive, Dancing is not blameable and Vicious, but may be reckoned a harmless Disport and Diversion. But when there is not this care taken, and especially when this Exercise becomes Frequent, it ceases to be so, for to be very much given to it is of ill fame;

fame; it is then a token of Vanity, Immodesty and Lightness. Whence it is that some Ancient *Councils* shew their dislike of it, and some of the * *Fathers* Condemn it. Yea, *Pagan* Writers represent it as Disgraceful and of ill report. For tho' it is true the Debauched and luxurious *Greeks* approved of it, yet the stayed and sober *Romans* disliked it. In a Woman it was looked upon as a Bad Character, thus given her by *Sallust*, that she was immoderately addicted to Singing and Dancing. In a *Man* especially it is Approbrious and Ignominious, and an argument of Effeminacy: whence *Lucius Murena* was impeached by *Cato* for having been seen to Dance when he was in *Asia*. In several places in *Tully's Orations* this is objected to those he pleads against as on Effeminate and Unmanly Thing.

But the *Mixt Dances* of Men and Women, without choice, are always very Dangerous, and therefore no sober and wise Man will speak in their behalf, but on the contrary utterly Condemn them. Against these Lewd Dances, Balls and Masques Cardinal *Borromeus* and Monsieur *de Rhoez* have exercised their pens very notably, stiling those Sports no other than that Invention of the Evil Spirit, the nurse of Sensuality, and the Destruction of Souls. We are told that the Poison which the *Tarantula* leaves in the Body is dissolved by Dancing, but in the present case the most fatal Poyson without doubt is dispersed into the choicest

* Chrylost. Hom. 48. and 56. in Gen. and in 14. Mat. Augustin. cont. Petilian. cap. 6. and in Psal. 32.

choicest part, the mind, which by this Exercise is most deeply infected and invenom'd. I wish this may be seriously considered in this our Age, wherein Masquerades, Balls and Dances are in such high esteem, to the great Scandal of the *Christian* Religion, which gives rules of greater Strictness than any other, and to the endangering of the Publick welfare. Thus I have examined some Recreations generally made use of, and have presumed to give my Censure of them, but I submit all that I have said to the Judgment of the Wise and Pious.

If it now be asked what are those Relaxations and Refreshments which are undoubtedly Lawful and Honest, Commendable and Innocent, I answer, All those that have none of the undue Qualifications of the Diversions before specified. And further to satisfy the foresaid demand, I will mention those *Particular* Intermissions and Divertisements, whether bodily or mental, which we are sure may harmlessly be made use of, according to the Particular Conditions and the Different Geni^{us} and Employ of Men in the World: for *Recreations* must be fitted to these, or else they deserve not that name.

First, The *Studious* may divert and recreate themselves by the *Change of their Studies*. If they alter their Subject, and insist not long upon any one, they do by that relax their minds and Spirits, and give some Ease to their Thoughts. The reading of *History* and *Poetry* are a sort of Recreation after more serious Contemplations. Witty Queries and Problems, Inventions in Physick, Gardening, Astronomy,

nomy, Geometry, Mechanicks, and any Researches of the like nature that are not crabbed and puzzling, yield a very acceptable Diversion. Facetious Writers are sometimes to be taken into our Hands, as well as the Gravest Authors. We may Innocently divert our selves with such Ingenious Attempts as *Aristophanes's Birds*, *Lucian's Fly*, *Ovid's Nut*, *Apuleius's Ass*, *Sir Thomas More's Praise of Folly*, *Cornelius Agrippa's Encomiasticks on a Female*, and on, &c. *Cardan's Panegyrick on Nero*, and his *Praise of the Gout*.

And even the Gravest Writers will sometimes be a little Sportive, and Exercise their faculty in trying what can be said in a bad Cause. Thus we have *Isocrates's Encomium on Busiris and Helena*, and the *Jesuite Turner's Oration on the praise of Ebriety*. They will sometimes handle matters of a light and jocular nature, Witness *Homer's Battle of Frogs and Mice*, and *Virgil's Gnat*. *Suetonius* who writ of the *Cæsars*, writ also of the *Grecian Plays*, saith *Suidas*; to repair the loss of which *Meursius* hath gratified us with his *Græcia Ludibunda*. The same Author, as * *Servius* tells us, writ of the *Plays of the Boys*. No less a Writer than *Minutius Felix* in his *Octavius* describes the *Epostracismus*, that Boys Play which is somewhat like ours of Duck and Drake. There is *Lipsius's Encomium of a Dog*, *Joseph Scaliger's Flea*, *Bishop Hall's Mundus alter & idem*: and it were endless to recount the Pleasant Diversions of this kind
which

* In *En.* 5.

which Men of great Worth have furnish'd us with : so that the most serious Student may recreate his Thoughts without laying aside his Books.

Or if this rank of Men would proceed to a Truce with their Bookish Employments, they may betake themselves to some little sort of Handy-work or Mechanicks, as was usual among the most Contemplative and Scholar-like Men in the Eastern Countries, and particularly among the *Hebrew Doctors*, whence it was the saying of *Rabban Gamaliel* *, *The study of the Law is best with some Handy-craft-Diversion joined with it, viz. for exercising the Body, and keeping it in health.* Or the Studious and Contemplative, to give themselves a more stirring and lasting diversion, may Travel either in their own Country, or abroad, making useful Observations and Remarks on Variety of Objects that present themselves to them.

Secondly, Men of great *Business* and *Traffick* in the World may conveniently divert themselves by the *Variety of their Affairs*. For as the change of Studies is to Thinking and Scholastical Persons (of which I spoke before) so the Alteration of Employments is to the Man of an Active Life: it is a good Diversion, and generally it is the best: for he is a happy Man that can make his Business his Recreation, his Employment his
Pleasure,

* Pirck. Avoth. cap. 2.

Pleasure, his Calling his Refreshment. And this is done by Diversity of Scenes which this Actor is concern'd in, for as One of the Ancients hath rightly observed, * What hath no mixture at all is always nauseous and hurtful. So *Manna* it self, the most delicious and palatable Food, became loathsome when they had no other (excepting a few Quails once) for Forty Years. One constant Diet gluts, and is unacceptable. But on the contrary, the mingling and tempering of things with something else renders them acceptable and delightful: whence it is that the *Changing of Employments* becomes in some measure Chearing and Recreating, and continues to be such, with the addition of some small Diversions which I shall mention afterwards.

Thirdly, the case of *Labourers* and *Ordinary Mechanicks* who get their Living by continual toiling and drudging, is different from others, and therefore to be consider'd apart with relation to the matter that is now before us. For such Persons as these need not the same Diversifements that others do, for their Bodies being continually in action about their work, it is not requisite that they should be entertained with corporeal Exercises in way of Recreation: but the best and most proper Relaxation for them is Sitting still and Resting themselves at convenient times, together with seasonable Sleep, for the recruiting of their lost Spirits: and if in the interval of work you can bring them to take pleasure

* πανταχῆς πλεσιμων κῆ πανταχῆς βραζερόν, τὸ ἐκρηγν.
Plut. Sympol.

pleasure in reading some good Book, (if they are capable of it) and in Considering and Revolving what they read, you have compleated their Recreation.

Fourthly, As to *Noblemen* and *Gentlemen*, and such as are very *Rich* and *Wealthy*, though they are generally most solicitous about Recreations and Pass-times, yet of all Persons they have the least reason to be so, for Recreations are for such as have great *business*, either to exercise their *minds* or *bodies*. Something to divert these is necessary after Thinking and Carefulness, after Toiling and Labouring, after the labour of the Body and of the Mind. Some Recreation is needful to divert their Thoughts and Cares, and to give some ease to their outward Man. But most of the Persons of that figure I am now mentioning stand in need of neither, for they seldom suffer any fatigues of Body, and unless they be advanced to the Helm, and are promoted to Publick Service, are not overburden'd with thoughtful Cares. And besides, Providence hath made their very *Life* a *Recreation*, and therefore they need not be in search after it. Their Estates and Revenues furnish them with all things that are delightful and pleasant, so that indeed their great care should be that they be not overloaded with Pleasures, and surfeited with the delights of the World.

The most suitable Pass-times, as I apprehend, for Persons of High Birth and Great Estates are the Reading of *Law* and *History*, which are accompanied with an useful Diversion, and a pleasant Profit. The former gives a most ravishing

visiting prospect of the Grand Principles of Reason and Right, which are the Basis of all Government, and the Sinews of all Laws. It yields them the pleasure of knowing how they are ruled, and how they may rule others: it instructs them how to maintain their Right, to secure their Estates, and to increase them lawfully, and likewise how to deal with unjust Aggressors and Invaders. The latter is, as One of the Ancients calls it *, the Book of the living which represents to them the Series of Times, and an account of all past Actions; it is the Trumpet that raises the dead out of their Graves, and sets them before us, and preserves the memory of all their Achievements. This cannot but be a Delight of a very high nature, and worthy of those generous Minds to whom I commend it. When they have tasted some of this Pleasure (and not before) they may inhance and improve it by visiting foreign Regions, and taking notice of their Laws and Manners, and whatever is observable and excellent among them.

Fifthly, Warlike Persons and Men of Arms have their peculiar and proper Diversions, such as may dispose them for Martial Employments, such as exercise their Limbs, and make them hardy, and fit them for War and Service in the Field, for the defence of their Countrey. Some of those Recreations which may be laudably used by others would be Effeminate in them,
 P because

* Βίβλος ζώντων, σάλπιξ περίτρουθ, &c. Nicet. Choniat. Annal.

because they are to be conversant, according to their Character, about nothing but what is Manly and brave. The proper Diversion, as well as business, of Warriors is to acquaint themselves with such Men or Books as may improve their knowledge in Feats of Arms, Fortification, Gunnery, Engineering, Magazines, Arsenals, Mines, Stratagems, Skirmishes, Battles, Regular Encampments, Sieges, taking of Cities, &c.

If I should speak particularly of *Married* Persons and such as *have Children*, it might be truly said that they have Diversion enough, peculiar to themselves. A Man's *Wife*, if she be as she should be, is his best *Recreation*, for all Comendable Pleasures are in such a one. All Delights are summ'd up in an Agreeable Spouse. And if Wedlock be crown'd with the blessing of Children, who prove such as they ought to be, there is the accession of another inestimable Delight. The Grave *Socrates* bestrid the Hobby-Horse with his Boy, saith *Valerius Maximus*. The Great *Agesslaus* did so with his little Children, saith *Plutarch*. And when this latter was taken in this posture by one of his Friends, he (as that Author relates of him) desired him to suspend his Censure of him till he had Children of his own; knowing that then it would be determin'd on his side; namely, that Parents disporting themselves with their little Ones, is one of the most natural and innocent Recreations that Married Persons are capable of. And more especially this is the Female's Entertainment: whence it was not impertinently ask'd by one who saw the Women Play with *Monkies*, whether they had any *Children*.

Lastly,

Lastly, There are yet other Diversions and Intermissions which are *in common* to *most* of those Persons whom I have already named, and which may be thought *proper* to *some* of them, and to others whom I have not mention'd. Such are walking, and taking the Air, and thereby gently fanning the Lungs, and exercising the Limbs and Joints. *Aristotle* walk'd up and down when he taught his Scholars: and there were other Philosophers that disputed walking, and thereby made their Study a kind of Diversion. Sometimes it will be convenient to mend our soft pace, and to run. Or if our Feet be not so pliable, then we may exercise our selves with getting on Horse-back, or with riding in an open Chariot or Coach. Those that find it requisite to move their Bodies more violently, may try the harmless Sports of Tennis, of Bowling, of Leaping, of flinging the Bar, &c. or even Hunting and Coursing; or, those that are enclined to stay within Doors may entertain themselves with Reading or Writing, which after *other* Employments, will serve as *Diversion*.

Or they may talk of some *Pleasant Subjects*, which will create innocent Mirth and extort Laughter; I say *Laughter*, which is one of the Choicest and most Natural Diversions which Mankind (and no other Creature besides) is capable of. This Exercise is useful to shake the Midriff and Lungs, and the Muscles of the Breast, and therefore is a very Healthful Diversion, and certainly very Innocent if it be used Lawfully, that is, *moderately* and on *just*

occasions. A very Serious and Grave Author hath observ'd that * Laughter may be us'd to very Profitable purposes: and he tells us, † that *Lycurgus*, the Grave and Sober Lawgiver of the *Spartans*, would sometimes abate of his Gravity, and Sacrifice an Hour to Laughter. For it is not to be doubted but that there are some matters in Conversation which will admit of harmless *Mirth* and *Jesting*. But because here we are apt to be mistaken, I will particularly enumerate the several ways of *Diversion* in this kind.

1. There is *Satyr*, or the *Biting Jest*, which are an Innocent sort of Wit, if rightly used. Yea, it is very requisite on some Occasions: the Persons and Actions of some do really deserve it, and it fits them well: so that 'tis almost Injustice to deny them it. Such are the Self-conceited and Arrogant, who vaunt their Notions or their Deeds, tho' they be of no Value, yea tho' they merit Contempt. || It is not unreasonable, saith one of the Ancient Writers of the Christian Church, to quash the unmannerly pride of some Men, who pretend to be Wise above the rest of the World, 'tis not absurd to do this even in a Merry and Jeering way. Such Persons should do well to read what is Engraved on *Pasquin's* Statue, *Fruere salibus,*
insulse,

* Ἴσα κ' ἔλαπν χρεῖσθαι πρὸς πολλὰ ἢ ὠφελίμων. Plut. Sympos.

† In vitâ Lycurgi.

‡ Οὐκ ἀποκνῆσθαι τὴν χερσὶν ἡμῶν τὸ δόξασθαι ἀπεχθῆναι ἢ ὑπὲρ λίαν συνεστῆναι. Justin. Mar. Epist. ad Zenam.

insulse, ut bene sapias. There is a sort of Men that a Man shall meet with frequently, who are very troublesome with their bold pretensions, but the best of it is they are soon confuted, and it is by Laughing at them! Things not worthy of a serious Confutation may be derided. Holy Scripture scoffs at the absurdity of some Mens doings. *Elijah* made a Mock of *Baal* and his Votaries. *Solomon* suits his Stile to the Young Scoffers Sarcasticks, *Rejoyce O young Man in thy Youth.* We respect Foppery too much by a serious Refuting and Gravely disproving it. But then this must be said that our *Satyr* must not be spent in Scurrilous Reflections, in Reproaches and Contumely, in Slander and Defaming. The Mirth that is made by these is utterly unlawful, and no sober Man will be an Advocate for it. It was rightly said by *Plutarch* concerning this *Scommatick* and *Invective Wit*, * that he who cannot use it cautiously, artificially, and opportunely must not use it at all.

2. All *Obscene Jest*s are to be banished from the Conversation of Mankind. Here without any doubting or reserve it must be pronounc'd that they are Vicious. Therefore the Apostle condemns that *Jesting* which is coupled with *Filthiness*, Eph. 5. 4. that is, such *Jesting* as is Wanton, Unchaste and Lewd. If you will needs call this *Wit*, it is the Scum of it,

* Σκάρμαλα ἢ τῶ δυναίμεν μετ' εὐλαβείας καὶ τέχνης κατὰ κριτὸν ἀπειθαί, παντάπασιν ἀφεκτέον. Symphol,

3. *Irreligious and Prophane Jest*s must be no part of our Recreation. Nothing of Vertue and Goodness must be derided. It is unsufferable to break a Jest on Scripture or any Divine matters. That Wit is from Hell which plays with Holy things, and sports with Religion, especially the Christian. *Celsus, Julian, Porphyry, Lucian*, were of this Tribe: and we have great numbers of such Scoffers in this Age. They get the repute of *Wits* amongst their Party for abusing God and Religion, and prophaning the Sacred Writ by applying the Words and Sentences of it to Vain or Irreligious Senses, and Drolling on the Mysteries of our Faith, and turning all things, never so Sacred, into Ridicule: and thus they resolve to go down to Hell Jesters and Buffoons.

4. All *Light and Frothy Jest*ing, which is a part of the *Idle words* which our Saviour saith are to be accounted for at the last Day, is justly to be censured by us. This Jesting is join'd with *foolish talking*, Eph. 5. 4. that is, such as is altogether Vain and Empty, and is a mark of Folly and Indiscretion, and doth not Edifie in the least. All such Vain and Ludicrous Jesting is unlawful. This Loose way of Jocular discourse doth not beseem the Gravity and Seriousness of Christians. It takes off the Bridle from the Tongue, and makes it hang loose, and become Petulant.

. But now if you can abstract from all these forementioned faults of the Tongue, that is, *Scurrility, Obscenity, Prophane*ness and *Levity*; you may

nobius, Lactantius, Julius Firmicus, Gregory Nazianzen, and others.

Musick may be reckon'd amongst the Pleasant Entertainments of Man's Life, and may be useful to some as a good Refreshment. *Drinking a Glass of Wine,* or other Liquor with a Friend is servicable to the same purpose. *Feasting* is such, but it must be rare, for Eating and Drinking at our Ordinary Meals are our *constant Recreations*. At which to be Chearful is laudable, so we exclude not Religion, for whilst we feed our Bodies we may take occasion to refresh our Souls. *Luther's Table-Discourses* are an Instance of this. Among the harmless Divertisements of humane Life, *Tobacco* may have its share, for tho', like other things, it be unlawful in the Excess, and apparently Endangers the Bodily health by corrupting the Stomach, by blunting its natural Keeness and Appetite, by over-heating the Brain, and exhausting the nourishing Juices, and tho' it besots Thousands every Year, yet taken with reason and measure it is voted to be a great *Refresher*, and is an innocent *Companion* without Company. There is a Million of Suffrages to back this, and a great part of them is of those that are sober and impartial in their Judgment, and therefore we can't well oppose it.

To conclude this Enumeration of Particulars, *Sleep* and *Quiet Repose* are the great Chearers of Nature, and the standing Pleasures of Man's Life: for Indulgent Providence hath vouchsafed Refreshments to us in the Night, as well as in the Day. When we feel no Pleasure, then we are in the height of it. Thus I have shew'd how we may lawfully Recreate our selves, I have briefly pointed to those Intermisive Exercises
which

which are fitted to the Minds and Bodies of Men, and which are unquestionably harmless.

Now from what hath been suggested, this is the Natural Inference, That we by the foresaid Rules ought to try our past behaviour, and make a judgment of it; and if we find we have offended in the use of Pass-times, that we Repent of it, and (which is the main thing to be urged) that we be very Cautious and Circumspect in our practice for the future. There is no such thing intended as *Anchoretism*, abandoning the Converse of the World. I am not exhorting any one to Immure and Cloyster himself up, and abjure the Society of Mankind, and with it all Pleasantness and Chearfulness. No: the present Advice is only this, that he would be upon his guard whenever he mingles Conversation with the World, and entertains himself with the Delights of Life. Let him satisfy himself as to the *Lawfulness* of the Recreations he uses, and let him be careful to use them lawfully. He must prudently make choice of them, and see that they be innocent, moderate and useful, and that they have all the other Qualifications which the preceding Discourse takes notice of. That was an excellent General Rule given by the famous *Platonick* Philosopher *, I require such a Pleasure as Vertue disdains not to accept of for its Lackey. And that was yet a more noble Rule given by the Apostle, † *Whether you Eat or Drink, or whatsoever you do, do all to the glory of*

* πᾶσις δέομαι ἰδοῦνς ἢν ἐκ ἀπαξιώσει ἀρετῆ ὀραδὸν εὐτὴν ἰρεσάται. Max. Tyr. Diss. 15.

† 1 Cor. 10 31.

of God. Our very Repast and Pleasures, our natural and corporal Refreshments (as well as all other Actions of our Lives) must be piously directed to the Honour of the Eternal Being: we ought to consecrate and hallow all our Entertainments with sincere Intentions of Glorifying God, with real designs of exalting and magnifying his Name. And thus we may serve and please the Supream Lord of all, whilst we are employed even in the common Actions of Life, and are pleasing and gratifying our selves. And thus doing we shall never in all our Mirth and Sports commit any thing unbecoming Christianity.

And we ought the rather to attend to this Advice about our *Recreations*, because, though they seem to be mean in themselves, yet they have a great Influence on our Lives,

—————* *Hæ nuge seria ducunt*
In mala.—————

These light and ludicrous Diversions are frequently introductions to very solemn Evils and Mischiefs. For this is certain that the very Sports and Diversions of a People, are Indications of their Serious Department, and give a tincture to the most stated actions of their Lives. Nor is it to be wondred at, seeing they bear so considerable a part, and have so large a share in their Conversation, whence they cannot but have a powerful Ascendant over it, and make great alterations and disorders in it.

