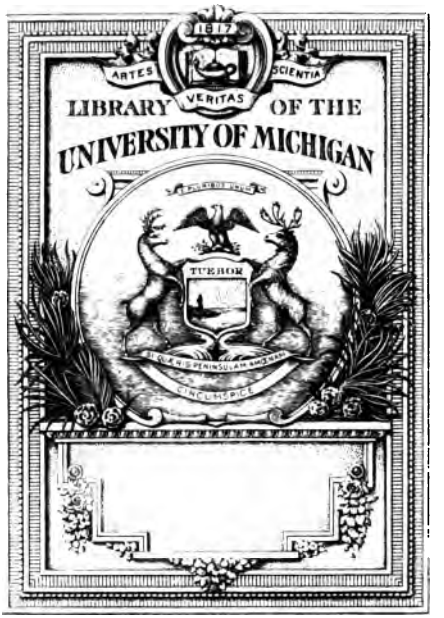

THE SELECT WORKS OF *WILLIAM PENN.*

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

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Mr. Wm. J. Howard.

CONTENTS

OF THE

SECOND VOLUME.

No

No Croſs, No Crown:

A

DISCOURSE

Shewing the

NATURE and DISCIPLINE

OF THE

Holy Croſs of Chriſt;

AND THAT

The DENIAL of SELF, and daily bearing of CHRIST's CROSS, is the alone Way to the Reſt and Kingdom of GOD.

To which are added,

The living and dying Teſtimonies of many Perſons of Fame and Learning, both of ancient and modern Times, in Favour of this Treatiſe.

VOL. II.

In TWO PARTS

BY WILLIAM PENN.

'And Jeſus ſaid unto his Diſciples; If any Man will come after 'me, let him deny himſelf, and take up his Croſs daily, and follow 'me,' Luke iv. 23.

'I have fought a good Fight, I have finiſhed my Courſe, I have 'kept the Faith: henceforth there is laid up for me a CROWN 'of Righteouſneſs, &c.' 1 Tim. iv. 7, 8.

Publiſhed in the Year 1668.

THE

PREFACE.

READER,

THE great buſineſs of man's life is, to anſwer the end for which he lives; and that is, to glorify God, and ſave his own ſoul: this is the decree of heaven, as old as the world. But ſo it is, that man mindeth nothing leſs than what he ſhould moſt mind; and deſpiſeth to enquire into his own being, its original duty and end; chuſing rather to dedicate his days (the ſteps he ſhould make to bleſſedneſs) to gratify the pride, avarice, and luxury of his heart; as if he had been born for himſelf, or rather given himſelf being, and ſo not ſubject to the reckoning and judgment of a ſuperior power. To this wild and lamentable paſs, hath poor man brought himſelf, by his diſobedience to the law of God in his heart, by doing that which he knows he ſhould not do, and leaving undone what he knows he ſhould do. And as long as this diſeaſe continueth upon man, he will make his God his enemy, and himſelf uncapable of the love and ſalvation that he hath manifeſted by his ſon, Jeſus Chriſt, to the world.

If, Reader, thou art ſuch an one, my counſel to thee is, to retire into thyſelf, and take a view of the condition of thy ſoul; for Chriſt hath given thee light with which to do it: ſearch careſully and thoroughly; thy life is upon it; thy ſoul is at ſtake. It is but once to be done; if thou abuſeſt thyſelf in it, the loſs is irreparable; the world is not price enough to ranſom thee: wilt thou then, for ſuch a world, belate thyſelf, overſtay the time of thy ſalvation, and loſe thy ſoul? Thou haſt to do (I grant thee) with great patience; but that alſo muſt have an end; therefore provoke not that God that made thee, to reject thee. Doſt thou know what it is? It is Tophet, it is hell, the eternal anguiſh of the damned. Oh! Reader, as one knowing the terrors

of the Lord, I perſuade thee to be ſerious, diligent, and fervent about thy ſalvation! aye, and as one knowing the comfort, peace, joy and pleaſure of the ways of righteouſneſs too, I exhort and invite thee, to embrace the reproofs and convictions of Chriſt's light and ſpirit in thine own conſcience, and bear the judgment, who haſt wrought the ſin. The fire burns but the ſtubble; the wind blows but the chaff: yield up thy body, ſoul and ſpirit, to him that maketh all things new; new heavens and new earth, new love, new joy, new peace, new works, a new life and converſation. Men are grown corrupt and droſſy by ſin, and they muſt be ſaved through fire, which purgeth it away; therefore the word of God is compared to a fire, and the day of ſalvation to an oven; and Chriſt himſelf to a refiner of gold, and purifier of ſilver.

Come, Reader, hearken to me a while; I ſeek thy ſalvation; that is my plot; thou wilt forgive me. A refiner is come near thee, his grace hath appeared to thee: it ſhews thee the world's luſts, and teacheth thee to deny them. Receive his leaven, and it will change thee; his medicine, and it will cure thee: he is as infallible as free; without money, and with certainty. A touch of his garment did it of old; it will do it ſtill: his virtue is the ſame, it cannot be exhauſted; for in him the fulneſs dwells: bleſſed be God for his ſufficiency. He laid help upon him, that he might be mighty to ſave all that come to God through him: do thou ſo, and he will change thee: aye, thy vile body like unto his glorious body. He is the great philoſopher indeed, the wiſdom of God, that turns lead into gold, vile things into things precious: for he maketh ſaints out of ſinners, and almoſt gods of men. What reſts to us then, that we muſt do, to be thus witneſſes of his power and love? This is the Crown: but where is the Croſs? Where is the bitter cup and bloody baptiſm? Come, Reader, be like him; for this tranſcendent joy, lift up thy head above the world; then thy ſalvation will draw nigh indeed.

Chriſt's

Chriſt's Croſs, is Chriſt's way to Chriſt's Crown. This is the ſubject of the following diſcourſe; firſt writ during my confinement in the Tower of London, in the year 1668, now reprinted with great enlargements of matter and teſtimonies, that thou, Reader, mayeſt be won to Chriſt; and if won already, brought nearer to him. It is a path, God in his everlaſting kindneſs guided my feet into, in the flower of my youth, when about two and twenty years of age: then he took me by the hand, and led me out of the pleaſures, vanities, and hopes of the world. I have taſted of Chriſt's judgments, and of his mercies, and of the world's frowns and reproaches: I rejoice in my experience, and dedicate it to thy ſervice in Chriſt. It is a debt I have long owed, and has been long expected: I have now paid it, and delivered my ſoul. To my country, and to the world of chriſtians I leave it: may God, if he pleaſe, make it effectual to them all, and turn their hearts from that envy, hatred and bitterneſs, they have one againſt another, about worldly things; (ſacrificing humanity and charity to ambition and covetouſneſs, for which they fill the earth with trouble and oppreſſion) that receiving the ſpirit of Chriſt into their hearts, (the fruits of which are love, peace, joy, temperance and patience, brotherly kindneſs and charity) they may in body, ſoul and ſpirit, make a triple league againſt the world, the fleſh and the devil, the only common enemies of mankind; and having conquered them through a life of ſelf-denial, by the power of the Croſs of Jeſus, they may at laſt attain to the eternal reſt and kingdom of God.

So deſireth, ſo prayeth,

friendly Reader,

thy fervent chriſtian friend,

WILLIAM PENN.

No Crofs, No Crown.

PART I.

CHAP. I.

§. 1. Of the neceffity of the crofs of Chrift in general; yet the little regard chriftians have to it. §. 2. The degeneracy of Chriftendom from purity to luft, and moderation to excefs. §. 3. That worldly lufts and pleafures are become the care and ftudy of chriftians, fo that they have advanced upon the impiety of infidels. §. 4. This defection a fecond part to the Jewifh tragedy, and worfe than the firft: the fcorn chriftians have caft on their Saviour. §. 5. Sin is of one nature all the world over; finners are of the fame church, the devil's children: profeffion of religion in wicked men, makes them but the worfe. §. 6. A wolf is not a lamb, a finner cannot be (whilft fuch) a faint. §. 7. The wicked will perfecute the good; this falfe chriftians have done to the true, for non-compliance with their fuperftitions: the ftrange carnal meafures falfe chriftians have taken of chriftianity; the danger of that felf-feduction. §. 8. The fenfe of that has obliged me to this difcourfe, for a diffuafive againft the world's lufts, and an invitation to take up the daily crofs of Chrift, as the way left us by him to bleffednefs. §. 9. Of the felf-condemnation of the wicked; that religion and worfhip are comprifed in doing the will of God. The advantage good men have upon bad men in the laft judgment. §. 10. A fupplication for Chriftendom, that fhe may not be rejected in that great affize of the world. She is exhorted to confider, what relation fhe bears to Chrift; if her Saviour, how faved, and for what: what her experience is of that great work. That Chrift came to fave from fin, and wrath by confequence; not fave men in fin, but from it, and fo the wages of it.

§. I. THOUGH the knowledge and obedience of the doctrine of the crofs of Chrift, be of infinite moment to the fouls of men; for that is the only

door to true chriſtianity, and that path the ancients ever trod to bleſſedneſs: yet, with extreme affliction, let me ſay, it is ſo little underſtood, ſo much neglected, and what is worſe, ſo bitterly contradicted, by the vanity, ſuperſtition, and intemperance of profeſſed chriſtians, that we muſt either renounce to believe what the Lord Jeſus hath told us, Luke xiv. 27. 'That whoſoever 'doth not bear his croſs, and come after him, cannot 'be his diſciple:' or, admitting that for truth, conclude, that the generality of Chriſtendom do miſerably deceive and diſappoint themſelves in the great buſineſs of chriſtianity, and their own ſalvation.

§. II. For, let us be never ſo tender and charitable in the ſurvey of thoſe nations, that intitle themſelves to any intereſt in the holy name of Chriſt, if we will but be juſt too, we muſt needs acknowledge, that after all the gracious advantages of light, and obligations to fidelity, which theſe latter ages of the world have received, by the coming, life, doctrine, miracles, death, reſurrection, and aſcenſion of Chriſt, with the gifts of his Holy Spirit; to which add, the writings, labours, and martyrdom of his dear followers in all times, there ſeems very little left of chriſtianity but the name: which being now uſurped by the old heathen nature and life, makes the profeſſors of it but true heathens in diſguiſe. For though they worſhip not the ſame idols, they worſhip Chriſt with the ſame heart: and they can never do otherwiſe, whilſt they live in the ſame luſts. So that the unmortified chriſtian and the heathen are of the ſame religion. For though they have different objects, to which they do direct their prayers, that adoration in both is but forced and ceremonious, and the deity they truly worſhip, is the god of the world, the great lord of luſts: to him they bow with the whole powers of ſoul and ſenſe. What ſhall we eat? What ſhall we drink? What ſhall we wear? And how ſhall we paſs away our time? Which way may we gather wealth, increaſe our power, enlarge our territories, and dignify and perpetuate our names and families in the earth? Which baſe ſenſuality is moſt pathetically expreſſed

preſſed and comprized by the beloved apoſtle John, in theſe words: 'the luſt of the fleſh, the luſt of the eyes, 'and the pride of life, which (ſays he) are not of the 'Father, but of the world, that lieth in wickedneſs[a].'

§. III. It is a mournful reflection, but a truth no confidence can be great enough to deny, that theſe worldly luſts fill up the ſtudy, care and converſation of wretched Chriſtendom! and, which aggravates the miſery, they have grown with time. For as the world is older, it is worſe; and the examples of former lewd ages, and their miſerable concluſions, have not deterred, but excited ours; ſo that the people of this, ſeem improvers of the old ſtock of impiety, and have carried it ſo much farther than example, that inſtead of advancing in virtue, upon better times, they are ſcandalouſly fallen below the life of heathens. Their high-mindedneſs, laſciviouſneſs, uncleanneſs, drunkenneſs, ſwearing, lying, envy, backbiting, cruelty, treachery, covetouſneſs, injuſtice, and oppreſſion, are ſo common, and committed with ſuch invention and exceſs, that they have ſtumbled and embittered infidels to a degree of ſcorning that holy religion, to which their good example ſhould have won their affections.

§. IV. This miſerable defection from primitive times, when the glory of chriſtianity was the purity of its profeſſors, I cannot but call the ſecond and worſt part of the Jewiſh tragedy, upon the bleſſed Saviour of mankind. For the Jews, from the power of ignorance, and the extreme prejudice they were under to the unworldly way of his appearance, would not acknowledge him when he came, but for two or three years perſecuted, and finally crucified him in one day. But the falſe chriſtians cruelty laſts longer: they have firſt, with Judas, profeſſed him, and then, for theſe many ages, moſt baſely betrayed, perſecuted, and crucified him, by a perpetual apoſtacy in manners, from the ſelf-denial and holineſs of his doctrine; their lives giving the lye to their faith. Theſe are they that the author of

[a] 1 John ii. 16.

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the epiſtle to the Hebrews tells us, 'crucify to themſelves the Son of God afreſh, and put him to open ſhame[b]:' whoſe defiled hearts, John, in his Revelation, ſtiles, the ſtreets of Sodom and Egypt, ſpiritually ſo called, where he beheld the Lord Jeſus crucified, long after he had been aſcended. And as Chriſt ſaid of old, a man's enemies are thoſe of his own houſe; ſo Chriſt's enemies now, are chiefly thoſe of his own profeſſion: 'they ſpit upon him, they nail and pierce him, 'they crown him with thorns, and give him gall and 'vinegar to drink[c].'' Nor is it hard to apprehend; for they that live in the ſame evil nature and principle the Jews did, that crucified him outwardly, muſt needs crucify him inwardly; ſince they that reject the grace now in their own hearts, are one in ſtock and generation with the hard-hearted Jews, that reſiſted the grace that then appeared in and by Chriſt.

§. V. Sin is of one nature all the world over; for though a lyar is not a drunkard, nor a ſwearer a whoremonger, nor either properly a murderer; yet they are all of a church; all branches of the wicked root; all of a kin. They have but one father, the devil, as Chriſt ſaid to the profeſſing Jews[d], the viſible church of that age: he ſlighted their pretenſions to Abraham and Moſes, and plainly told them, that he that committeth ſin, was the ſervant of ſin. They did the devil's works, and therefore were the devil's children. The argument will always hold upon the ſame reaſons, and therefore good ſtill: 'his ſervants you are, ſaith Paul, whom 'you obey[e]:' and ſaith John to the church of old, 'let no man deceive you; he that committeth ſin is of 'the devil[f].' Was Judas ever the better chriſtian, for crying, Hail, Maſter, and kiſſing Chriſt[g]? By no means: they were the ſignal of his treachery; the token given, by which the bloody Jews ſhould know and take him. He called him Maſter, but betrayed him; he kiſſed, but ſold him to be killed: this is the upſhot of the falſe chriſtian's religion. If a man aſk them, Is Chriſt

[b] Heb. vi. 6. Rev. xi. 8. [c] Mat. xxvii. [d] John viii. 34 to 45. [e] Rom. vi. 16. [f] 1 John iii. 7, 8. [g] Mat. xxvi. 49.

your

your Lord? They will cry, God forbid elſe: yes, he is our Lord. Very well: But do you keep his commandments? No. How ſhould we? How then are you his diſciples? It is impoſſible, ſay they; what! would you have us keep his commandments? No man can. What! impoſſible to do that, without which Chriſt hath made it impoſſible to be a chriſtian? Is Chriſt unreaſonable? Does he reap where he has not ſown[h]; require where he has not enabled? Thus it is, that with Judas they call him Maſter, but take part with the evil of the world to betray him; and kiſs and embrace him as far as ſpecious profeſſion goes; and then ſell him, to gratify the paſſion that they moſt indulge. Thus, as God ſaid of old, they make him ſerve with their ſins, and for their ſins too[i].

§. VI. 'Let no man deceive his own ſoul; grapes 'are not gathered of thorns, nor figs of thiſtles[k]:' a wolf is not a ſheep, nor is a vulture a dove. What form, people, or church ſoever thou art of, it is the truth of God to mankind, that they who have even the form of godlineſs, but (by their unmortified lives) deny the power thereof, make not the true, but falſe church: which though ſhe intitle herſelf the lamb's bride, or church of Chriſt, ſhe is that myſtery, or myſterious Babylon, fitly called by the Holy Ghoſt, the mother of harlots, and all abominations[l]; becauſe degenerated from chriſtian chaſtity and purity, into all the enormities of heathen Babylon: a ſumptuous city of old time, much noted for the ſeat of the kings of Babylon, and at that time the place in the world of greateſt pride and luxury. As ſhe was then, ſo myſtical Babylon is now, the great enemy of God's people.

§. VII. True it is, 'they that are born of the fleſh, 'hate and perſecute them that are born of the ſpirit[m],' who are the circumciſion in heart. It ſeems they cannot own, nor worſhip God after her inventions, methods and preſcriptions, nor receive for doctrine her

[h] Mat. xxv. 24. [i] Iſa. xliii. 24. [k] Mat. vii. 16. [l] Rev. xvii. 5. [m] Gal. iv. 29.

vain

vain traditions, any more than they can comply with her corrupt fashions and customs in their conversation. The case being thus, from an apostate she becomes a persecutor. It is not enough that she herself declines from ancient purity, others must do so too. She will give them no rest, that will not partake with her in that degeneracy, or receive her mark. Are any wiser than she, than mother church? No, no: nor can any make war with the beast she rides upon, those worldly powers that protect her, and vow her maintenance against the cries of her dissenters. Apostacy and superstition are ever proud and impatient of dissent: all must conform, or perish [n]. Therefore the slain witnesses, and blood of the souls under the altar, are found within the walls of this mystical Babylon, this great city of false christians, and are charged upon her by the Holy Ghost, in the revelation. Nor is it strange that she should slay the servants, who first crucified the Lord: but strange and barbarous too, that she should kill her husband, and murder her Saviour, titles she seems so fond of, and that have been so profitable to her; and that she would recommend herself by, though without all justice. But her children are reduced so entirely under the dominion of darkness, by means of their continued disobedience to the manifestation of the divine light in their souls, that they forget what man once was, or they should now be; and know not true and pure christianity when they meet it, yet pride themselves to profess it. Their measures are so carnal and false about salvation, they call good evil, and evil good: they make a devil a christian, and a saint a devil. So that though the unrighteous latitude of their lives be matter of lamentation, as to themselves it is of destruction; yet that common apprehension, that they may be children of God while in a state of disobedience to his holy commandments; and disciples of Jesus, though they revolt from his cross; and members of his true church, which is without spot or wrinkle, notwithstanding their lives

[n] Rev. vi. 9.

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are full of ſpots and wrinkles; is, of all other deceptions upon themſelves, the moſt pernicious to their eternal condition. For they are at peace in ſin, and under a ſecurity in their tranſgreſſion. Their vain hope ſilences their convictions, and over-lays all tender motions to repentance: ſo that their miſtake about their duty to God, is as miſchievous as their rebellion againſt him.

Thus they walk on precipices, and flatter themſelves, till the grave ſwallows them up, and the judgment of the great God breaks the lethargy, and undeceives their poor wretched ſouls with the anguiſh of the wicked, as the reward of their work.

§. VIII. This has been, is, and will be the doom of all worldly chriſtians: an end ſo dreadful, that if there were nothing of duty to God, or obligation to men, being a man, and one acquainted with the terrors of the Lord in the way and work of my own ſalvation, compaſſion alone were ſufficient to excite me to this diſſuaſive againſt the world's ſuperſtitions and luſts, and to invite the profeſſors of chriſtianity to the knowledge and obedience of the daily croſs of Chriſt, as the alone way, left by him, and appointed us to bleſſedneſs: that they who now do but uſurp the name, may have the thing; and by the power of the croſs, (to which they are now dead, inſtead of being dead to the world by it) may be made partakers of the reſurrection that is in Chriſt Jeſus, unto newneſs of life. For they that are truly in Chriſt, that is, redeemed by and intereſted in him, are new creatures. They have received a new will[o], ſuch as does the will of God, not their own. They pray in truth, and do not mock God, when they ſay, 'thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven.' They have new affections, ſuch as are ſet on things above[p], and make Chriſt their eternal treaſure. New faith, ſuch as overcomes ſnares and temptations of the world's ſpirit in themſelves, or as it appears through others: and laſtly, new works, not of ſuperſtitious contrivance,

[o] Gal. vi. 15. [p] Col. iii. 1, 2, 3.

or

or of human invention, but the pure fruits of the spirit of Christ working in them, as love, joy, peace, meekness, long-suffering, temperance, brotherly-kindness, faith, patience, gentleness and goodness, against which there is no law [q]; and they that have not this spirit of Christ, and walk not in it, the apostle Paul has told us, are none of his; but the wrath of God, and condemnation of the law, will lie upon them. For if 'there is 'no condemnation to them that are in Christ, who 'walk not after the flesh, but after the spirit [r],' which is Paul's doctrine; they that walk not according to that Holy Spirit, by his doctrine, are not in Christ: that is, have no interest in him, nor just claim to salvation by him: and consequently there is condemnation to such.

§. IX. And the truth is, the religion of the wicked is a lye: 'there is no peace, saith the prophet, to the 'wicked [s].' Indeed there can be none, they are reproved in their own consciences, and condemned in their own hearts, in all their disobedience. Go where they will, rebukes go with them, and oftentimes terrors too: for it is an offended God that pricks them, and who, by his light, sets their sins in order before them. Sometimes they strive to appease him, by their corporal framed devotion and worship, but in vain; for true worshipping of God, is doing his will, which they transgress. The rest is a false compliment, like him that said he would go, and did not [t]. Sometimes they fly to sports and company, to drown the reprover's voice, and blunt his arrows, to chase away troubled thoughts, and secure themselves out of the reach of the disquieter of their pleasures: but the Almighty first or last is sure to overtake them. There is no flying his final justice, for those that reject the terms of his mercy. Impenitent rebels to his law may then call to the mountains, and run to the caves of the earth for protection, but in vain: his all-searching eye will penetrate their thickest coverings, and strike up a light

[q] Gal. v. 22, 23. [r] Rom. viii. [s] Isa. xlviii. 22.
[t] Mat. xxi. 30.

in

in that obſcurity, which ſhall terrify their guilty ſouls; and which they ſhall never be able to extinguiſh. Indeed their accuſer is with them, they can no more be rid of him, than of themſelves; he is in the midſt of them, and will ſtick cloſe to them. That ſpirit which bears witneſs with the ſpirits of the juſt, will bear witneſs againſt theirs. Nay, their own hearts will abundantly come in againſt them; and, 'If our heart 'condemn us, ſays the apoſtle John, God is greater, and 'knows all things[u]:' that is, there is no eſcaping the judgments of God, whoſe power is infinite, if a man is not able to eſcape the condemnation of himſelf. It is at that day, proud and luxurious chriſtians ſhall learn, that God is no reſpecter of perſons; that all ſects and names ſhall be ſwallowed up in theſe two kinds, ſheep and goats, juſt and unjuſt: and the very righteous muſt have a trial for it. Which made that holy man cry out, 'If the righteous ſcarcely are ſaved, where 'ſhall the wicked and ungodly appear[w]?' If their thoughts, words, and works muſt ſtand the teſt, and come under ſcrutiny before the impartial judge of heaven and earth, how then ſhould the ungodly be exempted? No, we are told by him that cannot lye, many ſhall then even cry, Lord, Lord; ſet forth their profeſſion, and recount the works that they have done in his name, to make him propitious, and yet be rejected with this direful ſentence, 'Depart from me, ye 'workers of iniquity, I know you not[x].' As if he had ſaid, Get you gone, you evil doers; though you have profeſſed me, I will not know you: your vain and evil lives have made you unfit for my holy kingdom: get you hence, and go to the gods whom you have ſerved; your beloved luſts, which you have worſhipped, and the evil world that you have ſo much coveted and adored: let them ſave you now, if they can, from the wrath to come upon you, which is the wages of the deeds you have done. Here is the end of their work that build upon the ſand, the breath of the judge will

[u] 1 John iii. 20. [w] 1 Pet. iv. 18. [x] Mat. vii. 23.

blow

blow it down; and woful will the fall thereof be. Oh, it is now, that the righteous have the better of the wicked! which made an apoſtate cry in old time, 'Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my laſt 'end be like unto his[y].' For the ſentence is changed, and the judge ſmiles: he caſts the eye of love upon his own ſheep, and invites them with a 'Come ye 'bleſſed of my Father[z],' that through patient continuance in well-doing, have long waited for immortality: you have been the true companions of my tribulations and croſs, and with unwearied faithfulneſs, in obedience to my holy will, valiantly endured to the end, looking to me, the author of your precious faith, for the recompence of reward, that I have promiſed to them that love me, and faint not: 'O enter ye into the 'joy of your Lord, and inherit the kingdom prepared 'for you from the foundation of the world.'

§. X. O Chriſtendom! my ſoul moſt fervently prays, that after all thy lofty profeſſions of Chriſt and his meek and holy religion, thy unſuitable and un-chriſt-like life may not caſt thee at that great aſſize of the world, and loſe thee ſo great ſalvation at laſt. Hear me once, I beſeech thee. Can Chriſt be thy Lord, and thou not obey him? Or, can thou be his ſervant, and never ſerve him? 'Be not deceived, ſuch as thou ſoweſt ſhalt thou 'reap[a]:' he is none of thy Saviour, whilſt thou rejecteſt his grace in thy heart, by which he ſhould ſave thee. Come, what has he ſaved thee from? Has he ſaved thee from thy ſinful luſts, thy worldly affections and vain converſations? If not, then he is none of thy Saviour. For though he be offered a Saviour to all, yet he is actually a Saviour to thoſe only, that are ſaved by him; and none are ſaved by him, that live in thoſe evils, by which they are loſt from God, and which he came to ſave them from.

It is ſin that Chriſt is come to ſave man from, and death and wrath, as the wages of it: but thoſe that are not ſaved, that is, delivered by the power of Chriſt in

[y] Numb. xxiii. 10. [z] Mat. xxv. 34. [a] Gal. vi. 7.

their

their souls, from the power that sin has had over them, can never be saved from the death and wrath, that are the assured wages of the sin they live in.

So that look, how far people obtain victory over those evil dispositions and fleshly lusts they have been addicted to, so far they are truly saved, and are witnesses of the redemption that comes by Jesus Christ. His name shews this work: 'and thou shalt call his name Jesus; 'for he shall save his people from their sins[b].' 'And 'lo (said John of Christ) the Lamb of God that takes 'away the sin of the world[c]!' that is, behold him, whom God hath given to enlighten people, and for salvation to as many as receive him, and his light and grace in their hearts, and take up their daily cross, and follow him: such as rather deny themselves the pleasure of fulfilling their lusts, than sin against the knowledge he has given them of his will; or do that they know they ought not to do.

CHAP. II.

§. 1. By this Christendom may see her lapse, how foul it is; and next, the worse for her pretence of christianity. §. 2. But there is mercy with God upon repentance, and propitiation in the blood of Jesus. §. 3. He is the light of the world, that reproves the darkness, that is, the evil of the world; and he is to be known within. §. 4. Christendom, like the inn of old, is full of other guests: she is advised to believe in, receive and apply to Christ. §. 5. Of the nature of true faith; it brings power to overcome every appearance of evil: this leads to consider the cross of Christ, which has been so much wanted. §. 6. The apostolick ministry, and end of it; its blessed effect; the character of apostolick times. §. 7. The glory of the cross, and its triumph over the heathen world. A measure to Christendom, what she is not, and should be. §. 8. Her declension, and cause of it. §. 9. The miserable effects that followed.

[b] Mat. i. 21. [c] John i. 29.

§. 10. From the consideration of the cause, the cure may be more easily known, viz. not faithfully taking up the daily cross; then faithfully taking it daily up, must be the remedy.

§. I. BY all which has been said, O Christendom! and by that better help, if thou wouldst use it, the lamp the Lord has lighted in thee, not utterly extinct, it may evidently appear, first, how great and foul thy backsliding has been, who, from the temple of the Lord, art become a cage of unclean birds; and of an house of prayer, a den of thieves, a synagogue of Satan, and the receptacle of every defiled spirit. Next that, under all this manifest defection, thou hast nevertheless valued thy corrupt self upon thy profession of christianity, and fearfully deluded thyself with the hopes of salvation. The first makes thy disease dangerous, but the last almost incurable.

§. II. Yet because there is mercy with the God of bowels, that he may be feared, and that he takes no delight in the eternal death of poor sinners, no, though backsliders themselves, but is willing all should come to the knowledge and obedience of the truth, and be saved. He has sent forth his Son a propitiation, and given him a Saviour to take away the sins of the whole world, that those that believe and follow him may feel the righteousness of God in the remission of their sins, and blotting out their transgressions for ever[a]. Now, behold the remedy! an infallible cure, one of God's appointing; a precious elixir indeed, that never failed; and that universal medicine which no malady could ever escape.