Hence

* Horat.

Hence it is that our sensual Delights and Refreshments are so frequently stain'd with Sin and Scandal; our Corporeal Pleasures defile our Thoughts, infect our Minds, and even our whole Man. Wherefore we are highly concern'd to look after our *Recreations*, and to admit of none that are Undue and Unlawful. We are to urge it upon our selves that the Body must not be pleas'd with the displeasing of Reason, and the Divine Author of it. The *Roman* Writer could say, * Recreation is that Leisure by which Vertue is recruited, not by which it is made to vanish. Our Bodily Pleasures were appointed to promote those that are Spiritual and Divine, and therefore we should always make this use of them. And to effect this, we ought to make *Religion* our Chief and Ultimate Delight, and ever to esteem it as such, for here are the most Refined and Exquisite Pleasures, the most Harmless and Innocent Reflections, the most Excellent and Noble Entertainments, suitable to the Nature of Rational Creatures, and such as afford, in the Reflection, the highest satisfaction and ravishment.

I think I need say no more on this Subject, and I believe what I have said will convince my Brethren that it was necessary to have treated of it, and that they are obliged to remind their Charge of being very Cautious in the choice of their *Recreations*: and the rather because 'tis observable that many offend in this
very

* Otium non quo evanescit Virtus, sed quo recreatur.
Val. Max. de Otio laudato, l. 8. c. 2.

very thing who in some others are Inoffensive. For 'tis generally thought that *Recreations* are of an indifferent nature, and that there is no downright Vice in them. Wherefore those that are Publick Instructors of the People are to rectifie Mens Apprehensions as to this, and to call upon them to be very Wary and Circumspect, and to take care that even their *Diversions* be harmless and Lawful as to themselves, and that they be such as give no occasion of Sin to others.

A
VINDICATION
OF
Some Passages
IN THE
First P A R T
OF THE
PREACHER,

From the Unjust Ex-
ceptions and Cavils
of Mr. LIGHTFOOT
and others.



A
 VINDICATION
 OF
 Some Passages
 IN THE
PREACHER: &c.

S OON after my late Discourses saw the light, I was fiercely insulted by some of my Brethren of the Clergy, who having taken up an Irreconcilable dislike of what I had Written, resolved to let me know their angry Resentments. This was but what I expected, for they could not but be very Uneasy and extremely Nettled when they beheld that Fabrick, which they had been erecting above these Forty Years, Undermined, yea, blown up. It wounded them under the fifth Rib that I attempted to restore and retrieve some of the *Calvinian* Doctrines. Wherefore it was debated who should attempt to Answer my last Books: and after a profound silence, the first Resolution was that the Task should be suspended, and that it might be free to
Task,

Talk, but not *Write* against what I had published. *Pens* were proscribed, but *Tongues* were left to their liberty. This was thought Adviseable, lest they should too apparently proclaim their Folly in defending a Cause which had been so often baffled. They were wisely Conscious that they might be involved in Disputes which they should not be able to Manage. Wherefore they chose rather to sit down, and not employ the Press. But the Pulpit was left free, it was lawful there to vent the Passionate Ferment which had been raised in their minds by reading or hearing of my Papers, and they let it fly in *Abusive Language*, the Detail of which I scorn to trouble the Reader with.

But this I can bear very well, because I am satisfied that Applause from some Persons is a Scandal and Disgrace. For a Man to have their Good Word, is a Reproach. To be commended by them, is to be a confessed Delinquent. Therefore I'm well pleased that I have not deserved their Praises. And on the contrary, there cannot be a greater mark of Credit and Honour than to be disliked by them. We glory in having such to be our Censurers and Condemners, as one of the Ancient *Fathers* said in the like case. A Man may as certainly know by these Mens *restless Opposing* of some Doctrines, that they are True, and are from God and lead to him, as if an Angel from Heaven came and assured us of it.

But all this while there was no Pen brandished against me. Therefore it was afterwards deeply consulted among their Party whether they should not alter their former Resolution, and *Write*, as well as *Preach* against

me. And accordingly a *City-Preacher* is said to have been propounded to undertake the Task: but by others the work was devolv'd on a Person or two in a certain *Society*. But these motions were soon quashed, and 'twas unanimously resolv'd to *Hire* one to do the business; and who should it be but the *Weekly Pamphleteer*? One known to the World to be False and Perfidious in his Relations of Matter of Fact; one who professedly deals in Fictions and Shams, and hath a long time hardned himself in this Practice, as if his Cause were to be carried by Effrontery and Falshood; one who hath been a long time employ'd to appear for a *Sunk Cause*, which none else dared to stand up for; one who hath the Shameless Confidence to put off his Reader with Stale and Threadbare Stuff nauseously repeated every Week, and to offer no more than what hath been said on those Heads by his Party a thousand times, and as often answered and confuted. After this rate of penning, he may Write against any thing or Person till Doomesday, but *then* meet with his just reward for it.

Another, a Learned Divine in the *West*, will take it ill if I should pass him by without taking notice of his *Printed Letter* to me, which he dispersed among the brotherhood in Vindication of the *Whole Duty of Man*. I had the Honour heretofore to receive several kind Epistles from him, wherein he was wont to approve of my Performances, much above what I could expect, and even to an excess. But now I'm fallen under his Displeasure, and must never hope to come into favour again, because I had said in one of my late Books that *one Reason*

why the so well known Book, the *Whole Duty of Man*, is applauded and cried up by some, is because it doth not trouble Mens Heads with the Principles of Christianity, but runs all upon the Practical part. Now, who would not expect that this Learned *Vindicator* should go to work to prove that That Book is Stocked with sufficient Principles of our Holy Religion, and that it is not taken up altogether with that part which refers to *Practice*? But I find no such thing: all that he hath to reply is this, that that Author in his *Preface* to his Book speaks of the *Three Offices of Christ*, and that in one of his *Prayers* he owns the *Restraining, Inciting and Assisting Grace of God*. These are all the Principles of Christianity that the Letter-writer could muster up out of the *Whole Duty of Man*. Wherefore let any unprejudiced Man Judge whether my Censure of that Book was *Prodigious Unjust*, as this Reverend Gentleman is pleased to term it: He adds that *most certainly Christianity consists Wholly in Practice*: which is exactly according to the Genius of this Present Age, which neglects and vilifies the *Doctrines and Mysteries* of the Christian Religion, but makes a *shew* of magnifying the *Practice* of it. I confess I did not think to have met with this from the pen of so Learned a Divine, who hath publicly asserted and earnestly contended for some of the *Grand Principles* which are peculiar to the Christian Institution.

Next, I am attacked in Form by Mr. *Lightfoot*, a *Bedfordshire* Divine, who with wide strides skips from one Page of my Book to another, and culls out what parts of my *Preacher* he pleases to make his *Remarks* on. He hath taken a good deal of time, three Years, to frame
and

and shape them, for his want of Truth and Sincerity in several passages of his *Remarks* forbids us to give credit to him when he saith *my Book is lately come in his way*. 'Tis not to be doubted that this Piece hath been a long time on the Anvil, and I fear there hath been a neglect of some *Parochial Duties*, that so this Work might be followed with the greater care and Application. We may see that he hath consulted his *Brethren* pretty much, for he speaks their very Sense, and expresses it in the same words that some of them have been heard to speak: and so upon the whole we must look upon this Performance as the Work of *many heads*, and consequently we may expect *Great* things from it. Mr. *Lightfoot* represents the Generality of the Fraternity, and it is probable was set on by some of them, and therefore in Replying to *him*, I make Account that I shall answer them *all* at once: and that is the Reason why I *Enlarge* so much on his *Remarks*, they being not only *his*, but the *Remarks* of the Whole Party, and accordingly we shall here see what is their *United Strength*.

I had said in my *Preacher* that *there wants some reformation of our Pulpits*, which this *Re-marker* doth not so much as attempt to confute, but plays upon it, and tells us that *he believes 'tis generally thought that there never was better Preaching since the Reformation*, p. 2. Here is a pretty Put-off with a *Jingle* about the word *Reformation*, and thereby he shews what he intends to do in his following *Remarks*, that is, to Trifle. But as to the business, in good earnest there is no body denies that we have had *Excellent Preachers*, and *Admirable Sermons*, and

even Foreigners have come hither to purchase them, tho' of late I don't hear there is any such thing: nor is it denied that several of the English Clergy at this day are very Eminent for their Gift of Preaching. No Man hath a greater Esteem and Honour for these than I have, and I wish their Numbers increased. Yet I had just ground to complain that our Pulpits need *Reforming*, for I take it to be a considerable fault that we every day multiply Discourses about the *Truth of the Christian Religion*, as if we were Preaching to mere *Pagans* and *Infidels*, and not to *Christian Auditors*. I will speak my mind freely, I look upon this continued way of Preaching as one great Cause of that *Deism* which reigns among us at this time: for many have been enclined to think that if the *Christian Institution* were really *True* and *Solid*, it needed not to be *Perpetually Proved* and *Demonstrated*; and accordingly this Constant insisting on the proof of Christianity, together with the shallow Arguments made use of by some for it, begets in some Mens minds a Doubting, and then a Disbelief of the Christian Religion and of all that is Revealed. I take this to be one Rise of the *Infidelity* of these times.

And then there is another Pulpit-fault, which Advances it, namely, that tho' we talk so frequently of the *Truth of Christianity*, and make it a *Common-Place*, yet we boldly utter from the Pulpit and Press such Assertions and Doctrines as are Inconsistent with the Doctrines of *Christianity*, and the plain discoveries of the New Testament, as well as of the Old. If the Reader pleases to look back to the *Third General Head* in the foregoing Discourses, he will find

find some of those *Affertions* set down: which truly I should not have mustered up in that formal manner, if Mr. *Lightfoot* had not told the World that I reproached the Pulpit when I said *it needed Reformation*. And I leave the Reader to Judge whether I have mistaken the meaning of those Authors whose words I have quoted, as this Champion of theirs every where Complains, he being taught to say so by some of his Brethren. But the plain Truth is this, these Men were resolved (for their own Credit, as they thought) to suggest *something* against my Performance, and they pitched upon *This*, which truly is as little as I could expect from them. They knew that nothing is more Easy than to say I mistake and misrepresent the Sense of the Writers I quote: but none of them but our present *Remarker* hath had the courage to *attemp*t to make this good; whom I hope to make Ashamed (if such a thing be possible with him) of his bold exploit, and to let the World see that he and his Accomplices are the *Misrepresenters*, and not I.

I had said that *the design of the Sacred Volume is to exalt the Divine Will and Sovereignty, and to debase the high thoughts and reasonings of frail Mortals*: but he leaves out a Principal word in the former Clause, tho' he pretends to *exact quotation*, and blames me for not observing it, and he wholly omits the Latter part, which clears the foregoing one, and so he thinks to *blind* the Reader by such Unlawful arts as these. P. 2. A little *Ingenuity* and *Honesty* would have been seasonable here, if it could have been had: but we must look for no such thing from this Writer in his whole Progress, for his setting

out thus Ill at *First* is a presage of what he intends to do afterwards.

I had said that *there is some suspicion of our sailing back again to the Old Point*, which he supposes is *Poper*y, which any other Man who is no Conjurer might as luckily have guessed. But he saith there is *little* (he doth not say *no*) *Ground* for this suspicion, and he thinks he proves it by adding that *many of those very Persons whom I find fault with, for deserting the Doctrines of our Church, did in the time of danger stand up bravely in its Defence.* P. 3. This Writer pretends to know Mens Hearts, as when he tells the Reader afterwards what was *my Design* in writing my Books, and now here he is certain that it was in the Hearts of those foresaid Persons to stand up bravely in Defence of the Church. I do not deny it, but may not he and *some* of them mistake the *Church Revenues and Incomes* for the *Church*?

It cannot but be observed how Perverse this Writer is in his Comment on *Bishop Wilkins's* words in his *Ecclesiastes* which I quoted, for tho' the Bishop in his *List of Sound and Orthodox Divines* reckons up the Chief *Calvinists* both abroad and at home, yet this *Remarker*, P. 4. will not allow it to be the Bishops Judgment that those *Calvinists* are Sound and Orthodox, by which he would argue the Bishop to be false and insincere, tho' at the same time he owns *he hath a great value for the Bishop's Judgment, and it will go as far with him as most Mens*: But such gross Inconsistencies as these are common with Mr. *Lightfoot*, and I must not stay to take notice of them all. Only here it may be asked, what shall we say or think of such

such a Writer as this, who cannot write six lines without Contradicting himself?

What is suggested by him that *Bishop Wilkins did not prefer the Calvinists before the Lutherans for their sound Judgment*, is confuted without any more ado from that Bishop's declaring in plain terms his Judgment for the Calvinian Doctrines: * *God, saith he, might have designed us for Vessels of Wrath, and then we had been eternally undone, without all possible remedy. There was nothing to move him in us, when we lay all together in the general heap of Mankind. It was his own Free Grace and Bounty that made him to take delight in us, to chuse us from the rest, and to sever us from those many thousands in the World, who shall Perish Everlastingly: and accordingly he directs us in our Prayers to thank God for this mercy of Election. Here is Calvinism with a Witness, not to mention other passages in the Bishops Writings: and therefore if Mr. Lightfoot spoke true when he said the Bishops Judgment will go far with him, it must go with him to Geneva: and yet we see he is bound for another Quarter. There is no end then of disputing and grappling with such an Opposer of himself, as well as of the plain Truth.*

He tells us P. 5. *he is sure Bishop Andrews was no Calvinist.* Which is as rashly said as the rest, for if he had been more conversant in his own *College Library*, he might have met with a *Manuscript* there that would have corrected his Apprehension: for from thence 'tis

Q 4

evident

evident that Bishop *Andrews* agreed with the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Dr. *Whitgift*, as to the Main, about the *Lambeth Articles*, and submitted his Judgment to the Determination of that Prelate: which any Man that hath read those Articles will say is enough to evince the Bishop to have been no Enemy to *Calvinism*, and to shew that when our *Remarker* saith *he is sure he was no Calvinist*, his Assurance outruns his Reason.

As to Bishop *Andrews's Sermons* which are Printed, they are generally preached on such Particular Publick Occasions when it could not be expected he should handle the Points we speak of, and therefore they are unreasonably mentioned by the *Remarker*: but yet there is his *Sermon of Justification*, among those others, which shews what his sentiments were concerning the *Imputed Righteousness of Christ*, and the *Imputation of our Sins to him*: which are plain strokes of *Calvinism*. But if there were no such passages in this Bishops Writings, and it could be proved (which never yet was) that he was no favourer of the Calvinian Doctrines, I don't see that this is any thing to the *Remarker's* purpose, for what if there was one Bishop in four and twenty of a different mind from the rest?

Mr. *Lightfoot* saith *he doth not see the Consequence of what I had said*, namely, *that because Teaching was absolutely necessary to the making of a Church, and therefore enjoined in the first place, it must still be the Chief of the Ministerial acts, after the Church is made.* P. 8. *This Argument proves nothing at all*, he saith. But his saying so proves something, that is, that he hath no skill

skill in true Reasoning, and in discerning of *Consequences*, for tho' those he adheres to tell us that there are no *Jews* and *Heathens* now among us to be Converted, for all are *Christians* by Profession, and therefore *Preaching* is not of that necessity, nor is to have that esteem which it had in the *Apostles* times, yet one may see that this is False Arguing, for we have many at this day who bear the name of *Christians*, but are really *Infidels*, and in their Lives shew themselves to be *worse than Pagans*: wherefore there is as much need of *Preaching* at this time as there was at First: and consequently as the Church was at First gathered and made by *Preaching*, so now 'tis by the same way to be upheld and increased. Which is plainly implied in the Close of the *Apostles* Commission, *I am with you alway even unto the end of the World*, Matt. 28. 20. We see then how weakly and rashly it was said that the *Argument* proves nothing at all: and we see there is good *Consequence* in this Reasoning, that *Preaching* was the Chief Act in the *Apostles* times, therefore 'tis so now. This will pass for good *Logick* among all but those who have a very Mean Opinion of this *Evangelical* Institution, as he seems to have who tells us that * *since the greatest part of Religion is now a days plac'd in Hearing*, he is willing to allow *Preaching* to be part of our *Ministry*.

He quotes *Acts* 6. 4. *We will give our selves continually to Prayer, and to the Ministry of the word,*

* *Dr. Nourse's* Visitat. Sermon.

word, and then adds, *Is here any Acknowledgment that Preaching is the Chief Ministerial act? Is not Prayer joined with it, nay placed before it?* P. 8. I answer, tho' Prayer be joined with the Ministry of the Word, and mentioned First, yet 'tis acknowledged here by the Apostles to be the *Chief Ministerial Act* that is to be attended to, which is the thing I asserted, and which the *Remarker* denies. But he would have found that there is no reason to do so, if he had consulted the Context, and joined the forementioned words to the preceding ones, thus, *It is not reason that we should leave the word of God, and serve tables: wherefore, Brethren, look ye out among you seven Men, &c. But we will give our selves continually to Prayer and to the Ministry of the Word.* Which is as much as to say, Preaching the Word is a more Noble and Necessary Employment than Collecting of Money for the Poor, or Distributing it to them, and therefore some Persons must be Particularly appointed to look after this latter business: but as for our selves, who are Apostles and Ministers of Christ, we must wholly mind the former, that is, the Office of Preaching, which it is true is accompanied with *Prayer* for a Blessing on that work, but it is the Work itself, the Ministry of the Word (called before *the Word of God*) which we must chiefly be concerned for, and employ our selves about, for this will take up our whole time. This is the obvious and genuine meaning of the Text, for we see that the last words *We will give our selves continually, &c.* refer Immediately and directly to those, *It is not reason that we should leave the Word of God.* The Apostles
and

and First Preachers of the Gospel had no *Cu- rates*, but did the Work *Themselves*, and they reckoned it, we see, the *Best and Principal Work*, and to be preferred to all others. I appeal now to the Reader whether Mr. *Lightfoot's* suggestion to the contrary be not empty and groundless.

He very gravely and magisterially, P. 10. Chastises me for excepting against a Passage which I met with in Dr. (and now Bishop) *Wake* about *Catechising* and *Sermons*, which latter he saith *are Exercises which have, he knows not how, universally crept into the place of them*, that is, of Catechetical Exercises. I thought I had reason to take notice of this, as a plain disparaging of the Office of Preaching. For if it be true that *Sermons crept into the place of Catechising*, then they are Unwarrantable Usurpers and ought to be turned out: and can it be said that they *universally crept into the Church*, and yet *it cannot be known how*? Hath not Preaching had the allowance of the Governors of the Church, and yet must be said to have *crept in*, and *without their knowledge*? These were my thoughts concerning that passage of this *Worthy and Excellent Prelate*, and he being a Free Speaker and Writer himself will not, I hope, be offended at this Liberty which I took of expressing my sentiments.

But our *Remarker* saith not a syllable here on the *Reason* which I gave of my Reflection on that forecited passage, which plainly shews that he could not invent any thing to object against it, it is so rational and evident: and yet (as at other times) he must needs be nibbling, yea, he spends three or four Pages in
quoting

quoting some words out of the Bishop which are nothing at all to his purpose, but are Impertinent Excursions. And this by the way, is to be observed concerning this *Remarker*, that where he hath the least to say of any thing, there he is most Flippant and Talkative. If he had been Sincere, he would have owned that *Sermons* and *Catechising* are very consistent, and mutually help each other: and one would think that as he would be thought to be a True Lover of the Church of which he is a Member, he should have wished that the meetings of the Dissenters should not be augmented (as certainly they are) by the defect of Preaching in the Afternoons in so many of our Churches.

He forces himself, P. 15. to mistake the meaning of Solomon's words, Eccl. 5. 1. *Keep thy Foot when thou goest into the House of God, and be more ready to bear than to give the Sacrifice of Fools*, merely to evade the sense that I fixed on them. For it is plain that the Wise Man speaks here of the Publick Service and Worship of God, for 'tis in *the House of God*, and lets us know that a Readiness to hear and understand our Duty, which is by Instructing and Preaching, is to be preferred to the mere Oblation of Prayer, or the like act of Worship, which without Hearing, and being Instructed in our duty, and thereupon obeying God's will, is but the *Sacrifice of Fools*. But our Wise Remarker chooses this latter.

What he labours to advance on *Acts* 6. 2. is already answered.