§. III. But thou wilt say, what is Christ, and where is he to be found? And how received and applied in order to this mighty cure? I tell thee then: first, he is the great spiritual light of the world, that enlightens every one that comes into the world; by which he

[a] Ezek. xviii. 20, 23, 24. Mat. i. 21. Luke i. 77. Rom. iii. 25. Heb. ix. 24 to 28. [b] John ii. 1, 2.

manifests

manifests to them their deeds of darkness and wickedness, and reproves them for committing them. Secondly, he is not far away from thee, as the apostle Paul said of God to the Athenians: behold (says Christ himself) 'I stand at the door and knock; if any man 'hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in to 'him, and sup with him, and he with me[b].' What door can this be, but that of the heart of man?

§. IV. Thou, like the inn of old, hast been full of other guests: thy affections have entertained other lovers: there has been no room for thy Saviour in thy soul. Wherefore salvation is not yet come into thy house, though it is come to thy door, and thou hast been often proffered it, and hast profest it long. But if he calls, if he knocks still, that is, if his light yet shines, if it reproves thee still, there is hopes thy day is not over; and that repentance is not hid from thine eyes; but his love is after thee still, and his holy invitation continues to save thee.

Wherefore, O Christendom! believe, receive, and apply him rightly; this is of absolute necessity, that thy soul may live for ever with him. He told the Jews, 'If you believe not that I am he, ye shall die 'in your sins; and whither I go ye cannot come[c].' And because they believed him not, they did not receive him, nor any benefit by him: but they that believed him, received him; 'and as many as received 'him,' his own beloved disciple tells us, 'to them 'gave he power to become the sons of God, which are 'born not of blood, nor of the will of flesh, nor of the 'will of man, but of God[d].' That is, who are not children of God after the fashions, prescriptions, and traditions of men, that call themselves his church and people (which is not after the will of flesh and blood, and the invention of carnal man, unacquainted with the regeneration and power of the Holy Ghost) but of God; that is, according to his will, and the working and

[b] Acts xvii. 27. Rev. iii. 20. [c] 1 John viii. 22, 24.
[d] John i, 12, 13.

ſanctification of his ſpirit and word of life in them. And ſuch were ever well verſed in the right application of Chriſt, for he was made to them indeed propitiation, reconciliation, ſalvation, righteouſneſs, redemption and juſtification.

So I ſay to thee, unleſs thou believeſt, that he that ſtands at the door of thy heart and knocks, and ſets thy ſins in order before thee, and calls thee to repentance, be the Saviour of the world, thou wilt die in thy ſins, and where he is gone, thou wilt never come. For if thou believeſt not in him, it is impoſſible that he ſhould do thee good, or effect thy ſalvation: Chriſt works not againſt faith, but by it. It is ſaid of old, he did not many mighty works in ſome places, becauſe the people believed not in him [e]. So that if thou truly believeſt in him, thine ear will be attentive to his voice in thee, and the door of thine heart open to his knocks. Thou wilt yield to the diſcoveries of his light, and the teachings of his grace will be very dear to thee.

§. V. It is the nature of true faith to beget an holy fear of offending God, a deep reverence to his precepts, and a moſt tender regard to the inward teſtimony of his ſpirit, as that, by which his children, in all ages, have been ſafely led to glory. For as they that truly believe, receive Chriſt in all his tenders to the ſoul, ſo, as true it is, that thoſe who receive him thus, with him, receive power to become the ſons of God: that is, an inward force and ability to do whatever he requires: ſtrength to mortify their luſts, controul their affections, reſiſt evil motions, deny themſelves, and overcome the world in its moſt inticing appearances. This is the life of the bleſſed Croſs of Chriſt, which is the ſubject of the following diſcourſe, and what thou, O man, muſt take up, if thou intendeſt to be the diſciple of Jeſus. Nor canſt thou be ſaid to receive Chriſt, or believe in him, whilſt thou rejecteſt his croſs. For as receiving of Chriſt is the means appointed of God to ſalvation, ſo bearing thy daily croſs after him is the only

[e] Mark vi. 5.

true

true testimony of receiving him; and therefore it is enjoined by him, as the great token of discipleship, 'Whosoever will be my disciple, let him take up his 'daily cross, and follow me[f].'

This, Christendom, is that thou hast so much wanted, and the want of which has proved the only cause of thy miserable declension from pure christianity. To consider which well (as it is thy duty) so it is of great use to thy restoration.

For as the knowledge of the cause of any distemper guides the physician to make a right and safe judgment in the application of his medicine, so it will much enlighten thee in the way of thy recovery, to know and weigh the first cause of thy spiritual lapse and malady that has befallen thee. To do which, a general view of thy primitive estate, and consequently of their work that first laboured in the christian vineyard, will be needful; and if therein something be repeated, the weight and dignity of the subject will bear it without the need of an apology.

§. VI. The work of apostleship, we are told by a prime labourer in it, was, to turn people from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God[g]. That is, instead of yielding to the temptations and motions of Satan, who is the prince of darkness, (or wickedness, the one being a metaphor to the other) by whose power their understandings were obscured, and their souls held in the service of sin, they should turn their minds to the appearance of Christ, the light and Saviour of the world; who by his light shines in their souls, and thereby gives them a sight of their sins, and discovers every temptation and motion in them unto evil, and reproves them when they give way thereunto; that so they might become the children of light, and walk in the path of righteousness. And for this blessed work of reformation, did Christ endue his apostles with his spirit and power, that so men might not longer sleep in a security of sin and ignorance of God, but awake

[f] Mat. xvi. 24. [g] Acts xxvi. 18.

to righteousness, that the Lord Jesus might give them life: that is, that they might leave off sinning, deny themselves the pleasure of wickedness, and by true repentance turn their hearts to God, in well-doing, in which is peace. And truly, God so blessed the faithful labours of these poor mechanicks, yet his great ambassadors to mankind, that in a few years many thousands (that had lived without God in the world, without a sense or fear of him, lawlesly, very strangers to the work of his spirit in their hearts, being captivated by fleshly lusts) were inwardly struck and quickened by the word of life, and made sensible of the coming and power of the Lord Jesus Christ, as a judge and lawgiver in their souls, by whose holy light and spirit, the hidden things of darkness were brought to light and condemned, and pure repentance from those dead works begotten in them, that they might serve the living God in newness of spirit. So that thenceforward they lived not to themselves, neither were they carried away of those former divers lusts, by which they had been seduced from the true fear of God; but the law of the spirit of life, by which they overcame the law of sin and death, was their delight; and therein did they meditate day and night[h]. Their regard towards God, was not taught by the precepts of men any longer, but from the knowledge they had received by his own work and impressions in their souls[i]. They had aot quitted their old masters, the world, the flesh, and the devil, and delivered up themselves to the holy guidance of the grace of Christ; that taught them to deny ungodliness, and the world's lusts, and to live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present life[k]; this is the Cross of Christ indeed; and here is the victory it gives to them that take it up: by this cross they died daily to the old life they had lived; and by holy watchfulness against the secret motions of evil in their hearts, they crushed sin in its conceptions, yea, in its temptations. So that

[h] Rom. viii. 2. [i] Isa. xxix. 13. [k] Tit. ii. 11, 12.

they

they (as the apostle John advised them) kept themselves, that the evil one touched them not [l].

For the light, which Satan cannot endure, and with which Christ had enlightened them, discovered him in all his approaches and assaults upon the mind, and the power they received through their inward obedience to the manifestations of that blessed light, enabled them to resist and vanquish him in all his stratagems. And thus it was, that where once nothing was examined, nothing went unexamined. Every thought must come to judgment, and the rise and tendency of it be also well approved, before they allow it any room in their minds. There was no fear of entertaining enemies for friends, whilst this strict guard was kept upon the very wicket of the soul. Now the old heavens and earth, that is, the old earthly conversation, and old carnal, that is Jewish or shadowy worship passed away apace, and every day all things became new. 'He was no more a Jew, that 'was one outwardly, nor that circumcision that was in 'the flesh; but he was the Jew, that was one inwardly; 'and that circumcision, which was of the heart, in the 'spirit, and not in the letter, whose praise is not of man, 'but of God [m].'

§. VII. Indeed the glory of the Cross shined so conspicuously through the self-denial of their lives who daily bore it, that it struck the heathen with astonishment, and in a small time so shook their altars, discredited their oracles, struck the multitude, invaded the court, and overcame their armies, that it led priests, magistrates, and generals, in triumph after it, as the trophies of its power and victory.

And while this integrity dwelt with christians, mighty was the presence and invincible that power that attended them: it quenched fire, daunted lions, turned the edge of the sword, out-faced instruments of cruelty, convicted judges, and converted executioners. In fine, the ways their enemies took to destroy, increased them; and by the deep wisdom of God, they were

[l] 1 John v. 18. [m] Rom. ii. 28, 29.

made great promoters of the truth, who in all their designs endeavoured to extinguish it. Now not a vain thought, nor an idle word, nor an unseemly action was permitted; no, not an immodest look: no courtly dress, gay apparel, complimental respects, or personal honours; much less those lewd immoralities, and scandalous vices, now in vogue with christians, could find either example or connivance among them[n]. Their care was not how to sport away their precious time, but how to redeem it, that they might have enough to work out their great salvation (which they carefully did) with fear and trembling[o]; not with balls and masks, with play-houses, dancing, feasting, and gaming: no, not to make sure of their heavenly calling and election, was much dearer to them, than the poor and trifling joys of mortality. For they having with Moses seen him that is invisible, and found that his loving-kindness was better than life, the peace of his spirit than the favour of princes; as they feared not Cæsar's wrath, so they chose rather to sustain the afflictions of Christ's true pilgrims, than enjoy the pleasures of sin, that were but for a season; esteeming his reproaches of more value than the perishing treasures of the earth. And if the tribulations of christianity were more eligible than the comforts of the world, and the reproaches of one than all the honour of the other; there was then surely no temptation in it, that could shake the integrity of Christendom.

§. VIII. By this short draught of what Christendom was, thou mayest see, O Christendom, what thou art not, and consequently what thou oughtest to be. But how comes it, that from a Christendom that was thus meek, merciful, self-denying, suffering, temperate, holy, just and good, so like to Christ, whose name she bore, we find a Christendom now, that is superstitious, idolatrous, persecuting, proud, passionate, envious, malicious, selfish, drunken, lascivious, unclean, ly-

[n] Heb. xi. 32, to the end. Isa. lxiii. 2. Dan. iii. 12, to the end. Dan. vi. 16, to the end. [o] Eph. v. 15, 16.

ing,

ing, swearing, cursing, covetous, oppressing, defrauding, with all other abominations known in the earth, and that to an excess justly scandalous to the worst of heathen ages, surpassing them more in evil than in time: I say, how comes this lamentable defection?

I lay this down, as the undoubted reason of this degeneracy, to wit, the inward disregard of thy mind to the light of Christ shining in thee; the first shewed thee thy sins, and reproved them, and that taught and enabled thee to deny and resist them. For as thy fear towards God, and holy abstinence from unrighteousness was, at first, not taught by the precepts of men, but by that light and grace, which revealed the most secret thoughts and purposes of thine heart, and searched the most inward part of thy belly, (setting thy sins in order before thee, and reproving thee for them, not suffering one unfruitful thought, word or work of darkness, to go unjudged) so when thou didst begin to disregard that light and grace, to be careless about that holy watch, that was once set up in thine heart, and didst not keep centinel there, (as formerly) for God's glory, and thy own peace; the restless enemy of man's good quickly took advantage of this slackness, and often surprized thee with temptations, whose suitableness to thy inclinations made his conquest over thee not difficult.

In short, thou didst omit to take up Christ's holy yoke, to bear thy daily cross; thou wast careless of thy affections, and kept no journal or check upon thy actions; but didst decline to audit accounts, in thy own conscience, with Christ thy light, the great bishop of thy soul, and judge of thy works, whereby the holy fear decayed, and love waxed cold; vanity abounded, and duty became burdensome. Then up came formality, instead of the power of godliness; superstition, in place of Christ's institution: and whereas Christ's business was, to draw off the minds of his disciples from an outward temple, and carnal rites and services, to the inward and spiritual worship of God, (suitable to the nature of divinity) a worldly, human, pompous worship

is

is brought in again, and a worldly priesthood, temple and altar re-established. Now it was that the 'sons of 'God once more saw the daughters of men were fair[p]:' that is, the pure eye grew dim, which repentance had opened, that saw no comelinesS out of Christ; and the eye of lust became unclosed again, by the god of the world; and those worldly pleasures, that make such as love them forget God, (though once despised for the sake of Christ) began now to recover their old beauty, and interest in thy affections; and from liking them, to be the study, care, and pleasure of thy life.

True, there still remained the exterior forms of worship, and a nominal and oral reverence to God and Christ; but that was all; for the offence of the holy cross ceased, the power of godliness was denied, self-denial lost; and though fruitful in the invention of ceremonious ornaments, yet barren in the blessed fruits of the Spirit. And a thousand shells cannot make one kernel, or many dead corps one living man.

§. IX. Thus religion fell from experience to tradition, and worship from power to form, from life to letter; that instead of putting up lively and powerful requests, animated by the deep sense of want, and the assistance of the Holy Spirit, by which the ancients prayed, wrestled and prevailed with God; behold, a by-rote mumpsimus, a dull and insipid formality, made up of corporal bowings, and cringings, garments and furnitures, perfumes, voices and musick; fitter for the reception of some earthly prince, than the heavenly worship of the only true and immortal God, who is an eternal, invisible spirit.

But thy heart growing carnal, thy religion did so too; and not liking it as it was, thou fashionedst it to thy liking; forgetting what the holy prophet said, 'the 'sacrifice of the wicked is an abomination to the Lord[q],' and what James saith, 'Ye ask, and ye receive not, (why?) 'because ye ask amiss[r];' that is, with an heart that is not right, but insincere, unmortified, not in the

[p] Gen. vi. 2. [q] Prov. xv. 8. [r] James iv. 3.

faith

faith that purifies the ſoul, and therefore can never receive what is aſked: ſo that a man may ſay with truth, thy condition is worſe by thy religion, becauſe thou art tempted to think thyſelf the better for it, and art not.

§. X. Well! by this proſpect that is given thee, of thy foul fall from primitive chriſtianity, and the true cauſe of it, to wit, a neglect of the daily croſs of Chriſt, it may be eaſy for thee to inform thyſelf of the way of thy recovery.

For look, at what door thou wenteſt out, at that door thou muſt come in: and as letting fall, and forbearing the daily croſs loſt thee; ſo taking up, and enduring the daily croſs, muſt recover thee. It is the ſame way, by which the ſinners and apoſtates become the diſciples of Jeſus. 'Whoſoever (ſays Chriſt) will come after 'me, and be my diſciple, let him deny himſelf, and 'take up his daily croſs, and follow me[s].' Nothing ſhort of this will do; mark that, for as it is ſufficient, ſo is it indiſpenſable: no Crown, but by the Croſs; no life eternal, but through death: and it is but juſt, that thoſe evil and barbarous affections, that crucified Chriſt afreſh, ſhould, by his holy croſs, be crucified. Blood requires blood; his croſs is the death of ſin, that cauſed his death; and he the death of death, according to that paſſage, O death! I will be thy death[t]!

CHAP. III.

§. 1. What the croſs of Chriſt is? A figurative ſpeech, but truly, the divine power, that mortifies the world. §. 2. It is ſo called by the apoſtle Paul to the Corinthians. §. 3. Where it is the croſs appears, and muſt be borne? Within, where the luſts are, there they muſt be crucified. §. 4. Experience teaches every one this, to be ſure Chriſt aſſerts it, from within comes murder, &c. and that is the houſe where the ſtrong man muſt be bound. §. 5. How is the croſs to be

[s] Mat. xvi. 21. Mark viii. 34. Luke xiv. 27. [t] Hoſ. xiii. 14. 1 Cor. xv. 55.

borne?

borne? The way is ſpiritual, a denial of ſelf, the pleaſure of ſin, to pleaſe God and obey his will, as manifeſted to the ſoul by the light he gives it. §. 6. This ſhews the difficulty, yet the neceſſity of the croſs.

THE daily croſs being then, and ſtill, O Chriſtendom, the way to glory; that the ſucceeding matter, which wholly relates to the doctrine of it, may come with moſt evidence and advantage upon thy conſcience, it is moſt ſeriouſly to be conſidered by thee,

Firſt, What the croſs of Chriſt is?

Secondly, Where the croſs of Chriſt is to be taken up?

Thirdly, How, and after what manner it is to be borne?

Fourthly, What is the great work and buſineſs of the croſs? In which

The ſins it crucifies, with the miſchiefs that attend them, will be at large expreſſed.

Fifthly, and laſtly, I ſhall add many teſtimonies from living and dying perſons, of great reputation either for their quality, learning, or piety, as a general confirmation of the whole tract.

To the firſt, what is the croſs of Chriſt?

§. I. The croſs of Chriſt is a figurative ſpeech, borrowed from the outward tree, or wooden croſs, on which Chriſt ſubmitted to the will of God, in permitting him to ſuffer death at the hands of evil men. So that the croſs myſtical is that divine grace and power, which croſſes the carnal wills of men, and gives a contradiction to their corrupt affections, and that conſtantly oppoſeth itſelf to the inordinate and fleſhly appetite of their minds, and ſo may be juſtly termed the inſtrument of man's holy dying to the world, and being made conformable to the will of God. For nothing elſe can mortify ſin, or make it eaſy for us to ſubmit to the divine will, in things otherwiſe very contrary to our own.

§. II. The preaching of the croſs therefore in primitive times was fitly called by Paul (that famous and ſkilful apoſtle in ſpiritual things) the power of God, though

though to them that perish, then, as now, foolishness. That is, to those that were truly weary and heavy laden, and needed a deliverer; to whom sin was burdensome and odious, the preaching of the cross, by which sin was to be mortified, was, as to them, the power of God, or a preaching of the divine power, by which they were made disciples of Christ, and children of God: and it wrought so powerfully upon them, that no proud or licentious mockers could put them out of love with it. But to those that walked in the broad way, in the full latitude of their lusts, and dedicated their time and care to the pleasure of their corrupt appetites, to whom all yoke and bridle were and are intolerable, the preaching of the cross was, and is, foolishness: to which I may add, in the name but of too many now-a-days, and the practice ridiculous; embraced by none, if they may be believed, but half-witted people, of stingy and singular tempers, affected with the hypochondry, and oppressed with the power of melancholy; for all this, and more, is bestowed upon the life of the blessed cross of Christ, by the very professors and pretended admirers of it, in the persons of those who truly bear it.

§. III. Well, but then where does this cross appear, and must it be taken up?

I answer, within: that is, in the heart and soul; for where the sin is, the cross must be. Now, all evil comes from within: this Christ taught. From within (saith Christ) 'out of the heart of men proceed evil thoughts, 'adulteries, fornications, murders, thefts, covetousness, wickedness, deceit, lasciviousness, an evil eye, 'blasphemy, pride, foolishness: all these evils come 'from within, and defile the man[a].'"

The heart of man is the seat of sin, and where he is defiled, he must be sanctified; and where sin lives, there it must die: it must be crucified. Custom in evil hath made it natural to men to do evil; and as the soul rules the body, so this corrupt nature sways the whole man: but still, it is all from within.

[a] Mark vii. 11. 22, 23.

§. IV. Ex-

§. IV. Experience teaches every ſon and daughter of Adam an aſſent to this; for the enemies temptations are ever directed to the mind, which is within: if they take not, the ſoul ſins not; if they are embraced, luſt is preſently conceived, (that is, inordinate deſires) 'luſt 'conceived, brings forth ſin; and ſin finiſhed, (that is, 'acted) brings forth death [b].' Here is both the cauſe and the effect, the very genealogy of ſin, its riſe and end.

In all this, the heart of evil man is the devil's mint, his work-houſe, the place of his reſidence, where he exerciſes his power and art. And therefore the redemption of the ſoul is aptly called, the deſtruction of the works of the devil, and bringing in of everlaſting righteouſneſs [c]. When the Jews would have defamed Chriſt's miracle of caſting out devils, by a blaſphemous imputation of it to the power of Beelzebub, he ſays, 'That no 'man can enter a ſtrong man's houſe, and ſpoil his 'goods, till he firſt bind the ſtrong man [d].' Which, as it ſhews the contrariety that was between Beelzebub, and the power by which he diſpoſſeſſed him; ſo it teaches us to know, that the ſouls of the wicked are the devil's houſe, and that his goods, his evil works, can never be deſtroyed, till firſt he that wrought them, and keeps the houſe, be bound. All which makes it eaſy to know, where the croſs muſt be taken up, by which alone the ſtrong man muſt be bound, his goods ſpoiled, and his temptations reſiſted: this is, within, in the heart of man.

§. V. But in the next place, how, and in what manner is the croſs to be daily borne?

The way, like the croſs, is ſpiritual: that is, an inward ſubmiſſion of the ſoul to the will of God, as it is manifeſted by the light of Chriſt in the conſciences of men: though it be contrary to their own inclinations. For example: when evil preſents, that which ſhews the evil does alſo tell them, they ſhould not yield to it; and if they cloſe with its counſel, it gives them power

[b] James i. 15. [c] 1 John iii. 8. [d] Mark iii. 27.

to

to escape it. But they that look and gaze upon the temptation, at last fall in with it, and are overcome by it; the consequence of which is guilt and judgment. Therefore as the cross of Christ is that spirit and power in men, though not of men, but of God, which crosseth and reproveth their fleshly lusts and affections: so the way of taking up the cross is, an intire resignation of soul to the discoveries and requirings of it: not to consult their worldly pleasure, or carnal ease, or interest, (for such are captivated in a moment) but continually to watch against the very appearances of evil, and by the obedience of faith, that is, of true love to and confidence in God, chearfully to offer up, to the death of the cross, that evil part, that Judas in themselves, which, not enduring the heat of the siege, and being impatient in the hour of temptation, would, by its near relation to the tempter, more easily betray their souls into his hands.

§. VI. O this shews to every experience, how hard it is to be a true disciple of Jesus! the way is narrow indeed, and the gate very strait, where not a word, no not a thought must slip the watch, or escape judgment: such circumspection, such caution, such patience, such constancy, such holy fear and trembling. This gives an easy interpretation to that hard saying, 'flesh and blood 'cannot inherit the kingdom of God[e]:' those that are captivated with fleshly lusts and affections; for they cannot bear the cross; and they that cannot endure the cross, must never have the crown. To reign, it is necessary first to suffer[f].

CHAP. IV.

§. 1. What is the great work of the cross? The answer to this of great moment. §. 2. The work of the cross is self-denial. §. 3. What was the cup and cross of Christ? §. 4. What is our cup and cross? §. 5. Our

[e] Mat. xxiv. 42. xxv. 13. xxvi. 38. 42. [f] Phil. ii. 12. 1 Th. iii. 5. 1 Cor. xv. 50.

duty

duty is to follow Christ as our captain. §. 6. Of the distinction upon self, a lawful and unlawful self. §. 7. What the lawful self is. §. 8. That it is to be denied in some cases, by Christ's doctrine and example. §. 9. By the apostles pattern. §. 10. The danger of preferring lawful self, above our duty to God. §. 11. The reward of self-denial, an excitement to it. §. 12. This doctrine as old as Abraham. §. 13. His obedience of faith memorable. §. 14. Job a great instance of self-denial, his contentment. §. 15. Moses also a mighty example, his neglect of Pharaoh's court. §. 16. His choice. §. 17. The reason of it, viz. the recompence of reward. §. 18. Isaiah no inconsiderable instance, who of a courtier became an holy prophet. §. 19. These instances concluded with that of holy Daniel, his patience and integrity, and the success they had upon the king. §. 20. There might be many mentioned to confirm this blessed doctrine. §. 21. All must be left for Christ, as men would be saved. §. 22. The way of God is a way of faith and self-denial. §. 23. An earnest supplication and exhortation to all to attend upon these things.

Q. BUT fourthly, what is the great work and business of the cross respecting man?

Answ. §. I. This indeed is of that mighty moment to be truly, plainly and thoroughly answered, that all that went before seems only to serve for preface to it; and miscarrying in it, to be no less than a misguidance of the soul about its way to blessedness. I shall therefore pursue the question, with God's help, and the best knowledge he hath given me, in the experience of several years discipleship.

The great work and business of the cross of Christ, in man, is self-denial; a word, as of much depth in itself, so of sore contradiction to the world; little understood, but less embraced by it; yet it must be borne for all that. The Son of God is gone before us, and by the bitter cup he drank, and baptism he suffered, has left us an example, that we should follow his steps. Which made

made him put that hard queſtion to the wife of Zebedee and her two ſons, upon her ſoliciting that one might ſit at his right, and the other at his left hand in his kingdom; 'are ye able to drink of the cup that I 'ſhall drink of, and to be baptized with the baptiſm I 'am baptized with[d]?' It ſeems their faith was ſtrong; they anſwered, we are able. Upon which he replied, 'Ye ſhall drink indeed of my cup, and be baptized with 'the baptiſm I am baptized with;' but their reward he left to his Father.

§. III. What was his cup he drank, and baptiſm he ſuffered? I anſwer; they were the denial and offering up of himſelf by the eternal ſpirit to the will of God, undergoing the tribulations of his life, and agonies of his death upon the croſs, for man's ſalvation.

§. IV. What is our cup and croſs that we ſhould drink and ſuffer? They are the denying and offering up of ourſelves, by the ſame ſpirit, to do or ſuffer the will of God for his ſervice and glory: which is the true life and obedience of the croſs of Jeſus: narrow ſtill, but before, an unbeaten way. For when there was none to help, not one to open the ſeals, to give knowledge, to direct the courſe of poor man's recovery, he came in the greatneſs of his love and ſtrength; and though clothed with the infirmities of a mortal man, being within fortified by the almightineſs of an immortal God, he travelled through all the ſtraits and difficulties of humanity; and firſt, of all others, trod the untrodden path to bleſſedneſs.

§. V. O come let us follow him, the moſt unwearied, the moſt victorious captain of our ſalvation! to whom all the great Alexanders and mighty Cæſars of the world are leſs than the pooreſt ſoldiers of their camps could be to them. True, they were all great princes of their kind, and conquerors too, but on very differing principles. For Chriſt made himſelf of no reputation to ſave mankind; but theſe plentifully ruined people, to augment theirs. They vanquiſhed others,

[d] Mat. xx. 21, 22, 23.

not themſelves; Chriſt conquered ſelf, that ever vanquiſhed them: of merit therefore the moſt excellent prince and conqueror. Beſides, they advanced their empire by rapine and blood, but he by ſuffering and perſuaſion: he never by compulſion, they always by force, prevailed. Miſery and ſlavery followed all their victories; his brought greater freedom and felicity to thoſe he overcame. In all they did, they ſought to pleaſe themſelves; in all he did, he aimed to pleaſe his Father, who is God of Gods, King of kings, and Lord of lords.

It is this moſt perfect pattern of ſelf-denial we muſt follow, if ever we will come to glory: to do which, let us conſider ſelf-denial in its true diſtinction and extent.

§. VI. There is a lawful and unlawful ſelf, and both muſt be denied for the ſake of him, that in ſubmiſſion to the will of God counting nothing dear, that he might ſave us. And though the world be ſcarcely in any part of it at that paſs, as yet to need that leſſon of the denial of lawful ſelf, that every day moſt greedily ſacrifices to the pleaſure of unlawful ſelf: yet to take the whole thing before me, and for that it may poſſibly meet with ſome that are ſo far advanced in this ſpiritual warfare, as to receive ſome ſervice from it, I ſhall at leaſt touch upon it.

§. VII. The lawful ſelf, which we are to deny, is that conveniency, eaſe, enjoyment and plenty, which in themſelves are ſo far from being evil, that they are the bounty and bleſſings of God to us: as huſband, wife, child, houſe, land, reputation, liberty, and life itſelf: theſe are God's favours, which we may enjoy with lawful pleaſure, and juſtly improve as our honeſt intereſt. But when God requires them, at what time ſoever the lender calls for them, or is pleaſed to try our affections by our parting with them; I ſay, when they are brought in competition with him, they muſt not be preferred, they muſt be denied. Chriſt himſelf deſcended from the glory of his Father, and willingly made

made himself of no reputation among men, that he might make us of some with God; and from the quality of thinking it no robbery to be equal with God[h], he humbled himself to the poor form of a servant; yea, the ignominious death of the cross, that he might deliver us an example of pure humility, and entire submission to the will of our heavenly Father.

§. VIII. It is the doctrine he teaches us in these words: 'He that loveth father or mother, son or daughter, 'more than me, he is not worthy of me[i].' Again, 'Whosoever he be of you, that forsaketh not all that he 'hath, cannot be my disciple[k].' And he plainly told the young rich man, that if he would have eternal life, he should sell all, and follow him: a doctrine sad to him, as it is to those, that like him (for all their high pretences to religion) in truth love their possessions more than Christ. This doctrine of self-denial is the condition to eternal happiness: 'He that will come after 'me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and 'follow me[l].' Let him do as I do: as if he had said, he must do as I do, or he cannot be as I am, the Son of God.

§. IX. This made those honest fishermen quit their lawful trades, and follow him, when he called them to it; and others, that waited for the consolation of Israel, to offer up their estates, reputations, liberties, and also lives, to the displeasure and fury of their kindred, and the government they lived under, for the spiritual advantage that accrued to them, by their faithful adherence to his holy doctrine. True, many would have excused their following of him in that parable of the feast: some had bought land, some had married wives, and others had bought yokes of oxen, and could not come[m]; that is, an immoderate love of the world hindered them: their lawful enjoyments, from servants, became their idols; they worshipped them more than

[h] Phil. ii. 5, 6, 7, 8. [i] Mat. x. 37. Luke xiv. 33. [k] Mark x. 21, 22. [l] Mat. xvi. 24. [m] Luke xiv. 18, 19, 20.

God, and would not quit them, to come to God. But this is recorded to their reproach: and we may herein ſee the power of ſelf upon the worldly man, and the danger that comes to him by the abuſe of lawful things. What, thy wife dearer to thee than thy Saviour! and thy land and oxen preferred before thy ſoul's ſalvation! O beware, that thy comforts prove not ſnares firſt, and then curſes; to over-rate them, is to provoke him that gave them to take them away again: come and follow him that giveth life eternal to the ſoul.

§. X. Wo to them that have their hearts in their earthly poſſeſſions! for when they are gone, their heaven is gone with them. It is too much the ſin of the beſt part of the world, that they ſtick in the comforts of it: and it is lamentable to behold how their affections are bemired, and entangled with their conveniencies and accommodations in it. The true ſelf-denying man is a pilgrim; but the ſelfiſh man is an inhabitant of the world: the one uſes it, as men do ſhips, to tranſport themſelves or tackle in a journey, that is, to get home; the other looks no farther, whatever he prates, than to be fixed in fulneſs and eaſe here, and likes it ſo well, that if he could, he would not exchange. However, he will not trouble himſelf to think of the other world, till he is ſure he muſt live no longer in this: but then, alas! it will prove too late; not to Abraham, but to Dives, he muſt go; the ſtory is as true as ſad.

§. XI. But on the other hand, it is not for nought, that the diſciples of Jeſus deny themſelves; and indeed, Chriſt himſelf had the eternal joy in his eye: for the joy that was ſet before him (ſays the author to the Hebrews) he endured the croſs; that is, he denied himſelf, and bore the reproaches and death of the wicked: and deſpiſed the ſhame, to wit, the diſhonour and deriſion of the world. It made him not afraid nor ſhrink, he contemned it: and is ſet down on the right hand of the throne of God[n]. And to their encouragement, and great conſolation, when Peter aſked him

[n] Heb. xii. 2.

wha

what they ſhould have that had forſaken all to follow him? he anſwered them, 'Verily I ſay unto you, that 'ye which have followed me in the regeneration, when 'the Son of man ſhall ſit on the throne of his glory, 'ye alſo ſhall ſet upon twelve thrones, judging the 'twelve tribes of Iſrael[o],' that where then in apoſtacy from the life and power of godlineſs. This was the lot of his diſciples; the more immediate companions of his tribulations, and firſt meſſengers of his kingdom. But the next that follows is to all: 'And every one that 'hath forſaken houſes, or brethren, or ſiſters, or father, 'or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for my 'name's ſake, ſhall receive an hundred fold, and ſhall 'inherit everlaſting life.' It was this recompence of reward, this eternal crown of righteouſneſs, that in every age has raiſed, in the ſouls of the juſt, an holy neglect, yea, contempt of the world. To this is owing the conſtancy of the martyrs, as to their blood the triumph of the truth.

§. XII. Nor is this a new doctrine; it is as old as Abraham[p]. In ſeveral moſt remarkable inſtances, his life was made up of ſelf-denial. Firſt, in quitting his own land, where we may well ſuppoſe him ſettled in the midſt of plenty, at leaſt ſufficiency: and why? Becauſe God called him. Indeed this ſhould be reaſon enough; but ſuch is the world's degeneracy, that in fact it is not: and the ſame act, upon the ſame inducement, in any now, though praiſed in Abraham, would be derided. So apt are people not to underſtand what they commend; nay, to deſpiſe thoſe actions, when they meet them in the people of their own times, which they pretend to admire in their anceſtors.

§. XIII. But he obeyed: the conſequence was, that God gave him a mighty land. This was the firſt reward of his obedience. The next was, a ſon in his old age; and which greatened the bleſſing, after it had been in nature, paſt the time of his wife's bearing of children[q]. Yet God called for his darling, their only

[o] Mat. xix. 27, 28, 29. [p] Gen. xii. [q] Gen. xviii.

child, the joy of their age, the ſon of a miracle, and he upon whom the fulfilling of the promiſe made to Abraham did depend. For this ſon, I ſay, God called a mighty trial, that which, one would have thought, might very well have overturned his faith, and ſtumbled his integrity; at leaſt have put him upon this diſpute in himſelf: this command is unreaſonable and cruel; it is the tempter's, it cannot be God's. For, is it to be thought that God gave me a ſon to make a ſacrifice of him? That the father ſhould be butcher of his only child? Again, that he ſhould require me to offer up the ſon of his own promiſe, by whom his covenant is to be performed? this is incredible. I ſay, thus Abraham might naturally enough have argued, to withſtand the voice of God, and indulge his great affections to his beloved Iſaac. But good old Abraham, that knew the voice that had promiſed him a ſon, had not forgot to know it, when it required him back again[r]: he diſputes not, though it looked ſtrange, and perhaps with ſome ſurprize and horror, as a man. He had learned to believe, that God that gave him a child by a miracle, could work another to preſerve or reſtore him. His affections could not balance his duty, much leſs overcome his faith; for he received him in a way that would let him doubt of nothing that God had promiſed of him.

To the voice of this Almightineſs he bows, builds an altar, binds his only ſon upon it, kindles the fire, and ſtretches forth his hand to take the knife: but the angel ſtopped the ſtroke. 'Hold, Abraham, thy in-'tegrity is proved.' What followed? A ram ſerved, and Iſaac was his again. This ſhews how little ſerves, where all is reſigned, and how mean a ſacrifice contents the Almighty, where the heart is approved. So that it is not the ſacrifice that recommends the heart, but the heart that gives the ſacrifice acceptance.

God often touches our beſt comforts, and calls for that which we moſt love, and are leaſt willing to part

[r] Gen. xxi.

with.

with. Not that he always takes it utterly away, but to prove the soul's integrity, to caution us from excesses, and that we may remember God, the author of those blessings we possess, and live lose to them. I speak my experience: the way to keep our enjoyments, is to resign them; and though that be hard, it is sweet to see them returned, as Isaac was to his father Abraham, with more love and blessing than before. O stupid world! O worldly christians! Not only strangers, but enemies to this excellent faith! and whilst so, the reward of it you can never know.

§. XIV. But Job pressed hard upon Abraham: his self-denial also was very signal. For when the messengers of his afflictions came thick upon him, one doleful story after another, till he was left as naked as when he was born; the first thing he did, he fell to the ground, and worshipped that power, and kissed that hand that stripped him: so far from murmuring, that he concludes his losses of estate and children with these words: 'Naked came I out of my mother's womb, and 'naked shall I return: the Lord gave, and the Lord 'hath taken away, blessed be the name of the Lord[t].' O the deep faith, patience, and contentment of this excellent man! one would have thought, this repeated news of ruin had been enough to have overset his confidence in God: but it did not; that stayed him. But indeed he tells us why: his Redeemer lived; 'I know '(says he) that my Redeemer lives[t].' And it appeared he did; for he had redeemed him from the world: his heart was not in his worldly comforts; his hope lived above the joys of time, and troubles of mortality; not tempted by the one, nor shaken by the other; but firmly believed, 'that when after his skin worms should 'have consumed his body, yet with his eyes he should 'see God.' Thus was the heart of Job both submitted to, and comforted in, the will of God.

§. XV. Moses is the next great example in sacred story for remarkable self-denial, before the times of

[t] Job i. 21. [t] Job xix. 25, 26.

Christ's appearance in the flesh. He had been saved, when an infant, by an extraordinary Providence, and it seems, by what followed, for an extraordinary service: Pharoah's daughter (whose compassion was the means of his preservation when the king decreed the slaughter of the Hebrew males) took him for her son, and gave him the education of her father's court [u]. His own graceful presence and extraordinary abilities, joined with her love to him and interest in her father to promote him, must have rendered him, if not capable of succession, at least of being chief minister of affairs under that wealthy and powerful prince. For Egypt was then what Athens and Rome were after, the most famous for learning, arts, and glory.

§. XVI. But Moses, ordained for other work, and guided by a better star, an higher principle, no sooner came to years of discretion, than the impiety of Egypt, and the oppressions of his brethren there, grew a burthen too heavy for him to bear. Aud though so wise and good a man could not want those generous and grateful resentments, that became the kindness of the king's daughter to him; yet he had also 'seen that 'God that was invisible [w], and did not dare to live in the ease and plenty of Pharoah's house, whilst his poor brethren were required 'to make brick without straw [x].'

Thus the fear of the Almighty taking deep hold of his heart, he nobly refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter, and chose rather a life of affliction with the most despised and oppressed Israelites, and to be the companion of their temptations and jeopardies, 'than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season;' esteeming the reproaches of Christ (which he suffered for making that unworldly choice) greater riches than all the treasures of that kingdom.

§. XVII. Nor was he so foolish as they thought him; he had reason on his side: for it is said, 'He had an 'eye to the recompence of reward:' he did but refuse a lesser benefit for a greater. In this his wisdom tran-

[u] Exod. ii. 1—11. [w] Heb. xi. 24, 27. [x] Exod. v. 7, 16.

scended

ſcended that of the Egyptians; for they made the preſent world their choice (as uncertain as the weather) and ſo loſt that which has no end. Moſes looked deeper, and weighed the enjoyments of this life in the ſcales of eternity, and found they made no weight there. He governed himſelf, not by the immediate poſſeſſion, but the nature and duration of the reward. His faith corrected his affections, and taught him to ſacrifice the pleaſure of ſelf to the hope that he had of a future more excellent recompence.

§. XVIII. Iſaiah was no inconſiderable inſtance of this bleſſed ſelf-denial; who of a courtier became a prophet, and left the worldly intereſts of the one for the faith, patience, and ſufferings of the other. For his choice did not only loſe him the favour of men; but their wickedneſs, enraged at his integrity to God, in his fervent and bold reproofs of them, made a martyr of him in the end. For they barbarouſly ſawed him aſunder in the reign of king Manaſſes[y]. Thus died that excellent man, and commonly called the Evangelical prophet.

§. XIX. I ſhall add, of many, one example more, and that is from the fidelity of Daniel; an holy and wiſe young man, that when his external advantages came in competition with his duty to Almighty God, he relinquiſhed them all: and inſtead of being ſolicitous how to ſecure himſelf, as one minding nothing leſs, he was, with utmoſt hazard of himſelf, moſt careful how to preſerve the honour of God, by his fidelity to his will. And though at the firſt it expoſed him to ruin, yet, as an inſtance of great encouragement to all, that like him will chuſe to keep a good conſcience in an evil time, at laſt it advanced him greatly in the world; and the God of Daniel was made famous and terrible through his perſeverance, even in the eyes of heathen kings.

§. XX. What ſhall I ſay of all the reſt, who, counting nothing dear that they might do the will of God, abandoned their worldly comforts, and expoſed their eaſe

y Dorotheus in his lives of the prophets.

and

and ſafety, as often as the heavenly viſion called them, to the wrath and malice of degenerate princes, and an apoſtate church [z]? More eſpecially Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Micah, that after they had denied themſelves in obedience to the divine voice, ſealed up their teſtimony with their blood.

Thus was ſelf-denial the practice and glory of the ancients, that were predeceſſors to the coming of Chriſt in the fleſh: and ſhall we hope to go to heaven without it now, when our Saviour himſelf is become the moſt excellent example of it? And that not as ſome would fain have it, viz. 'for us, that we need 'not[a];' but for us, that we might deny ourſelves, and ſo be the true followers of his bleſſed example.

§. XXI. Whoever therefore thou art, that wouldeſt do the will of God, but fainteſt in thy deſires from the oppoſition of worldly conſiderations; remember I tell thee, in the name of Chriſt, that he that prefers father or mother, ſiſter or brother, wife or child, houſe or land, reputation, honour, office, liberty or life, before the teſtimony of the light of Jeſus in his own conſcience, ſhall be rejected of him, in the ſolemn and general inqueſt upon the world, when all ſhall be judged, and receive according to the deeds done, not the profeſſion made, in this life. It was the doctrine of Jeſus, 'that 'if thy right hand offend thee, thou muſt cut it off; 'and if thy right eye offend thee, thou muſt pluck it 'out[b]:' that is, if the moſt dear, the moſt uſeful and tender comforts thou enjoyeſt, ſtand in thy ſoul's way, and interrupt thy obedience to the voice of God, and thy conformity to his holy will revealed in thy ſoul, thou are engaged under the penalty of damnation to part with them.

§. XXII. The way of God is a way of faith, as dark to ſenſe, as mortal to ſelf. It is the children of obedience, who count with holy Paul, all things droſs and dung, that they may win Chriſt, and know and walk in this narrow way. Speculation will not do, nor can re-

[z] Dorotheus, ib. [a] 1 Pet. ii. 20, 21, 22. [b] Mat. v. 29, 30.

fined

fined notions enter, 'the obedient only eat the good of 'this land:' 'They that do his will[c],' (says the blessed Jesus) shall know of my doctrine; them he will instruct. There is no room for instruction, where lawful self is lord, and not servant. For self cannot receive it: that which should, is oppressed by self; fearful, and dares not. O what will my father or mother say? How will my husband use me? Or, finally, what will the magistrate do with me? For though I have a most powerful persuasion, and clear conviction upon my soul, of this or that thing, yet considering how unmodish it is, what enemies it has, and how strange and singular I shall seem to them, I hope God will pity my weakness: if I sink, I am but flesh and blood; it may be hereafter he may better enable me; and there is time enough. Thus selfish, fearful man.

But deliberating is ever worst; for the soul loses in parly: the manifestation brings power with it. Never did God convince people, but, upon submission, he impowered them. He requires nothing without ability to perform it: that were mocking, not saving of men. It is enough for thee to do thy duty, that God shews thee thy duty; provided thou closest with that light and spirit, by which he gives thee that knowledge. They that want power, are such as do not receive Christ in his convictions upon the soul; and such will always want it: but such as do, they receive power (like those of old) to become the children of God, through the pure obedience of faith.

§. XXIII. Wherefore, let me beseech you, by the love and mercy of God, by the life and death of Christ, by the power of his spirit, and the hope of immortality, that you, whose hearts are established in your temporal comforts, and so lovers of self more than of these heavenly things, would 'let the time past suffice:' that you would not think it enough to be clear of such impieties, as too many are found in, whilst your inordinate love of lawful things has defiled your enjoyment of

[c] Isa. i. 19. John vii. 17.

them,

them, and drawn your hearts from the fear, love, obedience, and self-denial of a true disciple of Jesus. Tack about then, and hearken to the still voice in thy conscience; it tells thee thy sins, and of misery in them. It gives a lively discovery of the very vanity of the world, and opens to thy soul some prospect of eternity, and the comforts of the just that are at rest. If thou adherest to this, it will divorce thee from sin and self: thou wilt soon find, that the power of its charms exceed that of the wealth, honour, and beauty of the world, and finally will give thee that tranquillity, which the storms of time can never shipwreck nor disorder. Here all thine enjoyments are blest: though small, yet great by that presence that is within them.

Even in this world the righteous have the better of it, for they use the world without rebuke, because they do not abuse it. They see and bless the hand that feeds, and cloaths, and preserves them. And as by beholding him in all his gifts, they do not adore them, but him; so the sweetness of his blessings that gives them, is an advantage such have upon those that see him not. Besides, in their increase they are not lifted up, nor in their adversities are they cast down: and why? Because they are moderated in the one, and comforted in the other, by his divine presence.

In short, heaven is the throne, and the earth but the footstool, of that man, that hath self under foot. And those that know that station will not easily be moved; such learn to number their days, that they may not be surprized with their dissolution; and to 'redeem their 'time, because their days are evil[d];' remembering that they are but stewards, and must deliver up their accompts to an impartial judge. Therefore, not to self, but to him they live, and in him die, and are blessed with them that die in the Lord. And thus I conclude my discourse of the right use of lawful self.

[d] Eph. v. 15, 16.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

§. 1. Of unlawful self, it is twofold, 1. In religion. 2. In morality. §. 2. Of those that are most formal, superstitious and pompous in worship. §. 3. God's rebuke of carnal apprehensions. §. 4. Christ drew off his disciples from the Jewish exterior worship, and instituted a more spiritual one. §. 5. Stephen is plain and full in this matter. §. 6. Paul refers the temple of God twice to man. §. 7. Of the cross of these worldly worshippers. §. 8. Flesh and blood make their cross, therefore cannot be crucified by it. §. 9. They are yokes without restraint. §. 10. Of the gaudiness of their cross, and their respect to it. §. 11. A recluse life no true gospel abnegation. §. 12. A comparison between Christ's self-denial and theirs: his leads to purity in the world, theirs to voluntary imprisonment, that they might not be tempted of the world. The mischief which that example, followed, would do to the world. It destroys useful society, honest labour. A lazy life the usual refuge of idleness, poverty, and guilty age. §. 13. Of Christ's cross in this case. The impossibility that such an external application can remove an internal cause. §. 14. An exhortation to the men of this belief, not to deceive themselves.

§. I. I Am now come to unlawful self, which, more or less, is the immediate concernment of much the greater part of mankind. This unlawful self is twofold. 1st. That which relates to religious worship: 2dly, That which concerns moral and civil conversation in the world. And they are both of infinite consequence to be considered by us. In which I shall be as brief as I may, with ease to my conscience, and no injury to the matter.

§. II. That unlawful self in religion, that ought to be mortified by the cross of Christ, is man's invention and performance of worship to God, as divine, which is not so, either in its institution or performance. In this great

great error, those people have the van, of all, that attribute to themselves the name of Christians, that are most exterior, pompous, and superstitious in their worship: for they do not only miss exceedingly, by a spiritual unpreparedness, in the way of their performing worship to God Almighty, who is an eternal spirit; but the worship itself is composed of what is utterly inconsistent with the very form and practice of Christ's doctrine, and the apostolical example. For whereas that was plain and spiritual, this is gaudy and worldly: Christ's most inward and mental; their's most outward and corporeal: that suited to the nature of God, who is a spirit; this accommodated to the most carnal part. So that instead of excluding flesh and blood, behold a worship calculated to gratify them: as if the business were not to present God with a worship to please him, but to make one to please themselves. A worship dressed with such stately buildings, and imagery, rich furniture and garments, rare voices and music, costly lamps, wax-candles and perfumes; and all acted with that most pleasing variety, to the external senses, that art can invent, or cost procure: as if the world were to turn Jew or Egyptian again; or that God was an old man, indeed, and Christ a little boy, to be treated with a kind of religious mask, for so they picture him in their temples; and too many in their minds. And the truth is, such a worship may very well suit such an idea of God: for when men can think him such an one as themselves, it is not to be wondered, if they address to him, and entertain him in a way that would be most pleasing from others to themselves.

§. III. But what said the Almighty to such a sensual people of old, much upon the like occasion? 'Thou 'thoughtest I was such an one as thyself, but I will re-'prove thee, and set thy sins in order before thee. Now 'consider this, ye that forget God, lest I tear you in 'pieces, and there be none to deliver. But to him that 'ordereth his conversation aright, will I shew the sal-'vation of God[a].' This is the worship acceptable to

[a] Psal. l. 21, 22, 23.

him,

him, 'To do juſtice, love mercy, and walk humbly 'with God,' 'For he that 'ſearcheth the heart, and 'tries the reins of man, and ſets his ſins in order before 'him, who is the God of the ſpirits of all fleſh[b],' looks not to the external fabrick, but internal frame of the ſoul, and inclination of the heart. Nor is it to be ſoberly thought, that he, who is 'cloathed with divine 'honour and majeſty, who covers himſelf with light, 'as with a garment, who ſtretches out the heavens like 'a curtain, who layeth the beams of his chambers in 'the deep, who maketh the clouds his chariots, and 'who walks upon the wings of the wind, who mak-'eth his angels ſpirits, and his miniſters a flaming fire, 'who laid the foundation of the earth, that it ſhould 'not be moved for ever,' can be adequately worſhipped by thoſe human inventions, the refuge of an apoſtate people, from the primitive power of religion, and ſpirituality of chriſtian worſhip.

§. IV. Chriſt drew off his diſciples from the glory and worſhip of the outward temple, and inſtituted a more inward and ſpiritual worſhip, in which he inſtructed his followers, 'Ye ſhall neither in this moun-'tain, nor yet at Jeruſalem (ſays Chriſt to the Samaritan 'woman) worſhip the Father. God is a ſpirit, and 'they that worſhip him, muſt worſhip him in ſpirit and 'in truth[c].' As if he had ſaid: for the ſake of the weakneſs of the people, God deſcended in old time, to limit himſelf to an outward time, place, temple and ſervice, in and by which he would be worſhipped: but this was during mens ignorance of his omnipreſence, and that they conſidered not what God is, nor where he is. But I am come to reveal him to as many as receive me. And I tell you that God is a ſpirit, and he will be worſhipped in ſpirit and in truth. People muſt be acquainted with him as a ſpirit, conſider him, and worſhip him as ſuch. It is not that bodily worſhip, nor theſe ceremonious ſervices, in uſe among you now, that will ſerve, or give acceptance with this God that is

[b] Mic. vi. 8. [c] John iv. 21, 24.

a ſpirit:

a ſpirit: no, you muſt obey his ſpirit that ſtrives with you, to gather you out of the evil of the world; that by bowing to the inſtructions and commands of his ſpirit in your own ſouls, you may know what it is to worſhip him as a ſpirit; then you will underſtand, that it is not going to this mountain, nor Jeruſalem, but to do the will of God, to keep his commandments; and commune with thine own heart, and ſin not, take up thy croſs, meditate in his holy law, and follow the example of him whom the Father hath ſent.

§. V. Wherefore Stephen, that bold and conſtant martyr of Jeſus, thus told the Jews, when a priſoner at their bar for diſputing about the end of their beloved temple, and its ſervices, (but falſly accuſed of blaſphemy) 'Solomon, (ſaid Stephen) built God an houſe; 'howbeit, God dwelleth not in temples made with 'hands; as ſaith the prophet[d], Heaven is my throne, 'and earth is my footſtool; what houſe will ye build 'me, ſaith the Lord? Or what is the place of my reſt? 'Hath not my hand made all theſe things[e]?' Behold a total overthrow to all worldly temples, and their ceremonious appendences! The martyr follows his blow upon thoſe apoſtate Jews, who were of thoſe times, the pompous, ceremonious, worldly worſhippers: 'Ye 'ſtiff-necked and uncircumciſed in heart and ears, ye 'do always reſiſt the Holy Ghoſt; as did your fathers, 'ſo do ye.' As if he had told them, no matter for your outward temple, rites, and ſhadowy ſervices, your pretenſions to ſucceſſion in nature from Abraham, and by religion from Moſes; you are reſiſters of the ſpirit, gainſayers of its inſtructions: you will not bow to its counſel, nor are your hearts right towards God: you are the ſucceſſors of your father's iniquity; and though verbal admirers, yet none of the ſucceſſors of the prophets in faith and life.

But the prophet Iſaiah carries it a little farther than is cited by Stephen. For after having declared what is not God's houſe, 'the place where his honour dwells,'

[d] Acts vii. 47—51. [e] Iſa. lxvi. 1, 2.

immedi-

immediately follow these words: 'But to this man will 'I look, even to him that is poor, and of a contrite 'spirit, and trembleth at my word[f]. Behold, O carnal and superstitious man, the true worshipper, and the place of God's rest! This is the house and temple of Him whom the heaven of heavens cannot contain; an house self cannot build, nor the art nor power of man prepare or consecrate.

§. VI. Paul, that great apostle of the Gentiles, twice expressly refers the word temple to man: once in his first epistle to the church at Corinth; 'Know ye not '(says he) that you are the temples of the Holy Ghost, 'which is in you, which ye have of God[g]?' &c. and not the building of man's hand and art. Again, he tells the same people (in his second epistle) 'For ye are 'the temple of the living God, as God hath said[h];' (and then cites God's words by the prophet) 'I will 'dwell in them, and walk in them; and I will be their 'God, and they shall be my people.' This is the evangelical temple, the Christian church, whose ornaments are not the embroideries and furnitures of worldly art and wealth, but the graces of the spirit; 'meekness, love, faith, patience, self-denial, and 'charity[i].' Here it is, that the eternal wisdom, that was with God from everlasting, before the hills were brought forth, or the mountains laid, chuses to dwell, 'rejoicing (says Wisdom) in the habitable part of the 'earth, and my delights were with the sons of men;' not in the houses built of wood and stone. This living house is more glorious than Solomon's dead house; and of which his was but a figure, as he, the builder, was of Christ, who 'builds us up an holy temple to God[k].' It was promised of old, that 'the glory of the latter 'should transcend the glory of the former;' which may be applied to this: not one outward temple or house to excel another in outward lustre; for where is the benefit of that? but the divine glory, the beauty of

[f] Isa. lxvi. 2. [g] 1 Cor. vi. 9. [h] 2 Cor. vi. 16. [i] Prov. viii. 22, 23, 25, 31. [k] Hag. ii. 9.

holineſs in the goſpel-houſe or church, made up of renewed believers, ſhould exceed the outward glory of Solomon's temple, which in compariſon of the latter days, was but fleſh to ſpirit, fading reſemblances to the eternal ſubſtance.

But for all this, Chriſtians have meeting-places, yet not in Jewiſh or Heathen ſtate, but plain; void of pomp and ceremony; ſuiting the ſimplicity of their bleſſed Lord's life and doctrine. For God's preſence is not with the houſe, but with them that are in it, who are the goſpel-church, and not the houſe. O! that ſuch as call themſelves Chriſtians, knew but a real ſanctity in themſelves, by the waſhing of God's regenerating grace; inſtead of that imaginary ſanctity aſcribed to places, they would then know what the church is, and where, in theſe evangelical days, is the place of God's appearance. This made the prophet David ſay, 'The King's daughter is all glorious within, her 'cloathing is of wrought gold.' What is the glory that is within the true church, and that gold that makes up that inward glory? Tell me, O ſuperſtitious man! is it thy ſtately temples, altars, carpets, tables, tapeſtries; thy veſtments, organs, voices, candles, lamps, cenſers, plate and jewels, with the like furniture of thy worldly temples? No ſuch matter; they bear no proportion with the divine adornment of the King of heaven's daughter, the bleſſed and redeemed church of Chriſt. Miſerable apoſtacy that it is! and a wretched ſupplement in the loſs and abſence of the apoſtolick life, the ſpiritual glory of the primitive church.

§. VII. But yet ſome of theſe admirers of external pomp and glory in worſhip, would be thought lovers of the Croſs, and to that end have made to themſelves many. But alas! what hopes can there be of reconciling that to Chriſtianity, that the nearer it comes to its reſemblance, the farther off it is in reality? For their very croſs and ſelf-denial, are moſt unlawful ſelf: and whilſt they fancy to worſhip God thereby, they moſt dangerouſly err from the true croſs of Chriſt, and that holy abnegation that was of his bleſſed appointment.

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It is true, they have got a croſs; but it ſeems to be in the room of the true one; and ſo mannerly, that it will do as they will have it that wear it: for inſtead of mortifying their wills by it, they made it, and uſe it according to them: ſo that the croſs is become their enſign that do nothing but what they liſt. Yet by that they would be thought his diſciples, that never did his own will, but the will of his heavenly Father.

§. VIII. This is ſuch a croſs as fleſh and blood can carry, for fleſh and blood invented it; therefore not the croſs of Chriſt, that is to crucify fleſh and blood. Thouſands of them have no more virtue than a chip; poor empty ſhadows, not ſo much as images of the true one. Some carry them for charms about them, but never repel one evil with them. They ſin with them upon their backs; and though they put them in their boſoms, their beloved luſts lie there too without the leaſt diſquiet. They are as dumb as Elijah's mock-gods; no life nor power in them[1]: and how ſhould they, whoſe matter is earthly, and whoſe figure and workmanſhip are but the invention and labour of worldly artiſts? Is it poſſible that ſuch croſſes ſhould mend their makers? Surely not.