He shews P. 17. that he is unwilling to be at the trouble to exert so much common sense as to understand plain English, for I having said that *I would treat of the nature of Preaching, not so much to inform my Brethren of their Duty, as to give laws to myself*, he infers that this is Contradictory to what I say in another place, that *I would be helpful to others to discharge their Office aright*, that is, the Office of Preaching: as if these two Designs in Writing my Book were contrary to each other. Such poor Logick as this could not be learnt in the Learned Society from whence he came: this must certainly have been picked up since he hath been Rusticated. Nay duller yet, for tho' he censures those two Designs as *Inconsistent*, and therefore both of them cannot be my designs, yet immediately afterwards he expressly adds *that these are two of my Chief Designs in Writing my Book*. Such Manifest Contradictions and Absurdities doth he heap upon one another.

But what is the *third Chief Design* that I have (for he makes me a very Designing Man?) It is he saith, *to cast an Odium upon some of my Brethren by Publishing not only Real slips and failings, but by misrepresenting their meaning, and charging them with those things they are Innocent of*. Here observe it is confessed that our Brethren have *Real slips and failings*, and they must be very Visible and Gross ones (not to be expressed by the soft terms of *Slips and failings*) if the *Remarker* submits to this Acknowledgement. And he could not do otherwise, for great numbers of his Brethren say as much: and if they say so, we may *believe* them; tho' they are Angry that it was said by *me*.

But

But all do not shew this Passion, as I can prove under the hand of a Great Man of our Church, who was pleased to Honour me with a Letter of an unusual length, wherein are these Individual words, [“It is very good service
 “to censure the plain and evident failings of
 “great Men, which in my Judgment is very
 “well in many things, Particularly Dr. *Tillotson*
 “of the rise and original of Christianity,
 “also Dr. *Lucas*, Dr. *Pain*, Dr. *Tillotson* about
 “Idle words: Dr. *Tillotson* about the Devils
 “not Imprinting wicked thoughts, and about
 “Hell torments: Dr. *Pain* about Inclinations
 “to Evil. You did exceedingly well in censuring
 “*Morer’s* Dialogue of the Lord’s Day, if
 “that be his Doctrines as you Represent it
 “and I have no reason to believe the contrary,
 “tho’ I never did see his Book.] Afterwards he
 adds, [“I believe with you that because that di-
 “stinction of *Venial* and *Mortal Sins* is abused by
 “the *Roman* Clergy. Dr. *Lucas* had better have
 “gone in the Common tract with the rest of
 “his Learned Brethren without the use of that
 “Distinction.] Again, [“I do not allow of
 “Mr. *Kettlewell’s* Interpretation of our Saviours
 “Text of *Idle words*, neither do I allow of
 “*Inclinations*, &c.] Thus far I have this Se-
 rious Gentleman for my Compurgator, and tho’
 ’tis true in another part of his Letter he a-
 grees not to some other Animadversions which
 I have made on some passages in the Writings of
 our Divines, yet I question not but that on
 farther thoughts he hath taken off his censure:
 for upon a deliberate revolving of things in
 his mind he cannot but be convinced that I
 have produced not only the Express Words,
 but

but the Clear Mind and Sense of the Authors. Our Remarker pretends to be of another opinion, or rather he endeavours to make his Reader believe so, merely to salve the credit of his Brethren.

He owns P. 19. that the Doctrine of the *Divine Decrees and Particularly of Eternal Election is seldom Preached in our Pulpits*, and he pretends to defend this Practice. Let us see with what reason and strength he doth it. One mighty Argument is this, that Bishop *Andrews* owns that *he handled not these Doctrines in his Sermons*: therefore they must not be handled by any Body else. Here is your Logician, your Strong Reasoner. As if it might not as well be argued, There are several other Points which Bishop *Andrews* handles not in his Sermons: therefore no Preacher must say a word of them. But Bishop *Andrews* is no Oracle with me, and I suppose would not have been with the *Remarker*, if he had not fancied he had been of his side. Which yet he hath no reason to think, if he Remembers what I have said above concerning this Prelates Judgment.

Another killing Argument is this, *Bishop Sanderfon* no where in his *Sermons*, either purposely or by the by treats of these Points: therefore they are not to be Preached upon. Which is a Conclusion that no Man but the *Rector of Odel* would have drawn from the Premises, for 'tis well known that most of Bishop *Sanderfon's* Sermons were Preached to the *Court*, and before the *Judges*, and at the *Visitations of the Clergy*, when other Subjects of Discourse were most proper and seasonable: so that on that Account the *Remarker* chose out a very
Improper

Improper Instance. Yet so it is that *this* very Instance will confound him, for I shall, before I put a period to these Animadversions, fully satisfy the Reader that that Bishops Sermons treat of *these very Points*, and Demonstrate him to be a *Calvinist* as to Doctrine.

The *Remarker* jogs on, and tells us P. 20. that none of the *Homilies expressly treat of the Divine Decrees*, implying that these do *implicitly and by consequence* treat of them, as most certainly they do in several places. Indeed it cannot be expected that the *Homilies* should purposely treat of the Decrees of *Election* and *Reprobation*, because they were *chiefly* designed to confute and beat down those Opinions and Practices which tended to *Roman Superstition* and *Idolatry*. Yet, as I have observed in another place, the very *Homilies* make mention of the *Elect* and *Chosen of God*, and of the *Reprobates* and *Cast-a-ways*: and particularly in the third Part of the *Homily concerning Prayer* these two sorts of Persons are mentioned, *the Elect and Blessed of God, and the Reprobate and Damned*. It is plain then, what ever our *Remarker* suggests, that the Compilers of the *Homilies* held the Doctrine of the Decrees. So our *Liturgy* and our *Church Catechism* make express mention of *the Elect, God's Elect, his Chosen People, the certain number of the Elect, the Reprobate*. And the Learned Author of * *the History of the Reformation* acknowledges that *the Doctrine of Predestination was generally taught by the Reformers,*

* Part 2. Book 1.

Reformers, who were the Composers of the Homilies, Liturgy, and Church-Catechism.

There is a passage very pertinent to my purpose which I met with in Mr. Strype's late * *Annals of the Reformation*, where he sets down a *Declaration of the Faith drawn up by the First Reformers*, the same Divines that were then concerned about the preparing and settling the Book of *Common-Prayer*. Among the several Articles in that Confession of Faith there is one concerning *Predestination*, where there are these words, [" Although there
" be many godly Men in these our days who
" will think that in this our corrupt Age,
" in the which Men are given to all rashness
" of Judgment and dissoluteness of life, and
" do not weigh the *Mysteries of Faith* with
" such Christian Humility as they ought to
" do, it were best that *such Articles* should be
" passed over in silence (indeed we do think
" that Discreet Ministers will speak sparingly
" and circumspectly of them, and that upon
" the Consideration before rehearsed:) yet
" notwithstanding, seeing some Men of late
" are risen who do *gainsay and oppugn this*
" *Truth*, we cannot utterly pass over this
" matter with silence, both for that the *Holy*
" *Ghost* doth so often make mention of it in
" the *Scriptures*, especially in *St. Paul's Epistles*:
" which argueth it to be a Thing both *Fruit-*
" *ful* and *Profitable to be known*: and also being
" occasioned by the same Reason which moved

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" St.

* Chap. 8. P. 118.

“ *St. Austin* to write of this matter of *Predestination*, &c. Notwithstanding we do not despair but that such as are Curable, through free and open *Preaching of the Gospel*, will be brought to see and understand the *Truth* better than hitherto they have done: for true it is that these and other most grievous Errors have increased in these Realms in these late Years, for want of *True Preaching*.]

Thus *Mr. Strype* out of an Authentick MS. where we plainly see what was the Sense and Apprehension of the First Learned and Pious Reformers of our Church, touching *Predestination* and the *Preaching of it*. Upon the consideration of the corruption of the Times they were then cast into, which had been depraved by Popery in *Q. Mary's* Reign, and had made the generality of Men incapable of weighing the *Mysteries of Faith* with such *humility* as they should, it might seem best at the present to pass over those Mysteries in *Silence*, or to speak but sparingly of them: yet this did not hinder these Reformers from inserting the Article of *Predestination* into their *Confession of Faith*, and they assign this Reason for it, (and tis a very good one) because the *Holy Ghost* doth frequently make mention of it in the *Scriptures*, and especially *St. Paul* often inculcates it in his *Epistles*: which evidently proves the Profitableness of this Doctrine, and the Necessity of its being known and declared to the People: and besides, herein they follow the Example of that Famous Father and Preacher of the Christian Church *St. Augustine*. And lastly, these Reformers acquaint us that it is the want of *True Preaching* (that is, of the free and open Preaching

ing of the Gospel, wherein these Divine Truths are contain'd) that is the Cause why Men are not brought to see and understand the Truth of this Doctrine of *Predestination*, and why the contrary *Error* prevails. Now then let the Reader judge of what our *Remarker* with great assurance lays down as a Certainty *that it was the judgment of our first Reformers that we should not entertain the People in our Sermons with the Doctrine of the Divine Decrees.*

He will not grant that *the Doctrine of Original Sin is almost shut out of our Pulpits of late.* p. 23. Which is confuted by those flagrant Instances which I have produced in the 2d Part of the *Preacher*, and in *Veritas. Redux*, and I could produce more still. I will content my self with a very late one, * *Infants, saith one, are qualified to be received as Members of Christs Church by baptism, because they are Innocent. Again, Infants, who have never sin'd, are fitted for baptism by their Innocence. Whereas 'tis certain that Infants are admitted to Baptism because they are not Innocent, but are born in Sin. Therefore they stand in need of this Sacramental Washing, because they are polluted and defiled. That is the Orthodox Doctrine of the Christian Church. Baptism is founded on the Doctrine of Original Sin. There can be no reason for the former unless we believe the latter. If you should attempt to excuse this Writer (as I expect some will) by saying he means not Original Sin, but that which is Actual, you make him speak yet more inconsistently;*

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* *Mr. Clark's Essay of Baptism, chap. 5.*

sistently; for if Children be baptized because they are Innocent as to all Actual Sin, then at Baptism they are purified and wash'd before they are defiled, which is so preposterous and absurd that no Thinking Man will allow of it. How are they *fitted* by that to be baptiz'd which makes them *incapable* of Baptism?

The *Remarker* tells us that Archbishop *Tillotson* teaches the *Doctrine of Justification by Faith only*. p. 29. and yet 'tis well known that he hath *several Sermons* directly against this very *Doctrine*, and he makes it his *Business* to overthrow it, and scoffingly calls the asserters of the other *Doctrine Solifidians*, as those of the Church of *Rome* are wont to do. I pity his Grace for having got such an *Advocate* as Mr. *Lightfoot*, who attempts to defend him right or wrong. But who can believe this *Perfidious Remarker*, who so palpably *Imposes* upon the World, affirming that Dr. *Tillotson* teaches the *Doctrine of Justification by Faith only*, whenas it is plain that he industriously maintains the *Doctrine of Justification by Works*? From this we may know how to answer what he saith about *Regeneration* and the *Knowledge of Christ as Mediator* in the same Paragraph.

He will not allow of what I said, that 'tis the fault of some of our Preachers that they extol *Natural Reason* too high, and give it an *Ascendant* over *Reveal'd Religion*, p. 30. I instanc'd in the Archbishop's Words, which are these, *All reasonings about divine Revelations must necessarily be governed by the Principles of Natural Reason*: and again, *By those Principles we are to interpret what God hath revealed*. If these expressions do not extol *Natural Reason* too high, and give it an *Ascendant*

Ascendant over Revealed Religion, 'tis difficult to produce any Words that do so. And the *Remarker* was fully sensible of this, and accordingly left out in his *Quotation* of my Words, these which I have here set down out of the Archbishop. Which is a most faithless and detestable practice, and the more so because he accuses me of not quoting my Authors right. We see now that this was done only in way of a *Blind* (as I said before) that is, that he might falsifie with the greater safety, and freedom from Suspicion.

I had charg'd Dr. *W.* Dr. *Cl.* Dr. *Cr.* Dr. *Sb.* with over-magnifying of Natural Reason, and the *Remarker* confesses p. 33. *that he thinks* he knows the Persons whom I mean, but he dares not meddle with the Clergy, and undertake the defence of those Persons Innocency. The Reason is good, because he knew he *could not* defend it.

Whereas I had said that *the Book entitled the Whole Duty of Man is wholly silent about the Doctrines and Principles of Christianity*, the *Remarker* presently bestirs himself, and undertakes to prove that that Book treats of the Doctrines and Principles of the Christian Religion: for in the *Preface*, saith he, there is something said of the *Old and New Covenant*, and of the *Prophetick, Priestly and Kingly Office of Christ*: and in the Book it self there is something of *Faith*, and *Repentance*, and the *Sacraments*, therefore this Book treats of Christian Principles, as well as Practice, p. 34, 35. Here we may observe that this *Remarker* makes the *Preface* and the Book it self to be the same, which no body but he would have done. If the knowledge of

Christ's Offices, and the *Covenants* be part of the Whole Duty of Man, why did not the Author insert it into his Book? It is plain that by bringing it in *by the bye*, only he shews that it was his judgment that *the Whole Duty of Man* was Complete without it: otherwise he imposes on the Reader by the *False Title* he gives his Book. As to *Faith*, as it hath *Christ* for its Object (which is the more *peculiar* acception of that Evangelical Grace) it is not treated of any where in the Book it self. And as to *Repentance* and the *Sacraments*, they are not looked upon and treated of by him as *Doctrines* and *Principles of Knowledge*, which is the thing I am now insisting upon, and therefore they are mention'd by the *Remarker* to no purpose. He stretches the design of this Writer's Book beyond what was intended by him, for he designed that it should treat of *Practical Duties*, not *Principles*. It appears then that the *Remarker* is as sorry an Advocate for the Author of the *Whole Duty of Man*, as he was for Archbishop Tillotson.

But because he had insinuated in this part of his Remarks, p. 34. that *I never read the Book called the Whole Duty of Man, but took my Character of it from some body else, who led me into this mistake*, and because the Reverend Person in the *Printed Letter* before mention'd was pleas'd to reprimand me for what I had said of *the Whole Duty of Man*, I resolv'd to look into the Book again, and impartially peruse every Page of it: and accordingly I did so, and I have now presented the Reader, in the Close of these Papers, (because I would not interrupt my *Reflections on Mr. Lightfoot's Remarks*,

marks, which I am at present employed in) with my free thoughts concerning the whole Undertaking of that Author : and I believe no Man for the future, no not the *Remarker*, will question whether I have read that Book.

He enters p. 38, 39. upon a Whimsical Separation of *Christianity* from *Morality*, and makes as if I allowed of such a thing in my *Preacher* : whereas I had asserted *Morality* to be the practice of those duties which the light of Nature and Reason dictates to us, and that to those we ought to join the Duties which are purely *Christian* and *Evangelical*, and which we have by *Revelation*. Tho' there is a great *Difference* between these two, yet we must not separate them, but add one to the other. But this Fanciful *Remarker* would persuade his Reader that I exhort my Brethren to Preach of *Morality* and *Christianity* separately, and he makes these two to Clash one with another. Which he hath done in so silly and gross a manner that it can't but be perceiv'd that it was his design only to *Amuse* the Reader, because he had nothing material to offer under this Head. Only see here the Iniquity of this Man ! Whilest he is industrious to persuade his Reader that I *misrepresent* other Mens meanings, he makes nothing of most wretchedly misrepresenting *mine*.

P. 40, 41. He shews that he is resolved to deny all that I say : therefore it is in vain to deal with him whilest he is in that humour.

But whatever the *Archbishop* propounds, he most readily swears to, as the Words of an Infallible Master. Thus p. 42, 43. he defends this Assertion of his, *That all the duties of the Christian Religion which respect God are no other than*

what *Natural Light* prompts Men to, excepting the *Sacraments and Praying to God in the name and by the mediation of Christ*. For, saith the Remarker, *Faith* and the like Christian Graces are *implied* and *included* in Praying, and thus he thinks he very laudably brings the Archbishop off: after the like manner that one of the most distinguished Depravers of Theological Truths in this Age, not long ago taught his Disciples that there is but *One single Article of Christian Faith that calls for our assent*, for all others that we can mention *accompany* that, and are *implied* in it. This Invention was started to cut off the greatest part of Christianity: and the other which is now under our consideration was designed to the same end; namely, to curtail and maim our most Holy Religion, and to reduce it to the mere *Law of Nature*, which was aimed at by the Archbishop in several of his Discourses, and particularly in this passage before us, where he declares that, excepting the Sacraments and Praying in the Name of Christ, there is nothing in all *Christianity* which respects God but what *Natural Light* prompts Men to.

If this be true, then *Natural Light* prompts us to believe the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity; that is, Three Persons in the Divine Essence, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, with their distinct Operations: then we are taught by *Natural Light* to exert our Faith on Jesus Christ for Eternal Life and Salvation: then to believe that Christ took upon him our Sins, and suffered in our stead, to save us from Death and everlasting punishment, is a *Natural Notion*: then the Knowledge of our Corruption and Depravity by the Fall of *Adam*, and the way of Recovery
out

out of this State of Misery is a Natural attainment: then the Incarnation of the Son of God and the Redemption of Man by him are Articles which Common Reason dictates to us: then the Terms of the Covenant of Grace made by God in and thro' Jesus Christ are known by the common Light of Nature: then by the same Principle we are acquainted that Regeneration and Conversion are the Effect of a Supernatural power: then by Natural Religion we may be fully informed of the Certainty of a Future State, and of the enjoying of God in Heaven: and we may be assured of the truth of an Eternal and endless state of Misery after this Life: then also these following duties are dictated by Natural Religion, that we must beg the grace and assistance of the Holy Spirit; we must set Christ before us as our Pattern and Example: that we ought to make the Love of Christ to us a Motive and Argument of our loving our Brethren, that we must read the Holy Scriptures, especially those of the New Testament, and make those Writings the Rule of our Lives, that we must keep the First Day of the Week Holy, in honour of Christ's Resurrection; that we must observe the Laws of Church Government and Discipline appointed by Christ and his Apostles. Now, I appeal to any Man that understands the *Christian Religion*, whether all these things that I have mentioned be not *Proper* and *Peculiar* to it, and consequently they are not dictated to us by the *light of Natural Reason*. The Archbishop holds the contrary, and makes no difference between this latter and Christianity, but only as to the *Sacraments* and *Prayer in Christ's Name*. And the obsequious

Remarker

Remarker is his humble Servant, and saith *Amen* to all.

Again, P. 44. He lets us see that he thinks nothing is offensive in the Archbishop; yea, that all he saith is Gospel, even tho' it is repugnant to it: for after he had quoted these Words of his which I had excepted against, *The fruits of the Spirit are the same with Moral Vertues. Grace and Vertue are but two Names which signifie the same thing*, he adds of his own, *In truth he Preaches the saving Gospel of Jesus Christ, as 'tis taught in the Holy Scriptures.* So then according to this Modern Divinity the Gospel and the Holy Scriptures teach us that the Temperance and Sobriety, the Justice and Charity of the *Heathens*, who were acted only by the light of Nature, differ not from the Graces and Spiritual Endowments of the Apostles, and such as are directed by the Holy Spirit, but are the *same thing*. But who would think that this should be held and maintained by those who pretend to own the Thirteenth *Article* of our Church, which is this, *Works done before the Grace of Christ, and the Inspiration of his Spirit are not pleasant to God, for as much as they spring not of Faith in Jesus Christ: yea rather, for that they are not done as God hath willed and commanded them to be done, we doubt not but they have the nature of sin?* These are the express words of our Church, and is not every one that hears or reads them compelled by reason and truth to say concerning the Archbishop's Abettors that tho' they profess themselves to be Sons of the Church of *England*, and have *subscribed* to this very *Article* before recited, yet they renounce their Mother,
and

and rase out what they had written with their own hands?