§. IX. Theſe are yokes without reſtraint, and croſſes that never contradict: a whole cart-load of them would leave a man as unmortified as they find him. Men may ſooner knock their brains out with them, than their ſins: and that, I fear, too many of them know in their very conſciences that uſe them, indeed, adore them, and (which can only happen to the falſe croſs) are proud of them too, ſince the true one leaves no pride where it is truly borne.

§. X. For as their religion, ſo their croſs is very gawdy and triumphant: but in what? In precious metals and gems, the ſpoil of ſuperſtition upon the people's pockets. Theſe croſſes are made of earthly treaſure, inſtead of learning their hearts that wear them to deny it: and like men, they are reſpected by their

[1] 1 Kings xviii. 27.

finery. A rich croſs ſhall have many gazers and admirers; the mean, in this, as other things, are more neglected. I could appeal to themſelves of this great vanity and ſuperſtition. O! how very ſhort is this of the bleſſed croſs of Jeſus, that takes away the ſins of the world!

§. XI. Nor is a recluſe life, (the boaſted righteouſneſs of ſome) much more commendable, or one whit nearer to the nature of the true croſs: for if it be not unlawful as other things are, it is unnatural, which true religion teaches not. The Chriſtian convent and monaſtery are within, where the ſoul is encloiſtered from ſin. And this religious houſe the true followers of Chriſt carry about with them, who exempt not themſelves from the converſation of the world, though they keep themſelves from the evil of the world in their converſation. That is a lazy, ruſty, unprofitable ſelf-denial, burdenſome to others, to feed their idleneſs; religious bedlams, where people are kept up, leſt they ſhould do miſchief abroad; patience *per* force; ſelf-denial againſt their will, rather ignorant than virtuous; and out of the way of temptation, than conſtant in it. No thanks if they commit not, what they are not tempted to commit. What the eye views not, the heart craves not, as well as rues not.

§. XII. The croſs of Chriſt is of another nature: it truly overcomes the world, and leads a life of purity in the face of its allurements: they that bear it, are not thus chained up, for fear they ſhould bite; nor locked up, leſt they ſhould be ſtole away: no, they receive power from Chriſt their captain, to reſiſt the evil, and do that which is good in the ſight of God; to deſpiſe the world, and love its reproach above its praiſe: and not only not to offend others, but love thoſe that offend them, though not for offending them. What a world ſhould we have, if every body, for fear of tranſgreſſing, ſhould mew himſelf up within four walls! No ſuch matter; the perfection of Chriſtian life extends to every honeſt labour or traffick uſed among men. This ſeverity is not the effect of Chriſt's

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free ſpirit, but a voluntary, fleſhly humility; mere trammels of their own making and putting on, without preſcription or reaſon. In all which, it is plain, they are their own law-givers, and ſet their own rule, mulct and ranſom: a conſtrained harſhneſs, out of joint to the reſt of the creation: for ſociety is one great end of it, and not to be deſtroyed for fear of evil; but ſin baniſhed that ſpoils it, by ſteady reproof, and a conſpicuous example of tried virtue. True godlineſs does not turn men out of the world, but enables them to live better in it, and excites their endeavours to mend it: 'not hide their candle under a buſhel, but ſet it 'upon a table, in a candleſtick.' Beſides, it is a ſelfiſh invention; and that can never be the way of taking up the croſs, which the true croſs is therefore taken up to ſubject. But again, this humour runs away by itſelf, and leaves the world behind to be loſt; Chriſtians ſhould keep the helm, and guide the veſſel to its port; not meanly ſteal out at the ſtern of the world, and leave thoſe that are in it without a pilot, to be driven by the fury of evil times, upon the rock or ſand of ruin. In fine, this ſort of life, if taken up by young people, is commonly to cover idleneſs, or to pay portions; to ſave the lazy from the pain of puniſhment, or quality from the diſgrace of poverty: one will not work, and the other ſcorns it. If aged, a long life of guilt ſometimes flies to ſuperſtition for refuge; and after having had its own will in other things, would finiſh it in a wilful religion to make God amends.

§. XIII. But taking up the croſs of Jeſus is a more interior exerciſe: it is the circumſpection and diſcipline of the ſoul, in conformity to the divine mind therein revealed. Does not the body follow the ſoul, and not the ſoul the body? Do not ſuch conſider, that no outward cell can ſhut up the ſoul from luſt, the mind from an infinity of unrighteous imaginations? The thoughts of man's heart are evil, and that continually. Evil comes from within, and not from without: how then can an external application remove an internal cauſe; or a reſtraint upon the body, work a confinement of

the mind? Less much than without doors: for where there is least of action, there is most time to think; and if those thoughts are not guided by an higher principle, convents are more mischievous to the world than exchanges. And yet a retirement is both an excellent and needful thing: crowds and throngs were not much frequented by the ancient holy pilgrims.

§. XIV. But then examine, O man, thy bottom, what it is, and who placed thee there; lest in the end it should appear, thou hast put an eternal cheat upon thy own soul. I must confess I am jealous of the salvation of my own kind, having found mercy with my heavenly Father: I would have none deceive themselves to perdition, especially about religion, where people are most apt to take all for granted, and lose infinitely by their own flatteries and neglect. The inward steady righteousness of Jesus is another thing, than all the contrived devotion of poor superstitious man: and to stand approved in the eye of God, excels that bodily exercise in religion, resulting from the invention of men. And the soul that is awakened and preserved by his holy power and spirit, lives to him in the way of his own institution, and worships him in his own spirit, that is, in the holy sense, life, and leadings of it; which indeed is the evangelical worship. Not that I would be thought to slight a true retirement: for I do not only acknowledge, but admire solitude. Christ himself was an example of it: he loved and chose to frequent mountains, gardens, sea-sides. They are requisite to the growth of piety; and I reverence the virtue that seeks and uses it; wishing there were more of it in the world: but then it should be free, not constrained. What benefit to the mind, to have it for a punishment, and not a pleasure? Nay, I have long thought it an error among all sorts, that use not monastick lives, that they have no retreats for the afflicted, the tempted, the solitary, and the devout; where they might undisturbedly wait upon God, pass through their religious exercises; and, being thereby strengthened, may, with more power over their own spirits, enter

enter into the buſineſs of the world again; though the leſs the better to be ſure. For divine pleaſures are found in a free ſolitude.

CHAP. VI.

§. 1. But men of more refined belief and practice are yet concerned in this unlawful ſelf about religion. §. 2. It is the riſe of the performance of worſhip God regards. §. 3. True worſhip is only from an heart prepared by God's ſpirit. §. 4. The ſoul of man dead, without the divine breath of life, and ſo not capable of worſhipping the living God. §. 5. We are not to ſtudy what to pray for. How Chriſtians ſhould pray. The aid they have from God. §. 6. The way of obtaining this preparation: it is by waiting, as David and others did of old, in holy ſilence, that their wants and ſupplies are beſt ſeen. §. 7. The whole and the full think they need not this waiting, and ſo uſe it not: but the poor in ſpirit are of another mind; wherefore the Lord hears and fills them with his good things. §. 8. If there were not this preparation, the Jewiſh times would have been more holy and ſpiritual than the goſpel; for even then it was required, and much more now. §. 9. As ſin, ſo formality cannot worſhip God: thus David, Iſaiah, &c. §. 10. God's own forms and inſtitutions hateful to him, unleſs his own ſpirit uſe them; much more thoſe of man's contriving. §. 11. God's children ever met God in his way, not their own; and in his way they always found help and comfort. In Jeremiah's time it was the ſame; his goodneſs was manifeſt to his children that waited truly upon him: it was an inward ſenſe and enjoyment of him they thirſted after. Chriſt charged his diſciples alſo to wait for the ſpirit. §. 12. This doctrine of waiting farther opened, and ended with an alluſion to the pool of Betheſda; a lively figure of inward waiting, and its bleſſed effects. §. 13. Four

things neceſſary to worſhip; the ſanctification of the worſhipper, and the conſecration of the offering, and the thing to be prayed for: and laſtly, faith to pray in: and all muſt be right, that is, of God's giving. §. 14. The great power of faith in prayer; witneſs the importunate widow. The wicked and formal aſk, and receive not; the reaſon why. But Jacob and his true offspring, the followers of his faith, prevail. §. 15. This ſhews, why Chriſt upbraided his diſciples with their little faith. The neceſſity of faith. Chriſt works no good on men without it. §. 16. This faith is not only poſſible now, but neceſſary. §. 17. What it is, farther unfolded. §. 18. Who the heirs of this faith are; and what were the noble works of it in the former ages of the juſt.

§. I. BUT there be others, of a more refined ſpeculation, and reformed practice, who dare not uſe, and leſs adore, a piece of wood or ſtone, an image of ſilver or gold; nor yet allow of that Jewiſh, or rather Pagan pomp in worſhip, practiſed by others, as if Chriſt's worſhip were of this world, though his kingdom be of the other; but are doctrinally averſe to ſuch ſuperſtition, and yet refrain not to bow to their own religious duties, and eſteem their formal performance of ſeveral parts of worſhip, that go againſt the grain of their fleſhly eaſe, and a preciſeneſs therein, no ſmall croſs unto them; and that if they abſtain from groſs and ſcandalous ſins, or if the act be not committed, though the thoughts of it are embraced, and that it has a full career in the mind, they hold themſelves ſafe enough, within the pale of diſcipleſhip, and wall of Chriſtianity. But this alſo is too mean a character of the diſcipline of Chriſt's croſs: and thoſe that flatter themſelves with ſuch a ſort of taking it up, will in the end be deceived with a ſandy foundation, and a midnight cry. For ſaid Chriſt, 'But I ſay unto you, that 'every idle word that men ſhall ſpeak, they ſhall give 'an account thereof in the day of judgment[m].'

[m] Mat. xii. 30.

§. II. For

§. II. For first, it is not performing duties of religion, but the rise of the performance, that God looks at. Men may, and some do, cross their own wills, in their own wills; voluntary omission, or commission: 'who 'has required this at your hands[n]?' said the Lord of old to the Jews, when they seemed industrious to have served him; but it was in a way of their own contriving or inventing, and in their own time and will; not with the soul truly touched and prepared by the divine power of God; but bodily worship only, that the apostle tells us, profiteth little. Not keeping to the manner of taking up the cross in worship, as well as other things, has been a great cause of the troublesome superstition that is yet in the world. For men have no more brought their worship to the test, than their sins: nay, less; for they have ignorantly thought the one a sort of excuse for the other; and not that their religious performances should need a cross, or an apology.

§. III. But true worship can only come from an heart prepared by the Lord[o]. This preparation is by the sanctification of the Spirit; by which, if God's children are led in the general course of their lives, (as Paul teaches) much more in their worship to their Creator and Redeemer[p]. And whatever prayer be made, or doctrine be uttered, and not from the preparation of the Holy Spirit, it is not acceptable with God: nor can it be the true evangelical worship, which is in spirit and truth; that is, by the preparation and aid of the Spirit. For what is an heap of the most pathetical words to God Almighty; or the dedication of any place or time to him? He is a spirit, to whom words, places and times (strictly considered) are improper or inadequate. And though they be the instruments of public worship, they are but bodily and visible, and cannot carry our requests any farther, much less recommend them to the invisible God; by no means: they are for the sake of the congregation:

[n] Isa. i. 12. [o] Prov. xvi. 1. [p] Rom. viii. 14.

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it is the language of the soul God hears; nor can that speak, but by the Spirit; or groan aright to Almighty God, without the assistance of it.

§. IV. The soul of man, however lively in other things, is dead to God, till he breathe the spirit of life into it: it cannot live to him, much less worship him without it. Thus God by Ezekiel tells us, when in a vision of the restoration of mankind, in the person of Israel, (an usual way of speaking among the prophets, and as often mistaken) 'I will open your graves '(saith the Lord) and put my spirit in you, and ye 'shall live[q].' So, though Christ taught his disciples to pray, they were, in some sort, disciples before he taught them; not worldly men, whose prayers are an abomination to God. And his teaching them is not an argument that every one must say that prayer, whether he can say it with the same heart, and under the same qualifications, as his poor disciples and followers did, or not, as is now too superstitiously and presumptuously practised. But rather, that as they then, so we now, are not to pray our own prayers, but his; that is, such as he enables us to make, as he enabled them then.

§. V. For if we are not to take thought what we shall say when we come before worldly princes, because it shall then be given us; and that it is not we that speak, but the spirit of our heavenly Father that speaketh in us[r]; much less can our ability be needed, or ought we to study to ourselves forms of speech in our approaches to the great Prince of princes, King of kings, and Lord of lords[s]. For be it his greatness, we ought not by Christ's command: be it our relation to him, as children, we need not: he will help us, he is our father; that is, if he be so indeed. Thus not only the mouth of the body, but of the soul is shut, till God opens it; and then he loves to hear the language of it. In which the body ought never to go before the soul: his ear is open to such requests, and his spirit strongly intercedes for those that offer them.

[q] Ezek. x. xxvii. 12, 13, 14. [r] Mat. x. 19, 20. [s] Mat. vi.

§. VI. But

§. VI. But it may be asked, how shall this preparation be obtained?

I answer: by waiting patiently, yet watchfully and intently upon God: 'Lord (says the Psalmist) thou 'hast heard the desire of the humble; thou wilt pre-'pare their heart, thou wilt cause thine ear to hear[t]:' and, (says Wisdom) 'the preparation of the heart 'in man is from the Lord[u].' Here it is thou must not think thy own thoughts, nor speak thy own words, (which indeed is the silence of the holy cross) but be sequestered from all the confused imaginations, that are apt to throng and press upon the mind in those holy retirements. It is not for thee to think to overcome the Almighty by the most composed matter, cast into the aptest phrase: no, no; one groan, one sigh, from a wounded soul, an heart touched with true remorse, a sincere and godly sorrow, which is the work of God's spirit, excels and prevails with God. Wherefore stand still in thy mind, wait to feel something that is divine, to prepare and dispose thee to worship God truly and acceptably. And thus taking up the cross, and shutting the doors and windows of the soul against every thing that would interrupt this attendance upon God, how pleasant soever the object be in itself, how lawful or needful at another season, the power of the Almighty will break in, his spirit will work and prepare the heart, that it may offer up an acceptable sacrifice. It is he that discovers and presses wants upon the soul; and when it cries, it is he alone that supplies them. Petitions, not springing from such a sense and preparation, are formal and fictitious; they are not true; for men pray in their own blind desires, and not in the will of God; and his ear is stopped to them: but for the very sighing of the poor, and crying of the needy, God has said, he will arise; that is, the poor in spirit, the needy soul, those that want his assistance, who are ready to be overwhelmed, that feel a need, and cry aloud for a deliverer, and that have none

[t] Psal. x. 17. [u] Prov. xvi. 1.

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on earth to help[w], 'none in heaven but him, nor in 'earth in comparison of him: he will deliver (said 'David) the needy, when he cries, and the poor, and 'him that has no helper. He shall redeem their soul 'from deceit and violence, and precious shall their 'blood be in his sight. This poor man (says he) 'cried, and the Lord heard him, and saved him out of 'all his troubles. The angel of the Lord encampeth 'round about them that fear him, and delivers them[x]:' and then invites all to come and taste how good the Lord is. Yea, 'he will bless them that fear the 'Lord, both small and great[y].'

§. VII. But what is that to them that are not hungry? The whole need not the physician[z]: the full have no need to sigh, nor the rich to cry for help. Those that are not sensible of their inward wants, that have not fears and terrors upon them, who feel no need of God's power to help them, nor of the light of his countenance to comfort them; what have such to do with prayer? Their devotion is but, at best, a serious mockery of the Almighty. They know not, they want not, they desire not what they pray for. They pray the will of God may be done, and do constantly their own: for, though it be soon said, it is a most terrible thing to them. They ask for grace, and abuse that they have: they pray for the spirit, but resist it in themselves, and scorn at it in others: they request the mercies and goodness of God, and feel no real want of them. And in this inward insensibility, they are as unable to praise God for what they have, as to pray for what they have not. 'They shall praise the Lord (says David) that 'seek him: for he satisfieth the longing soul, and 'filleth the hungry with good things[a].' This also he reserves for the poor and needy, and those that fear God. 'Let the (spiritually) poor and the needy 'praise thy name: ye that fear the Lord, praise him; 'and ye the seed of Jacob, glorify him[b].' Jacob was

[w] Psal. xii. 5. [x] Psal. lxxii. 12, 14. Psal. xxxiv. 6, 7, 8. [y] Psal. cxv. 13. [z] Mat. ix. 12. [a] Psal. xxii. 26. Psal. cvii. 9. [b] Psal. lxxiv. 21. Psal. xxii. 23.

a plain

a plain man, of an upright heart; and they that are so are his seed. And though (with him) they may be as poor as worms in their own eyes, yet they receive power to wrestle with God, and prevail as he did.

§. VIII. But without the preparation and consecration of this power, no man is fit to come before God; else it were matter of less holiness and reverence to worship God under the gospel, than it was in the times of the law, when all sacrifices were sprinkled before offered; the people consecrated that offered them, before they presented themselves before the Lord [c]. If the touching of a dead or unclean beast then made people unfit for temple or sacrifice, yea, society with the clean, till first sprinkled and sanctified, how can we think so meanly of the worship that is instituted by Christ in gospel-times, as that it shall admit of unprepared and unsanctified offerings? or, allow that those who either in thoughts, words, or deeds, do daily touch that which is morally unclean, can (without coming to the blood of Jesus, that sprinkles the conscience from dead works) acceptably worship the pure God: it is a downright contradiction to good sense: the unclean cannot acceptably worship that which is holy; the impure that which is perfect. There is an holy intercourse and communion betwixt Christ and his followers; but none at all betwixt Christ and Belial; between him and those that disobey his commandments, and live not the life of his blessed cross and self-denial [d].

§. IX. But as sin, so formality cannot worship God; no, though the manner were of his own ordination. Which made the prophet, personating one in a great streight, cry out, 'Wherewith shall I come before the 'Lord, and bow myself before the high God? Shall I 'come before him with burnt-offerings? With calves 'of a year old? Will the Lord be pleased with thou-'sands of rams, or with ten thousands of rivers of oil?

[c] Numb. viii. and chap. xix. 2 Chron xxix. 36. and chap. xxx. 16, 17. [d] 2 Cor. vi. 15, 16.

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'Shall I give my first-born for my transgressions, the 'fruit of my body for the sin of my soul? He hath 'shewed thee, O man what is good. And what doth 'the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, to love 'mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God[e]?' The royal prophet, sensible of this, calls thus also upon God; 'O Lord, open thou my lips, and my mouth shall 'shew forth thy praise[f].' He did not dare open his own lips, he knew that could not praise God: and why? 'For thou desirest not sacrifice, else would I give it:' (if my formal offerings would serve, thou shouldst not want them) 'thou delightest not in burnt-offerings. 'The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit, a broken 'and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise:' and why? Because this is God's work, the effect of his power; and his own works praise him. To the same purpose doth God himself speak, by the mouth of Isaiah, in opposition to the formalities and lip-worship of the degenerate Jews: 'Thus saith the Lord, The 'heaven is my throne, and the earth is my foot-stool, 'where is the house that ye build to me? And where 'is the place of my rest? For all these things hath my 'hand made. But to this man will I look, even him 'that is poor, and of a contrite spirit, and trembleth at 'my word[g].' O behold the true worshipper! one of God's preparing, circumcised in heart and ear, that resists not the Holy Spirit, as those lofty professing Jews did. Was this so then, even in the time of the law, which was the dispensation of external and shadowy performances, and can we now expect acceptance without the preparation of the Spirit of the Lord in these gospel-times, which are the proper times for the effusion of the Spirit? By no means: God is what he was; and none else are his true worshippers, but such as worship him in his own spirit: these he tenders as the apple of his eye: the rest do but mock him, and he despises them. Hear what follows to that people, for

[e] Mic. vi. 6, 7, 8. [f] Psal. li. 15, 16, 17. [g] Psal. lxvi. 1, 2, 3.

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it is the ſtate and portion of Chriſtendom at this day: 'He that killeth an ox, is as if he ſlew a man; he that 'ſacrificeth a lamb, as if he cut off a dog's neck; he 'that offereth an oblation, as if he offered ſwine's blood; 'he that burneth incenſe, as if he bleſſed an idol. 'Yea, they have choſen their own ways, and their ſoul 'delighteth in their abominations.' Let none ſay we offer not theſe kinds of oblations, for that is not the matter; God was not offended with the offerings, but offerers. Theſe were the legal forms of ſacrifice by God appointed; but they not preſenting them in that frame of ſpirit, and under that right diſpoſition of ſoul that was required, God declares his abhorrence, and that with great aggravation; and elſewhere, by the ſame prophet, forbids them to 'bring any more vain 'oblations before him: incenſe (ſays God) is an abomi-'nation to me: your ſabbaths and calling of aſſemblies 'I cannot away with; it is iniquity, even the ſolemn 'meeting. And when you ſpread forth your hands, I 'will hide mine eyes from you; when you make many 'prayers, I will not hear you[h]." A moſt terrible renunciation of their worſhip; and why? Becauſe their hearts were polluted; they loved not the Lord with their whole hearts, but broke his law, and rebelled againſt his ſpirit, and did not that which was right in his ſight. The cauſe is plain, by the amendments he requires: 'Waſh you (ſays the Lord) make you clean, 'put away the evil of your doings from before mine 'eyes: ceaſe to do evil, learn to do well: ſeek judg-'ment, relieve the oppreſſed, judge the fatherleſs, 'plead for the widow.' Upon theſe terms (and nothing ſhort) he bids them come to him, and tells them, that though their 'ſins be as ſcarlet, they ſhall be 'white as ſnow; and though they be as crimſon, they 'ſhall be white as wool.'

So true is that notable paſſage of the Pſalmiſt: 'Come 'and hear, all ye that fear God, and I will declare 'what he hath done for my ſoul: I cried to him with

[h] Iſa. i. 13 to 18.

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'my mouth, and he was extolled with my tongue. 'If I regard iniquity in my heart, the Lord will not 'hear me. But verily God hath heard me, he hath at-'tended to the voice of my prayer. Bleſſed be God 'which hath not turned away my prayer, nor his 'mercy from me[i].'

§. X. Much of this kind might be cited, to ſhew the diſpleaſure of God againſt even his own forms of worſhip, when performed without his own ſpirit, and that neceſſary preparation of the heart in man, that nothing elſe can work or give: which above all other penmen of ſacred writ, is moſt frequently and emphatically recommended to us by the example of the Pſalmiſt, who, ever and anon calling to mind his own great ſlips, and the cauſe of them, and the way by which he came to be accepted of God, and obtain ſtrength and comfort from him, reminds himſelf to wait upon God. 'Lead me 'in thy truth, and teach me, for thou art the God of 'my ſalvation; on thee do I wait all the day long[k].' His ſoul looked to God for ſalvation, to be delivered from the ſnares and evils of the world. This ſhews an inward exerciſe, a ſpiritual attendance, that ſtood not in external forms, but an inward divine aid.

And truly, David had great encouragement ſo to do, the goodneſs of God invited him to it, and ſtrengthened him in it. 'For,' ſays he, 'I waited 'patiently upon the Lord, and he inclined unto 'me, and heard my cry. He brought me out of the 'miry clay, and ſet my feet upon a rock.' That is, the Lord appeared inwardly to conſolate David's ſoul, that waited for his help, and to deliver it from the temptations and affiictions that were ready to overwhelm it, and gave him ſecurity and peace. Therefore he ſays, 'The Lord hath eſtabliſhed my going;' that is, fixed his mind in righteouſneſs. Before, every ſtep he took bemired him, and he was ſcarce able to go without falling: temptations on all hands; but he waited patiently upon God; his mind retired watchful and intent to his law and ſpirit; and he felt the Lord to in-

[i] Pſal. lxvi. 16, 20. [k] Pſal. xxv. 5. Pſal. xl. 1, 2, 3.

cline

cline to him. His needy and ſenſible cry entered heaven, and prevailed; then came reſcue and deliverance to David, (in God's time, not David's) ſtrength to go through his exerciſes, and ſurmount all his troubles. For which he tells us, 'a new ſong was put into his 'mouth, even praiſe,' ſays he, 'to our God.' But it was of God's making and putting, and not his own.

Another time, we have him crying thus: 'As the 'hart panteth after the water-brooks, ſo panteth my 'ſoul after thee, O God. My ſoul thirſteth for God, 'for the living God; when ſhall I come and appear 'before him?' This goes beyond formality, and can be tied to no leſſon. But we may by this ſee, that true worſhip is an inward work; that the ſoul muſt be touched and raiſed in its heavenly deſires, by the heavenly ſpirit, and that the true worſhip is in God's preſence. 'When ſhall I come and appear?' Not in the temple, nor with outward ſacrifices, but before God, in his preſence. So that the ſouls of true worſhippers ſee God, make their appearance before him; and this they wait, they pant, they thirſt for. O how is the better part of Chriſtendom degenerated from David's example! No wonder, therefore, that this good man tells us, 'truly my ſoul waiteth upon God;' and that he gives it in charge to his ſoul ſo to do; 'O my ſoul, wait thou upon God; for my expectation 'is from him.' As if he ſaid, None elſe can prepare my heart, or ſupply my wants; ſo that my expectation is not from my own voluntary performances, or the bodily worſhip I can give him; they are of no value: they can neither help me, nor pleaſe him. But I wait upon him for ſtrength and power to preſent myſelf ſo before him, as may be moſt pleaſing to him, for he that prepares the ſacrifice, will certainly accept it. Wherefore in two verſes he repeats it thrice, 'I wait 'for the Lord—My ſoul doth wait—My ſoul waiteth 'for the Lord, more than they that watch for the 'morning[m].' Yea, ſo intenſely, and with that un-

[m] Pſal. cxxx. 5, 6.

weariednesſ of ſoul, that he ſays in one place, 'Mine 'eyes fail, while I wait for my God[n].' He was not contented with ſo many prayers, ſuch a ſet of worſhip, or limited repetition; no: he leaves not till he finds the Lord, that is, the comforts of his preſence; which bring the anſwer of love and peace to his ſoul. Nor was this his practice only, as a man more than ordinarily inſpired; for he ſpeaks of it as the way of worſhip then amongſt the true people of God, the ſpiritual Iſrael, and circumciſion in heart, of that day. 'Be-'hold (ſays he) as the eyes of ſervants look to the 'hand of their maſters, and as the eye of a maiden unto 'the hand of her miſtreſs, ſo our eyes wait upon the 'Lord our God, until he have mercy upon us[o].' In another place, 'Our ſoul waiteth for the Lord, he is 'our help and our ſhield. I will wait upon thy name, 'for it is good before thy ſaints[p].' It was in requeſt 'with the truly godly of that day, and the way they came to enjoy God, and worſhip him acceptably. And from his own experience of the benefit of waiting upon God, and the ſaints practice of thoſe times, he recommends it to others: 'Wait upon the Lord, be of good 'courage, and he ſhall ſtrengthen thy heart: wait, I 'ſay, upon the Lord[q].' That is, wait in faith and patience, and he will come to ſave thee. Again, 'Reſt 'in the Lord, and wait patiently upon him[r]:' that is, caſt thyſelf upon him; be contented, and wait for him to help thee in thy wants: thou canſt not think how near he is to help thoſe that wait upon him: O try, and have faith! Yet again, he bids us, 'wait upon the 'Lord, and keep his way[s].' Behold the reaſon ſo few profit! they are out of his way, and ſuch can never wait rightly upon him. Great reaſon had David for what he ſaid, that had with ſo much comfort and advantage met the Lord in his bleſſed way.