The Archbishop's Voucher endeavours here to clear him by producing the Text he Preached upon, Eph. 5. 9. *The fruit of the Spirit is in all goodnefs, and righteoufnefs and truth,* and he faith the Apostle instances in three *Moral Vertues*, and thence infers that all *Moral Vertues* are the *Graces* and *Fruits of the Spirit*, or that *Graces* are but *Moral Vertues*. A very Erroneous Inference, which he would not have made, I fuppofe, if he had confulted Bishop *Sanderfon*, (who he faith *was reckon'd an Eminent and Ufe-full Preacher*) on that Text, in *Gal. 5. 22.* which is parallel with that foremention'd one, *Eph. 5. 9.* * *The fruit of the Spirit, faith he, is in truth the proper effect of that supernatural Grace which is given unto us by the good pleasure of God the Father, merited for us by the precious blood of God the Son, and conveyed into our hearts by the sweet and fecret Inspirations of God the Holy Ghost.* This is fpoken like a Man of fome Sense in the Christian Religion, and we are informed thence that the Works which are the *Proper fruit of the Holy Spirit* far exceed all *Moral Vertues* and Accomplishments of Nature. It is true they may be called *Moral Vertues* in this Sense that they issue from a Free and Rational Principle, and because they have relation to the Manners and Actions of Men: but as they are the effects likewise of a Higher and Nobler Principle, the supernatural Grace of God, they are *really distinguished* from those

* Ad Aulam. 5th Sermon, on 1 Tim. 3. 16. preached in the Year 1639.

those Attainments which are called Moral Vertues. Which is the thing that the Archbishop denies, for his express words (as they are quoted by the *Remarker* himself) are, *What are these but Moral Vertues?*

The *Remarker* brings one of the *Homilies* to prove that the Archbishop is in the right: whereas it is well known that these Writings, which were composed by our *First Reformers*, abundantly set forth the *Special Grace* of God in the Gospel, and the necessity of the powerful assistance of the *Holy Spirit* for accomplishing of any *Good Work*: no Writers make a greater difference than they do between *Evangelical Works* and those that proceed from a *lower Principle*, and in several other respects they out do our Modern Divinity. Whence some are not unwilling that these Old Discourses should be *Altered*, and put into another shape (as hath been lately attempted) and then they can leave out those Doctrines which they have no kindness for, and insert their own Sentiments; as we see in the new-methodized *Homily of Falling from God*, where the Methodizer's dislike of an *Absolute Irreversible Decree*, or a *Secret Particular Decree* is foisted in by him. But to come to the business, the passage in the Homily quoted by the *Remarker* is this, *The Works of the Moral Commandments of God are the very true works of Faith*: but this is nothing of kin to what the Archbishop had said, because it is not spoken of Works that are merely Moral, but such as spring out of true Faith, as 'tis expressly said there in that place in the Homily (which it seems our *Remarker* overlooked) but the works of *Moral Heathens* do not proceed from *Faith*. Now, 'tis plain that

Dr. Tillotson speaks even of the Works of *Heathens*, because he discourses of those Moral Duties which are obligatory from the nature and reason of the thing, and such as Men are bound to the observance of from the immutable goodness and reason of them, as he saith himself. Such are the Works of Pagan Moralists, but we cannot call them the very true Works of faith unless we renounce that Article of our Church which is above recited, and the Holy Scripture on which it is grounded. This shews that the Remarker *Misrepresents* the true meaning of that foresaid passage in the *Homily*: and yet he is one that makes dreadful Outcries against *Misrepresentations*.

And he that can dispense with his Reason and Conscience to go thus far, cannot be wondered at for justifying and maintaining what another of our Divines saith, namely, that *Mans Natural Abilities are so many Graces he derives from God, and are as Properly such as any Accession to them which is Inspired afterwards*, P. 47. This is the same New Theology which was mentioned before, and is cried up by some of our Preachers, namely, that there is no difference between the Ordinary Endowments of Natural Reason, and those Extraordinary Graces which are the Peculiar Largesse of the Holy Spirit. The one are as properly call'd Graces as the other, and Graces are no more than *Moral Vertues*, such as some of the Heathens were Eminent for. Which is a Doctrine that is Repugnant to that of the Christian Fathers, as we learn from St. *Augustine's* words, * *Altho' a Man may seem to do things that*

* *Et si bona videatur facere, tamen quia sine fide facit, nec bona sunt vocanda. In Psal. 31.*

that are Good, yet because they are void of Faith, they are not to be called Good: and from what St. Jerom saith, * *Without Christ all Vertue is no other than Vitious.* And Our Church teaches us the same Primitive Doctrine: *Good Works, saith she, are fruits of Faith, and follow after Justification,* Artic. 12. And in her *Homily of Justification* she saith, *Without Faith all that is done of us is but dead before God, altho' the whole work seem never so gay and glorious.* See now whether *Evangelical Graces* be no more than *Moral Vertues*, and choose whether you will embrace the Doctrine of the Primitive Fathers and of our Own Church (which is also the Doctrine of the Holy Scripture,) or whether you will prefer Dr. Tillotson's and Dr. Lucas's to it.

But before I leave this Remark of Mr. Lightfoot I cannot but take notice of his Shameless Presumption: He without any the least occasion given him, most untruly tells his Reader that I argue thus, *Dr. Lucas affirms that Mans Natural as well as Supernatural Abilities come from God, and are his Gift, therefore Dr. Lucas makes no difference between Natural and Supernatural gifts.* I have not the least intimation of this way of Arguing, as the Reader will find in that place in my Book to which this refers. I know that both Natural and Supernatural Endowments are the *Gifts of God*, and in that Common notion they may be said to be the same, but I hold that that which makes the difference between them is that the one are *Ordinary* and
Inferior

* Sine Christo omnis virtus in vitio est: In cap. 3. Ep. ad Gal.

Inferior Gifts, and such as are to be found in *Heathens*, and are not denied to the Worst of Men, but the other are such Gifts as are of a *Higher Nature*, and are *Sanctifying* and *Saving*. It is evident then, that the *Remarker* feigns an *Argument*, and fastens it on me, and because he had told the world in his *Title-page*, that I had used *False Reasonings*, therefore here, to make it seem true, he resolved to invent this sort of *Reasoning* for me. Thus we see still there is no trusting of him, he is always ready to beguile his Reader with Sophistries and Falshood.

He pretends to be an Advocate for another Preacher who saith, *'Tis but fancy and idle talk that habits of goodness are supernaturally infused into us*, P. 49. Which every one knows is meant after the *Tillotsonian* and *Lucasian* way, but he puts it off without any Concern: only he saith he doth not find *Infused Habits* in the *Homilies*. Nor doth he find any thing against them: and in the Writings of some of the Learnedest Divines of our Church he may find much for them. I will mention * one only, who hath the general repute of a *Judicious* Writer, *Christian faith*, saith he, *and all other Graces are immediately infused by God*, yea and he adds, *without any co-operation of Men*. This was thought to be Good Divinity in those days, and in his Admired friend Bishop *Wilkins's* early days.

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* Dr. *Jackson*. Vol. 1. B. 4.

He undertakes P. 50. to bring off Dr. Lucas, who had said that *Venial Sins* or *Sins of Infirmity* do not include in them any *Wickedness* at all. From which words of the Learned Doctor I thought there was occasion to blame him for holding that *Sins of Infirmity* are *no Sins*, for if they include in them *no Wickedness*, they are *no Sins*. I have not any where affirmed (as this careless Remarker saith I have) that the Doctor hath these Individual words that *Sins of Infirmity* are *no Sins*: I do not lay these express words to his Charge, but I appeal to any Sensible Man whether these words are not of the very same Import with those which he hath expressly uttered, namely, that *Sins of Infirmity* do not Include in them any *Wickedness* at all. His words at length are these, and they are set down even by our Remarker, *These* (i. e. *Sins of Infirmity*) *do not imply a Deliberate Wickedness in the Will, much less an habitual one, nay, they do not include in them any Wickedness at all, strictly speaking.* If the Doctor hath a knack of distinguishing between *Sins Voluntarily Committed* (as *Sins of Infirmity* are, or else he falsely calls them *Sins*) and *Sins strictly speaking*, he is more Nice and Scholastick than he uses to be, and no Man will chuse him for his Casuist but he that hath a mind to have his *Sins* mitigated, and even annihilated. But notwithstanding these plain words, the Spirit of Falshood and Deceit hath so possessed Mr. Lightfoot that he tells me that *by laying this to Dr. Lucas's Charge, I make my self guilty of that heavy Crime of being a false accuser of my Brother.* Let the World Judge whether this be a False Accusation to say that Dr. Lucas, who asserts that

that

that *Sins of Infirmity include not in them any Wickedness at all*, holds that *Sins of Infirmity are no Sins*. We know then now who besides him in *Rev. 12. 10.* deserves the Title of the *Accuser of the Brethren*.

He dislikes P. 55, 56. my Interpretation of an *idle word* mentioned by our Saviour *Matt. 12. 36.* because he saith *the good Old Fathers Chrysostom and Theophylact* (tho' by the way I never heard this latter reckoned among the *Old Fathers* of the Church, but our Young Man saith what he pleases) *understood it otherwise* as if it were not well known to those that have Perused their Writings that they are some times as Precarious in their Interpretation of Scripture as other Men. But he takes no notice of the *Agreeableness* of my Interpretation to the *Context*, which I have plainly evinced, and what he was sensible he was not able to refute. Our Saviour, who was a Strict Preacher, lets us know that not only *Blasphemous*, but even *idle words* are Unlawful. He informs us that Light and Trifling Talk, which is of no use and Advantage at all to the hearer or speaker, and which is wont to shut out other Discourse that might be Useful and Profitable, hath the Nature of Sin. And herein he is backed by *St. Paul*, who Condemns *foolish talking* *Eph. 5. 4.* and *vain words*, *V. 6.* and *vain talkers*, *Tit. 1. 10.* And our Learned and Pious Reformers in * one of the *Homilies* Expound the foresaid Text as I have done,
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namely

* Hom. of the right use of the Church : Second Part.

namely, concerning *Unprofitable Words*. But our Saviour and his Apostles and our Church are below the Imitation of some of our Preachers: they will not allow that *Idle Words*, that is, *Unprofitable* ones, are to be accounted for, or have the nature of Sin; perhaps with a Politick and Conscious regard to their own Words.

Our Remarker is a sworn Champion for Dr. Tillotson, and appears for him now again, even when that Preacher finds fault with Parents for *forbidding their Children to play at Cards, and such like Games*. He justifies him in this, P. 57, 58. and is pleased to approve of it by the Distinction of *forbidding to play at Cards*, and *forbidding it as sinful in itself*, tho' the Doctor doth not use that Distinction: and consequently those Parents that read his Sermon will not make use of it, but be apt to listen to this Encouragement which is given to Card-playing. One would think a Preacher should be very Cautious in these Points, and not let the Pulpit be a Patron not only of *Idle Words* but of *Gaming*. But our Remarker is of another Judgment, it seems, and if Dr. Tillotson had spoken in favour of *Dice* (as well as *Cards*) he would as readily have vouched him, tho' 'tis well known that these Games were forbidden by Ancient Councils, and are declared to be *Unlawful* by our own Church.

My free censuring of some Preachers *behaviour in their Pulpits* is disliked by this Squeamish Remarker: and 'tis no wonder, because he hath taken up a Resolution the shew his dislike of every thing he meets with in my Book. He will always have some thing to say: and I should shew my self as guilty of this folly if

I should stand to reply to all his Idle and Impertinent Suggestions. I thought it was my Duty to *quicken* and *Invigorate* some of my Brethren in their Preaching-Office, that it might be seen that they are in Good Earnest in the Pulpit, and do not merely act a Part, but that they are employ'd about the most Serious and Important things in the World. And here I took occasion to mention the *Remissness* of some Preachers, which my Antagonist cannot brook, but tells me that *the Members of the Church of England by what they hear and see know that I do not speak truth.* Which is a great mistake, I must tell him, for there are those of them that take notice (of and wonder at the *Indifferency* and *Unconcernedness* of some of their speakers or readers from the Pulpit. I must declare plainly my Judgment that this Formal Haranguing, this Chill way of talking will never carry it. And we see it experimentally confirmed before our Eyes: not one scarcely is made Better by it: they go out of the Church as they came in.

And as for *Dissenters*, the Remarker is mistaken again when he saith *they know nothing of our way of Preaching.* Yes, they know too much, for that Indifferency and Coldness of some (together with Preaching some Doctrines which were Condemned at the *Reformation*) have made them leave our Churches, and repair thither where there is some Warmth and Vigour, and where the Word of God is not dashed with *arminian* mixture, or else changed for mere Lectures of *Morality.* I must and will be plain with you, as you are so with me, and tell me that *my Book is put into the*

hands of Dissenters in order to vilify our Clergy, and to give them a mean opinion, of the Preachers of our Church; they need not my Book, or any others in order to this, for your own Principles and Practices, your own Conduct and Behaviour will have this effect, and (as you rightly say) *alienate their minds from you*. It is not I that expose any of the Clergy to contempt and *odium* (as you term it,) but they do it themselves. And the All-seeing Eye of Heaven knows that out of the *Great Respect* I bear to the *Church of England*, and her *Ministers*, I have spoken these things, that they may not be liable to contempt for the future. This I conceive may be effectually prevented by their *taking heed unto their Doctrine* (as the Apostle advises) for I have known and could name several Sober and Good Men who had no Averseness to the Publick Worship in the *Church of England*, yet found themselves forced to quit those Assemblies where such *Doctrines* were generally Preached as you wot of. Nothing else but this prevailed with them to repair to the Congregation of the Dissenters. And as this hath already made, so it will afterwards make many a Convert to Non-Conformity, and fill the Meetings of those of that Perswasion. See then now whether by such Warnings as these I *expose* the Clergy, and *cast odium on them* (as you are pleased to say) or rather whether I have not discharged the part of a *True Friend*, and given proof of my sincere indeavours to promote the Credit and Honour of my Brethren, and the Wellfare and Prosperity of our Church. I beseech my Brethren to consider these things.

I having given it as my private Perswasion, that the *Non-conformists are not Schismatics*, because their Separation is allowed by the *Laws of our Land*, the Remarker is more than ordinarily concerned (more I perceive than he would be for a Necessary Doctrine of Christianity) to baffle the Perswasion, and his Hasty Zeal for the Cause makes him talk very idly and inconsistently, and (as I shall shew) very *uncivilly* and *disrespectfully* of our Governours in Church and State. My Argument, he saith, P. 62, 63, &c. is grounded on two false Suppositions. 1. That the Sinfulness of a Separation depends on the allowance or not allowance of the Civil Magistrate. 2. That the Magistrate must needs approve of what he tolerates.

As to the first, if he means by the *Civil Magistrate* those our Christian Governours who passed the Bill of Indulgence, according to the rules of Christian Moderation and Condescension, it is no false Supposition, but a true Proposition that the Sinfulness of the Separation depends on the allowance or not allowance of the Civil Magistrate. That is, we may gather from their *allowance* of the Separation of the *Dissenters* that it is not Sinful, but very Lawful. And if the Remarker denies this, he must declare to the World (as indeed he doth) that our Governours have acted contrary to the Rules of Christianity: and whilst he makes all the Dissenters *Schismatics*, he makes the *Senate* of the Nation in a manner the same, because they allowed of their Schism.

Which brings me to his *Second Supposition*, which is certainly True as 'tis applied to those Senators, and Particularly their Lordships the

Archbishops and *Bishops* who are Good Judges in Religious matters; these consented to the *tolerating of the Non-Conformists*, which shews their Approbation of it, that is, that they held it to be Lawful: for if you don't grant this, you must say that they solemnly and publickly in the face of the World consented to the Practice of that which they held not to be Lawful, and this they did even when they could have hinder'd it if they had pleased. If this be your Apprehension concerning our Prelates, yea and concerning the Main Body of the Kingdom convened in Parliament, you may enjoy your Opinion, but they owe you no great Thanks for it. The short is, his late Majesty of Glorious Memory, the Lord's Temporal and the Commons, with the Spiritual Lords, who are the Pastors of our Church (and therefore I more especially mention them) did by a deliberate *Act*, allow the Dissenters the liberty of repairing to other Congregations besides those of the Church of *England*: wherefore after this to call the Dissenters *Schismaticks* is as if we should call those *Rebels* who can shew their Commission under the King's Hand for what they do. Tho' I have a profound respect for our *Own Church* above all others, yet I think I may truly say that That and the Congregations of the Dissenters are *equally Lawful* by the Law of the Land, and they are both of them the *Established Church*.

The *Remarker* takes it ill, P. 66. that I said *if the Apostles were now alive, they would not know by our Doctrines and Principles that we are Christians*. And he thinks he argues very closely against this when he tells us that *we receive*

the Old and New Testaments, and the three Ancient Creeds, and the Ten Commandments, and the Lord's-Prayer, and the Sacraments. So do the *Papists*, and yet we do not (I know not what you do) account some of their Principles and Doctrines to be such as declare them to be good *Christians*: yea, rather we know that they renounce a great part of *Christianity*. Besides, to profess the *Creeds* is not all that is required to make a Man a True Believer. This Latitude will not constitute us entire *Christians*, and Persons of an Evangelical Faith and Spirit. We must Believe more than is expressly mentioned in the *Creeds*, or else we shall never be of the number of those that are Saved. Moreover, if Men should in general receive and profess the Bible, the *Creeds*, &c. and yet reject some of the Chief Doctrines contained in them, where is their *Christianity*?

Tell me not of the *Lutherans*, who have degenerated from their Founder as to the Particular Doctrines we speak of.

Tell me not of the *Greek Church*, which hath a long time been over-grown with Ignorance and Superstition: nay, tell me not of that Church as it was in *Basil's* or *Chrysostom's* time, for tho' (as I have shewed in another place) some of the *Greek Fathers* in their Writings do assert some of those Doctrines which since have taken their Denomination from *Calvin*, yet 'tis well known that they are averse to others of them, as more especially those relating to *Free Will* and *Mans Natural Power*, &c. and thereby shew how soon they were Corrupted. To which purpose I advise *Mr. Lightfoot* to consult

Mr. Strype's *Annals of Queen Elizabeth*, Chap. 32. where he will be informed that when Sir *William Cecyl*, the Queens Secretary, acquainted Dr. *Cox*, the then Bishop of *Ely*, that the Queen employ'd herself sometimes in reading the Fathers, the Bishop in answer gave this, [*That when all was done, the Scripture is that that pierceth. Chrysoftom and the Greek Fathers Pelagianizant, and he trusted her Grace meddled with them but succisivis horis, at spare hours.*] Here is the Judgment of one of the most Eminent of our *Reformers*, and in that we read the Judgment and sense of the *Church of England*, for he was one of the Chief Composers of the *Articles of our Church*. We see the *Greek Fathers* are to be read with Caution, because they favour *Pelagius*, whose Errors have near affinity with those of the *Anti-Calvinists*.

Now, Sir, what have you got by your appealing to the *Greek Church*, which you vainly thought was a safe Resource, and would be a Shelter to you against those Arguments which I had pushed your party with? This lets the World see what Able Divines set themselves against me and my Writings. I must needs be under great dread, when I have to do with such Formidable Adversaries, who fly to the *Greek Church* to prove themselves *Christians*, and then are told by one of the most Learned *Reformers of our own Church* that they run into the Tents of one of the most dangerous *Hereticks* of the first Ages of Christianity. How then are they to be known to belong to the Reformed part of Christians, and how should the *Apostles, if they were now alive, know by their Principles and Doctrines that they are Christians?*

I had said that *the Apostle lived to see his Prediction in 2 Tim. 2. 3. 4. made good in part, because he intimates that his Gospel was hid 2 Cor. 4. 3. and that another Gospel than that he had Preached began to be started.* To which the Remarker replies, P. 70. that these passages cannot be the fulfilling of the *Apostle's Prophecy, because the Epistles to the Corinthians and the Galatians were Written before the Second Epistle to Timothy:* and he leaves me to reconcile it to sense, for he is not able. It is pity but his Inability should be cured, seeing he is so Ingenuous (which is a rare thing with him) as to confess it. I advise him therefore to consult *Grotius's Annotations on the Epistle to the Galatians*, where that Great Man acknowledges that he cannot assign the Time when the Epistle to the Galatians was Writ: and let him repair to *Dr. Hamond's Annotations on the Title of the Epistle to the Romans*, where he will be informed by that Learned Man that *the defining the time of Writing the Epistles is but conjectural and fallible, and no ways deducible from Scripture Story*, and consequently there is no certain determining whether the Epistles to the Corinthians and Galatians were writ before or after the *Second Epistle to Timothy*. But this Learned Annotator offers his Conjecture and Judgment, which is this, that the *Second Epistle to Timothy* was Writ by *St. Paul at his first being at Rome, after which time he proclaimed the Gospel to the Gentiles in other Regions*, for which he quotes *Clemens's Epistle to the Corinthians* and two other Noted Fathers, *Eusebius and Jerom.* Among the rest of those *Regions* he Preached and Wrote to the *Galatians*. And as for the

Subscription of the *Epistle* which seem to Determine otherwise, Dr. *Hammond* regards it not, for he saith that the *Subscriptions of the Epistles* are not to be found in all the Antient Copies: however, he shews how that this Particular Subscription is Reconcilable with what he asserts, namely, that St. *Paul* Writ the Second *Epistle to Timothy* at or before the time when he Writ to the *Corinthians* and *Galatians*. What ground then had the *Remarker* to say that *I know* that the *Epistles* to the *Corinthians* and *Galatians* were Writ before the Second *Epistle to Timothy*? *I know this*, and so may the Reader, by what Mr. *Lightfoot* here saith, that he will affirm any thing concerning any Person or Matter as he pleases.

But besides, if we should grant (which there is no necessity to do) that the Second *Epistle to Timothy* was Written after those to the *Corinthians* and *Galatians*, yet what I said is easily Reconcilable to Sense, for that which the Apostle in that place to *Timothy* predicted, namely that there should be those that would not endure sound Doctrine, was in part fulfilled before, as those passages in the *Epistles* to the *Corinthians* and *Galatians* testify, but was more fully accomplished afterwards. From what the Apostle had seen already, he foresaw that the numbers of false Teachers would increase more and more. So then the Matter of this Prophecy actually happened in some measure, and accordingly was taken notice of by the Apostle in his *Epistles* to the *Corinthians* and *Galatians*, before it was expressly foretold in the Second *Epistle to Timothy*. Thus the Prediction I
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mentioned is *Reconcilable* to any Mans *Sense* but Mr. *Lightfoot's*.

My Interpretation of St. *James* about *Faith* and *Works*, and the way I took to reconcile him and the Apostle *Paul* is disrelished by our *Remarker's* palate, miserably vitiated by swallowing down *Arminian* Commentaries on the Text. But that is not all: if he had spoken any thing that looked like *Sense*, it might have passed well enough. But if the Reader will dispense with the Consumption of so much of his time as to observe what he saith in Five Pages together concerning *Faith* and *Works* and *Justification*, he will find it to be such a Medley of *Unintelligible Jargon*, that he will most readily excuse me from attempting a particular and formal Answer to it. Yea, I believe he would be very much *displeased* if I should presume to trouble him with the Particular detail of this Author's Rambling and Indigested thoughts. He mistakes *Me*, and Contradicts *Himself*, and Perverts the meaning of *both the Apostles*, and doth the whole so confusedly, incoherently and incongruously that any one may see he talks as if he *Understood* neither what he saith, nor whereof he affirms, and as if he had never looked into the Controversy. It is plain that he ventures to Fight before he hath learnt to handle his Weapons.

I asserted that *Christ did not Intentionally die to save all Men*: to disprove which he produces, P. 76, 77. a place or two out of the *Articles* and *Homilies* and the *Church-Catechism*, which I have amply proved to be nothing at all to the purpose, in my *Veritas Redux*: and I have there abundantly satisfied the Reader as to all
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the parts of that Controversy, so that I need not trouble him with Repetitions.

I asserted *the Operation of Grace upon Mens minds to be Irresistible*: to which he replies, P. 78. that *this Doctrine is no where expressly taught in our Articles and Homilies, but rather the contrary*. I desire the Reader to take notice of what I have largely advanced upon this Head in the forefaid Treatise, and Particularly let that passage of St. *Augustine* be considered, * *The Grace of God cannot be resisted by the most obdurate heart, for therefore it is given that the hardness of the Heart may be wholly removed*. And this was the sense of other Pious Fathers of that Age. As for the *Articles and Homilies*, we need not Express Words, but we are told by a Learned and Judicious Prelate of our Church, who knew as well as any Man the sense of our Church, and its *Articles and Homilies*, that † *a Translation from the state of Death into Eternal Life is not to be effected without Absolute Authority and Irresistible Power*. If *Irresistibility* had been *contrary*, (as the Remarker suggests) to the meaning of the *Articles and Homilies*, we should not have had this Doctrine from the Pen of this Great Man. But this is the constant Practice of our *Remarker* and his Party, always to have something to Reply, and keep up the Cause, resolving never to confess themselves in an Error.

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* De Prædestinat. cap. 8.

† Bishop *Pearson* on the Second Article of the Creed.

I could observe here that one of our * Divines, who professedly opposes the Doctrine which we are now speaking of, asserts that the *Christian Religion hath Motives to obedience that are in themselves Infinitely and Irresistibly Strong.* It seems according to him that those Motives are *Irresistible*, but God's Grace that propounds them is not *so*. Such plain *Contradictions* and *Inconsistences* doth that Author allow of: and indeed there are more of this sort in that little Piece, his *Three Practical Essays*, than in any Volume of that size that ever I met with.

I affirmed that *those who are truly Regenerate and in a state of Grace, cannot fall from it.* Against which the Remarker produces the 16th Article of our Church, which I have fully answered in my *Ver. Redux*, and have shewed that this Doctrine is the plain sense of the *Church of England.* Those very words of *falling from Grace* which are in that Article were interpreted by the Bishops at the *Conference at Hampton-Court* concerning falling away for a time, not concerning final apostasy. Dr. *Overall* (whom our Remarker mentions afterwards as a thorough-paced *Arminian*) was a perfect Calvinist in this Point of the *Perseverance of the Saints*, as he openly declared in the *University*, and at the foresaid *Hampton-Court-Conference.* Can we think that Mr. *Hooker*, whom our Church-men so justly admire and Reverence, and whose Works King *Charles* the I. recom-

* Mr. *Clarke's* Essay of Confirmation, chap. 2.

recommended to his Children, and who hath deservedly gained the Title of *Judicious*, mistook the meaning of our Church, and was not acquainted with the sense of her *Articles*? Yet he positively and expressly, and with great Concernedness maintains the Doctrine of the Perseverance of the Saints, and confutes the contrary Opinion, as we may see in his *Discourse of Justification*, annexed to his *Ecclesiastical Polity*.

And so as to all the other Doctrines which I lately asserted, they have been constantly held and professed by the Divines of the Church of *England*, who received them from the *First Reformers* of our Church. Nay, even in the days of *Popery*, when there was a General Corruption of the Truths of the Gospel, some Persons continually stood up and manfully asserted and vindicated these very Doctrines, as we see in Archbishop *Usher's History of Goreschale* and other Writings. Many of the Old *Schoolmen* were resolute asserters of the *Predestinarian* Doctrines. The famous *Martin Luther*, and several other Doctors and Divines of the Age defended these Principles: and even in the *Council of Trent* there were Prelates and others of the greatest Note that in their Debates and Conferences in that Assembly shewed themselves friends to these Doctrines. And about these times arose that Renowned Servant of God, *John Calvin*, who revived, renewed and Reestablished these Truths with his Excellent Pen, and then these True Notions concerning the *Decrees, Free Will, Grace and Conversion, &c.* were called *Calvinism*: but they are originally the very Doctrines of the Holy Scriptures.

But

But that which more nearly concerns us, and confounds our *Remarker*, is that they are the Doctrines of the *Church of England*, as we may plainly see in her *Liturgy*, her *Articles*, her *Homilies*, which were composed by our Bishops and other Divines at the Reformation in King *Edward the Sixth's* time, and at the entrance of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign. These all speak the Language of *Calvin* more or less. Which occasioned a Reverend and Learned Bishop of our Church to declare that * *he was well assured that the Learned Bishops who were employed in the Reformation of our Church did so much honour St. Augustine, that in the collecting the Articles and Homilies, and other things in that Reformation they had an especial respect to St. Augustine's Doctrines, which we know are the same with Calvin's.* All the Archbishops in Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign professed themselves *Calvinists*, and so did the rest of the Prelates and other Divines: which is confessed by *Dr. Heylin* himself, who speaking of Queen *Elizabeth's* times, expressly acknowledges that † *Predestination and the Points depending thereupon were received as the established Doctrines of the Church of England.* And for a long time after the Reformation the Bishops, the Professors of Divinity in both Universities, the Convocations, the Preachers, the Body of the Clergy were steadfast in this way: and in our own University those that preached the contrary Doctrines were compelled by this Learned Society to
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* Bishop *Carleton's* Examination of *Mr. Mountague's* Appeal. *Chap. 2.*

† *Life of Archbishop Laud*, p. 51.

make a publick Recantation, and openly to retract their Erroneous Positions. The Sermons, Discourses and Writings of the Chief Men of our Church shew that this was their persuasion.

The Doctrine of *Predestination* and *Election* was asserted by King *James*, at the Conference at *Hampton-Court*, and agreed to by the *Bishops*: and the whole *Calvinian Scheme* of Divinity was confirmed and ratified by those Reverend and Learned Men of our Church who were sent over by that King to assist at the *Synod of Dort*. Where by the way I can't but take notice of the no very mannerly Reflection of a * late Writer on this Monarch; namely, that he degraded his Royal Majesty, and dishonoured his Purple, by neglecting the care he ought to have had of the Nation, and bringing the *Belgick* Disputes and Quarrels into his own Dominions. It seems it is a *dishonour* to Princes and Crown'd Heads to concern themselves in matters of *Religion*. In short, our English Divines continued firm and unshaken in the Doctrine of *Calvin*, and professed an opposition to the *Arminian* Points till the close of the foresaid King *James's* Reign, and the beginning of King *Charles the First's*: at which time and afterwards some Court Doctors and others who saw that the owning and professing of *Arminianism* was the way to Preferment, set up for this Perswasion, and in their Discourses and Writings, were very fierce against *Calvin*: especially this Game was play'd when Archbishop *Laud* mounted the Throne of *Canterbury*.

* Nicolij Defensio Eccles. Angl. p. 147.

Canterbury. This is the True Date, this was the first Conspicuous Rise of *Arminianism* among our Churchmen.

And whereas the *Remarker* hints that the former Divines of the Church of *England* did not understand these Points in the *Sense* that I take them, he had better have been silent, for he plainly discovers by such a suggestion as this, that either he is a Stranger to the Writings of those Divines, and hath never conversed with them (tho' he undertakes to interpret their meaning) or that he wilfully and designedly misrepresents them. Nothing is more evident from the Writings of our Bishops and other Divines of our Church than that they understood the several Articles in *this very sense* that I take them in, and in this very Sense they *subscribed* to them. Wherefore we can look upon it as no other but Banter when he reproveth me for *disregarding those Articles to which I have subscribed*; whereas the plain and undisguised Truth is, that he and his Friends, by embracing the Doctrines of the *Remonstrants*, publicly declare that they disregard those Articles which they owned by their Subscription. But see here the Wily Craft of this *Remarker*! That imputation which is justly to be fixed on himself and his Party, is flung by him upon me. This is so unfair that it must needs redound to the discredit of his Cause, and I fear of Religion it self (which is most to be dreaded) when such as are tainted with the Spirit of Infidelity shall observe the Unlawful methods he uses to support his Party. I desire him to think of this seriously, and I pray *God give him repentance, to the acknowledging of the Truth.*

And here let me turn my self to the rest of my Brethren, and earnestly beg of them to consider what they are doing. They profess Doctrines in defiance of our Articles, and other Standards of our Religion established by Law, in contempt of the former determinations of our Reverend Fathers and Bishops, whose Persons we honour, and to whose judgment we pretend to give great deference. It is little for our honour to build our belief and profession on the Ruines of *our Church's* Credit. Can we call that a *Defence of the Church of England* wherein the Author hath grossly abused her by representing her to *Foreigners* as a Patroness of the *Arminian Doctrines*? He instances particularly in the Doctrines of Predestination, Irresistible Grace, Certainty of Salvation, Universal Redemption, Justification, Perseverance, and expresses himself exactly according to the Sense of the *Remonstrants* in those Points, and then tells us that 'tis the Sense of the *Church of England*, tho' he miserably perverts the plain meaning of the *Articles*, and forces upon them a Sense even against Grammar, and against the known judgment of the Compilers. He knew it would be too gross and palpable to do this in our own Tongue, and therefore he chose to debauch the Truth in another, and to impose upon Strangers and Foreigners.

But here I would have it observed what silly fraud and artifice this Author makes use of: for whereas 'twas his business to make his Readers believe that *our Church* is a favourer of the *Arminian Points*, and this is the main thing he aims at, yet we may observe that he undertakes to clear her of that imputation, as well as of

Socinianism,

Socinianism, and represents her as an Enemy to both. Thus our Brethren are *ashamed of Arminianism*, as appears from their striving to clear themselves of it, and yet they *defend* it at the same time, as we see in this Writer, whose Principal Undertaking, in his *Defence of the Church of England*, is a Perswasive and Decoy to the embracing of *Arminianism*, and a Satyr against *Calvinism*. I pray what Name do you call this by but *Contradiction*? A very Commendable quality in a Writer, especially of the Church. But the worst is, he *betrays* our Church whilest he pretends to *defend* it, and so do all those who undertake the Vindication of the *Remonstrant Doctrines*.

Our Remarker saith *he cannot tell to what the Prophaneness of the times before the Civil War was owing*; p. 83. But I can tell him; it was owing in a great part to the countenancing of those Doctrines and Opinions which I have mention'd, and to the suppressing of the contrary Truths; for any one may observe that from the very Time of the *Corruption of these Truths*, which began at the latter end of King *James I's* Reign, there daily grew up more and more a *neglect of true Piety*; and a general Torrent of *Vice and Immorality* broke in upon the Nation. Even from that very precise time when the *Calvinian Doctrines* began to be kept back from the People, *Debauchery in Manners* came in; and proportionally to the increase of the neglect of those Principles we may observe that *Immorality and Wickedness* increased upon us: and accordingly we may take notice that the *Corruption of Manners* hath had a greater advance within these Forty Years than ever before.

The Prophaneness of the Times which the *Remarker* speaks of was likewise, owing to the Irreligious behaviour of some of the Chief Men in the Church, who would neither themselves discharge the Duties of their Holy Function, nor suffer others to do so. They neglected their Flocks, and were unfaithful in the Office of the Ministry, and were more solicitous to multiply Dignities and Benefices than to Edifie the People, and promote the Salvation of their Souls. Some that were disaffected to real Goodness and Piety had the Ascendant in the Church, and shewed themselves more favourable to Obstinate and Prophanes *Recusants* than to Religious *Protestants* of weak Consciences. *The conforming to Ceremonies was more exacted than the conforming to Christianity,* as my * *Lord Falkland* expressed it. *First they depressed Preaching as much as they could, and then next laboured to make it such as the harm had not been much if it had been depressed,* as that same Excellent Person said: and he adds that they introduced such *Doctrines, as, admitting them True, the Truth would not recompence the Scandal; or such as were so far False, that their business was not to keep Men from sinning, but to confirm them in it.*

The Prophaneness of those Times was also most evidently owing to that publick Licence which was given for *Sports and Revels* on the *Lord's Day*; the occasion of which was this, * when upon the Complaint of the Justices in *Somerset shire*, against keeping of Wakes, Church-
Ales,

* His Speech in the House of Commons, 1640.

† See *Baker's Chronicle*, A. D. 1632.

Ales and Bride-Ales on the Lord's Day, the Judges that came their Circuit into that Country made an Order for suppressing those Meetings, the Bishops approved not of it, and Archbishop *Laud* reprimanded the Judges, and told them it was the King's Pleasure they should revoke their Order: and when the Justices of that Country Petitioned the King about it, and most humbly requested the Suppressing of those Riotous Assemblies, the King instead of answering their Supplications renewed his Fathers *Declaration* about Sports on the Lord's Day; whereupon many Conscientious Ministers were Suspended and deprived for not Reading that Declaration. Was it not strange that *Lay Gentlemen* and Men of the *Law* should be more concerned for the Religious observing of the Lord's Day, than those of the *Sacred Function*; yea, that the one should earnestly endeavour to promote it, and the other as earnestly obstruct it, and teach the People to Prophane that Day? This, this introduced a *General Prophaneness* over all the Nation, and especially it could not but have this effect when it was the act and deed of the Highest Man in the Church, and was approved of by many of his Brethren.

I can tell you yet further what was the Cause of the Wickedness before the Civil Wars; the Faithful and Conscientious Dispensers of the Word were Discountenanced and brow-beaten, and among the Laity Strict Vertue and Goodness were discouraged and frowned at where ever they were espied. It was a high Crime to repeat a Sermon in ones own Family on the Lord's Day; but none to Play and be Lewd at that time. To Eat any Flesh in

Lent was a greater Sin than Swearing and Sabbath-breaking. Instead of Solid Religion nothing was so much minded as Ceremony, Pomp and Splendor in the Worship of God. People were haled to the Sacrament, whether they would or no, but no care was taken to Prepare them for it. This and what I have before mentioned must needs strike a fatal damp on Religion, and enervate all its powers. This therefore I reckon, by the *Remarker's* leave, as the true source of the *Prophaneness of the Times before the Civil-War.*

And the Atheism and Prophaneness of the times after the *Restoration* may be ascribed to the like cause. For in the two first Reigns those Corrupt Principles and Doctrines which prevailed before, were now Revived, and the Pulpits rang with them afresh: and some of our Divines were so weak as to profess their Enmity against the Contrary Doctrines upon the Account of their having been held in the times of *Rebellion.* And those who would have kept up and maintained these Truths, and would freely and impartially have remonstrated against the over-flowing Vices of the Nation, and endeavoured to retrieve that Purity of Life which would have derived a Blessing on the Nation, were made incapable of doing it. That day which is justly set apart for the solemn and Publick Offices of Religion was prophaned with Impurity, and some of those whose duty it was to press the Religious Observance of that day were as Regardless of it as any. People were even forced and compelled to come to the Holy Communion, but their Fitness for it was not looked after: Yea, the most Pro-
phane

phane and Immoral were readily received to that Sacred Board. Which certainly was a great Encouragement to Impiety, and Wickedness of Life. There was too great stress laid on the External of Religion, with a neglect of the Substantial and Inward part. And the Scandalous Examples of those who should have Punished Vice were greatly subservient to the promoting of all Kinds of Immorality. This I take to be a True Account of the Prophaneness of the Times that immediately succeeded the *Restoration*, and not that which our *Remarker* mentions.

And as for our Present times, we can never sufficiently express our Grateful Resentments of the Divine Goodness in the happy Turn of the Publick affairs, when our *Sovereign* and our *Prelates* jointly endeavour to secure to us Religion and the Fear of the most High: the one effecting it by her frequent reviving and inculcating the Laws against Prophaneness, and by her own Bright Example of Piety; the others by their Christian Moderation and Prudence, and by their Pious Instructions, and the Charms of a Blameless Life winning Men daily to the Love of Religion and the Practice of Vertue. So that tho' it be a difficult Task to reform the manners of Men which had been so corrupted by the Contagion of former times, yet we may hope, by the Blessing of Heaven, to see the Work in a short time accomplished.

In P. 84. the *Remarker* cannot endure to hear of *Preaching* on those *Evangelical Truths* which I had discoursed of in an Ample Treatise,

tise, but he derides them, and talks of the *Signs of Regeneration* with an air of Prophaneness, and resolves them into *Hypocrisy*, as is the custom of many of his Brethren.

In P. 86. he saith *I Insinuate as if our Clergy favour Popery, and I ground it upon their running into Arminianism.* See a satisfactory Answer to this towards the latter end of the *Second Part* of my *Preacher*.

His last Remark is that in my *Catalogue of Books which I recommend to Young Students I have left out Archbishop Tillotson's Works.* A very heinous Offence, and the mentioning of it could not possibly be omitted by this doughty Patron of the Archbishop. But see how the World goes; when the Archbishop was alive, he could not have the good word of our Church-men, he was looked upon and esteemed by a great part of them as a *Common-Wealths-man*, as a *Latitudinarian*, as a *Sceptick*, as a *Lurking Socinian*, for they saw that he was Familiar with one of the *Rankest* of that party, and the Chief *Upholder* of them: he could never endure to hear any of his Brethren conclude their Sermons with *Now to God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, &c.* He was reckoned by the *Unitarians* themselves as one of theirs: and when he was put upon Preaching and Printing something which touched their Opinions, he declined the Defending of it, and employed another in that work. He treats on that Subject of *Christ's Divinity* and the Doctrine of the *Trinity* so cautiously and gingerly, and with such Apologies that it may make him Suspected:
and

and his extravagantly * *High Encomium* which he fixes on the *Socinian Writers* is but a bad sign.