§. XI. The prophet Iſaiah tells us, that though the chaſtiſements of the Lord were ſore upon the people for

[n] Pſal. lxix. 3. [o] Pſal. cxxiii. 2. [p] Pſal. xxxiii. 20. Pſal. lii. 9. [q] Pſal. xxvii. 14. [r] Pſal. xxxvii. 7. [s] Pſal. xxxvii. 34.

their

their backſlidings [t], yet in the way of his judgments (in the way of his rebukes and diſpleaſures) they waited for him, and the deſire of their ſoul (that is the great point) was to his name, and the remembrance of him. They were contented to be chid and chaſtiſed, for they had ſinned; and the knowledge of him ſo, was very deſirable to them. But, what! did he not come at laſt, and that in mercy too? Yes, he did, and they knew him when he came, (a doctrine the brutiſh world knows not) 'This is our God, we have waited for him, and he will 'ſave us [u].' O bleſſed enjoyment! O precious confidence. Here was a waiting in faith, which prevailed. All worſhip, not in faith, is fruitleſs to the worſhipper, as well as diſpleaſing to God: and this faith is the gift of God, and the nature of it is to purify the heart, and give ſuch as truly believe 'victory over the world.' Well! but they go on: 'We have waited for him, we 'will be glad, and rejoice in his ſalvation [w].' The prophet adds, 'Bleſſed are all they that wait upon God: [x]' and why? 'For they that wait upon the Lord, ſhall re-'new their ſtrength; they ſhall never faint, never be 'weary [y]:' The encouragement is great. O hear him once more! 'For ſince the beginning of the world, 'men have not heard, nor perceived by the ear, neither 'hath the eye ſeen, O God! beſides thee, what he hath 'prepared for him that waiteth for him.' Behold the inward life and joy of the righteous, the true worſhippers! thoſe whoſe ſpirits bowed to the appearance of God's ſpirit in them, leaving and forſaking all it appeared againſt, and embracing whatever it led them to. In Jeremiah's time, the true worſhippers alſo waited upon God: and he aſſures us, 'That the 'Lord is good to them that wait for him, to the ſoul 'that ſeeketh him.' Hence it is that the prophet Hoſea exhorts the church then, to turn and wait upon God: 'Therefore turn thou to thy God; keep mercy 'and judgment, and wait on thy God continually [z].'

[t] Iſa. xxvi. 8. [u] Iſa. xxv. 9. [w] Iſa. xxx. 18. [x] Iſa. xl. 31. [y] Iſa. lxiv. 4. [z] Jer. xiv. 22. Lament. iii. 25. Hoſ. xii. 6.

And Micah is very zealous and resolute in this good exercise: 'I will look unto the Lord, I will wait for the 'God of my salvation: my God will hear me[a].' Thus did the children of the spirit, that thirsted after an inward sense of him. The wicked cannot say so; nor they that pray, unless they wait. It is charged upon Israel in the wilderness, as the cause of their disobedience and ingratitude to God, that they 'waited not for his coun-'sels.' We may be sure it is our duty, and expected from us; for God requires it in Zephaniah: 'There-'fore wait upon me, saith the Lord, until the day that 'I arise, &c[b].' O that all who profess the name of God, would wait so, and not offer to arise to worship without him! and they would feel his stirrings and arisings in them, to help, and prepare, and sanctify them. Christ expresly charged his disciples, they should not stir from Jerusalem, but wait till they had received the promise of the Father, the baptism of the Holy Ghost, in order to their preparation for the preaching of the glorious gospel of Christ to the world[c]. And though that were an extraordinary effusion for an extraordinary work, yet the degree does not change the kind. On the contrary, if so much waiting and preparation by the Spirit was requisite to fit them to preach to man; some, at least, may be needful to fit us to speak to God.

§. XII. I will close this great scripture doctrine of waiting, with that passage in John, about the pool of Bethesda. 'There is at Jerusalem, by the sheep-market, 'a pool, which is called in the Hebrew tongue Bethesda, 'having five porches; in these lay a great multitude of 'impotent folks, of blind, halt, and withered, waiting 'for the moving of the water. For an angel went 'down at a certain season into the pool, and troubled 'the water: whosoever then first, after the troubling of 'the water, stepped in, was made whole of whatsoever 'disease he had[d].' A most exact representation of what is intended by all that has been said upon the sub-

[a] Mic. vii. 7. [b] Zeph. iii. 8. [c] Acts i. 4—8. [d] John v. 2, 3. 4.

ject

ject of waiting. For as there was then an outward and legal, so there is now a gospel and spiritual Jerusalem, the church of God, consisting of the faithful. The pool in that old Jerusalem, in some sort, represented that fountain, which is now set open in the New Jerusalem. That pool was for those that were under infirmities of body; this fountain for all that are impotent in soul. There was an angel then that moved the water to render it beneficial; it is God's angel now, the great angel of his presence, that blesseth this fountain with success. They that then went in before, and did not watch the angel, and take advantage of his motion, found no benefit of their stepping in: those that now wait not the moving of God's angel, but by the devotion of their own forming and timing, rush before God, as the horse into the battle, and hope for success, are sure to miscarry in their expectations. Therefore, as then, they waited with all patience and intention upon the angel's motion, that wanted and desired to be cured; so do the true worshippers of God now, that need and pray for his presence, which is the life of their souls, as the sun is to the plants of the field. They have often tried the unprofitableness of their own work, and are now come to the sabbath indeed. They dare not put up a device of their own, or offer an unsanctified request, much less obtrude bodily worship, where the soul is really insensible or unprepared by the Lord. In the light of Jesus they ever wait to be prepared, retired, and recluse from all thoughts that cause the least distraction and discomposure in the mind, till they see the angel move, and till their beloved please to wake; nor dare they call him before his time. And they fear to make a devotion in his absence; for they know it is not only unprofitable, but reprovable: 'Who has required this at your hands?' 'He that be-'lieves makes not haste[e].' They that worship with their own, can only do as the Israelites, turn their ear-rings into a molten image, and be cursed for their

[e] Isa. i. 12. ch. xxviii. 15.

pains. Nor fared they better, 'that gathered ſticks of 'old, and kindled a fire, and compaſſed themſelves 'about with the ſparks that they had kindled[f];' for God told them, 'they ſhould lie down in ſorrow.' It ſhould not only be of no advantage, and do them no good, but incur a judgment from him: ſorrow and anguiſh of ſoul ſhall be their portion. Alas! fleſh and blood would fain pray, though it cannot wait; and be a ſaint, though it cannot abide to do or ſuffer the will of God. With the tongue it bleſſes God, and with the tongue it curſes men, made in his ſimilitude. It calls Jeſus Lord, but not by the Holy Ghoſt; and often names the name of Jeſus, yea, bows the knee to it too, but departs not from iniquity: this is abominable to God.

§. XIII. In ſhort, there are four things ſo neceſſary to worſhipping of God aright, and which put its performance beyond man's power, that there ſeems little more needed than the naming of them. The firſt is, the ſanctification of the worſhipper. Secondly, the conſecration of the offering, which has been ſpoken to before ſomewhat largely. Thirdly, what to pray for; which no man knows, that prays not by the aid of God's ſpirit; and, therefore, without that ſpirit no man can truly pray. This the apoſtle puts beyond diſpute; 'We know not (ſays he) what we ſhould pray for, as 'we ought, but the Spirit helpeth our infirmities[g].' Men unacquainted with the work and power of the Holy Spirit, are ignorant of the mind of God; and thoſe, certainly, can never pleaſe him with their prayers. It is not enough to know, we want; but we ſhould learn, whether it be not ſent us as a bleſſing: diſappointments to the proud, loſſes to the covetous, and to the negligent ſtripes: to remove theſe, were to ſecure the deſtruction, not help the ſalvation of the ſoul.

The vile world knows nothing, but carnally, after a fleſhly manner and interpretation; and too many that would be thought enlightened, are apt to call providences by wrong names. For inſtance, afflictions

[f] Iſa. l. 11. [g] Rom. viii. 26.

they

they ſtile judgments; and trials (more precious than the beloved gold) they call miſeries. On the other hand, they call the preferments of the world by the name of honour, and its wealth, happineſs; when for once that they are ſo, it is much to be feared they are ſent of God an hundred times for judgments, at leaſt trials, upon their poſſeſſors. Therefore, what to keep, what to reject, what to want, is a difficulty God only can reſolve the ſoul. And ſince God knows, better than we, what we need, he can better tell us what to aſk, than we can him: which made Chriſt exhort his diſciples to avoid long and repetitious prayers; telling them, that their heavenly Father knew what they needed, before they aſked[h]: and therefore gave them a pattern to pray by; not as ſome fancy, to be a text to human liturgies, which of all ſervices are moſt juſtly noted and taxed for length and repetition; but expreſsly to reprove and avoid them. But if thoſe wants, that are the ſubject of prayer, were once agreed upon (though that be a mighty point) yet how to pray is ſtill of greater moment, than to pray; it is not the requeſt, but the frame of the petitioner's ſpirit. The what may be proper, but the how defective. As I ſaid, God needs not be told of our wants by us, who muſt tell them to us; yet he will be told them from us, that both we may ſeek him, and he may come down to us. But when this is done, 'To this man will I look, ſaith the 'Lord, even to him that is poor, and of a contrite 'ſpirit, and that trembleth at my word[i]:' To the ſick heart, the wounded ſoul, the hungry and thirſty, the weary and heavy laden ones; ſuch ſincerely want an helper.

§. XIV. Nor is this ſufficient to complete goſpel-worſhip; the fourth requiſite muſt be had, and that is faith, true faith, precious faith, the faith of God's choſen that purifies their hearts, that overcomes the world, and is the victory of the ſaints[k]. This is that which animates prayer, and preſſes it home, like the impor-

[h] Mat. vi. 7, 8. [i] Iſa. lxvi. 2. [k] 1 Tim. i. 5. Acts xv. 9. Tit. i. 1. 2 Pet. i. 1. 1 John v. 4.

tunate widow, that would not be denied; to whom Christ (seeming to admire) said, 'O woman, great is 'thy faith[l].' This is of highest moment on our part, to give our addresses success with God; and yet not in our power neither, for it is the gift of God: from him we must have it; and with one grain of it more work is done, more deliverance is wrought, and more goodness and mercy received, than by all the runnings, willings, and toilings of man, with his inventions, and bodily exercises. Which, duly weighed, will easily spell out the meaning, why so much worship should bring so little profit to the world, as we see it does, viz. True faith is lost. They ask, and receive not; they seek, and find not; they knock, and it is not opened unto them[m]: the case is plain: their requests are not mixed with purifying faith, by which they should prevail, as good Jacob's were, when he wrestled with God, and prevailed. And the truth is, the generality are yet in their sins, following their hearts lusts, and living in worldly pleasures, being strangers to this precious faith. It is the reason rendered by the deep author to the Hebrews, of the unprofitableness of the word preached to some of those days; 'not being (says he) mixed 'with faith in them that heard it.' Can the minister then preach without faith? No, and much less can any man pray to purpose without faith, especially when we are told, 'That the just live by faith.' For worship is the supreme act of man's life; and whatever is necessary to inferior acts of religion, must not be wanting there.

§. XV. This may moderate the wonder in any, why Christ so often upbraided his disciples with, 'O ye of 'little faith!' yet tells us, that one grain of it, (though as little as that of mustard, one of the least of seeds) if true and right, is able to remove mountains. As if he had said, there is no temptation so powerful, that it cannot supply: wherefore those that are captivated by temptations, and remain unsupplied in their

[l] Mat. xv. 28. [m] Jam. iv. 3.

spiritual

ſpiritual wants, have not this powerful faith; that is the true cauſe. So neceſſary was it of old, that Chriſt did not many mighty works where the people believed not, and though his power wrought wonders in other places, faith opened the way: ſo that it is hard to ſay, whether that power by faith, or faith by that power, wrought the cure. Let us call to mind what famous things a little clay and ſpittle, one touch of the hem of Chriſt's garment, and a few words out of his mouth did, by the force of faith in the patients: 'Believe ye 'that I am able to open your eyes?' Yea, Lord, ſay the blind, and ſee. To the ruler, only believe; he did, and his dead daughter recovered life. Again, 'If thou 'canſt believe: I do believe,' ſays the father, 'help 'my unbelief[n];' and the evil ſpirit was chaſed away, and the child recovered. He ſaid to one, 'Go, thy 'faith has made thee whole;' and to another, 'Thy 'faith has ſaved thee; thy ſins are forgiven thee[o].' And to encourage his diſciples to believe, that were admiring how ſoon his ſentence was executed upon the fruitleſs fig-tree, he tells them, 'Verily, if ye have 'faith, and doubt not, ye ſhall not only do this, which 'is done to the fig-tree; but alſo, if ye ſhall ſay 'unto this mountain, be thou removed, and caſt into 'the ſea, it ſhall be done; and all things whatſoever 'ye ſhall aſk in prayer, believing, ye ſhall receive[p].' This one paſſage convicts Chriſtendom of groſs infidelity; for ſhe prays, and receives not.

§. XVI. But may ſome ſay, it is impoſſible to receive all that a man may aſk. It is not impoſſible to receive all that a man, that ſo believes, can aſk. The fruits of faith are not impoſſible to thoſe that truly believe in the God that makes them poſſible[q]. When Jeſus ſaid to the ruler, 'If thou canſt believe,' he adds, 'all 'things are poſſible to him that believeth[r].' Well, but then ſome will ſay, it is impoſſible to have ſuch faith: for this very faithleſs generation would excuſe

[n] John ix. 6, Luke viii. 47, 48. Mat. ix. 29, 30. Mat. ix. 23.
[o] Mark x. 52. Luke vii. 49, 50. [p] Mat. xxi. 20, 21, 22.
[q] Mat. xviii. 19, Luke xviii. 27. [r] Mark ix. 23.

their

their want of faith by making it impossible to have the faith they want. But Christ's answer to the infidelity of that age, will best confute the disbelief of this. 'The things that are impossible with men, are possible 'with God[s].' It will follow then, that it is not impossible with God to give that faith; though, it is certain, that 'without it, it is impossible to please God[t];' for so the author to the Hebrews teaches. And if it be else impossible to please God, it must be so to pray to God without this precious faith.

§. XVII. But some may say, What is this faith, that is so necessary to worship, and that gives it such acceptance with God, and returns that benefit to men? I say, it is an holy resignation to God, and confidence in him, testified by a religious obedience to his holy requirings, which gives sure evidence to the soul of the things not yet seen, and a general sense and taste of the substance of those things that are hoped for; that is, the glory which is to be revealed hereafter. As this faith is the gift of God, so it purifies the hearts of those that receive it. The apostle Paul is witness, that it will not dwell, but in a pure conscience: He therefore in one place, couples a pure heart and faith unfeigned together: in another, faith and a good conscience. James joins faith with righteousness, and John with victory over the world: 'This, says he, is the victory 'which overcomes the world, even your faith[u].'

§. XVIII. The heirs of this faith are the true children of Abraham (though the uncircumcision in the flesh) in that they walk in the steps of father Abraham, according to the obedience of faith, which only entitles people to be the children of Abraham[w]. This lives above the world, not only in its sin, but righteousness; to which no man comes, but through death to self, by the cross of Jesus, and an entire dependence, by him, upon God[x].

[s] Mat. xix. 24, 25, 26. Luke xviii. 25, 26, 27. [t] Heb. xi. 6. [u] 1 Tim. iii. 9. ch. i. 5. James ii. 1 John v. 4. [w] Rom. iv. 12. [x] John xvi. 9, 10.

Famous

Famous are the exploits of this divine gift: time would fail to recount them: all sacred story is filled with them. But let it suffice, that by it the holy ancients endured all trials, overcame all enemies, prevailed with God, renowned his truth, finished their testimony, and obtained the reward of the faithful, a crown of righteousness, which is the eternal blessedness of the just.

CHAP. VII.

§. 1. Of pride, the first capital lust, its rise. §. 2. Its definition and distinction. §. 3. That an inordinate desire of knowledge in Adam, introduced man's misery. §. 4. He thereby lost his integrity. §. 5. Who are in Adam's state. §. 6. Knowledge puffs up. §. 7. The evil effects of false, and the benefit of true knowledge. §. 8. Cain's example a proof in the case. §. 9. The Jews pride in pretending to be wiser than Moses, God's servant, in setting their post by God's post. §. 10. The effect of which was the persecution of the true prophets. §. 11. The divine knowledge of Christ brought peace on earth. §. 12. Of the blind guides, the priests, and the mischief they have done. §. 13. The fall of Christians, and the pride they have taken in it, hath exceeded the Jews: under the profession of their new-moulded Christianity, they have murdered the witness of the Lord Jesus. §. 14. The angels sung peace on earth, at the birth of the Lord of meekness and humility: but the pride of the Pharisees withstood and calumniated him. §. 15. As Adam and the Jews lost themselves by their ambition, so the Christians, losing the fear of God, grew creed and worshipmakers, with this injunction, Conform or burn. §. 16. The evil effects of this in Christendom (so called). §. 17. The way of recovery out of such miserable defection.

§. I.

§. I. HAVING thus discharged my conscience against that part of unlawful self, that fain would be a Christian, a believer, a saint, whilst a plain stranger to the cross of Christ, and the holy exercises of it; and in that briefly discovered what is true worship, and the use and business of the holy cross, therein to render its performance pleasing to Almighty God; I shall now (the same Lord assisting me) more largely prosecute that other part of unlawful self, which fills the study, care, and conversation of the world, presented to us in these three capital lusts; that is to say,

Pride, avarice, and luxury; from whence all other mischiefs daily flow, as streams from their proper fountains: the mortifying of which makes up the other; and indeed a very great part of the work of the true cross; and though last in place, yet first in experience and duty; which done, it introduces in the room of those evil habits, the blessed effects of that so-much-needed reformation, to wit, 'mortification, humility, temperance, love, patience, and heavenly-mindedness[a],' with all other graces of the Spirit, becoming the followers of the perfect Jesus, that most heavenly man.

The care and love of mankind are either directed to God or themselves. Those that love God above all, are ever humbling self to his commands, and only love self in subserviency to him that is Lord of all. But those that are declined from that love to God, are lovers of themselves, more than God: for supreme love must center in one of these two. To that inordinate self-love, the apostle rightly joins proud and high-minded[b]. For no sooner had the angels declined their love, duty, and reverence to God, than they inordinately loved and valued themselves; which made them exceed their station, and aspire above the order of their creation. This was their pride, and this sad defection their dismal fall; who are reserved in chains of darkness unto the judgment of the great day of God.

[a] Gal. v. 22, 23. [b] 2 Tim. iii. 2, 3.

§. II. Pride,

§. II. Pride, that pernicious evil, which begins this chapter, did alſo begin the miſery of mankind: a moſt miſchievous quality; and ſo commonly known by its motions, and ſad effects, that every unmortified breaſt carries its definition in it. However, I will ſay, in ſhort, that pride is an exceſs of ſelf-love, joined with an undervaluing of others, and a deſire of dominion over them: the moſt troubleſome thing in the world. There are four things by which it hath made itſelf beſt known to mankind, the conſequences of which have brought an equal miſery to its evil. The firſt is, an inordinate purſuit of knowledge. The ſecond, an ambitious ſeeking and craving after power. The third, an extreme deſire of perſonal reſpect and deference. The laſt exceſs is that of worldly furniture and ornaments. To the juſt and true witneſs of the eternal God, placed in the ſouls of all people, I appeal as to the truth of theſe things.

§. III. To the firſt, it is plain that an inordinate deſire of knowledge introduced man's miſery, and brought an univerſal lapſe from the glory of his primitive ſtate. Adam would needs be wiſer than God had made him. It did not ſerve his turn to know his Creator, and give him that holy homage, his being and innocence naturally engaged and excited him to; nor to have an 'underſtanding above all the beaſts of 'the field, the fowls of the air, and the fiſhes of the 'ſea',' joined with a power to rule over all the viſible creation of God, but he muſt be as wiſe as God too[d]. This unwarrantable ſearch, and as fooliſh as unjuſt ambition, made him unworthy of the bleſſings he received from God. This drives him out of paradiſe; and inſtead of being lord of the whole world, Adam becomes the wretchedeſt vagabond of the earth[e].

§. IV. A ſtrange change! that inſtead of being as gods, they ſhould fall below the very beaſts; in compariſon of whom even God had made them as gods. The lamentable conſequence of this great defection has

[c] Gen. ii. 19, 29. [d] Gen. iii. 5. [e] Ch. iii. 4.

been,

been, an exchange of innocency for guilt, and a paradise for a wilderness. But, which is yet worse, in this state Adam and Eve had got another god than the only true and living God: and he that had enticed them to all this mischief, furnished them with a vain knowledge, and pernicious wisdom: the skill of lies and equivocations, shifts, evasions, and excuses. They had lost their plainness and sincerity; and from an upright heart, the image in which God had made man, he became a crooked, twining, twisting serpent; the image of that unrighteous spirit, to whose temptations he yielded up, with his obedience, his paradisical happiness.

§. V. Nor is this limited to Adam; for all who have fallen short of the glory of God, are right-born sons of his disobedience. They, like him, have eaten of what they have been forbidden: they have 'committed the 'things they ought not to have done, and left undone 'the things they ought to have done[f].' They have sinned against that divine light of knowledge, which God has given them: they have grieved his spirit; and that dismal sentence has been executed, 'In the day that 'thou eatest thereof thou shalt die[g].' That is, when thou doest the thing which thou oughtest not to do, thou shalt no more live in my favour, and enjoy the comforts of the peace of my spirit: which is a dying to all those innocent and holy desires and affections, which God created man with; and he becomes as one cold and benumbed; insensible of the love of God, of his Holy Spirit, power and wisdom; of the light and joy of his countenance, and of the evidence of a good conscience, and the co-witnessing and approbation of God's Holy Spirit.

§. VI. So that fallen Adam's knowledge of God stood no more in a daily experience of the love and work of God in his soul, but in a notion of what he once did know and experience: which being not the true and living wisdom that is from above, but a mere picture, it cannot preserve man in purity; but puffs up, makes people proud, high-minded, and impatient of con-

[f] Rom. vii. [g] Gen. ii. 17.

tradiction.

tradiction. This was the ſtate of the apoſtate Jews before Chriſt came; and has been the condition of apoſtate Chriſtians ever ſince he came: their religion ſtanding (ſome bodily performances excepted) either in what they once knew, of the work of God in themſelves, and which they have revolted from; or in an hiſtorical belief, and an imaginary conception and paraphraſe upon the experiences and prophecies of ſuch holy men and women of God, as in all ages have deſerved the ſtile and character of his true children.

§. VII. As ſuch a knowledge of God cannot be true, ſo by experience we find, that it ever brings forth the quite contrary fruits to the true wiſdom. For as this is firſt pure, then peaceable, then gentle, and eaſy to be intreated; ſo the knowledge of degenerated and unmortified men is firſt impure[h]: for it came by the commiſſion of evil, and is held in an evil and impure conſcience and heart, that diſobey God's law, and that daily do thoſe things which they ought not to do; and for which they ſtand condemned before God's judgment-ſeat in the ſouls of men: the light of whoſe preſence ſearches the moſt hidden things of darkneſs, the moſt ſecret thoughts, and concealed inclinations of ungodly men. This is the ſcience, falſly ſo called; and as it is impure, ſo it is unpeaceable, croſs, and hard to be intreated; froward, perverſe, and perſecuting; jealous that any ſhould be better than they, and hating and abuſing thoſe that are.

§. VIII. It was this pride made Cain a murderer: it is a ſpiteful quality; full of envy and revenge[i]. What! was not his religion and worſhip as good as his brother's? He had all the exterior parts of worſhip; he offered as well as Abel; and the offering of itſelf might be as good: but it ſeems the heart, that offered it, was not. So long ago did God regard the interior worſhip of the ſoul. Well! what was the conſequence of this difference? Cain's pride ſtomached it: he could not bear to be outdone by his brother. He grew wrath-

[h] Jam. iii. 17. [i] Gen. iv. 8.

ful

ful, and resolved to vindicate his offering, by revenging the refusal of it upon his brother's life; and without any regard to natural affection, or the low and early condition of mankind, he barbarously dyed his hands in his brother's blood.

§. IX. The religion of the apostatized Jews did no better; for, having lost the inward life, power, and spirit of the law, they were puffed up with that knowledge they had; and their pretences to Abraham, Moses, and the promises of God, in that frame, served only to blow them up into an unsufferable pride, arrogance, and cruelty. For they could not bear true vision, when it came to visit them, and entertained the messengers of their peace as if they had been wolves and tygers.

§. X. Yea, it is remarkable, the false prophets, the great engineers against the true ones, were ever sure to persecute them as false; and by their interest with earthly princes, or the poor seduced multitude, made them the instruments of their malice. Thus it was that one holy prophet was sawn asunder, another stoned to death, &c. So proud and obstinate is false knowledge, and the aspirers after it: which made holy Stephen cry out, 'O ye stiff-necked and uncircumcised 'in heart and ear, ye resist the Holy Ghost; as did 'your fathers, so do ye[k].'

§. XI. The true knowledge came with the joy of angels, singing 'peace on earth, and good-will to-'wards men[l]:' the false knowledge entertained the message with calumnies: Christ must needs be an impostor; and that must prove him so, to wit, his power of working of miracles; which was that which proved the contrary. They stoned him, and frequently sought to kill him; which at last they wickedly accomplished. But what was their motive to it? Why, he cried out against their hypocrisy, the broad phylacteries, the honour they sought of men. To be short, they give the reason themselves in these words; 'If we let him

[k] Acts vii. 51. [l] Luke ii. 14.

'thus

'thus alone, all men will believe on him[m]:' that is, he will take away our credit with the people; they will adhere to him, and desert us; and so we shall lose our power and reputation with the multitude.

§. XII. And, the truth is, he came to level their honour, to overthrow their rabbyship, and by his grace to bring the people to that inward knowledge of God, which they, by transgression, were departed from; that so they might see the deceitfulness of their blind guides, who, by their vain traditions, had made void the righteousness of the law; and who were so far from being the true doctors, and lively expounders of it, that in reality they were the children of the devil, who was a proud lyar, and cruel murderer, from the beginning.

§. XIII. Their pride in false knowledge having made them uncapable of receiving the simplicity of the gospel, Christ thanks his Father, that he had hid the mysteries of it from the wise and prudent, and revealed them to babes[n]. It was this false wisdom swelled the minds of the Athenians to that degree, that they despised the preaching of the apostle Paul, as a vain and foolish thing. But that apostle, who of all the rest had an education in the learning of those times, bitterly reflects on that wisdom, so much valued by Jews and Greeks; 'Where (says he) is the wise? where is 'the scribe? where is the disputer of this world? 'Hath not God made foolish the wisdom of this 'world[o]?' And he gives a good reason for it, 'that 'no flesh should glory in his presence[p].' Which is to say, God will stain the pride of man in false knowledge, that he should have nothing on this occasion to be proud of: it should be owing only to the revelation of the Spirit of God. The apostle goes farther, and affirms, 'that the world by wisdom knew not 'God[q]:' that is, it was so far from an help, that, as men use it, it was an hindrance to the true knowledge

[m] John xlvii. 11. [n] Mat. xi. 25. [o] 1 Cor. i. 20. [p] 1 Cor. i. 29. [q] 1 Cor. i. 21.

of God. And in his first epistle to his beloved Timothy, he concludes thus: 'O Timothy! keep that 'which is committed to thy trust; avoiding profane 'and vain babblings, and oppositions of science, falsly 'so called[r].' This was the sense of apostolical times, when the divine grace gave the true knowledge of God, and was the guide of Christians.

§. XIV. Well! but what has been the success of those ages, that followed the apostolical? any whit better than that of the Jewish times? Not one jot. They have exceeded them; as with their pretences to greater knowledge, so in their degeneracy from the true Christian life: for though they had a more excellent pattern than the Jews, to whom God spoke by Moses his servant, he speaking to them by his beloved Son, the express image of his substance, the perfection of all meekness and humility; and though they seemed addicted to nothing more, than an adoration of his name, and a veneration to the memory of his blessed disciples, and apostles; yet so great was their defection from the inward power and life of Christianity in the soul, that their respect was little more than formal and ceremonious. For notwithstanding they, like the Jews, were mighty zealous in garnishing their sepulchres, and curious in carving of their images; not only keeping with any pretence what might be the reliques of their persons, but recommending a thousand things as reliques which are purely fabulous, and very often ridiculous, and to be sure altogether unchristian; yet, as to the great and weighty things of the Christian law, viz. love, meekness, and self-denial, they were degenerated: they grew high-minded, proud, boasters, without natural affection, curious, and controversial; ever perplexing the church with doubtful and dubious questions; filling the people with disputations, strife and wrangling, drawing them into parties, till at last they fell into blood: as if they had been the worse for being once Christians.

[r] 1 Tim. vi. 20.

O the

O the miſerable ſtate of theſe pretended Chriſtians! that inſtead of Chriſt's and his apoſtles doctrine, of loving enemies, and bleſſing them that curſe them, they ſhould teach the people, under the notion of Chriſtian zeal, moſt inhumanly to butcher one another; and inſtead of ſuffering their own blood to be ſhed for the teſtimony of Jeſus, they ſhould ſhed the blood of the witneſſes of Jeſus, for hereticks: thus that ſubtil ſerpent, or crafty evil-ſpirit, that tempted Adam out of innocency, and the Jews from the law of God, has beguiled the Chriſtians, by lying vanities, to depart from the Chriſtian law of holineſs, and ſo they are become ſlaves to him; for he rules in the hearts of the children of diſobedience.