And truly who could be perswaded that he believed the *Divinity of Christ* when he reads those words of his in his *Second Sermon of Christ's Incarnation*? *A common notion and very rise in the Heathen World was their Apotheosis or Canonizing of famous and Eminent Persons, who had been great Benefactors to Mankind, by advancing them after their Death to the dignity of an Inferior kind of Gods, fit to be Worshiped by Men here on Earth. Therefore one in our nature is exalted to the right Hand of the Majesty on high, to be Worshiped by Men and Angels, one that was the truly Great Benefactor of Mankind.* Here he lets us know that 'tis his Opinion that the *Divinity of Christ* was not *Natural and Real*, but occasion'd only by the *Divinity* which was ascribed by the *Heathens* to their *Great Benefactors*. And this *Divinity of Christ* was not when he was alive here on Earth, but was conferred on him after his death, as 'twas among the *Pagans*, who exalted their *Great Men* to the rank of the *Gods* after they left the *World*. And besides, *Christ* was advanced but to the dignity of an *Inferior kind of Gods*. He tells us again, *The World* (that is, the *Heathen and Idolatrous World*) was mightily bent upon addressing their *Requests and Supplications* not to the *Deity* immediately, but to some *Mediators* between
the

* Sermon concerning the Divinity of our Blessed Saviour.

the Gods and them. Therefore in a gracious compliance with this common Apprehension, God was pleased to constitute one in our nature to be a *Perpetual Advocate and Intercessor in Heaven for us*. Where he acquaints us that God seeing the Pagan world given to this Practice of supplicating the *Chief Deity by Intermediate and Inferior Gods*, made of Men, complied with this Custom, and accordingly appointed *Christ* to be in the place of those *Inferior Gods and Mediators*. Is there not some ground then to suspect the Archbishop to have been a friend and well-willer to the *Racovian Gentlemen*? I wish I could form other Apprehensions concerning him, who on some other Accounts was a Person of great worth.

Yet behold! Notwithstanding these shrewd Suspicions and what was said before, the Archbishop having left behind him in his *Sermons* good assurances of his having been a staunch *Arminian*, he is even Sainted by his Brethren of that Perswasion, and *Arminianism* atones for all his faults, and mighty reverence is paid by them to his Writings. These are now excessively Extolled for the sake of *Remonstrantism*, and his preferring of *Natural Religion* to that of *Revealed*. He hath some very good things against the *Church of Rome*, and in the Explication of *Moral Vertues*, but this is certain that he hath a knack of saying very Little things with a great deal of Authority and Assurance. The truth is his Writings are prized rather for the Author's sake, who had a great Name among some Persons, than for the Work itself. He was plausible and sociable, and of easy Conversation, and entertained the
Citi-

Citizens at his Country House with a good Grace. As the Poet hath it,

—— * *It was his Table
That made him so Considerable.*

And you must think that the *Latitude of his Principles* gained him great respect among some, and supplied him not only with store of Guests and Visitants, but of Hearers and Readers. The *Pagan Rise of Christianity* which he affirms, his Declaring that *neither the Being of God nor the Immortality of Humane Souls are to be found in Scripture*, and that there is no such thing as the *Eternity of Hell-Torments*, purchased him a wonderful Repute among a great party of Men.

But I stand amazed to see even some of our *Clergy* Idolize this Preacher, and thereby gratify the Humour of some of the Worst Men of this Age. And our Precious *Remarker* is very angry with *Me* because I do not extoll and magnify this *Writer*, and because I have left him out in my *Catalogue of Books*. I think I have hinted Reason enough why I did so, and I may add this, I scorn to be accessory towards the imposing on any Person by encouraging him to part with Five Shillings for a Book (and a great many there are of them) which doth not contain above half of what might fairly and lawfully be comprehended in a Volume of that Price. But to conclude, am not I at liberty to put in whom I please into my *Catalogue of Books*, and may not I be

be thought to be as able as the *Rector of Odel* to judge who is fit to be inserted into it? Must I ask good Mr. *Lightfoot* leave what Authors I should name? It may be I shall put *his Remarks* into that List in the next Edition, for that reason which he gives, that *there is room for some Trash.*

There remains yet behind Mr. *Lightfoot's Post-script* (as he calls it) for it seems, after he had finished his *Remarks*, he received farther Tydings and Instructions from his Correspondents, and Particularly relating to what I had said concerning *Bishop Sanderson*, namely, that he was too far gone in Calvinism, and too deeply rooted in it to be called off. To this Mr. *Lightfoot's* Agents have taught him to reply that that *Bishop* forsook Calvinism in the Year 1625, as may be seen in a Paper transcribed by Dr. Hammond, &c. I will set this part down at length, that the Reader may see what arts of Imposture our *Remarker* makes use of. ["Whereas, saith he, "Dr. *Edwards* in his Book called *Veritas Redux* "chap. 8. p. 556. affirms that *Bishop Sanderson* "was too far gone in Calvinism, and too deeply "rooted in it to be called off, this is to Inform "the Reader that what Dr. *Edwards* affirms "is not true, but that *Bishop Sanderson* did "forsake Calvinism in the Year 1625, as ap- "pears from some Papers of his containing a "History of his thoughts in these Points, a "Transcript of which you may see in a Book "of Dr. Hammond called a *Pacifick Discourse of* "Gods Grace, &c. published in 1660, in which "Bishop *Sanderson* saith, he soon discerned a ne- "cessity of quitting the *Sublapsarian* way of which "be

“ he had a better liking before, as well as the
“ *Supralapsarian way, which he could never fancy:*
“ I publish this that it may be a warning to
“ those who read the Doctor’s Book, especially
“ that Chapter in which are so many Citations,
“ not too easily to give credit to them with-
“ out Examination: for he that can so grossly
“ impose upon his Reader in one thing, may
“ do it in many more.]

Here is a high Accusation, and some that read it may be enclined to believe that Mr. *Lightfoot* is a very sincere honest Man, and is very kind and obliging to the Publick, and would by no means have good People Imposed upon: and on the other hand they may be apt to think that I can lay claim to little honesty and integrity, because I have falsified in the matter relating to Bishop *Sanderson*, and have grossly imposed on my Readers when I told them *that he was too far gone in Calvinism, and too deeply rooted in it to be called off*, whereas on the contrary it appears from some of his Papers *that he forsook Calvinism in the Year 1625*, which was almost forty Years before he died. But now, if I make it plainly appear that Bishop *Sanderson* retained his Calvinism after the Year 1625, and continued in that Perswasion to the end of his Life, I hope I need do no more to prove that *he was too deeply rooted in Calvinism to be called off*, and that Mr. *Lightfoot* hath grossly imposed on his Reader, tho’ he hath the face to lay that fault on me.

We must know then that Dr. *Sanderſon's* Excellent Sermons were firſt printed in *Quarto* in the Year 1632 as Mr. *Iſaac Walton*, who Wrote his Life, informs us, and even then in the Year 1632 (which I ſuppoſe Mr. *Lightfoot* will grant was after the Year 1625) the Reader may find on the Margin ſome accuſation of Arminius for falſe Doctrines, ſaith the foreſaid Mr. *Walton*. And tho' he ſaith this is omitted in the Edition of his Sermons in *Folio* in the Year 1657, yet we find in that Edition ſo much left as ſufficiently ſhews his diſlike of the *Arminian* Doctrines: for in the firſt of his Sermons on *Rom. 14. 3.* towards the latter end, he hath theſe words, *The Unreproved Converſation of Men ought not to Countenance our their Opinions againſt the light of Divine Scripture and right Reaſon*, and he inſtances in the ſuſpected Tenents of Arminians. Where he plainly implies that the *Arminian* Doctrines are ſuch as are againſt the light of Scripture and right Reaſon. Now, if he would let ſuch words as theſe paſs in his New Edition in the Year 1657, which he had carefully reviewed (as he tells us himſelf in his Preface to it) we muſt neceſſarily infer that he had not forſaken Calvinism in the Year 1657, and conſequently not in 1625, unleſs we can conceive that this Excellent Man threw it off then, and reſumed it ſo many Years after, which will not gain aſſent among Conſiderate Perſons.

Again, we meet with this Remarkable paſſage in his Second Sermon on *Rom. 3. 8.*
 “ [Sundry of the Doctours of our Church teach
 “ truly and agreeably to Scripture, the Ef-
 “ ſectual Concurrency of God's Will and Pow-
 “ er-

“ er with Subordinate Agents in every, and
“ therefore in *Sinful Actions*: God’s free *Electi-*
“ *on* of those whom he purposeth to save of
“ his own Grace, without any Motives in or
“ from themselves: the *Immutability* of God’s
“ Love and Grace towards the Saints Elect,
“ and their *Certain Perseverance* therein unto
“ Salvation: the *Justification* of Sinners by the
“ *Imputed Righteousness* of Christ, apprehended
“ and applyed to them by a lively *Faith*,
“ without the Works of the Law. These are
“ Sound and True, and (if rightly Understood)
“ Comfortable and right Profitable Doctrines],
and he backs every one of those Articles with
Scripture in the Margin. He adds, [They of
the *Church of Rome* have the forehead to Blas-
pheme God and his Truths (namely, the fore-
mentioned Truths) and the Ministers thereof
for teaching them.] Where, by the way, ob-
serve that the *Arminian* Doctrines against
the *Divine Concurrence*¹, and *Election*, and the
Perseverance of the Saints, and *Justification by the*
Imputed Righteousness of Christ were reckoned by
this Learned and Judicious Writer as *Popish*
Doctrines.

And what he further adjoins is worth our
taking notice of, [“ They freely spend their
“ Mouths, saith he, in barking against us, as
“ if we made God the Author of Sin; as if
“ we would have Men Sin and be Damned
“ by a Stoical, Fatal Necessity, Sin whether they
“ will or no, be Damned whether they deserve
“ it or no: let them *believe*, ’tis no matter
“ how they Live, Heaven is their own: as if
“ we cried down Good Works, and Condem-
“ ned Charity. Slanders loud and false, yet
“ easily

“ easily blown away with one single word
 “ βλασφημῖμεθα. These Imputations on us and
 “ our Doctrines are Unjust, but κριμα ἔσθικον,
 “ let them that thus Misreport us know that
 “ without Repentance their *Damnation* will be
 “ just.] Here we see what were the *Objections*
 and *Cavils* in those days against the *Calvinist*
Doctrines, namely, that they made God the
 Author of Sin, that they held such a Fatal
 Necessity as compelled Men to Sin, yea and
 damned them whether they sinned or no; that
 they cried up Faith without a Holy Life and
 Good Works, and that Heaven might be had
 without these. And these are the *very Objections*
 that are in the Mouths of our Adversaries
 at this day, and they have been lately made
 use of against my Writings. But I could not
 wish for a better Advocate than this Learned
 and Pious Bishop, who having in a Sermon in
 the Year 1621 asserted the very Doctrines
 which I have published, did publickly own
 them *again* by his printing them in the Year
 1632, and after long Deliberation reprinting
 them in the Year 1657. Which is enough to
 make good what I have said that *he was too*
far gone in Calvinism to be called off.

In the next place I will let the Reader see
 what this Reverend Author hath delivered in
 his Sermons which are acknowledged to be
 preached *after* the Year 1625: and if the Cal-
 vinian Doctrines be found there, then at the
 same time it will be found to be a great and
 notorious Falsity that *Dr. Sanderson forsook Cal-*
vinism in the Year 1625. If we consult the
 Sixth Sermon *ad Populum* preached in 1627, we
 shall there read these words, [Moral restraints
 of

of Corruption can neither actually nor virtually prepare, dispose or qualify any Man for the Grace of Conversion and Renovation. Far be it from us to harbour any such *Pelagian* conceits.] Observe it, this Great Divine brands that with the Title of *Pelagianism* which the *Arminians* and many of our Preachers (who are *such*) hold at this day.

In his fourth Sermon *ad Cærum* on *Rom.* 14. 23. which was Preached in the Year 1634 (which some good People think was after 1625) he speaks thus like a *Reformed Protestant*, [*Faith* in the Apostolical Writings signifies that Theological Vertue or Gracious Habit whereby we embrace with our minds and affections the Lord Jesus Christ, as the only begotten Son of God and alone Saviour of the World, *casting our selves wholly on the Mercy of God thro' his Merits*, for remission and everlasting salvation. It is that which is commonly called a *Lively* or *Justifying Faith*.] But we hear no such language as this from our *Arminian* Divines, who when they treat of the Grace of *Faith*, scorn to mention any such thing as *casting our selves wholly on the mercy of God thro' Christs merits*, yea, they declare it to be Canting and Whining; and *Faith* with them is nothing but Assenting to the truth of Religion.

In his Seventh Sermon *ad Aulam* preached in 1638 he thus asserts the *Irresistibility* of Divine Grace, [When God is pleased to redeem us, all the powers in earth and in Hell cannot, shall not hinder it.] In his Ninth Sermon *ad Aulam* preached in 1639 he expressly asserts the *Consistency* both of God's *Immutable Decrees* with the *Contingency* of *Second Causes*, and *Effi-*
U *cacy*

ency of God's Grace with the Freedom of Man's Will. In the same Sermon he tells us that the parts of the *Mystery of Godliness* spoken of in 1 *Tim.* 3. 16. are our *Eternal Election before the World was*, and our *Justification by Faith in the merits of Christ*. And I doubt not but he refers to this in the same Sermon when he distinguishes between the *Doctrine Established in the Church of England* and the *private Opinions* of some Church-men. Thus we see he still asserts and upholds the Doctrines of the *Calvinists* about the *Immutability of the Divine Decrees*, the *Efficacy and Irresistibility of Grace*, *Eternal Election*, and *Justification by Faith alone*, and he holds these to be the *Doctrines Established in our Church*.

If we look into his Thirteenth Sermon *ad Aulam*, preached in 1641 (which some have reason to think was after 1625) we shall find this passage, [There are two great acts of God's most Secret and Unsearchable *Council*, namely, the *Destination* of these that persevere in Faith and Godliness to *Eternal Happiness*: and the *Designation* of such as live and die in sin and infidelity without Repentance to *Eternal Destruction*.] And he saith [the Scriptures in the last Resolution refer these wholly to God's Glory, as the Last End: the Glory of his rich Mercy being most Resplendent in the one, and the Glory of his just Severity in the other. Concerning one the Scripture saith that *he predestinated us to the praise of the Glory of his Grace* Eph. 1. Concerning the other, *The Lord made all things for himself, even the Wicked for the day of evil*, Prov. 16.] Here you see is the Doctrine of *Election* and *Reprobation* plainly asserted,

asserted, and grounded on Scripture, and resolved altogether into God's Glory. And 'tis evident that he speaks of *Absolute Predestination*, because he calls it the *Secret and Unsearchable Counsel* of God, whereas it could not be stiled so if it were *Conditional* and *Mutable*.

And it is observable that Dr. *Sanderson* in his other Sermons that were preached after 1625. often makes mention of *the Elect*, *the Chosen of God*, *the Chosen ones*, and of *Reprobates* and *Castaways*. And all these Sermons were revised anew by him with great care and diligence (as he himself assures us) in order to their being published again, which shews what was his Judgment at that time when he reviewed them and Published them.

I have not yet done, but shall further prove; namely, from the *Letters* which were Written between Dr. *Sanderson* and Dr. *Hammond* about the forefaid Points, that the former was so deeply rooted in *Calvinism* that he could not be called off. Mr. *Isaac Walton*, who Writ the *Bishops Life*, tells us that it was in the Year 1648 and afterwards that many *Letters* passed between Dr. *Sanderson* and Dr. *Hammond* and Dr. *Pierce* concerning *God's Grace and Decrees*, and that Dr. *Sanderson* was with much *Unwillingness* drawn into the *Debate*, for he declared it would prove *Uneasy* to him, who in his Judgment of *God's Decrees* differed with Dr. *Hammond*. From this passage 'tis evident that in the Year 1648 and afterwards (which is thought was some Years after 1625) Dr. *Sanderson* had not forsaken the main Point of *Calvinism*, namely, that about the *Decrees*, for 'tis acknowledged here that as to these he differed with Dr. *Hammond*, and

therefore should be *uneasy* whilst he debated with his friend about that Point. That about the Decrees.

And even in the *last Letter* of Dr. *Sanderfon* to Dr. *Hammond* there are sufficient Testimonies and assurances of his not changing his mind as to the main part of Calvinism. He expressly owns the *Decrees of Election and Reprobation*, and that *these are set forth in the Scripture*. He saith it is *Impossible to maintain the Doctrine of Universal Grace in that manner as the Remonstrants are said to assert it*. He affirms that *God vouchsafes ex mero beneplacito to confer upon such Persons as it pleaseth him to fix upon, without enquiring into under what Qualifications, Preparations or Dispositions considered, a special measure of Grace which shall effectually work in them Faith and Perseverance to Salvation*. We see here Dr. *Sanderfon's* Judgment is that God is Arbitrary in his conferring of Grace, and bestows it on whom he pleases without any Motives in the Persons; and that the Effectualness of that Grace depends wholly on the Will of God, not on Man's Will; and in Consequence of this that the Special Grace of God cannot be resisted: which Propositions are the grand Hinges of Calvinism.

In the same Letter he blames the *Arminians* for ascribing less to the Grace of God, and more to the Free Will of Man than they ought in this, that according to their Doctrine, why of two Persons (as Peter and Judas) supposed to have all outward Means of Conversion equally applied, yet one should be effectually converted, the other not, the discriminating power is by them placed in the Will of Man, which should rather be ascribed to the work of Grace. He saith further that he hath ever held,

and

and still doth hold it the more pious and safe way to place the Grace of God in the Throne, where we think it should stand, and so to leave the Will of Man to shift for the maintenance of its own freedom, as well as it can, than to establish the power and liberty of Free Will at the height, and then to be at a loss how to maintain the power and efficacy of God's Grace. Is this the Language of one that hath forsaken Calvinism?

Further, he declares it to be his Judgment that we may securely admit the Doctrine of the Perseverance of God's Elect, and the Certainty thereof, so as it be understood of their Final Perseverance, and of the Certainty of the thing or object in regard of the Knowledge and purpose of God. Here and in what preceded is a brief Compendium of Calvinism, and drawn up by Dr. Sanderfon after the Year 1648, and after frequent Debates between him and Dr. Hammond.

And thence we may conclude that Mr. Walton before mentioned (an honest Gentleman, but no Judge in Theological Points) was under a mistake when he said he thought the Judgment of Dr. Sanderfon was by those debates alter'd from what it was at his entrance into them. It is true, the Good Man was teased and worried with the Letters of those fierce Arminians, Dr. Hammond and Dr. Pierce, and they used all the Arts they were Masters of to Perswade him out of his Opinion: but tho' he was modest, and when it was fitting shewed his Condescension, yet he couragiously maintained his Post, and (which is very Remarkable in those Letters) made Dr. Hammond submit to the Doctrine of the Eternal Decrees of Election and

Reprobation, which in his *Annotations on the New Testament* he would not allow of: yea, in other Articles the Doctor speaks very Orthodoxly in Compliance with Dr. *Sanderfon*. This Excellent Man then was so far from altering his Judgment by holding with the Persons before mentioned, that he rather prevailed with them to alter theirs in some measure. He was so far from *forsaking Calvinism*, that by his Close Reasoning he forced Dr. *Hammond* to forsake some part of *Arminianism*, at least in appearance.

But there is one thing I would have to be observed by the by from what I before alledged out of Mr. *Walton's* Life of the Bishop, namely, that *he thought the Bishop's Judgment was altered by those debates from what it was at his Entrance into them*, which if we should take to be exactly true, yet it is evident hence that even according to Mr. *Walton's* account the Bishop was a Calvinist at the entrance of the debates, that is, in the Year 1648: which confounds Mr. *Lightfoot's* Peremptory Asserting that the Bishop *forsook Calvinism* in the Year 1625.

And Lastly, as to the *History of Dr. Sanderfon's thoughts in these Points* which Mr. *Lightfoot's* Postscript speaks of, a Transcript of which he saith is to be seen in a Book of Dr. *Hammond's* Published 1660, the true Account is that in some part of that Scheme which was entituled *Pax Ecclesie* (some passages of which I have recited in my *Veritas Redux*) Dr. *Sanderfon* shews what a great dislike he had of the *Arminians*. To mention one stricture for all,
[Where

[When they, saith he, have done and said what they can, they must stand guilty of Symbolizing with the Pelagians both in their Principles and Conclusions, in giving Man's Will, and not God's Grace, the chiefest stroke, and the deciding and last determining and casting power in the work of Conversion.] Judge then how this agrees with what is said of Dr. Sanderson by Mr. Lightfoot, that he forsook Calvinism in 1625: and yet it was in this very Year that he published his *Pax Ecclesiae*.