§. XV. And it is obſervable, that as pride (which is ever followed by ſuperſtition and obſtinacy) put Adam upon ſeeking an higher ſtation than God placed him in; and as the Jews, out of the ſame pride, to outdo their pattern, given them of God by Moſes upon the mount, ſet their poſt by God's poſt, and taught for doctrines their own traditions, inſomuch that thoſe that refuſed conformity to them ran the hazard of Crucify, crucify: ſo the nominal Chriſtians, from the ſame ſin of pride, with great ſuperſtition and arrogance, have introduced, inſtead of a ſpiritual worſhip and diſcipline, that which is evidently ceremonious and worldly; with ſuch innovations and traditions of men, as are the fruit of the wiſdom that is from below: witneſs their numerous and perplexed councils and creeds, with Conform, or burn, at the end of them.

§. XVI. And as this unwarrantable pride ſet them firſt at work, to pervert the ſpirituality of the Chriſtian cult, making it rather to reſemble the ſhadowy religion of the Jews, and the gawdy worſhip of the Egyptians, than the great plainneſs and ſimplicity of the Chriſtian inſtitution, which is neither to reſemble that of the mountain, nor the other of Jeruſalem; ſo has the ſame pride and arrogancy ſpurred them on, by all imaginable cruelties, to maintain this great Diana of theirs. No meek ſupplications, nor humble remonſtrances of thoſe

that kept close to primitive purity in worship and doctrine, could prevail with these nominal Christians, to dispense with the imposition of their un-apostolical traditions. But as the ministers and bishops of these degenerate Christians left their painful visitation and care over Christ's flock, and grew ambitious, covetous, and luxurious, resembling rather worldly potentates, than the humble-spirited and mortified followers of the blessed Jesus; so almost every history tells us, with what pride and cruelty, blood and butchery, and that with unusual and exquisite tortures, they have persecuted the holy members of Christ, out of the world; and that upon such anathemas, that, as far as they could, they have disappointed them of the blessings of heaven too. These, true Christians call martyrs; but the clergy, like the persecuting Jews, have stiled them blasphemers and hereticks: in which they have fulfilled the prophecy of our Lord Jesus Christ; who did not say, that they should think they do the gods good service to kill the Christians, his dear followers (which might refer to the persecutions of the idolatrous Gentiles) but that they should think they do God good service to kill them[s]: which shews, that they should be such as professedly owned the true God, as the apostate Christians have all along pretended to do. So that they must be those wolves, that the apostle foretold should arise out of themselves, and worry the flock of Christ, after the great falling-away should commence, that was foretold by him, and made necessary, in order to the proving of the faithful, and the revelation of the great mystery of iniquity[t].

I shall conclude this head with this assertion, that it is too undeniable a truth, where the clergy has been most in power and authority, and has had the greatest influence upon princes and states, there has been most confusions, wrangles, blood-shed, sequestrations, imprisonments and exiles: to the justifying of which, I call the testimony of the records of all times. How

[s] John xvi. 2. [t] Acts xx. 29.

it

it is in our age, I leave to the experience of the living: yet there is one demonstration that can hardly fail us: the people are not converted, but debauched, to a degree, that time will not allow us an example. The worship of Christendom is visible, ceremonious, and gawdy, the clergy ambitious of worldly preferments, under the pretence of spiritual promotions; making the earthly revenues of church-men, much the reason of their function; being almost ever sure, to leave the present smaller incumbence, to sollicit and obtain benefices of larger title and income. So that with their pride and avarice, which good old Peter foresaw would be their snares, they have drawn after them, ignorance, misery, and irreligion upon Christendom.

§. XVII. The way of recovery from this miserable defection is, to come to a saving knowledge of religion; that is, an experience of the divine work of God in the soul; to obtain which, be diligent to obey the grace that appears in thy own soul, O man! that brings salvation, it turns thee out of the broad way, into the narrow way; from thy lusts to thy duty, from sin to holiness, from Satan to God[u]. Thou must see and abhor self, thou must watch, and thou must pray, and thou must fast; thou must not look at thy tempter, but at thy preserver; avoid ill company, retire to thy solitudes, and be a chaste pilgrim in this evil world: and thus thou wilt arrive to the knowledge of God and Christ, that brings eternal life to the soul; a well-grounded assurance from what a man feels and knows within himself; such shall not be moved with evil tidings.

[u] Tit. ii. 4, 11, 12, 14.

CHAP. VIII.

§. 1. Pride craves power as well as knowledge. §. 2. The caſe of Korah, &c. a proof. §. 3. Abſalom's ambition confirms it. §. 4. Nebuchadnezzar's does the like. §. 5. The hiſtory of Piſiſtratus, Alexander, Cæſar, &c. ſhews the ſame thing. §. 6. The Turks are a lively proof, who have ſhed much blood to gratify pride for power. §. 7. The laſt ten years in Chriſtendom exceed in proof of this. §. 8. Ambition reſts not in courts, it finds room in private breaſts too, and ſpoils families and ſocieties. §. 9. Their peace is great, that limit their deſires by God's grace, and having power, uſe it to the good of others.

§. I. BUT let us ſee the next moſt common, eminent, and miſchievous effect of this evil. Pride does extremely crave power, than which, not one thing has proved more troubleſome and deſtructive to mankind. I need not labour myſelf much in evidence of this, ſince moſt of the wars of nations, depopulation of kingdoms, ruin of cities, with the ſlavery and miſery that have followed, both our own experience and unqueſtionable hiſtories acquaint us to have been the effect of ambition, which is the luſt of pride after power.

§. II. How ſpecious ſoever might be the pretences of Korah, Dathan and Abiram againſt Moſes, it was their emulation of his mighty power in the camp of Iſrael, that put them upon conſpiracies and mutinies. They longed for his authority, and their not having it was his crime: for they had a mind to be the heads and leaders of the people. The conſequence of which was, a remarkable deſtruction to themſelves, and all their unhappy accomplices.

§. III. Abſalom too was for the people's rights, againſt the tyranny of his father and his king[a]; at leaſt, with this pretence he palliated his ambition; but his rebel-

[a] 2 Sam. xv.

lion

lion ſhewed he was impatient for power, and that he reſolved to ſacrifice his duty, as a ſon and ſubject, to the importunities of his reſtleſs pride, which brought a miſerable death to himſelf, and an extraordinary ſlaughter upon his army.

§. IV. Nebuchadnezzar is a lively inſtance of the exceſſive luſt of pride for power. His ſucceſſes and empire were too heady for him: ſo much too ſtrong for his underſtanding, that he forgot he did not make himſelf, or that his power had a ſuperior. He makes an image, and all muſt bow to it, or be burnt. And when Shadrach, Meſhach, and Abednego refuſed to comply, 'Who (ſays he) is that God that ſhall deliver you 'out of my hands[b]?' And notwithſtanding the convictions he had upon him, at the conſtancy of thoſe excellent men, and Daniel's interpretation of his dreams, it was not long before the pride of his power had filled his heart, and then his mouth, with this haughty queſtion, 'Is not this great Babylon that I have built 'for the houſe of the kingdom by the might of my 'power, and for the honour of my majeſty[c]?' But we are told, that while the words were in his mouth, 'a 'voice from heaven rebuked the pride of his ſpirit, and 'he was driven from the ſociety of men, to graze 'among the beaſts of the field.'

§. V. If we look into the hiſtories of the world, we ſhall find many inſtances to prove the miſchief of this luſt of pride. I will mention a few of them for their ſakes, who have either not read or conſidered them.

Solon made Athens free by his excellent conſtitution of laws: but the ambition of Piſiſtratus began the ruin of it before his eyes. Alexander, not contented with his own kingdom, invades others, and filled with ſpoil and ſlaughter thoſe countries he ſubdued: and it was not ill ſaid by him, who, when Alexander accuſed him of piracy, told him to his face, that Alexander was the greateſt pirate in the world. It was the ſame ambition that made Cæſar turn traitor to his maſters, and

[b] Dan. iii. [c] Dan. iv. 30.

with their own army, put into his hand for their ſervice, ſubdue them to his yoke, and uſurp the government; which ended in the expulſion of freedom and virtue together in that common-wealth: for goodneſs quickly grew to be faction in Rome; and that ſobriety and wiſdom, which ever rendered her ſenators venerable, became dangerous to their ſafety: inſomuch that his ſucceſſors hardly left one they did not kill or baniſh; unleſs ſuch as turned to be flatterers of their unjuſt acquiſition, and the imitators of their debauched manners.

§. VI. The Turks are a great proof to the point in hand; who, to extend their dominion, have been the cauſe of ſhedding much blood, and laying many ſtately countries waſte. And yet they are to be out-done by apoſtate Chriſtians; whoſe practice is therefore more condemnable, becauſe they have been better taught: they have had a maſter of another doctrine and example. It is true, they call him Lord ſtill, but let their ambition reign: they love power more than one another; and to get it, kill one another; though charged by him, not to ſtrive, but to love and ſerve one another[d]. And, which adds to the tragedy, all natural affection is ſacrificed to the fury of this luſt: and therefore are ſtories ſo often ſtained with the murder of parents, children, uncles, nephews, maſters, &c.

§. VII. If we look abroad into remoter parts of the world, we ſhall rarely hear of wars; but in Chriſtendom, of peace. A very trifle is too often made a ground of quarrel here: nor can any league be ſo ſacred or inviolable, that arts ſhall not be uſed to evade and diſſolve it, to increaſe dominion. No matter who, nor how many, are ſlain, made widows and orphans, or loſe their eſtates and livelihoods: what countries are ruined; what towns and cities ſpoiled; if by all theſe things the ambitious can but arrive at their ends? To go no farther back than ſixty years, that little period of time will furniſh us with many wars begun upon ill grounds, and

[d] Mat. xviii. 1 to 6. Mark ix. 33 to 37.

ended

ended in great desolation. Nay, the last twelve years of our time make as pregnant a demonstration, as we can furnish ourselves with from the records of any age. It is too tedious, nor is it my business to be particular: It has been often well observed by others, and is almost known to all; I mean the French, Spanish, German, English, and Dutch wars.

§. VIII. But ambition does not only dwell in courts and senates: it is too natural to every private breast to strain for power. We daily see how much men labour their utmost wit and interest to be great, to get higher places, or greater titles than they have, that they may look bigger, and be more acknowledged; take place of their former equals, and so equal those that were once their superiors; compel friends, and be revenged on enemies. This makes Christianity so little loved of worldly men, it's kingdom is not of this world; and though they may speak it fair, it is the world they love; that without uncharitableness we may truly say, people profess Christianity, but they follow the world. They are not for seeking the kingdom of heaven first[e], and the righteousness thereof, and to trust God with the rest; but for securing to themselves the wealth and glory of this world, and adjourning the care of salvation to a sick-bed, and the extreme moments of life; if yet they believe a life to come.

§. IX. To conclude this head; great is their peace, who know a limit to their ambitious minds, that have learnt to be contented with the appointments and bounds of providence; that are not careful to be great, but being great, are humble, and do good. Such keep their wits with their consciences, and with an even mind, can at all times measure the uneven world, rest fixed in the midst of all its uncertainties, and as becomes those who have an interest in a better, in the good time and will of God, chearfully leave this; when the ambitious, conscious of their evil practices, and weighed down to their graves with guilt, must go to a tribunal, that they can neither awe nor bribe.

[e] Mat. vi. 33.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

§. 1. The third evil effect of pride is love of honour and respect. Too many are guilty of it. §. 2. It had like to have cost Mordecai dear. Great mischief has befallen nations on this account. §. 3. The world is out in the business of true honour, as well as in that of true science. §. 4. Reasons why the author, and the rest of the people he walks with, use not these fashions. §. 5. The first is, the sense they had in the hour of their conviction, of the unsuitableness of them to the Christian spirit and practice, and that the root they came from was pride and self-love. §. 6. Reproach could not move them from that sense and practice accordingly. §. 7. They do it not to make sects, or for distinction. §. 8. Nor yet to countenance formality, but passively let drop vain customs, and so are negative to forms. §. 9. Their behaviour is a test upon the world. §. 10. And this cross to the world a test upon them. §. 11. The second reason against them is their emptiness. §. 12. Honour in scripture, is not so taken as it is in the world. It is used for obedience. §. 13. It is used for preferment. §. 14. A digression about folly in a scripture sense. §. 15. Honour is used for reputation. §. 16. Honour is also attributed to functions and capacities, by way of esteem. §. 17. Honour is taken for help and countenance of inferiors. §. 18. Honour is used for service and esteem to all states and capacities: honour all men. §. 19. Yet there is a limitation in a sense to the righteous by the Psalmist; to honour the godly and contemn the wicked. §. 20. Little of this honour found in the world's fashions. §. 21. The third reason against them is, they mock and cheat people of the honour due to them. §. 22. The author and his friends are for true honour. §. 23. The fourth reason is, that if the fashions carried true honour in them, the debauched could honour men, which cannot be. §. 24. The fifth reason is, that then men of spite, hypocrisy, and revenge, could

pay

pay honour, which is impossible. §. 25. The sixth reason is drawn from the rise of the vain honour. §. 26. The seventh reason is from the rise of the vain honour, and the teachers of it, wherein the clown, upon a comparison, excels the courtier for a man of breeding. §. 27. The eighth reason against these honours is, that they may be had for money, which true honour cannot be. §. 28. The ninth and last reason is, because the holy scripture expresly forbids them to true Christians. §. 29. As in the case of Mordecai. §. 30. A passage between a bishop and the author in this matter. §. 31. Likewise the case of Elihu in Job. §. 32. Also the doctrine of Christ to his disciples. §. 33. Paul against conforming to the world's fashions. §. 34. Peter against fashioning ourselves according to the world's lusts. §. 35. James against respect to persons. §. 36. Yet Christians are civil and mannerly in a right way. §. 37. But unlike the world in the nature of it, and motives to it. §. 38. Testimonies in favour of our dissent and practice.

§. I. THE third evil effect of pride, is, an excessive desire of personal honour and respect.

Pride therefore loves power, that she might have homage, and that every one may give her honour; and such as are wanting in that, expose themselves to her anger and revenge. And as pride, so this evil effect, is more or less diffused through corrupt mankind; and has been the occasion of great animosity and mischief in the world.

§. II. We have a pregnant instance in holy writ, what malice and revenge the stomach of proud man is capable of, when not gratified in this particular. It had almost cost Mordecai his neck, and the whole people of the Jews their lives, because he would not bow himself to Haman, who was a great favourite to king Ahasuerus. And the practice of the world, even in our own age, will tell us, that not striking a flag or sail; and not saluting certain ports or garrisons; yea, less things have

have given rise to mighty wars between states and kingdoms, to the expence of much treasure, but more blood. The like has followed about the precedency of princes, and their ambassadors. Also the envy, quarrels and mischiefs, that have happened among private persons, upon conceit that they have not been respected to their degree of quality among men, with hat, knee, or title: to be sure duels and murders not a few. I was once myself in France * set upon about eleven at night, as I was walking to my lodging, by a person that way-laid me, with his naked sword in his hand, who demanded satisfaction of me for taking no notice of him, at a time when he civilly saluted me with his hat; though the truth was, I saw him not when he did it. I will suppose he had killed me, for he made several passes at me, or I in my defence had killed him, when I disarmed him, (as the earl of Crawford's servant saw, that was by) I ask any man of understanding or conscience, if the whole ceremony were worth the life of a man, considering the dignity of the nature, and the importance of the life of man, both with respect to God his creator, himself, and the benefit of civil society?

§. III. But the truth is, the world, under its degeneracy from God, is as much out of the way, as to true honour and respect, as in other things; for meer shews (and those vain ones too) are much of the honour and respect that are expressed in the world: that a man may say concerning them, as the apostle speaks of science, that is, they are honours and respects "falsly so called;" having nothing of the nature of true honour and respect in them: but as degenerate men, loving to be honoured, first devised them; so pride only loves and seeks them, and is affronted and angry for want of them. Did men know a true Christian state, and the honour that comes from above, which Jesus teaches [a], they would not covet these very vanities, much less insist upon them.

* Which was before I professed the communion I am now of.
[a] John v. 44.

§. IV.

§. IV. And here give me leave to set down the reasons more particularly, why I, and the people with whom I walk in religious society, have declined as vain and foolish, several worldly customs and fashions of respect, much in request at this time of day: and I beseech thee, reader, to lay aside all prejudice and scorn, and with the meekness and enquiry of a sober and discreet mind, read and weigh what may be here alledged in our defence: and if we are mistaken, rather pity and inform, than despise and abuse, our simplicity.

§. V. The first and most pressing motive upon our spirits to decline the practice of these present customs of pulling off the hat, bowing the body or knee, and giving people gaudy titles and epithets, in our salutations and addresses, was, that savour, sight, and sense, that God, by his light and spirit, has given us of the Christian world's apostasy from God, and the cause and effects of that great and lamentable defection. In the discovery of which, the sense of our state came first before us, and we were made to see him whom we pierced, and to mourn for it. A day of humiliation overtook us, and we fainted to that pleasure and delight we once loved. Now our works went beforehand to judgment, and a thorough search was made, and the words of the prophet became well understood by us: 'Who can abide the day of his coming? And who shall 'stand when he appears? He is like a refiner's fire, and 'like fuller's soap[b].' And, as the apostle said, 'If the 'righteous scarcely be saved, where shall the ungodly 'and the sinner appear?' 'Wherefore, says the apostle 'Paul, knowing the terrors of the Lord, we persuade 'men[c]:' what to do? To come out of the nature, spirit, lusts, and customs of this wicked world: remembering that, as Jesus has said, for every idle word that man speaketh, he shall give an account in the day of judgment[d].

This concern of mind, and dejection of spirit, was visible to our neighbours; and we are not ashamed to

[b] Mal. iii. 2. [c] 1 Pet. iv. 18. 2 Cor. v. 11. [d] Mat. xii. 36.

own,

own, that the terrors of the Lord took ſuch hold upon us, becauſe we had long under a profeſſion of religion grieved God's Holy Spirit, that reproved us in ſecret for our diſobedience; that as we abhorred to think of continuing in our old ſins, ſo we feared to uſe lawful things, leſt we ſhould uſe them unlawfully. The words of the prophet were fulfilled on us: 'Wherefore do I ſee 'every man with his hands on his loins, as a woman in 'travail[e]?' Many a pang and throe have we had; our heaven ſeemed to melt away, and our earth to be removed out of its place; and we were like men, as the apoſtle ſaid, 'upon whom the ends of the world 'were come.' God knows it was ſo in this day, the brightneſs of his coming to our ſouls diſcovered, and the breath of his mouth deſtroyed, every plant he had not planted in us. He was a ſwift witneſs againſt every evil thought, and every unfruitful work; and, bleſſed be his name, we were not offended in him, or at his righteous judgments. Now it was, that a grand inqueſt came upon our whole life: every word, thought, and deed was brought to judgment; the root examined, and its tendency conſidered. 'The luſt of the 'eye, the luſt of the fleſh, and the pride of life, were 'opened to our view; the myſtery of iniquity in us[f].' And by knowing the evil leaven, and its divers evil effects in ourſelves, how it had wrought, and what it had done, we came to have a ſenſe and knowledge of the ſtates of others: and what we could not, nay, we dare not let live and continue in ourſelves (as being manifeſted to us to proceed from an evil principle in the time of man's degeneracy) we could not comply with in others. Now this I ſay, and that in the fear and preſence of the all-ſeeing juſt God, the preſent honours and reſpect of the world, among other things, became burdenſome to us: we ſaw they had no being in paradiſe, that they grew in the night-time, and came from an ill root; and that they only delighted a vain and ill mind, and that much pride and folly were in them.

[e] Jer. xxx. 6. [f] 1 John ii. 16.

§. VI.

§. VI. And though we easily foresaw the storms of reproach that would fall upon us, for our refusing to practise them; yet we were so far from being shaken in our judgment, that it abundantly confirmed our sense of them. For so exalted a thing is man, and so loving of honour and respect even from his fellow-creatures, that so soon as in tenderness of conscience towards God, we could not perform them, as formerly, he became more concerned than for all the rest of our differences, however material to salvation. So that let the honour of God, and our own salvation, do as it will, it was greater heresy and blasphemy to refuse him the homage of the hat, and his usual titles of honour; to deny to pledge his healths, or play with him at cards and dice, than any other principle we maintained; for being less in his view, it seemed not so much in his way.

§. VII. And though it be frequently objected, that we seek to set up outward forms of preciseness, and that it is but as a green ribbon, the badge of the party, the better to be known: I do declare in the fear of Almighty God, that these are but the imaginations and vain constructions of unsensible men, that have not had that sense, which the Lord hath given us, of what arises from the right and the wrong root in man: and when such censurers of our simplicity shall be inwardly touched and awakened, by the mighty power of God, and see things as they are in their proper natures and seeds, they will then know their own burden, and easily acquit us without the imputation of folly or hypocrisy therein.

§. VIII. To say, that we strain at small things, which becomes not people of so fair pretensions to liberty and freedom of spirit: I answer with meekness, truth and sobriety; first, nothing is small, that God makes matter of conscience to do, or leave undone. Next, as inconsiderable as they are made, by those that object upon us, they are much set by; so greatly, as for our not giving them, to be beaten, imprisoned, refused justice, &c. To say nothing of the derision and reproach that hath been frequently flung at us on this account. So that if we had wanted a proof of the truth of our inward belief

lief and judgment, the very practice of them that opposed it would have abundantly confirmed us. But let it suffice to us, that 'wisdom is justified of her 'children[s]:' we only passively let fall the practice of what we are taught to believe is vain and unchristian: in which we are negative to forms: for we leave off, we do not set up forms.

§. IX. The world is so set upon the ceremonious part and outside of things, that it has well beseemed the wisdom of God in all ages, to bring forth his dispensations with very different appearances to their settled customs; thereby contradicting human inventions, and proving the integrity of his confessors. Nay, it is a test upon the world: it tries what patience, kindness, sobriety, and moderation they have: if the rough and homely outside of truth stumble not their minds from the reception of it (whose beauty is within) it makes a great discovery upon them. For he who refuses a precious jewel, because it is presented in a plain box, will never esteem it to its value, nor set his heart upon keeping it: therefore I call it a test, because it shews where the hearts and affections of people stick, after all their great pretences to more excellent things.

§. X. It is also a mighty trial upon God's people, in that they are put upon the discovery of their contradiction to the customs generally received and esteemed in the world; which exposes them to the wonder, scorn, and abuse of the multitude. But there is an hidden treasure in it: it inures us to reproach, it learns us to despise the false reputation of the world, and silently to undergo the contradiction and scorn of its votaries; and finally, with a Christian meekness and patience, to overcome their injuries and reproaches. Add to this; it weans thee off thy familiars; for by being slighted of them as a ninney, a fool, a frantick, &c. thou art delivered from a greater temptation, and that is, the power and influence of their vain conversation. And, last of all, it lifts thee of the company of the blessed,

[s] Mat. xi. 19.

mocked,

mocked, perſecuted Jeſus; to fight under his banner, againſt the world, the fleſh, and the devil: that after having faithfully ſuffered with them in a ſtate of humiliation, thou mayeſt reign with him in a ſtate of glorification; who glorifies his poor, deſpiſed, conſtant followers, with the glory he had with his Father before the world began [h]. This was the firſt reaſon of our declining to practiſe the before-mentioned honours, reſpects, &c.

§. XI. The ſecond reaſon, why we decline and refuſe the preſent uſe of theſe cuſtoms in our addreſſes and ſalutations is, from the conſideration of their very emptineſs and vanity; that there is nothing of true honour and reſpect in them, ſuppoſing them not to be evil. And as religion and worſhip are degenerated into form and ceremony (and they not according to primitive practice neither) ſo is honour and reſpect too; there being little of that in the world, as well as of the other; and to be ſure, in theſe cuſtoms, none that is juſtifiable by ſcripture or reaſon.

§. XII. In ſcripture, we find the word Honour often and diverſly uſed. Firſt, for obedience: as when God ſaith, 'They that honour me [i];' that is, that keep my commandments. 'Honour the king [k];' that is, obey the king. 'Honour thy father and mother [l];' that is, (ſaith the apoſtle to the Epheſians) 'Obey thy father 'and thy mother in the Lord, for that is right [m];' take heed to their precepts and advice; preſuppoſing always, that rulers and parents command lawful things, elſe they diſhonour themſelves to enjoin unlawful things; and ſubjects and children diſhonour their ſuperiors and parents, in complying with their unrighteous commands. Alſo, Chriſt uſes this word ſo, when he ſays, 'I have not a devil, but I honour my Father, and ye 'diſhonour me [n]:' that is, I do my Father's will, in what I do; but you will not hear me; you reject my counſel, and will not obey my voice. It was not re-

[h] John xvii. 5. [i] 1 Sam. ii. 30. [k] 1 Pet. ii. 17.
[l] Exod. xx. 12. [m] Eph. vi. 1, 2. [n] John viii. 49.

fusing hat and knee, nor empty titles: no, it was disobedience; resisting him that God had sent, and not believing him. This was the dishonour he taxed them with; using him as an impostor, that God had ordained for the salvation of the world. And of these dishonourers, there are but too many at this day. Christ has a saying to the same effect; 'That all men should 'honour the Son, even as they honour the Father; and 'he that honoureth not the Son, honoureth not the 'Father, which hath sent him[o]:' that is, they that hearken not to Christ, and do not worship and obey him, they do not hear, worship, nor obey God. As they pretended to believe in God, so they were to have believed in him; he told them so. This is pregnantly manifested in the case of the centurion, whose faith was so much commended by Christ, where, giving Jesus an account of his honourable station, he tells him, 'He 'had soldiers under his authority, and when he said to 'one, Go, he went; to another, Come, he came; and 'to a third, Do this, he did it[p].' In this it was he placed the honour of his capacity, and the respect of his soldiers, and not in hats and legs: nor are such customs yet in use amongst soldiers, being effeminate, and unworthy of masculine gravity.

§. XIII. In the next place, honour is used for preferment to trust and eminent employments. So the Psalmist, speaking to God; 'For thou hast crowned him 'with glory and honour[q]:' again, 'Honour and ma'jesty hast thou laid on him[r]:' that is, God had given Christ power over all his enemies, and exalted him to great dominion. Thus the wise man intimates, when he says, 'The fear of the Lord is the instruction of 'wisdom, and before honour is humility[s].' That is, before advancement or preferment, is humility. Farther, he has this saying, 'As snow in summer, and as 'rain in harvest, so honour is not seemly for a fool[t]:' that is, a fool is not capable of the dignity of trust, em-

[o] John v. 23. [p] Luke vii. 8. [q] Psal. viii. 5. [r] Psal. xxi. 5. [s] Prov. xv. 33. [t] Prov. xxvi. 1.

ployment,

ployment, or preferment; they require virtue, wisdom, integrity, diligence, of which fools are unfurnished. And yet, if the respects and titles, in use amongst us, are to go for marks of honour, Solomon's proverb will take place, and doubtless doth, upon the practice of this age, that yields so much of that honour to a great many of Solomon's fools; who are not only silly men, but wicked too; such as refuse instruction, and hate the fear of the Lord [u]; which only maketh one of his wise men.

§. XIV. And as virtue and wisdom are the same, so folly and wickedness. Thus Sechem's ravishment of Dinah, Jacob's daughter [w], is called: so is the rebellion and wickedness of the Israelites in Joshua [x]. The Psalmist expresses it thus: 'My wounds stink because 'of my foolishness [y];' that is, his sin. And, 'The 'Lord will speak peace to his saints, that they turn 'not again to folly; [z]' that is, to evil. 'His own iniquities (says Solomon) shall take the wicked himself, and he shall be holden with the cords of his sins: 'he shall die without instruction, and in the greatness 'of his folly he shall go astray [a].' Christ puts foolishness with blasphemy, pride, thefts, murders, adulteries, wickedness [b], &c. I was the more willing to add these passages, to shew the difference that there is between the mind of the Holy Ghost, and the notion that those ages had of fools, that deserve not honour, and that which is generally meant by fools and folly in our time; that we may the better understand the disproportion there is between honour, as then understood by the Holy Ghost, and those that were led thereby; and the apprehension of it, and practice of these latter ages of professed Christians.

§. XV. But honour is also taken for reputation, and so it is understood with us: 'A gracious woman (says 'Solomon) retaineth honour [c];' that is, she keeps her credit; and, by her virtue, maintains her reputation of

[u] Prov. xiii. 18.
[w] Gen. xxxiv. 7.
[x] Josh vii. 14, 15.
[y] Psal. xxxviii. 5.
[z] Psal. lxxxv. 8.
[a] Prov. v. 22, 23.
[b] Mark vii. 21.
[c] Prov. xi. 16.