But the true ground and reason of all this Stickling about Dr. Sanderson is this, that he being a Great Man, our Church-men would needs have him to be of their side, whether he will or not. So they would fain perswade us that Archbishop Usher was of their Party, and they have done what they Possibly could to effect this, but all in vain, as I have shewed in the Conclusion of my forementioned Treatise. And I have now done the like with Reference to our present Bishop, and notwithstanding the bold Attempts of the Writer of the *Postscript*, I have abundantly evinced what I Undertook, namely, to make good what I asserted, that Dr. Sanderson was too far gone in Calvinism, and too deeply rooted in it to be called off, and more particularly from his *Sermons* and his *Letters*, and other Concurrent Evidences, I have proved that he did not forsake Calvinism in the Year 1625, which the *Postscript* so confidently asserts, tho' it be a Lusty falshood. And now after these Premises may I not with more reason than the *Remarker* say that I published this, that it may be a Warning to those who read his Book, not too easily to give credit to him, without Examining:

mining: for he that can so grossly Impose on the Reader in one thing, may do it in many more?

I will now shut up all with a Word of Serious Advice to those into whose Hands these Papers may fall, and with my Resolution on the whole. I admire and reverence the *Church of England* which teaches us that Doctrine which is grounded on Scripture, and which is derived to us from the most Ancient and Primitive Source of Truth. Tho' some have revolted from it, yet She retains it, and is the Faithful Keeper of it. I do therefore exhort and beseech my Brethren to hold fast this Form of sound words, and earnestly to contend for this Faith which was once delivered to the Saints, and not to suffer it to be ravished from them in these days of Scepticism and Infidelity. To this purpose take heed that you mingle not your own Prejudicate thoughts with the Sense of the Bible: Banish Passion, love of Interest, and what ever else may Discompose your minds, and hinder you from Judging with freedom and Impartiality. Chastise your spleen, and entertain no Rancour against the professors of the Old Theology of the Holy Scriptures. I do not urge upon you that *Calvin* speaks thus, or the *Synod of Dort* teaches thus, but I chiefly inculcate that the *Sacred Writ* saith thus, that our *Saviour himself* saith thus, and the *Inspired Apostles* say the same, and therefore we are obliged to give our full Assent to it. And besides I profess this Doctrine and press it upon You, as we both have the Happiness to be Members of the *Church of England*, which hath always asserted it since the Reformation.

I pretend not to a Prophetick Spirit, but this I am fully perswaded of that Divine Providence will not Permit this Cause, which is his own, to miscarry. The Time will come when these Articles will be cleared up, and these Doctrines be in repute, and the Vanity of Men in resisting them appear to the World: and Men will be ashamed of their Temporizing Folly, and of deserting these Truths. Tho' *Calvinism* now makes a dreadful sound in the Ears of some Men, and begets strange and horrid Ideas in their minds, yet it shall one day be entertained and listned unto by you with Satisfaction and delight. For the Efficacy of Truth is such that it will make its way thro' all difficulties, and gather strength by being Opposed, and gain new Lustre by being Eclipsed. Tho' it be depressed at present, God will raise up Advocates for its defence. In short, *Calvinism* tho' now stifled, will afterwards breath a free Air. This, I conceive cannot fail to come to pass when Men are stirred up to penetrate into the True Genius of the Evangelical and Apostolick Writings, and being guided by a Clear Light have the Doctrines of the Gospel represented to them in their Proper and Genuine shapes. And I can't think that Her Sacred *Majesty*, who makes such pressing instances, by Her Embassadors for restoring the *Calvinists* in *Silesia* to the free exercise of their Religion, and the open profession of their Perswasion, and who hath actually established the same among Her *North-Britains*, will be backward to encourage it among those of the *South*.

As for the Gentleman who hath occasioned this Debate in the foregoing Pages, it may be he will not be Permitted to live *to grow Old in Error* (to return his own words) but let me tell him it will be no great Comfort to him to expire, (tho' he were Young) Obstinate and Overgrown with Willful Prejudices, Blind with Partiality, and even Doating thro' Self-conceit and Opiniatrey.

I have some thing further to say, if there be Occasion, but I shall Reserve my self till that time.

S O M E

SOME

Free and Impartial

REFLECTIONS

ON

That so well-known BOOK,

Entituled, The

Whole Duty of Man.



REFLECTIONS

ON THE

Whole Duty of Man.

THERE have been a great many Practical Books put into the hands of well-disposed Readers: and among the rest these have been in great repute, *The Practice of Piety*, Bishop Taylor's *Holy Living and Dying*, *The Christian Life* by Dr. Scot, and *The Whole Duty of Man*. But the first hath received some disparagement from the Notorious Defection of its * Author. The second is written in a stile that is not very suitable to those that are of mean and ordinary capacity. The third is too Voluminous, besides that a great part of it is spent in Speculation and Dispute. The fourth hath been the chiefest Book in use of late, and hath purchased a general applause, and is undoubtedly a very deserving Book in some respects. It hath Excellent Rules of Life, Duties well described, and urged with great strength of Reason, and Motives added which are pres-
ling,

* Dr. Lewis Baily, a Scotch-Man, Bishop of Bangor.

sing, and all this is for the most part done with great Plainness: and therefore so far the Book may be read with great Edification. And far be it from me to detract from it so far as it is useful and praise worthy.

But with truth and reason it may be said that there are some things in it which forbid us to read it without great *Caution* and *Circumspection*, tho' it is observable that this Book is prodigiously admired, and doated upon even to Superstition. The generality of People unmeasurably esteem it, and seem to prefer it before the Bible, they having been taught by one of our Divines to say it is *the Best of Books*: and every Parishioner must have one of them, almost upon pain of damnation. Wherefore since they begin to *Idolize it*, it is high time to check this prophane practice, by giving a true and impartial Account of the Main Parts of it, and to shew how justly liable 'tis to Exceptions, whether we respect the *Doctrinal* or *Practical* part of Religion, or whether we look into the *Stile* of this Writer, or lastly whether we take notice of his *Devotional* part.

First, We may truly pronounce this Work to be Defective as to the *Doctrines* of Religion and the *Principles* of Divine Knowledge. This Author doth not undertake to lay any of these down in his Book, tho' they are not only the Foundation, but a great part of the Superstructure of Religion: this makes his Performance very lame and imperfect. It must be own'd that he is very hearty in acknowledging the Infection and Mischief of *Original Sin*: He tells us in his *Preface* that [we being born
after

after the image of Adam are become both Ignorant in discerning what we ought to do, and Weak and Unable to the doing of it] And again he saith that by the breach of the First Covenant Adam and his Posterity lost their Primitive strength and happiness, and incurred the penalty of Eternal damnation.] But then as he is Orthodox in this Point, for which some of our Churchmen will give him no thanks, so as to sundry Important Truths and Doctrines, which are Essential to Christianity, he is pleased to be silent; he treats no where of the *Holy Trinity*, of the *Divinity of Christ*, of *God's Attributes*, of his *Providence*, of the *General Judgment* at the last Day, of a *Future State*, of *Rewards* and *Punishments*, of *Heaven* and *Hell*. He barely mentions some of these, but he no where discourses of them: nor of *Election to Grace and Glory*, which is so often spoken of in the New Testament: he handles not the Doctrines of *Regeneration*, of *Conversion* or *Effectual Calling*, of *Adoption*, of *Justification*, as if it were not any part of the *Whole Duty of Man* to know these things, or to believe them.

It is certain and undeniable that the *Whole Duty* of a Christian is not rightly represented to us, unless it contains in it the things which he ought to *know*, as well as those which he ought to *practise*. No Man that understands the Christian Religion will gainsay this. Wherefore it must needs be own'd that this Book is short and deficient, because it spends it self wholly in the latter, and takes little or no notice of the former, namely the Knowledge of the Necessary Articles of our Religion. I look upon this as a great Blemish in a
Book

Book that pretends to set forth the *Duty* of Christians in its *full extent* and latitude. This Book should rather be call'd *Half of the Duty of Man*, than the *Whole*.

And this Defect is the more blameable because in these Times the *Doctrines* of Religion are under great contempt, and its *Principles* are disregarded. Yea, there seems to be a formid League and Conspiracy in this Age against *Revealed Religion*, and especially against the *Principles* of *Christianity*, the *Doctrinal* part of our Holy Institution. Therefore now we ought to be mightily concerned for this, and to lay our Foundation well, remembering that this bears up all the Building: and consequently if we take not care about this, the whole Fabrick of our Religion will fall to the ground. For all Practice is founded on Principle, and therefore if we take away the latter, we destroy the former. It is therefore necessary that we fully understand and rightly conceive, and affectionately embrace the Articles of our Religion. It is requisite that we have a True Scheme before us of the Substantial Principles of Christianity, that our Knowledge be set right as to all those Grand Truths. From whence I conclude that that Book which carries the Title of *The Whole Duty of Man*, and yet treats not particularly of the *Principles of the Christian Faith*, is very Defective, and answers not the Title, unless you will say that to know the Principles of the Christian Religion belongs not to *the Duty of Man*.

Secondly, This Celebrated Piece doth not only omit the *Fundamental Doctrines* of our Holy Religion, but some *Practical Duties*, and *Necessary Vertues and Graces*; and others it misrepresents, and gives us a wrong account of them. *Faith*, as 'tis a Christian Duty, that is, as it hath reference to our *Redeemer*, is mentioned but once only, and barely mentioned. For tho' *Faith* and *Trusting in God* are spoken of more than once, yet there is no particular account given of this Grace as it relates to *Christ*, the grand object of it. It is true that in the Third Chapter treating of the Preparation to the Holy Sacrament he mentions *Faith* in the Margin, but not in the Body of the Book, and only saith, [you are to look on him whom God hath set forth to be the Propitiation for our Sins, even Jesus Christ.—— And this you are to believe will surely be done, &c.] But in the first Chapter of his Book, where he designedly and purposely treats of *Faith*, and where therefore we might expect to find a just account of it, he makes it to be no more than a believing the truth of those things that are delivered by God. And when in the same place he speaks of *Trusting in God*, he understands by it only our depending on him for his Care over us. There is not a word there of *believing in Jesus Christ*, which is the Peculiar Duty of every Christian Man. And afterwards, in the *Devotional part* of the Book, in his *Collett* for *Faith*, he hath not a Syllable of it as it refers to *Christ* and his *Merits*, and as it is a relying on Jesus for Salvation. Thus

this Eminent *Grace* of the Gospel, on which all the others are built, is forgot to be handled in this so much Admired Book.

This is observable also, that tho' the Scriptures often make mention of the Duty which *Rulers* and *Magistrates* (whether Supreme or Subordinate) owe to the People, yet this Treatise only sets down the *Peoples* Duty to the Magistrates, not theirs to the People. And this Reason is pretended for it, *What is the duty of the Magistrate to the People will be vain to mention, none of that rank being like to read this Treatise.* Chap. 14. But yet 'tis said in the *Title-page* that it was designed for the use of *All*, and therefore for *Magistrates* as well as others. And we know that it hath fallen into the hands of some of the Highest Rank. Besides, it appears from some passages in the Book that the Author intended it for the *Great* and *Wealthy*, as well as the *Meanest* and *Poorest*. He talks of *Ambition*, Chap. 7. Sect. 3. which doth not belong to Poor People. He supposes those he speaks to, to be *Rich* and *Wealthy*, Chap. 17. Sect. 1. and in the 11th Section, *Let us not, saith he, grudge to empty our Coffers, to lessen somewhat of our heaps to relieve the poor Members of Christ.* And in the same place all along exhorting to *Bounty* and *Liberality*, he lets us know that he intended and expected that his Book should be read not by the Poor only, but by others. We see then plainly how he falters, and we may be convinced that the Reason before assigned by him was not the true ground (whatever he pretends)

pretends) of his omitting the *Magistrate's Duty*. And as being conscious of this, he flies to another Reason (if it may be called so) and tells us in plain terms that *whatsoever the Supreme Magistrate's duty is, or however performed, he is accountable to none but God*, Chap. 14. S. 5. and therefore 'tis *vain* to set down his duty.

Here you have the Man and his Mind. All that we are to be told concerning the Magistrates obligation is this, that *he is accountable to none but God*. 'Tis added very peremptorily, *It may suffice to know this*, and no more. And as for our selves, he acquaints us that *Passive Obedience* is our Absolute Duty without any limitation whatsoever; yea, tho' it be of *securing our selves*, which is the great end of all Government. For he adds that *we must patiently suffer what the Magistrate inflicts on us, and we must not, to secure our selves, rise up against him*. A King is Absolute and Unlimited, and the Laws are no bounds to his Exorbitant Will and Power. Tho' he should endeavour to subvert our Religion, and to ravish from us all our Liberties and Properties, yet he is not any ways to be resisted and opposed, for all Resistance is damnable.

And yet those very Persons that cried up this Doctrine of *the Whole Duty of Man*, sent for the *Prince of Orange*, and brought in a Foreign Army to call King *James to an account*, and actually *opposed and resisted* him: and some of the Chief Men of our Church were as forward as any others in inviting the Prince to take the Government upon him, at least for a time, which was a Temporary Deposing of

their King, and thrusting him from the Throne. One would think these Men should blush every time they read those foresaid Passages in *the Whole Duty of Man*, which they so highly approved of and applauded. One would think they should do what they can to hinder the Sale of this Book, that it might not *witness* against them, and *upbraid* them. Did they *patiently suffer what King James inflicted on them?* Did they not, *to secure themselves, rise up against him?* Did they act as those Men who believed what they so zealously professed; namely, that *whatsoever the King's duty was, or however performed, he is accountable to none but God?* No. They contradicted this in their practice, and rose up against their Sovereign, to secure themselves and their Rights and Properties.

Whence 'tis now evident to the World that the profession of the *Whole-Duty-of-Man*, was a mere Cheat and Delusion, and was only a Contrivance of the Court and Clergy in the former Reigns, to keep themselves in the Station they were in, and that they might be able to do what they pleased in Church and State without Controul, and that they might plague and persecute all that dissented from them, without fear of any *Resistance*. This was the Design of the Heads of the Party, and some well-meaning People were deluded by it, and thought there was matter of Conscience in it. You see now the bottom of *Passive Obedience* and *Absolute Non-Resistance* which so many of our Divines preached up with such flagrancy.

And you may see here for what reason *this Book* was cried up, namely, for the Doctrine of
Passive

Passive Obedience and the *unaccountableness* of *Kings*, which it asserted. This was that which first set it up, this made it to be in such request with those Men who were mindful to secure themselves and to distress others. It was their Interest to keep up the Credit of it, and to promote the Sale of it (to which purpose many Thousands of them were distributed up and down the Nation) for Princes are authorized here to do what they please with their People, and the People are taught to take any thing at the hands of a Prince. Both these Doctrines made way for *Tyranny* and *Slavery*, they led directly to *Popery* and *Arbitrary Government*, which were the Designs of the Reigns before the Revolution.

And we see how the Spirit of this Author rules in some Men at this very Day. They assert the *ABSOLUTE SOVEREIGNTY* of Kings, and their governing us not as *Free-Men*, but as *Slaves*. A thing which all Good Princes are so far from desiring that they industriously avoid it. Notwithstanding this, it hath been the business of some Writers to uphold the Arbitrary, Unlimited and Lawless Sway of Crown'd Heads, and to rob the Subject of his Rights and Privileges. One of them tells us, "That tho' the King should determine contrary to Law, yea, to all the Writers Laws in the Nation, yet this Determination is Law. Neither Law nor Reason, nor Justice can determine any thing: but it is the Authority of the King only that can determine. Here is a King without Reason, Law or Justice, and such by all means must the *English* Monarch be,

saith this *Irish Priest*. This is the true Spawn of *Sibthorp* and *Manwaring*, who at the beginning of King *Charles* the 1's Reign (the plain Prefage of what was to follow) Preach'd up the Absolute Power of the King, and Preach'd down the Peoples Liberties and Properties, for which acceptable Doctrine they were favour'd and preferr'd by the Court. And when this was found to be so Agreeable a Theme, other Sermons and Discourses were multiplied wherein the *Boundless Power of Kings* over the Persons and Estates of their Subjects, was maintained. This coming from the Clergy and from the Pulpit, was looked upon as no other than Divine, and consequently sufficient to authorize and legitimate the Practice which would naturally flow from it. Accordingly, as the Lord *Clarendon* himself owns, * *The Crown extended its Authority and Power beyond its bounds to the prejudice of the just rights of the Subject*. He declaims against † the *Illegal Impositions* in that King's Reign, and the *Unjust Proceedings of the Council-board*, and other *Pressures and Invasions on the Subjects*, as he calls them. Relating to which he confesses that there were Preach'd at *White-Hall* very *Scanda'ous Sermons*, and he saith the Divines presumed to determine things out of the verge of their own profession.

These

* Hist. of the Civil War, Book 5. P. in Folio 474.

† Book 1. P. 53, 54.

These things should not have been called to mind again, and mentioned here, but that it was necessary on this occasion to refresh our Memories with them, that we may be sensible what work a known Writer at this Day is carrying on; namely, the very same that was one main Spring of our *Civil-Wars*. It is his very design and business to assert and promote the *Arbitrary Power* of Monarchs, that they may wield the Scepter with the utmost Rigour, and not rule in the Hearts and affections of the People (their best Security) which naturally follows upon their being *wholly Unaccountable*: which is the Doctrine that the *Whole Duty of Man* teaches. It is no wonder then that some Persons in Church as well as State magnified this Book, and buoyed up the Reputation of it for such a Purpose as hath been mentioned. And as for the unknown Author, it is no wonder that upon such Maxims as these laid down by him, he chose to say nothing of the *Magistrate's Duty to the People*, seeing he is *not to give any account* of the discharge of it to them. But it seems St. Paul was not of this Writer's mind, he did not think it *vain to mention the Duty of the Magistrates to the People*, for in the Thirteenth Chapter of his Epistle to the *Romans*, he sets down the *Character and Office of the Higher Powers*, as well as the *Peoples Duty* to them: and it would have well become this Author to have imitated the Apostle.

As he is wholly silent concerning the Magistrate's Duty, so he is likewise concerning that of the *Ministers of the Church*, and (as he

himself acknowledges) upon the same consideration on which he forbore to mention the Magistrate's duty. And what was that Consideration? Namely, because none of that rank were like to read his Treatise, and because 'tis very useleſs for the People to enquire what is the Duty of their Paſtors, and because whatſoever their duty is, or however performed, they are Unaccountable to the People, and no failing of theirs can warrant the People to fail in their Duty to them: for this is a Consideration which he particularly mentioned under the other head. Theſe are aſſigned as ſufficient Reaſons why the People muſt not hear of the duty of Miniſters, and why accordingly this Author ſaith nothing of the Chriſtian Offices appertaining to Miniſters. But we know that the Great Apoſtle largely ſets down thoſe Offices not only in his *Epiſtles* to *Timothy* and *Titus*, but to whole Chriſtian Churches, and even calls to the People to remind the Paſtors of their duty, *Col. 4. 17.* Notwithſtanding this, our Author omits this ſubject wholly. But how then can this Treatiſe be called *The Whole Duty of Man*? This can't be reconciled, unleſs this rank of Perſons be above the degree of *Men*, which ſome would make us believe, and ſome of them fanſie for themſelves.

Again, it may be obſerved that this Treatiſe is deficient as to this, namely, that whereas *Death* is one great Object of a Chriſtian Man's Meditation, and he ought ſolemnly to *Prepare* himſelf for his laſt Hour, this Author ſaith nothing at all of *this*, as if it were no part, much leſs a conſiderable part, of the duty of a Chriſtian

Christian Man to perform that task, and by peculiar acts of Devotion and Religion to converse with and make Preparation for his Departure hence.

And as this Writer *omits* some Graces and Duties, so he is *mistaken* about others, and gives us a wrong account of them. Thus when he divides the Worship of God into that which is *performed by our Souls*, and that which is *performed by our Bodies*, Chap. 5. S. 1. he seems to make use of an Ill Distribution of *Worship*, in the way that he applies it, for *Prayer* is partly a Bodily Worship, it being performed by the Tongue, as well as by the Heart: and yet he saith *the Souls part is Praying*, not allowing the *Outward Man* to be concerned in it.

And besides, he is very wrong in his Notions, when by thus speaking he would persuade us that there is no other *Spiritual Worship*, or Worship performed by our Souls but *Prayer*, for when he saith *the Souls part is Praying*, he must mean (if he speaks consistently and properly) that no other act of Worship is the Soul's part.

Nay, he reckons *Prayer* to be all the Worship that is due to God, as we may see in this Chapter, where under that Head (the Eighth head) of *Worship due to God*, he mentions nothing at all but *Praying*, together with *Reverent Gestures*: whereas it is not to be doubted that there are several *other Acts of Worship*, as the *Celebrating of Baptism and the Lord's Supper*, (which latter he himself confesses afterwards, and therein contradicts himself, for he calls that Holy Sacrament *the Solemnest part of Worship*,
Chap.