ſobriety and chaſtity. In an other place, 'It is an 'honour for a man to ceaſe from ſtrife[d]:' that is, it makes for his reputation, as a wiſe and good man. Chriſt uſes the word thus, where he ſays, 'A prophet 'is not without honour, ſave in his own country[e]:' that is, he has credit, and is valued, ſave at home. The apoſtle to the Theſſalonians has a ſaying to that effect: 'That every one of you ſhould know how to poſſeſs his 'veſſel in ſanctification and honour[f];' that is, in chaſtity and ſobriety. In all which, nothing of the faſhions by us declined is otherwiſe concerned, than to be totally excluded.

§. XVI. There is yet another uſe of the word [honour] in ſcripture, and that is to functions and capacities: as, 'an elder is worthy of double honour[g]:' that is, he deſerves double eſteem, love, and reſpect; being holy, merciful, temperate, peaceable, humble, &c. eſpecially one that 'labours in word and doctrine[h].' So Paul recommends Epaphroditus to the Philippians: 'Re-'ceive him therefore in the Lord with all gladneſs, and 'hold ſuch in reputation.' As if he had ſaid, let them be valued and regarded by you in what they ſay and teach. Which is the trueſt, and moſt natural and convincing way of teſtifying reſpect to a man of God, as Chriſt ſaid to his diſciples, 'If you love me, you will 'keep my ſayings.' Farther, the apoſtle bids us, 'to 'honour widows indeed;' that is, ſuch women as are of chaſte lives, and exemplary virtue, are honourable. Marriage is honourable too, with this proviſo, that the bed be undefiled[i]: ſo that the honour of marriage, is the chaſtity of the married.

§. XVII. The word Honour in the ſcripture, is alſo uſed of ſuperiors to inferiors; which is plain in that of Ahaſuerus to Haman: 'What ſhall be done to the 'man whom the king delighteth to honour[k]?' Why, he mightily advanced him, as Mordecai afterwards.

[d] Prov. xx. 3. [e] Mat. xiii. 57. [f] 1 Theſ. iv. 4.
[g] 1 Tim. v. 17. [h] Philip. ii. 29. [i] Heb. xiii. 4.
[k] Eſth. vi. 6.

And

And more particularly it is ſaid, 'That the Jews had 'light, and gladneſs, and joy, and honour[l]:' that is, they eſcaped the perſecution that was like to fall upon them, and, by the means of Eſther and Mordecai, they enjoyed, not only peace, but favour and countenance too. In this ſenſe, the apoſtle Peter adviſed men, 'to 'honour their wives;' that is, to love, value, cheriſh, countenance and eſteem them for their fidelity and affection to their huſbands; for their tenderneſs and care over their children, and for their diligence and circumſpection in their families[m]: there is no ceremonious behaviour, or gawdy titles, requiſite to expreſs this honour. Thus God honours holy men: 'They (ſays 'the Lord) that honour me, I will honour; and they 'that deſpiſe me, ſhall be lightly eſteemed[n]:' that is, I will do good to them, I will love, bleſs, countenance, and proſper them that honour me, that obey me: but they that deſpiſe me, that reſiſt my ſpirit, and break my law, they ſhall be lightly eſteemed, little ſet by, or accounted of; they ſhall not find favour with God, nor righteous men. And ſo we ſee it daily among men: if the great viſit, or concern themſelves to aid the poor, we ſay, that ſuch a great man did me the honour to come and ſee or help me in my need.

§. XVIII. I ſhall conclude this with one paſſage more, and that is a very large, plain, and pertinent one: 'Honour all men, and love the brotherhood[o]:' that is, love is above honour, and that is reſerved for the brotherhood. But honour, which is eſteem and regard, that thou oweſt to all men; and if all, then thy inferiors. But why, for all men? Becauſe they are the creation of God, and the nobleſt part of his creation too; they are alſo thy own kind: be natural, have bowels, and aſſiſt them with what thou canſt; be ready to perform any real reſpect, and yield them any good or countenance thou canſt.

[l] Eſth. viii. 16. [m] 1 Pet. iii. [n] 1 Sam. ii. 30. [o] 1 Pet. ii. 17.

§. XIX. And yet there seems a limitation to this command, honour all men, in that godly passage of David, 'Who shall abide in thy tabernacle? who shall 'dwell in thy holy hill? He in whose eyes a vile per-'son is contemned; but he honoureth them that fear 'the Lord[p].' Here honour is confined and affixed to godly persons, and dishonour made the duty of the righteous to the wicked, and a mark of their being righteous, that they dishonour, that is, slight or disregard, them. To conclude this scripture-enquiry after honour, I shall contract the subject of it under three capacities; superiors, equals, and inferiors: honour to superiors, is obedience; to equals, love; to inferiors, countenance and help: that is honour after God's mind, and the holy people's fashion of old.

§. XX. But how little of all this is to be seen or had in a poor empty hat, bow, cringe, or gaudy fluttering title? Let the truth-speaking witness of God in all mankind judge. For I must not appeal to corrupt, proud, and self-seeking man, of the good or evil of these customs; that, as little as he would render them, are loved and sought by him, and he is out of humour, and angry, if he has them not.

This is our second reason, why we refuse to practise the accustomed ceremonies of honour and respect, because we find no such notion or expression, of honour and respect, recommended to us by the Holy Ghost in the scriptures of truth.

§. XXI. Our third reason, for not using them as testimonies of honour and respect is, because there is no discovery of honour or respect to be made by them: it is rather eluding and equivocating it; cheating people of the honour or respect that is due to them; giving them nothing in the shew of something. There is in them no obedience to superiors; no love to equals; no help or countenance to inferiors.

§. XXII. We are, we declare to the whole world, for true honour and respect: we honour the king, our

[p] Psal. xv. 4.

parents,

parents, our maſters, our magiſtrates, our landlords, one another, yea all men, after God's way, uſed by holy men and women of old time: but we refuſe theſe cuſtoms, as vain and deceitful; not anſwering the end they are uſed for.

§. XXIII. But fourthly, there is yet more to be ſaid: we find that vain, looſe, and worldly people, are the great lovers and practiſers of them, and moſt deride our ſimplicity of behaviour. Now we aſſuredly know, from the ſacred teſtimonies, that thoſe people cannot give true honour, that live in a diſhonourable ſpirit; they underſtand it not: but they can give the hat and knee; and that they are very liberal of; nor are any more expert at it. This is to us, a proof, that no true honour can be teſtified by thoſe cuſtoms, which vanity and looſeneſs love and uſe.

§. XXIV. Next to them, I will add hypocriſy and revenge too. For how little do many care for each other? Nay, what ſpite, envy, animoſity, ſecret backbiting, and plotting one againſt another, under the uſe of theſe idle reſpects; till paſſion, too ſtrong for cunning, break through hypocriſy into open affront and revenge. It cannot be ſo with the ſcripture-honour: to obey, or prefer a man, out of ſpite, is not uſually done; and to love, help, ſerve, and countenance a perſon, in order to deceive and be revenged of him, is a thing never heard of: theſe admit of no hypocriſy, nor revenge. Men do not theſe things to palliate ill-will, which are the teſtimonies of quite the contrary. It is abſurd to imagine it, becauſe impoſſible to be done.

§. XXV. Our ſixth reaſon is, that honour was from the beginning, but hat-reſpects and moſt titles are of late: therefore there was true honour before hats or titles; and conſequently true honour ſtands not in them. And that which ever was the way to expreſs true honour, is the beſt way ſtill; and this the ſcripture teaches better than dancing-maſters can do.

§. XXVI. Seventhly, if honour conſiſts in ſuch like ceremonies, then will it follow, that they are moſt capable of ſhewing honour, who perform it moſt ex-

actly, according to the mode or fashion of the times; consequently, that man hath not the measure of true honour, from a just and reasonable principle in himself, but by the means and skill of the fantastic dancing-masters of the times: and for this cause it is we see, that many give much money to have their children learn their honours, falsly so called. And what doth this but totally exclude the poor country people; who, though they plough, sow, till, reap, go to market; and in all things obey their justices, landlords, fathers, and masters, with sincerity and sobriety, rarely use those ceremonies; but if they do, it is so awkwardly and meanly, that they are esteemed by a court-critic so ill-favoured, as only fit to make a jest of, and be laughed at: but what sober man will not deem their obedience beyond the other's vanity and hypocrisy? This base notion of honour turns out of doors the true, and sets the false in it's place. Let it be farther considered, that the way or fashion of doing it is much more in the design of it's performers, as well as view of it's spectators, than the respect itself. Whence it is commonly said, he is a man of good mein; or, she is a woman of exact behaviour. And what is this behaviour, but fantastic, cramp postures, and cringings, unnatural to their shape, and if it were not fashionable, ridiculous to the view of all people; and therefore to the Eastern countries a proverb.

§. XXVII. But yet eighthly, real honour consists not in a hat, bow, or title, because all these things may be had for money. For which reason, how many dancing-schools, plays, &c. are there in the land, to which youth are generally sent to be educated in these vain fashions? whilst they are ignorant of the honour that is of God, and their minds are allured to visible things that perish; and instead of remembering their Creator, are taken up with toys and foperies; and sometimes so much worse, as to cost themselves a disinheriting, and their indiscreet parents grief and misery all their days. If parents would honour God in the help of his poor, with

with the ſubſtance they beſtow on ſuch an education, they would find a better account in the end[q].

§. XXVIII. But laſtly, We cannot eſteem bows, titles, and pulling off of hats, to be real honour, becauſe ſuch like cuſtoms, have been prohibited by God, his Son and ſervants in days paſt. This I ſhall endeavour to ſhew by three or four expreſs authorities.

§. XXIX. My firſt example and authority is taken from the ſtory of Mordecai and Haman; ſo cloſe to this point, that methinks it ſhould at leaſt command ſilence to the objections frequently advanced againſt us. Haman was firſt miniſter of ſtate, and favourite to king Ahaſuerus. The text ſays, 'That the king ſet his ſeat 'above all the princes that were with him; and all the 'king's ſervants bowed and reverenced Haman; for 'the king had ſo commanded concerning him: but 'Mordecai (it ſeems) bowed not, nor did him rever-'ence[r].' This, at firſt, made ill for Mordecai: a gallows was prepared for him at Haman's command. But the ſequel of the ſtory ſhews, that Haman proved his own invention, and ended his pride with his life upon it. Well now, ſpeaking as the world ſpeaks, and looking upon Mordecai without the knowledge of the ſucceſs; was not Mordecai a very clown, at leaſt a ſilly, moroſe, and humourous man, to run ſuch a hazard for a trifle? What hurt had it done him to have bowed to, and honoured one the king honoured? did he not deſpiſe the king, in diſregarding Haman? nay, had not the king commanded that reſpect? and are not we to honour and obey the king? One would have thought, he might have bowed for the king's ſake, whatever he had in his heart, and yet have come off well enough; for that he bowed not merely to Haman, but to the king's authority; beſides, it was but an innocent ceremony. But it ſeems, Mordecai was too plain and ſtout, and not fine and ſubtil enough to avoid the diſpleaſure of Haman.

[q] Prov. iii. 9. [r] Eſth. iii. 1, 2.

Howbeit,

Howbeit, he was an excellent man: 'he feared God, 'and wrought righteousness.' And in this very thing also, he pleased God, and even the king too at last, that had most cause to be angry with him: for he advanced him to Haman's dignity; and, if it could be, to greater honour. It is true, sad news first came; no less than destruction to Mordecai, and the whole people of the Jews besides, for his sake: but Mordecai's integrity and humiliation, his fasting and strong cries to God prevailed, and the people were saved, and poor condemned Mordecai comes, after all, to be exalted above the princes. O this has great doctrine in it, to all those that are in their spiritual exercises and temptations, whether in this or any other respect! They that endure faithful in that which they are convinced God requires of them, though against the grain and humour of the world, and themselves too, they shall find a blessed recompence in the end. My brethren, remember the cup of cold water! 'We shall reap, if we faint "not:' and call to mind, that our captain bowed not to him that told him, 'If thou wilt fall down and wor-'ship me, I will give thee all the glory of the world[a]:' shall we bow then? O no! let us follow our blessed leader.

§. XXX. But before I leave this section, it is fit I add, that in conference with a late bishop (and none of the least eminent) upon this subject and instance, I remember he sought to evade it thus: Mordecai (says he) did not refuse to bow, as it was a testimony of respect to the king's favourite; but he being a figure and type of Christ, he refused it, because Haman was of the uncircumcision, and ought to bow to him rather. To which I replied; that allowing Mordecai to be a figure of Christ, and the Jews of God's people or church; and that as the Jews were saved by Mordecai, so the church is saved by Christ; this makes for me: for then, by that reason, the spiritual circumcision, or people of Christ, are not to receive and bow to the fashions and customs of the spiritual uncircumcision, who are the children of the world; of which, such as were condemnable so long ago, in the time of the type and figure,

[a] Mat. iv. 8, 9.

can

can by no means be justifiably received or practised in the time of the anti-type or substance itself. On the contrary, this shews expressly, we are faithfully to decline such worldly customs, and not to fashion ourselves according to the conversation of earthly-minded people; but be renewed and changed in our ways; and keep close to our Mordecai, who having not bowed, we must not bow, that are his people and followers. And whatever be our suffering, or reproaches, they will have an end: Mordecai, our captain, that appears for his people throughout all the provinces, in the king's gate, will deliver us at last; and, for his sake, we shall be favoured and loved of the king himself too. So powerful is faithful Mordecai at last. Therefore let us all look to Jesus, our Mordecai, the Israel indeed; he that has power with God, and would not bow in the hour of temptation, but has mightily prevailed; and therefore is a prince for ever, and of his government there shall never be an end.

§. XXXI. The next scripture-instance I urge against these customs, is a passage in Job, thus expressed; 'Let me not, I pray you, accept any man's person; 'neither let me give flattering titles unto man, for I 'know not to give flattering titles; in so doing my 'Maker would soon take me away[t].' The question that will arise upon the allegation of this scripture, is this, viz. What titles are flattering? The answer is as obvious, namely, Such as are empty and fictitious, and make him more than he is. As to call a man what he is not, to please him; or to exalt him beyond his true name, office, or desert, to gain upon his affection; who, it may be, lusteth to honour and respect: such as these, Most excellent, most sacred, your grace, your lordship, most dread majesty, right honourable, right worshipful, may it please your majesty, your grace, your lordship, your honour, your worship, and the like unnecessary titles and attributes; calculated only to please and tickle poor, proud, vain, yet mortal man. Likewise to call man what he is not, as my lord, my master,

[t] Job xxxii. 21, 22.

&c.

&c. and wise, just, or good, (when he is neither) only to please him, or shew him respect.

It was familiar thus to do among the Jews, under their degeneracy; wherefore one came to Christ and said; 'Good master, what shall I do to have eternal life[u]?' It was a salutation or address of respect in those times. It is familiar now: good my lord, good sir, good master, do this, or do that. But what was Christ's answer? how did he take it? 'Why callest thou me good?' says Christ, 'there is none good save one, that is God.' He rejected it, that had more right to keep it than all mankind: and why? because there was no one greater than he; and that he saw the man addressed it to his manhood, after the way of the times, and not his divinity which dwelt within it; therefore Christ refuses it, shewing and instructing us that we should not give such epithets and titles commonly to men: for good being due alone to God and godliness, it can only be said in flattery to fallen man, and therefore sinful to be so said.

This plain and exact life well became him that was on purpose manifested to return and restore man from his lamentable degeneracy, to the innocency and purity of his first creation, who has taught us to be careful, how we use and give attributes unto man, by that most severe saying, 'That every idle word that men shall speak, 'they shall give an account thereof in the day of judg-'ment[w].' And that which should warn all men of the latitude they take therein, and sufficiently justify our tenderness, is this, that man can scarcely commit greater injury and offence against Almighty God, than to ascribe any of his attributes unto man, the creature of his word, and the work of his hands. He is a jealous God of his honour, and will not give his glory unto another. Besides, it is so near the sin of the aspiring, fallen angels, that affected to be greater and better than they were made and stated by the great Lord of all; and to entitle man to a station above his make and orb looks so like idolatry (the unpardonable sin under the law) that it is hard to think, how men and

[u] Luke xvii. 13, 19. [w] Mat. xii. 36.

women

women professing Christianity, and seriously reflecting upon their vanity and evil in these things, can continue in them, much less plead for them, and least of all reproach and deride those that through tenderness of conscience cannot use and give them. It seems that Elihu did not dare to do it; but put such weight upon the matter, as to give this for one reason of his forbearance, to wit, 'Lest my Maker should soon take me away:' that is, for fear God should strike me dead, I dare not give man titles, that are above him, or titles merely to please him. I may not, by any means, gratify that spirit which lusteth after such things. God is to be exalted, and man abased. God is jealous of man's being set higher than his station: he will have him keep his place, know his original, and remember the rock from whence he came: and what he has is borrowed, not his own, but his Maker's, who brought him forth, and sustained him; which man is very apt to forget. And lest I should be accessary to it by flattering titles, instead of telling him truly and plainly what he is, and using him as he ought to be treated, and thereby provoke my Maker to displeasure, and he, in his anger and jealousy, should take me soon away, or bring sudden death, and an untimely end upon me, I dare not use, I dare not give, such titles unto men.

§. XXXII. But if we had not this to alledge from the old-testament-writings, it should and ought to suffice with Christians, that these customs are severely censured by the great Lord and Master of all their religion; who is so far from putting people upon giving honour one to another, that he will not indulge them in it, whatever be the customs of the country they live in: for he charges it upon the Jews, as a mark of their apostasy: 'How can ye believe, which receive honour one 'of another, and seek not the honour that cometh 'from God only?' Where their infidelity concerning Christ is made the effect of seeking worldly, and not heavenly honour only. And the thing is not hard to apprehend, if we consider, that self-love, and desire of honour from men, is inconsistent with the love and humility

mility of Christ. They sought the good opinion and respect of the world; how then was it possible, they should leave all and follow him, whose kingdom is not of this world; and that came in a way so cross to the mind and humour of it? and that this was the meaning of our Lord Jesus, is plain: for he tells us, what that honour was, they gave and received, which he condemns them for, and of which he bid the disciples of his humility and cross beware. His words are these (and he speaks them not of the rabble, but of the doctors, the great men, the men of honour among the Jews) 'They love (says he) the uppermost rooms at 'feasts[x];' that is, places of greatest rank and respect; 'and greetings,' that is, salutations of respect, such as pulling off the hat, and bowing the body, are in our age; 'in the market-places[y],' viz. in the places of note and concourse, the public walks and exchanges of the country). And, lastly, 'They love (says Christ) to be 'called of men, Rabbi, Rabbi:' one of the most eminent titles among the Jews. A word comprehending an excellency equal to many titles: it may stand for your grace, your lordship, right reverend father, &c. It is upon these men of breeding and quality, that he pronounces his woes, making these practices some of the evil marks, by which to know them, as well as some of the motives of his threatnings against them. But he leaves it not here; he pursues this very point of honour, above all the rest, in his caution to his disciples; to whom he gave in charge thus: 'But be not ye called 'Rabbi, for one is your master, even Christ, and all 'ye are brethren. Neither be ye called masters; but 'he that is greatest among you shall be your servant: 'and whosoever shall exalt himself, shall be abased.' Plain it is, that these passages carry a severe rebuke, both to worldly honour in general, and to those members and expressions of it in particular, which, as near as the language of scripture and customs of that age will permit, do distinctly reach and allude to those of our

[x] Mat. xxiii. 6. [y] Mark xii. 38. Luke xi. 43.

own time; for the declining of which, we have suffered so much scorn and abuse, both in our persons and estates: God forgive the unreasonable authors of it!

§. XXXIII. The apostle Paul has a saying of great weight and fervency, in his epistle to the Romans, very agreeable to this doctrine of Christ; it is this: 'I beseech you therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, 'that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service: 'and be not conformed to this world, but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind, that ye may 'prove what is that good, and acceptable, and perfect 'will of God[z].' He writ to a people in the midst of the ensnaring pomp and glory of the world: Rome was the seat of Cæsar, and the empire: the mistress of invention. Her fashions, as those of France now, were as laws to the world, at least at Rome: whence it is proverbial;

Cum fueris Romæ, Romano vivito more.
When thou art at Rome, thou must do as Rome does.

But the apostle is of another mind: he warns the Christians of that city, 'that they be not conformed;' that is, that they do not follow the vain fashions and customs of this world, but leave them: the emphasis lies upon This, as well as upon Conformed: and it imports, that this world, which they were not to conform to, was the corrupt and degenerate condition of mankind in that age. Wherefore the apostle proceeds to exhort those believers, and that by the mercies of God, (the most powerful and winning of all arguments) 'that they would be transformed;' that is, changed from the way of life, customary among the Romans; 'and prove what is that acceptable will of God.' As if he had said, examine what you do and practise; see if it be right, and that it please God: call every thought, word, and action to judgment; try whether they are wrought in God or not; that so you may prove

[z] Rom. xii, 1, 2.

or

or know what is that good, and acceptable, and perfect will of God [a].

§. XXXIV. The next ſcripture-authority we appeal to, in our vindication, is a paſſage of the apoſtle Peter, in his firſt epiſtle, writ to the believing ſtrangers throughout the countries of Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Aſia, and Bithynia; which were the churches of Chriſt Jeſus in thoſe parts of the world, gathered up by his power and ſpirit: it is this, 'Gird up the loins 'of your mind; be ſober, and hope to the end, for 'the grace that is to be brought unto you at the reve-'lation of Jeſus Chriſt; as obedient children, not 'faſhioning yourſelves according to the former luſts of 'your ignorance [b].' That is, be not found in the vain faſhions and cuſtoms of the world, unto which you conformed in your former ignorance: but as ye have believed in a more plain and excellent way, ſo be ſober and fervent, and hope to the end: do not give out; let them mock on; bear ye the contradiction of ſinners conſtantly, as obedient children, that you may receive the kindneſs of God, at the revelation of Jeſus Chriſt. And therefore does the apoſtle call them 'ſtrangers (a figurative ſpeech) people eſtranged from 'the cuſtoms of the world, of new faith and manners; and ſo unknown of the world:' and if ſuch ſtrangers, then not to be faſhioned or conformed to their pleaſing reſpects and honours, whom they were eſtranged from: becauſe the ſtrangeneſs lay in leaving that which was cuſtomary and familiar to them before. The following words (ver 17.) proved he uſed the word ſtrangers in a ſpiritual ſenſe; 'Paſs the time of your ſojourning 'here in fear;' that is, paſs the time of your being here as ſtrangers on earth in fear: not after the faſhions of the world. A word in the next chapter farther explains this ſenſe, where he tells the believers, that 'they are a peculiar people;' to wit, a diſtinct, a ſingular and ſeparate people from the reſt of the world; not any longer to faſhion themſelves according to their

[a] John iii. 21, 22. [b] 1 Pet. i. 13, 14.

cuſtoms

customs: but I do not know how that could be, if they were to live in communion with the world, in its respects and honours; for that is not to be a peculiar or separate people from them, but to be like them, because conformable to them.

§. XXXV. I shall conclude my scripture-testimonies against the foregoing respects, with that memorable and close passage of the apostle James, against respect to persons in general, after the world's fashion: 'My 'brethren, have not the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, 'the Lord of glory, with respect of persons: for if 'there come unto your assembly, a man with a gold 'ring, in goodly apparel; and there come in also a 'poor man, in vile raiment, and ye have respect to him 'that weareth the gay cloathing, and say unto him, 'sit thou here in a goodly place (or well and seemly, 'as the word is) and say to the poor, stand thou there, 'or sit here under my footstool; are ye not then partial in yourselves, and are become judges of evil 'thoughts[c] [that is, they knew they did amiss]? If 'ye fulfil the royal law, according to the scripture, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself, ye do well; 'but if ye have respect to persons, ye commit sin, and 'are convinced of the law as transgressors[d].' This is so full, there seems nothing left for me to add, or others to object. We are not to respect persons, that is the first thing: and the next is, if we do, we commit sin, and break the law: at our own peril be it. And yet, perhaps, some will say, that by this we overthrow all manner of distinction among men, under their divers qualities, and introduce a reciprocal and relational respect in the room of it: but if it be so, I cannot help it, the apostle James must answer for it, who has given us this doctrine for Christian and Apostolical. And yet one greater than he told his disciples, of whom James was one, viz. 'Ye know that the prin-'ces of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them, &c. 'But it shall not be so among you; but whosoever will

[c] James ii. 1, 2, 3, 4. [d] James ii. 8.

'be great among you, let him be your minister; and 'whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your 'servant*:' that is, he that affects rule, and seeks to be uppermost, shall be esteemed least among you. And to say true, upon the whole matter, whether we regard those early times of the world, that were antecedent to the coming of Christ, or soon after, there was yet a greater simplicity, than in the times in which we are fallen. For those early times of the world, as bad as they were in other things, were great strangers to the frequency of these follies: nay, they hardly used some of them, at least very rarely. For if we read the scriptures, such a thing as my lord Adam, (though lord of the world) is not to be found; nor my lord Noah neither, the second lord of the earth; nor yet my lord Abraham, the father of the faithful; nor my lord Isaac; nor my lord Jacob: but much less my lord Peter, and my lord Paul, to be found in the bible: and less your holiness, or your grace. Nay, among the Gentiles, the people wore their own names with more simplicity, and used not the ceremoniousness of speech that is now practised among Christians, nor yet any thing like it. My lord Solon, my lord Phocion, my lord Plato, my lord Aristotle, my lord Scipio, my lord Fabius, my lord Cato, my lord Cicero, are not to be read in any of the Greek or Latin stories, and yet they were some of the sages and heroes of those great empires. No, their own names were enough to distinguish them from other men, and their virtue and employment in the public were their titles of honour. Nor has this vanity yet crept far into the Latin writers, where it is familiar for authors to cite the most learned, and the most noble, without any addition to their names, unless worthy or learned: and if their works give it them, we make conscience to deny it them. For instance: the fathers they only cite thus; Polycarpus, Ignatius, Irenæus, Cyprian, Tertullian, Origen, Arnobius, Lactantius, Chrysostom, Jerom,

* Mat. xx. 25, 26, 27.

&c.

&c. More modern writers; Damascen, Rabanus, Paschasius, Theophylact, Bernard, &c. And of the last age; Luther, Melancthon, Calvin, Beza, Zuinglius, Marlorat, Vossius, Grotius, Dalleus, Amaraldus, &c. And of our own country; Gildas, Beda, Alcuinus, Horn, Bracton, Grosteed, Littleton, Cranmer, Ridley, Jewel, Whitaker, Selden, &c. And, yet, I presume, this will not be thought uncivil or rude. Why then is our simplicity (and so honestly grounded too, as conscience against pride in man, that so eagerly and perniciously loves and seeks worship and greatness) so much despised and abused, and that by professed Christians too, who take themselves to be the followers of him, that has forbid these foolish customs, as plainly as any other impiety condemned in his doctrine? I earnestly beg the lovers, users, and expecters of these ceremonies, to let this I have writ have some consideration and weight with them.

§. XXXVI. However, Christians are not so ill-bred as the world thinks: for they shew respect too: But the difference between them lies in the nature of the respect they perform, and the reasons of it. The world's respect is an empty ceremony, no soul or substance in it: the Christian's is a solid thing, whether by obedience to superiors, love to equals, or help and countenance to inferiors. Next, their reasons and motives to honour and respect, are as wide one from the other: for fine apparel, empty titles, or large revenues, are the world's motives, being things her children worship: but the Christian's motive is, the sense of his duty in God's sight; first, to parents and magistrates; and then to inferior relations; and lastly, to all people, according to their virtue, wisdom, and piety: which is far from respect to the meer persons of men, or having their persons in admiration for reward; much less on such mean and base motives as wealth and sumptuous raiment.

§. XXXVII. We shall easily grant, our honour, as our religion, is more hidden; and that neither is so discernible by worldly men, nor grateful to them.

Our plainneſs is odd, uncouth, and goes mightily againſt the grain; but ſo does Chriſtianity too, and that for the ſame reaſons. But had not the heathen ſpirit prevailed too long under a Chriſtian profeſſion, it would not be ſo hard to diſcern the right from the wrong. O that Chriſtians would look upon themſelves, with the glaſs of righteouſneſs, that which tells true, and gives them an exact knowledge of themſelves! and then let them examine, what in them, and about them, agrees with Chriſt's doctrine and life; and they may ſoon reſolve, whether they are real Chriſtians, or but Heathens chriſtened with the name of Chriſtians.

Some teſtimonies from ancient and modern writers, in favour of our behaviour.