Chap. 17. S. 3.) and *Fasting and Humiliation*, and *Religious Vowing*, of which last he saith nothing at all in his Book; and *meeting in the House of God*, and *keeping the Lord's Day holy*, *bearing the Word read and preached*. These, as well as Prayer, appertain to the *Worship and Service of God*, as the most Judicious Divines have acknowledged: but this Author is not pleased to rank them under that head, which is a thing that no Man ever did before him.

I might observe that he grounds the *Observation of the Lord's Day* on the same bottom with the *Festivals* and other *Holy Days*, Chap. 2. S. 17. *We are*, saith he, *to express our reverence to God by hallowing the Times set apart for his Service*, and he assigns these to be the *Lord's Day* and the *Feasts of the Church*. *Besides the Lord's Day there are other Times which the Church hath set apart*, Sect. 19. He leaves us to infer the one as well as the other to be the Constitution only of the *Church*, and that the former is no Divine Institution: especially this may be gathered from him seeing he saith nothing at all of the Appointment of the *Lord's Day* by Christ or his Apostles: which is very acceptable to some of our Divines, who hold the observation of the *Lord's Day* to be a mere Ecclesiastical Injunction.

Of *Fasting* he hath but an uncouth Notion; namely, that it is *missing a meal by way of punishment for our faults*, Chap. 5. S. 34. But I let that pass, that it may be seen I do not insist on every thing which may deserve a Censure.

He is very faint and low when he is speaking of *Recreations*: he in a general way reflects on those who spend whole Days and Nights at Cards and Dice, and idle Pastimes, Chap. 9. S. 7. that is, he would not have Persons spend all their time on those Sports, but he doth not caution his Reader against the sinful and unlawful use of them on other accounts, which certainly he should have done on that occasion: and because he hath not done it, he seems to give encouragement to Licentiousness.

But this Faintness is recompensed by a great Severity in another place, that part of his Discourse which treats of *Deceit in Traffick*. It is all of it from first to last a dreadful and bitter Satyr against all *Merchandising* and *Trading-Men*, who are the main Bulk of the Nation, as well as the Prop of it. There is one passage, above all the rest, very severe and cutting; *Cheating*, saith he, is so interwoven with all Trades, so mixt with the very first Principles and Grounds of them, that it is taught together with them, and so becomes part of the Art, Chap. 12. S. 8. Which is as if he had said, All Trading is downright Cheating in the very nature and constitution of it: and therefore when Youth are bound out Apprentices, the design of it is (which must needs be a great Comfort to their Parents or other Relations) that they may be taught to Cheat with dexterity. For Trading is no other than a Course of defrauding, and in plain terms all Tradesmen are Knaves. For it must needs be so, and can't be otherwise if what our Author saith be adjusted to truth, that *Cheating is taught together with the Trade,*
and

and is mixed with the first Grounds of it, and is a part of it. Here the Question may be put whether this Language be not part of that *Injustice to our Neighbours in respect of their Credit*, which he condemns in the following Chapter: where he more particularly adds, *To these Men who subsist by dealing in the World* (that is Tradesmen) *a Good Name or Credit is so necessary, that it may well be reckoned as the means of their Livelyhood, and then surely 'tis no slight matter to rob them of it*, Chap. 13. S. 10. But he hath by the foregoing Censure taken away their *Good Name and Credit*, and consequently hath endeavoured to subtract *the means of their livelyhood*, so that we see who is the *Robber*: and we see at the same time how Inconsistent one part of his Book is with the other.

Which is further discernable from what he saith afterwards, *Charity casts out Censoriousness and Rash Judging, as the Apostle saith* [It thinketh no Evil, but believeth all things, hopeth all things]; *that is, it is forward to believe and hope the best of all Men*, Chap. 16. S. 8. But I appeal to the impartial Reader, whether he that saith these things was Master of that Charity he describes, when he fixed the above mentioned Character on whole Societies of Men, and makes every Tradesman in the City of *London* a Thief and a Cheat. It must needs be a great Encouragement to a City-Minister to Preach to whole Congregations of this kind. And besides, he can't but expect to be very kindly and honestly treated by them after his Admired Friend hath thus branded them.

One would think that a Libel of this nature, which falls so heavily on all Traders and Sellers, should not have had a run among the *Citizens* so long a time: but the contrary can be ascribed only to their excess of that *Charity* which this Author *speaks of*, and they *practise*, but not he. And the same *Charity* hath inspired the other Sex, or else they would not have digested those harsh and rude Reflections on *Married Women* which his Fifteenth Chapter abounds with.

There is a very odd passage in his 7th Chapter, Section 18. *The Vertue* (saith he) *of Chastity consists in a perfect abstaining from all kinds of Uncleanness, not only that of Adultery and Fornication, but all other more unnatural sorts of it committed either upon our selves, or with any other. In a word, all acts of that kind are utterly against Chastity, save only in lawful Marriage.* Then, according to him, Adultery, Fornication and Unnatural Uncleanness, are not a breach of Chastity when they are committed by Persons that are Married: for 'tis said here [save only in Lawful Marriage] which may imply that these acts of Uncleanness are Lawful in a single Life, tho' not in a Conjugal one. And as for *Unnatural sorts of Uncleanness*, it is certain that *all acts of that kind* are as Sinfull and Unlawfull when committed by Married Persons as well as when they are by the Unmarried. We see from this and other Instances what Representations he makes of *Moral Duties*, and as for those which are purely *Christian* and *Evangelical*, he passes several of them by with very dry descants on them.

I may adjoin something concerning his *Stile*, which as to the main is very laudable, but there are some Mixtures which cannot be excused. Nor should I at all take notice of them if some had not immoderately flattered him for his *Words* as well as his *Matter* (for 'tis as easie to do the one as the other) and had boasted that there are none of those *Defects* and *Blemishes* in his *Expressions* which are frequently to be found in other Mens Writings. It is not becoming the *Stile* of a Divine to call Riches and Honour *the Goods of Fortune*, as he doth twice together, Chap. 6. S. 8, and 10. and in the *General Titles* or *Index*, at the End of the Book. Nay, he uses the word *Fortune* to express Providence and the Judgments of God, Chap. 12. S. 9. From this Author it is likely our Preachers (who have been Great Hawkers of this Book) have been encouraged to talk so much of *Fortune* and *Fortunes* in their Pulpits, a Language which befeems not the Mouths of the Christian Clergy, for this manner of expression is borrowed from *Paganism*, and it is apt to convey a very ill Notion into Mens Minds, to wit, that things are administered in the World by *Chance* and *Fortune*.

It is of Vulgar use in many Mens Mouths to say, *God knows*, or the *Lord knows*, when there is no occasion for mentioning either *God* or his *knowing*: and this unnecessary and prophane sort of speaking is frequently used by this Author, as you may see in the following places, Chap. 1. Sect. 49. Chap. 2. S. 29, and 30. Chap. 3. S. 23. Chap. 4. S. 6. Chap. 6. S. 13. Chap. 10. S. 9. Chap. 12. S. 10. Chap. 14. S. 19.

14. S. 19. Chap. 15. S. 19. Chap. 16. S. the last. In all which places those words *God knows* are a mere Expletive, and have no relation to any thing that requires him to mention the *Knowledge of God*.

If this vain and foolish way of speaking had once or twice only passed his Pen, it had been tolerable, but when he so *often* uses it, no less than a dozen times, and sometimes twice together in the same Chapter, and always where there is no necessity for it, we cannot but take notice of it with great dislike, for the *Holy Name of God* ought not to be used slightly and vainly, and where the matter doth not suit it. And besides, it being such a *Vulgar* and *Plebejan* sort of speaking, it may raise some wonder that it is made use of by one whose Education may be supposed to be above that strain.

There are some other Expressions which become not a Serious Writer, as *the Dog in the Fable*, Chap. 6. S. 14. *the young Conjuror*, Chap. 13. S. 11. That of the *Butter-fly* Chap. 5. S. 19. is but indifferent. *Trading for God*. Chap. 10. S. 11. and *jumping into Heaven* Chap. 17. S. 22. are no very Commendable ways of speaking. Yea, those Innocent Expressions of *setting all right between God and our selves*, Chap. 3. S. 22. *bringing our selves to a melting temper*, Chap. 3. S. 8. *the Devils's playing the Merchant for our Souls*, Chap. 4. S. 8. if they had been found in any Book but this by some Men, they would have laught at them as mere Cant. But the Excessive Reverence and almost Adoration paid to this Writer by them will not let them hear any thing that tends to the Disparagement
of

of his Performauce, tho' it be really faulty: as any unbiassed Person cannot but see and acknowledge that it is in sundry respects.

I might Remark further on this part of the Book that the Periods and Sentences are so long and tedious in many places (and sometimes larded with Parentheses) that no ordinary capacity can go along with them: and therefore he might have bated That in the Title-Page of his Book, that 'tis for the use of the *meanest Reader*. And I would ask whether such expressions as these, *Felicities, Accession, Distemperate, Bequests, Proxy, Ingulph, legal Trespases*, i. e. Trespases against the Law, *Affertory* and *Promissory*, conjuring his Reader, with others of the like sort, be fitted to the Understanding of the *meanest Reader*.

Having spoken with this freedom of the *Body* of that Book which I designed to make some Remarks upon, I proceed to do the like with relation to the *Forms of Devotion* which are annexed to it. He calls them all *Private Devotions*, and consequently they are of no use to a *Family* when they would Pray together. This is a mighty *Defect* in these Forms of Devotion, that there is not one Prayer for a *Family*, especially seeing the foregoing Treatise was designed for *Families*. But he excuses this Omission by saying, *The Church hath already furnished us for that purpose, I mean, saith he, the Publick Liturgy or Common-Prayer*: and this he would have read constantly in every Family, tho' herein he is contradicted by the generality of his Brethren of the Clergy, whose Judgment is that the *Publick Liturgy* on some Accounts is not suitable to a *Private Family*, and that

that a *Priest* ought to officiate in this Service. And accordingly the most Conformable Divines of our Church have composed and published Set Forms of Prayer to be used in Families: which they would not have done if they had been of this Authors mind, and thought that there is no fighting but with *Goliath's Sword*, that is, the *Common-Prayer*, as he calls it.

Then as to those *Prayers*, which are contained in his Collection of Private Devotions, it is evident that in some of them his Periods are too long, in so much that the Sense thereby is sunk and lost, as in the *Thanksgiving* among the Prayers for the *Morning*. And so in the Prayer after the *Heads of Self-examination* there are Sentences stretched out to such a length that an ordinary capacity cannot reach them. Even in several of the *Collects*, which should be short, he is long-winded: and in most of them he observes no Accuracy at all.

That is a plain Tautology in his *Collect for Contrition*, *Melt this hard obdurate heart of mine*, as if *hard* and *Obdurate* were not the same.

Tho' his Book was intended for those of mean Understandings (which he often hints to us,) yet he flies above their pitch when he puts such words as these into their Mouths, *Communicate some small ray of thy excellence*, in the Prayer for Perseverance: *Let me not be so Sacrilegiously Unjust as to alienate*, in the *Collect for the Love of God*. *Thou seeest my heart already usurped*, in the same place: *That I may not Sacrilegiously Invade what God hath set apart for himself*, in the *Collect for the Fear of God*. And will that fit the Mouth of the *Meanest Reader*, in the Prayer at the approach of Death,

a mountainous heap of minutely Provocations? Or can he well Understand and pronounce Irremediable ruine, in the Prayer in times of Calamity?

And how do you approve of such fine Language as this is in his Prayer for the Peace of the Church? *As it were in a misordered Quire, every Man singeth a contrary note.* Which is to express the Confusion in the Church; and by the by it shews that he longed for the *Cathedral Service* again. And to this refers what is prayed for afterwards, *One note and one Song:* and in the end of this Prayer, *the whole Quire of the Church* is mentioned.

In another place of this Prayer he thus expostulates, *Shalt thou suffer the wicked Spirits to bear such a Swing?* And afterwards, *Suffer not them to Perish who do hang on thee.* He attributes to God *Heavenly Policy*, in this Prayer: and God's Mercy is said to *surmount all his Works.*

Now, I pray tell me, Is the meanest Reader or any other taken with such Language as this in Addresses to God, to wit *rays of excellence, a heart usurped, Sacrilegious Invasion and Alienation, Mountainous heaps, Minutely Provocations, Irremediable ruine, mercy Surmounting, misordered Quire, bearing a swing, hanging on God?*

What think you of such quaint Petitions as these, that *by being suppled in his own tears, he may be the fitter to be washed in Christ's Blood*, in the first Prayer before the receiving of the Sacrament: that *he may lay his Hand on his Mouth, and heartily acknowledge*, whereas these two are Opposite, for the former expression [laying the Hand on the Mouth] is used for holding ones peace, or refraining from speaking, *Judg. 18.*

19. *Job.* 21. 5. 29. 9. 40. 4. *Prov.* 30. 32.
Mic. 7. 16.

Some would exceedingly disrelish the following strains of Devotion, if they had met with them any where but in the *Whole Duty of Man*: the Petitioner is taught to Pray that he may not long after the *Flesh-pots of Egypt*, but *Consecrate himself to God*, in the Prayer after the *Heads of Self-Examination*: that he may make an utter destruction of every *Amalekite*, in the Collect for Sincerity; that he may give a *Bill of Divorce to his beloved lusts*, and that God would then *Marry him to himself*, in the Prayer for Night.

I do not mention these passages as if they might not harmlessly be made use of in a Devout and Religious Sort, as coming from a good and honest Heart, but I wonder they are approved of by those who pretend to be such Nice Judges of Prayer, and are wont to be so severe upon the *Dissenters* for the Expressions which they sometimes use in their Publick Devotions. If such words as some of these had been heard at a *Presbyterian Lecture* by Mr. *Bennet* when he frequented those Meetings, he would certainly have pronounced them to be Rude and Rash, and Irreverent, and what not?

It might be observed further that some of the Prayers in this Book are *Now* made a Support to a *Bad Cause*, and Contribute much towards the humouring of those that are disaffected to the Government, and are laid aside for refusing to comply with the present Establishment, and cry out that the Church is in

danger. In the Prayer *after the Sacrament* there are these words, *O let not the Lights of the World be put under Bushels, but place them in their Candelsticks.* Which without doubt is used by some as a direct Prayer in behalf of the ejected Non-Jurors. And with respect to them and other Circumstances Our Church is represented to be in a most Deplorable and Dismal Condition, *having once been the Perfection of Beauty and the Joy of the whole Earth, she is now become a scorn and derision to all that are round about her,* in the Prayer for the Church. Whence you meet with this Petition in the *Intercession* in the Morning Prayer, *Have mercy on this Desolate Church.* And again, in the Prayer after the Sacrament, *Have mercy on this Languishing Church:* and in the same Prayer again, *Cause thy face to shine on thy Sanctuary which is Desolate.* All this hath been lately misapplied by ill Men to the present State of the Church of *England.*

Lastly, we may take notice that in the *Devotional Part,* a little before the Collects, the Author shews a great liking of *the Hours of Prayer,* (and accordingly puts them in Capital Letters) or *the Canonical Hours,* as they are called by the Romanists. You will find that in *the Lady's Calling* Part 1. Sect. 5. he again talks of the *Canonical Hours of Prayer,* at this day made use of by the Papists. And in that * Book he commends the *Religious Orders of Virgins*

Virgins (or *Nuns*) in the Roman Church, and wishes they had not been suppressed. There is a discernable Tincture of *Popery* in this Authors Piece of the *Causes of the Decay of Christian Piety*: he shews a kindness for that way of Religion, in several Passages: and tho' it is true in some places he seems to dislike and find fault with some *Papists* *Terets*, yet we may perceive that at the same time he is not a Hearty Enemy to them. It is usual with some to have a sling at *Rome* and *Geneva* both.

But to return to the Book before us, there is another passage which seems to countenance a known Doctrine of the *Church of Rome*, for in the Prayer for the Peace of the Church he hath these words, *Vouchsafe to cast on us those tender and pityful eyes with which thou didst once behold Peter that Great Shepherd of thy Church*, for else he was no more a *Shepherd* than the other *Apostles*, as all *Protestants* hold. But our Author emphatically saith, *That Shepherd*, to distinguish him from *all others*. So that 'tis plain that these words are liable to be Interpreted, and it is probable were meant, in favour of *St. Peter's Supremacy* which the *Papists* talk of.

There is a very odd and suspicious passage in the same Prayer, *Vouchsafe to cast thy Countenance on thy well-beloved Spouse the Church*, but let it be that amiable and *Merciful Countenance* whereby thou pacifiest all things in *Heaven* and in *Earth*, and whatsoever is above *Heaven* and under the *Earth*. That God pacifieth all things in *Heaven* and in *Earth*, is easy to be Understood, for this is according to what the *Apostle* saith,
namely,

namely, that by Christ all things are reconciled to the Father, whether they be things in Earth, or things in Heaven, Col. 1. 20. But how doth God pacifie what is above Heaven? and what doth he mean by *whatsoever is under the Earth*? This must signifie either the Bodies of the Saints, or of the Wicked that are in their Graves, or the Devils and Damned Souls in Hell, or he supposes other Souls in Purgatory. He cannot mean the Bodies of the deceased, for there is no need of pacifying them, they being still and quiet: and therefore he must mean the Infernal Spirits and Souls that are damned, and then the sense is this, that God casts or will cast his amiable and merciful countenance on the damned in Hell, yea, on the Devils themselves; he will vouchsafe them the same Merciful Countenance that he casts on his well beloved spouse the Church. This is a flight above Purgatory, and surely is not any part of that Devotion which Protestants are concerned in. Or if he means by those *under the Earth* the Souls in Purgatory, then we know whereabouts he is, and what Church he hath a good opinion of.

And here I must needs say, upon this occasion, that I remember but one place only in all the Book of *the Whole Duty of Man* (tho' the Author had fair opportunities of furnishing us with more) which seems to shew any dislike of the *Popish Opinions*; and that is so worded and expressed that any Man of the Church of Rome may say Amen to it. *To pay Divine Worship (saith he) to any Creature, be it Saint or Angel, yea, or the Image of Christ himself,*

himself, is a transgression of the second breach of our duty to God, it being the imparting that to a Creature which is due only to God, and therefore is strictly to be abstained from, Chap. 5. Sect. 37. Every one that hath read the Writings of the Roman Catholicks knows that they are not backward to profess as much as is here said, for tho' they Worship Saints and Angels and the Images of Christ, yet some of them tell us that they do not pay *Divine Worship* to them, but only that which is *Religious*, which is of an inferior nature: and others tell us that they Worship Images and other things and Persons not *Directly*, but only *Indirectly*, and so they cannot properly be said to give adoration to any Creature. It may be this is the Evasion which our present Author could help himself out with.

Thus I have made some Reflections and Remarks on *the Whole Duty of Man*, and therein I have I doubt not committed an unpardonable fault in the Judgment of some Men. But I am not concerned at it, because I know I shall be Absolved by those who have laid aside Prejudice, and know how to judge of things aright. I have no ill Opinion of the Author's Person, nor is it possible I should, because he is not known, and some say a *Woman* made this Treatise. But I meddle only with the make of the Book, and shew wherein it is justly liable to Exceptions.

It is the late Modish way among one sort of People, when they are asked about *Religion*, to return this for Answer that *their Religion is in the Whole Duty of Man*. But I must tell you that

that their Religion then is Lame and Imperfect, it wants *Principles* to actuate their Practice, and the *Practice* is ill directed in some very considerable Instances. As laudable as this Book is on other Accounts (and far be it from me to depreciate the *true worth* of it in any respect) we cannot but own, upon a perusal of the several Particulars which I have produced, that it is no defaming of the Author to say that he hath *omitted* many things which necessarily appertain to the Whole Duty of a Christian Man, and that he hath *Misrepresented* other things that belong to it, and that his Work is so far from meriting approbation in *all things* (which some confidently maintain) that *in many* it deserves Censure, and ought to be read with Caution; and the rather because it hath gained so great an Esteem and Applause: for the more Applauded it is, the more Harm it may do. My design hath been only to Undeceive Men, and to remind them not to swallow down all for Right and Good which they meet with in this Writer. They may be convinced from what I have said that he hath his Mistakes and Flaws, and some of them of a gross nature, such as merited to be taken notice of and animadverted upon for the benefit of the Reader.


 A

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