§. XXXVIII. Marlorat out of Luther, and Calvin, upon that remarkable paſſage, I juſt now urged from the apoſtle James, gives us the ſenſe thoſe primitive reformers had of reſpect to perſons, in theſe words, viz. "To reſpect perſons (here) is to have regard to the habit and garb: the apoſtle ſignifies, that ſuch reſpecting perſons are ſo contrary to true faith, that they are altogether inconſiſtent: but if the pomp, and other worldly regards, prevail, and weaken what is of Chriſt, it is a ſign of a decaying faith; yea, ſo great is the glory and ſplendor of Chriſt, in a pious ſoul, that all the glories of the world have no charms, no beauty, in compariſon of that, unto one ſo righteouſly inclined: the apoſtle maketh ſuch reſpecting of perſons, to be repugnant to the light (within them) inſomuch, as they, who follow thoſe practices, are condemned from within themſelves. So that ſanctity ought to be the reaſon, or motive, of all outward reſpects; and that none is to be honoured, upon any account, but holineſs:" thus much Marlorat. But if this be true doctrine, we are much in the right in refuſing conformity to the vain reſpects of worldly men.

§. XXXIX. But I ſhall add to theſe the admonition of a learned ancient writer, who lived about 1200 years ſince,

ſince, of great eſteem, namely, Jerom, who, writing to a noble matron, Celantia, directing her how to live in the midſt of her proſperity and honours, amongſt many other religious inſtructions, ſpeaks thus: "Heed not thy nobility, nor let that be a reaſon for thee to take place of any; eſteem not thoſe of a meaner extraction to be thy inferiors; for our religion admits of no reſpect of perſons, nor doth it induce us to repute men from any external condition, but from their inward frame and diſpoſition of mind: it is hereby that we pronounce men noble or baſe. With God, not to ſerve ſin, is to be free; and to excel in virtue, is to be noble: God has choſen the mean and contemptible of this world, whereby to humble the great ones. Beſides, it is a folly for any to boaſt his gentility, ſince all are equally eſteemed by God. The ranſom of the poor and rich coſt Chriſt an equal expence of blood. Nor is it material in what ſtate a man is born; the new creature hath no diſtinction. But if we will forget, how we all deſcended from one Father, we ought at leaſt perpetually to remember, that we have but one Saviour."

§. XL. But ſince I am engaged againſt theſe fond and fruitleſs cuſtoms, (the proper effects and delights of vain and proud minds) let me yet add one memorable paſſage more, as it is related by the famous Cauſabon, in his Diſcourſe of Uſe and Cuſtom; where he briefly reports what paſſed between Sulpitius Severus, and Paulinus, biſhop of Nola, (but ſuch an one as gave all to redeem captives, whilſt others of that function, that they may ſhow who is their maſter, are making many both beggars and captives, by countenancing the plunder and impriſonment of Chriſtians, for pure conſcience to God) he brings it in thus: "He is not counted a civil man now, of late years amongſt us, who thinks it much, or refuſeth, to ſubſcribe himſelf ſervant, though it be to his equal or inferior. Yet Sulpitius Severus was once ſharply chid by Paulinus, for ſubſcribing himſelf his ſervant, in a letter of his; ſaying, Take heed hereafter, how Thou, being from a ſervant

called into liberty, doſt ſubſcribe thyſelf ſervant unto one who is thy brother and fellow-ſervant; for it is a ſinful flattery, not a teſtimony of humility, to pay thoſe honours to a man, and a ſinner, which are due to the one Lord, and one maſter, and one God." This biſhop was (as it ſeems) of Chriſt's mind, 'Why calleſt thou 'me good? there is none good but one.' By this we may ſee the ſenſe of ſome of the more apoſtolical biſhops about the civilities and faſhions, ſo much reputed with people that call themſelves Chriſtians and Biſhops, and who would be thought their ſucceſſors. It was then a ſin, it is now an accompliſhment; it was then a flattery, it is now reſpect; it was then fit to be ſeverely reproved; and now, alas! it is to deſerve ſevere reproof not to uſe it. O monſtrous vanity! how much, how deeply, have thoſe who are called Chriſtians revolted from the plainneſs of the primitive days, and practice of holy men and women in former ages! How are they become degenerated into the looſe, proud, and wanton cuſtoms of the world, which knows not God; to whom uſe hath made theſe things, condemned by ſcripture, reaſon and example, almoſt natural! And ſo inſenſible are they of both their cauſe and bad effects, that they not only continue to practiſe them, but plead for them, and unchriſtianly make a very mock of thoſe who cannot imitate them. But I ſhall proceed to what remains yet farther to be ſaid in our defence for declining another cuſtom, which helps to make us ſo much the ſtumbling-block of this light, vain, and inconſiderate age.

CHAP. X.

§. 1. Another piece of non-conformity to the world, which is our ſimple and plain ſpeech, Thou for You. §. Juſtified from the uſe of words and numbers, ſingular and plural. §. 3. It was, and is, the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin ſpeech, in ſchools and univerſities. §. 4. It is the language of all nations. §. 5. The original

original of the present custom defends our disuse of it. §. 6. If custom should prevail, in a sense it would be on our side. §. 7. It cannot be uncivil, or improper; for God himself, the fathers, prophets, Christ and his apostles used it. §. 8. An instance given in the case of Peter, in the palace of the high priest. §. 9. It is the practice of men to God in their prayers: the pride of man to expect better to himself. §. 10. Testimonies of several writers in vindication of us. §. 11. The author's convictions; and his exhortation to his reader.

§. I. THERE is another piece of our non-conformity to the world, that renders us very clownish to the breeding of it, and that is, Thou for You, and that without difference or respect to persons: a thing that to some looks so rude, it cannot well go down without derision or wrath. But as we have the same original reason for declining this, as the foregoing customs, so I shall add what to me looks reasonable in our defence; though, it is very probable, height of mind, in some of those that blame us, will very hardly allow them to believe that the word reasonable is reconcileable with so silly a practice as this is esteemed.

§. II. Words, of themselves, are but as so many marks set and employed for necessary and intelligible mediums, or means, whereby men may understandingly express their minds and conceptions to each other; from whence comes conversation. Now, though the world be divided into many nations, each of which, for the most part, has a peculiar language, speech, or dialect, yet have they ever concurred in the same numbers and persons, as much of the ground of right speech. For instance; I love, Thou lovest, He loveth, are of the singular number, importing but One, whether in the first, second, or third person: also We love, Ye love, They love, are of the plural number, because in each is implied More than One. Which undeniable grammatical rule might be enough to satisfy any, that have not forgot their Accidence, that we are not beside

Reason in our practice. For if Thou loveſt, be ſingular, and You love, be plural, and if Thou loveſt, ſignifies but One; and You love, Many; is it not as proper to ſay, Thou loveſt, to Ten men, as to ſay, You love, to One man? Or, why not I love, for We love, and We love, inſtead of I love? Doubtleſs it is the ſame, though moſt improper, and in ſpeech ridiculous.

§. III. Our next reaſon is; if it be improper or uncivil ſpeech (as termed by this vain age) how comes it, that the Hebrew, Greek and Roman authors, uſed in ſchools and univerſities, have no other? Why ſhould they not be a rule in that, as well as other things? And why, I pray then, are we ſo ridiculous for being thus far grammatical? Is it reaſonable that children ſhould be whipt at ſchool for putting You for Thou, as having made falſe Latin; and yet that we muſt be, though not whipt, reproached, and often abuſed, when we uſe the contrary propriety of ſpeech?

§. IV. But in the third place, it is neither improper nor uncivil, but much otherwiſe; becauſe it is uſed in all languages, ſpeeches, and dialects, and that through all ages. This is very plain: as for example, it was God's language when he firſt ſpake to Adam, viz. Hebrew: alſo it is the Aſſyrian, Chaldean, Grecian, and Latin ſpeech. And now amongſt the Turks, Tartars, Muſcovites, Indians, Perſians, Italians, Spaniards, French, Dutch, Germans, Polonians, Swedes, Danes, Iriſh, Scottiſh, Welch, as well as Engliſh, there is a diſtinction preſerved; and the word Thou, is not loſt in the word which goes for You. And though ſome of the modern tongues have done as we do, yet upon the ſame error. But by this it is plain, that Thou is no upſtart, nor yet improper; but the only proper word to be uſed in all languages to a ſingle perſon; becauſe otherwiſe all ſentences, ſpeeches, and diſcourſes may be very ambiguous, uncertain, and equivocal. If a jury pronounce a verdict, or a judge a ſentence (Three being at the bar upon three occaſions, very differently culpable) and ſhould ſay, You are here guilty, and to die, or innocent, and diſcharged; who knows who is guilty

guilty or innocent? May be but One, perhaps Two; or it may be all Three. Therefore our indictments run in the ſingular number, as Hold up Thy hand: Thou art indicted by the name of, &c. for that Thou, 'not having the fear of God, &c.' and it holds the ſame in all converſation. Nor can this be avoided, but by many unneceſſary circumlocutions. And as the preventing of ſuch length and obſcurity was doubtleſs the firſt reaſon for the diſtinction, ſo cannot that be juſtly diſuſed, till the reaſon be firſt removed; which can never be, whilſt Two are in the world.

§. V. But this is not all: it was firſt aſcribed in way of flattery to proud popes and emperors; imitating the Heathens vain homage to their gods; thereby aſcribing a plural honour to a ſingle perſon; as if One Pope had been made up of Many Gods, and One Emperor of many Men. For which reaſon, You, only to be uſed to Many, became firſt ſpoken to One. It ſeems the word Thou looked like too lean and thin a reſpect; and therefore ſome, bigger than they ſhould be, would have a ſtile ſuitable to their own ambition: a ground we cannot build our practice on; for what begun it, only loves it ſtill. But ſuppoſing You to be proper to a prince, it will not follow it is to a common perſon. For his edict runs, "We will and require," becauſe perhaps in conjunction with his council; and therefore You to a private perſon, is an abuſe of the word. But as pride firſt gave it birth, ſo hath ſhe only promoted it. *Monſieur, ſir, and madam, were, originally, names given to none but the king, his brother, and their wives, both in France and England; yet now the plowman in France is called Monſieur, and his wife, madam: and men of ordinary trades in England, ſir, and their wives, dame; (which is the legal title of a lady) or elſe miſtreſs, which is the ſame with madam in French. So prevalent hath pride and flattery been in all ages, the one to give, and the other to receive reſpect, as they term it.

* Howel's Hiſtory of France.

§. VI. But

§. VI. But ſome will tell us, cuſtom ſhould rule us; and that is againſt us. But it is eaſily anſwered, and more truly, that though in things reaſonable or indifferent, cuſtom is obliging or harmleſs, yet in things unreaſonable or unlawful, ſhe has no authority. For cuſtom can no more change numbers than genders, nor yoke One and You together, than make a man into a woman, or one a thouſand. But if cuſtom be to conclude us, it is for us: for as cuſtom is nothing elſe but ancient uſage, I appeal to the practice of mankind, from the beginning of the world, through all nations, againſt the novelty of this confuſion, viz. You to one perſon. Let cuſtom, which is ancient practice and fact, iſſue this queſtion. Miſtake me not: I know words are nothing, but as men give them a value or force by uſe: but then, if you will diſcharge Thou, and that You muſt ſucceed in its place, let us have a diſtinguiſhing word in the room of You, to be uſed in ſpeech to Many. But to uſe the ſame word for One and Many, when there are two, and that only to pleaſe a proud and haughty humour in man, is not reaſonable in our ſenſe; which, we hope, is Chriſtian, though not modiſh.

§. VII. But if Thou to a ſingle perſon be improper or uncivil, God himſelf, all the holy fathers and prophets, Chriſt Jeſus and his apoſtles, the primitive ſaints, all languages throughout the world, and our own law-proceedings are guilty; which, with ſubmiſſion, were great preſumption to imagine. Beſides, we all know, it is familiar with the moſt of authors, to preface their diſcourſes to the reader in the ſame language of Thee and Thou: as, Reader Thou art deſired, &c. or, Reader this is writ to inform Thee, of the occaſion, &c. And it cannot be denied, that the moſt famous poems, dedicated to love or majeſty, are writ in this ſtile. Read of each in Chaucer, Spencer, Waller, Cowley, Dryden, &c. why then ſhould it be ſo homely, ill-bred, and inſufferable in us? This, I conceive, can never be anſwered.

§. VIII. I doubt not at all, but that ſomething altogether as ſingular attended the ſpeech of Chriſt and his

his disciples: for I remember it was urged upon Peter in the high priest's palace, as a proof of his belonging to Jesus, when he denied his Lord: 'Surely (said they) 'Thou also art one of them; for thy speech bewrayeth 'Thee[f]:' they had guessed by his looks, but just before, that he had been with Jesus; but when they discoursed him, his language put them all out of doubt: surely then he was one of them, and he had been with Jesus. Something it was he had learned in his company, that was odd and observable; to be sure, not of the world's behaviour. Without question, the garb, gait, and speech of his followers differed, as well as his doctrine, from the world; for it was a part of his doctrine it should be so. It is easy to believe, they were more plain, grave, and precise; which is more credible, from the way which poor, confident, fearful Peter took, to disguise the business; for he fell to cursing and swearing. A sad shift! but he thought that the likeliest way to remove the suspicion, that was most unlike Christ. And the policy took; for it silenced their objections; and Peter was as orthodox as they. But though they found him not out, the cock's-crow did; which made Peter remember his dear suffering Lord's word, and 'he went forth and wept bitterly:' that he had denied his Master, who was then delivered up to die for him.

§. IX. But our last reason is of most weight with me; and, because *argumentum ad hominem*, it is most heavy upon our despisers; which is this: It should not therefore be urged upon us, because it is a most extravagant piece of pride in a mortal man, to require or expect from his fellow-creature a more civil speech, or grateful language, than he is wont to give the immortal God, and his Creator, in all his worship to him. Art thou, O man, greater than he that made thee? Canst thou approach the God of thy breath, and great judge of thy life, with Thou and Thee, and when thou riseſt off thy knees, scorn a Christian for giving to thee (poor

[f] Mat. xxvi. 71, 73, 74.

mushroom

mushroom of the earth) no better language than thou hast given to God but just before? An arrogancy not to be easily equalled! But again, it is either too much or too little respect; if too much, do not reproach and be angry, but gravely and humbly refuse it: if too little, why dost thou show to God no more? O whither is man gone! to what a pitch does he soar? he would be used more civilly by us, than he uses God; which is to have us make more than a god of him: but he shall want worshippers of us, as well as he wants the divinity in himself that deserves to be worshipped. Certain we are, that the Spirit of God seeks not these respects, much less pleads for them, or would be wroth with any that conscientiously refuse to give them. But that this vain generation is guilty of using them, to gratify a vain mind, is too palpable. What capping, what cringing, what scraping, what vain unmeant words, most hyperbolical expressions, compliments, gross flatteries, and plain lyes, under the name of civilities, are men and women guilty of in conversation! Ah, my friends! whence fetch you these examples? What part of all the writings of the holy men of God warrants these things? But to come near to your own professions: Is Christ your example herein, whose name you pretend to bear? or those saints of old, that lived in desolate places, of whom the world was not worthy[g]? Or do you think you follow the practice of those Christians, that, in obedience to their Master's life and doctrine, forsook the respect of persons, and relinquished the fashions, honour and glory of this transitory world: whose qualifications lay not in external gestures, respects, and compliments, but in a meek and quiet spirit[h], adorned with temperance, virtue, modesty, gravity, patience, and brotherly-kindness, which were the tokens of true honour, and only badges of respect and nobility in those Christian times? O no! But is it not to expose ourselves both to your contempt and fury, that we imitate them, and not you? And tell us, pray, are not

[g] Heb. xi. [h] 1 Pet. iii. 3, 4.

romances,

romances, plays, masks, gaming, fiddlers, &c. the entertainments that most delight you? Had you the spirit of Christianity indeed, could you consume your most precious little time in so many unnecessary visits, games, and pastimes; in your vain compliments, courtships, feigned stories, flatteries, and fruitless novelties, and what not? invented and used to your diversion, to make you easy in your forgetfulness of God: which never was the Christian way of living, but entertainment of the Heathens that knew not God. Oh, were you truly touched with a sense of your sins, and in any measure born again; did you take up the cross of Jesus, and live under it, these things (which so much please your wanton and sensual nature) would find no place with you! This is not seeking the things that are above[1], to have the heart thus set on things that are below; nor, 'working out your own salvation with fear 'and trembling,' to spend your days in vanity. This is not crying with Elihu, 'I know not to give flattering 'titles to men; for in so doing my Maker would soon 'take me away:' this is not to deny self, and lay up a more hidden and enduring substance, an eternal inheritance in the heavens, that will not pass away. Well, my friends, whatever you think, your plea of custom will find no place at God's tribunal: the light of Christ in your own hearts will over-rule it, and this Spirit, against which we testify, shall then appear to be what we say it is. Say not, I am serious about slight things: but beware you of levity and rashness in serious things.

§. X. Before I close, I shall add a few testimonies from men of general credit, in favour of our non-conformity to the world in this particular.

Luther, the great reformer, (whose sayings were oracles with the age he lived in, and of no less reputation now, with many that object against us) was so far from condemning our plain speech, that, in his *Ludus*, he sports himself with You to a single person, as an incongruous and ridiculous speech, viz. *Magister, vos estis iratus?*

[1] Col. iii. 1.

Master,

Master, are You angry? as absurd with him in Latin, as, My Masters, art Thou angry? is in English. Erasmus, a learned man, and an exact critick in speech, (than whom, I know not any we may so properly refer the grammar of the matter to) not only derides it, but bestows a whole discourse upon rendering it absurd: plainly manifesting, that it is impossible to preserve numbers, if You, the only word for more than One, be used to express One: as also, that the original of this corruption, was the corruption of flattery. Lipsius affirms of the ancient Romans, that the manner of greeting, now in vogue, was not in use amongst them. To conclude: Howell, in his History of France, gives us an ingenious account of its original; where he not only assures us, that anciently the peasants Thou'd their kings, but that pride and flattery first put inferiors upon paying a plural respect to the single person of every superior, and superiors upon receiving it. And though we had not the practice of God and man so undeniably to justify our plain and homely speech, yet, since we are persuaded that its original was from pride and flattery, we cannot in conscience use it. And however we may be censured as singular, by those loose and airy minds, that, through the continual love of earthly pleasures, consider not the true rise and tendency of words and things, yet, to us, whom God has convinced, by his Light and Spirit in our hearts, of the folly and evil of such courses, and brought into a spiritual discerning of the nature and ground of the world's fashions, they appear to be fruits of pride and flattery, and we dare not continue in such vain compliances to earthly minds, lest we offend God, and burden our own consciences. But having been sincerely affected with the reproofs of instruction, and our hearts being brought into a watchful subjection to the righteous law of Jesus, so as to bring our deeds to the light[k], to see in whom they are wrought, if in God, or not; we cannot, we dare not conform ourselves to the fashions

[k] John iii. 19, 20.

of

of the world, that pafs away; knowing affuredly, that 'for every idle word that men fpeak, they fhall give 'an account in the day of judgment[1].'

§. XI. Wherefore, reader, whether thou art a night-walking Nicodemus, or a fcoffing fcribe; one that would vifit the bleffed Meffiah, but in the dark cuftoms of the world, that thou mighteft pafs as undifcerned, for fear of bearing his reproachful crofs; or elfe a favourer of Haman's pride, and counteft thefe teftimonies but a foolifh fingularity; I muft fay, divine love enjoins me to be a meffenger of truth to thee, and a faithful witnefs againft the evil of this degenerate world, as in other, fo in thefe things; in which the fpirit of vanity and luft hath got fo great an head, and lived fo long uncontrouled, that it hath impudence enough to term its darknefs light, and to call its evil off-fpring by the names due to a better nature, the more eafily to deceive people into the practice of them. And truly, fo very blind and infenfible are moft, of what fpirit they are, and ignorant of the meek and felf-denying life of holy Jefus, whofe name they profefs, that to call each other Rabbi, that is, Mafter; to bow to men, (which I call worfhip) and to greet with flattering titles; and do their fellow-creatures homage: to fcorn that language to themfelves that they give to God, and to fpend their time and eftate to gratify their wanton minds; (the cuftoms of the Gentiles, that knew not God) pafs with them for civility, good breeding, decency, recreation, accomplifhments, &c. O that man would confider, fince there are but two fpirits, one good, the other evil, which of them it is that inclines the world to thefe things! and whether it be Nicodemus or Mordecai in thee, that doth befriend thefe defpifed Chriftians, which makes thee afhamed to difown that openly in converfation with the world, which the true light hath made vanity and fin to thee in fecret? Or, if thou art a defpifer, tell me, I pray thee, which doft thou think thy mockery, anger, or contempt do moft refemble, proud Haman,

[1] Mat. xii. 36.

or

or good Mordecai? My friend, know, that no man hath more delighted in, or been prodigal of those vanities called civilities, than myself; and could I have covered my conscience under the fashions of the world, truly I had found a shelter from showers of reproach that have fallen very often and thick upon me; but had I, with Joseph, conformed to Ægypt's customs, I had sinned against my God, and lost my peace. But I would not have thee think it is a mere Thou or Title, simply or nakedly in themselves, we boggle at, or that we would beget or set up any form inconsistent with sincerity or true civility: there is but too much of that: but the esteem and value the vain minds of men do put upon them, that ought to be crossed and stripped of their delights, constrains us to testify so steadily against them. And this know, from the sense God's Holy Spirit hath begotten in us, that that which requires these customs, and begets fear to leave them, and pleads for them, and is displeased if not used and paid, is the spirit of pride and flattery in the ground, though frequency, use, or generosity, may have abated its strength in some: and this being discovered by the light that now shines from heaven, in the hearts of the despised Christians I have communion with, necessitates them to this testimony, and myself, as one of them, and for them, in a reproof of the unfaithful, who would walk undiscerned, though convinced to the contrary; and for an allay to the proud despisers, who scorn us as a people guilty of affectation and singularity. For the eternal God, who is great amongst us, and on his way in the earth to make his power known, 'will root up every 'plant that his right hand hath not planted.' Wherefore let me beseech thee, reader, to consider the foregoing reasons, which were mostly given me from the Lord, in that time, when my condescension to these fashions would have been purchased at almost any rate; but the certain sense I had of their contrariety to the meek and self-denying life of holy Jesus, required of me my disuse of them, and faithful testimony against them. I speak the truth in Christ; I lye not; I would

would not have brought myſelf under cenſure and diſdain for them, could I, with peace of conſcience, have kept my belief under a worldly behaviour. It was extreme irkſome to me, to decline and expoſe myſelf: but having an aſſured and repeated ſenſe of the original of theſe vain cuſtoms, that they riſe from pride, ſelf-love, and flattery, I dared not gratify that mind in myſelf or others. And for this reaſon it is, that I am earneſt with my readers to be cautious how they reprove us on this occaſion; and do once more intreat them, that they would ſeriouſly weigh in themſelves, whether it be the ſpirit of the world, or of the Father, that is ſo angry with our honeſt, plain, and harmleſs Thou and Thee: that ſo every plant that God, our heavenly Father, hath not planted in the ſons and daughters of men, may be rooted up.

CHAP. XI.

§. 1. Pride leads people to an exceſſive value of their perſons. §. 2. It is plain from the racket that is made about blood and families: alſo in the caſe of ſhape and beauty. §. 3. Blood no nobility, but virtue. §. 4. Virtue no upſtart: antiquity, no nobility without it, elſe age and blood would bar virtue in the preſent age. §. 5. God teaches the true ſenſe of nobility, who made of one blood all nations: there is the original of all blood. §. 6. Theſe men of blood, out of their feathers, look like other men. §. 7. This is not ſaid to reject, but humble the gentleman: the advantages of that condition above others. An exhortation to recover their loſt economy in families, out of intereſt and credit. §. 8. But the author has a higher motive; the goſpel, and the excellencies of it, which they profeſs. §. 9. The pride of perſons, reſpecting ſhape and beauty: the waſhes, patches, paintings, dreſſings, &c. This exceſs would keep the poor: the miſchiefs that attend it. §. 10. But pride in the old, and homely,

yet more hateful: that it is usual. The madness of it. Counsel to the beautiful, to get their souls like their bodies; and to the homely, to supply want of that, in the adornment of their lasting part, their souls, with holiness. Nothing homely with God, but sin. The blessedness of those that wear Christ's yoke and cross, and are crucified to the world.

§. I. BUT pride stops not here; she excites people to an excessive value and care of their persons: they must have great and punctual attendance, stately furniture, rich and exact apparel: all which help to make up that pride of life, that John tells us, 'is 'not of the Father, but of the world[a].' A sin God charged upon the haughty daughters of Zion, Isa. iii. and on the proud prince and people of Tyrus, Ezek. xxvii. 28. Read these chapters, and measure this age by their sins, and what is coming on these nations by their judgments. But at the present I shall only touch upon the first, viz. the excessive value people have of their persons; leaving the rest to be considered under the last head of this discourse, which is luxury, where they may be not improperly placed.

§. II. That people are generally proud of their persons, is too visible and troublesome; especially if they have any pretence either to blood or beauty: the one has raised many quarrels among men; and the other among women, and men too often, for their sakes, and at their excitements. But to the first: what a pother has this noble blood made in the world, antiquity of name or family? whose father or mother, great grand-father, or great grand-mother, was best descended or allied? what stock, or what clan, they came of? what coat of arms they gave? which had, of right, the precedence? But, methinks, nothing of man's folly has less shew of reason to palliate it.

§. III. For first, What matter is it of whom any one is descended, that is not of ill-fame; since it is his own

[a] 1 John ii. 16, 17.

virtue

virtue that muſt raiſe, or vice depreſs him? An anceſtor's character is no excuſe to a man's ill actions, but an aggravation of his degeneracy: and ſince virtue comes not by generation, I am neither the better nor the worſe for my fore-father; to be ſure, not in God's account, nor ſhould it be in man's. Nobody would endure injuries the eaſier, or reject favours the more, for coming by the hand of a man well or ill deſcended. I confeſs, it were greater honour to have had no blots, and with an hereditary eſtate to have had a lineal deſcent or worth: but that was never found, no, not in the moſt bleſſed of families upon earth, I mean Abraham's. To be deſcended of wealth and titles, fills no man's head with brains, or heart with truth: thoſe qualities come from an higher cauſe. It is vanity then, and moſt condemnable pride, for a man of bulk and character to deſpiſe another of leſs ſize in the world, and of meaner alliance, for want of them; becauſe the latter may have the merit, where the former has only the effects of it in an anceſtor: and though the one be great, by means of a fore-father; the other is ſo too, but it is by his own: then, pray, which is the braveſt man of the two?

§. IV. O, ſays the perſon proud of blood, it was never a good world, ſince we have had ſo many upſtart gentlemen! But what ſhould others have ſaid of that man's anceſtor, when he ſtarted firſt up into the knowledge of the world? for he, and all men and families, ay, and all ſtates and kingdoms too, have had their upſtarts, that is, their beginnings. This is like being the true church becauſe old, not becauſe good; for families to be noble by being old, and not by being virtuous. No ſuch matter: it muſt be age in virtue, or elſe virtue before age; for otherwiſe a man ſhould be noble by means of his predeceſſor, and yet the predeceſſor leſs noble than he, becauſe he was the acquirer: which is a paradox that will puzzle all their heraldry to explain! Strange, that they ſhould be more noble than their anceſtor, that got their nobility for them! But if this be abſurd, as it is, then the upſtart is the noble man; the

man that got it by his virtue: and those are only intitled to his honour, that are imitators of his virtue; the rest may bear his name from his blood, but that is all. If virtue then give nobility, which Heathens themselves agree, then families are no longer truly noble, than they are virtuous. And if virtue go not by blood, but by the qualifications of the descendants, it follows, blood is excluded: else blood would bar virtue; and no man that wanted the one, should be allowed the benefit of the other: which were to stint and bound nobility for want of antiquity, and make virtue useless.

No, let blood and name go together; but pray let nobility and virtue keep company, for they are nearest of kin. It is thus posited by God himself, that best knows how to apportion things with an equal and just hand. He neither likes nor dislikes by descent; nor does he regard what people were, but are. He remembers not the righteousness of any man that leaves his righteousness[b]; much less any unrighteous man for the righteousness of his ancestor.

§. V. But if these men of blood please to think themselves concerned to believe and reverence God, in his holy scriptures, they may learn, that in the beginning he made of one blood all nations of men, to dwell upon all the face of the earth; and, that we all descended of one father and mother[c]. A more certain original than the best of us can assign. From thence go down to Noah, who was the second planter of human race, and we are upon some certainty for our fore-fathers. What violence has raped, or virtue merited since, and how far we that are alive are concerned in either, will be hard for us to determine but a very few ages off us.

§. VI. But, methinks, it should suffice to say, our own eyes see that men of blood, out of their geers and trappings, without their feathers and finery, have no more marks of honour by nature stampt upon them, than their inferior neighbours. Nay, themselves being

[b] Ezek. xviii. [c] Acts xvii. 26.

judges,

judges, they will frankly tell us, they feel all those passions in their blood, that make them like other men, if not farther from the virtue that truly dignifies. The lamentable ignorance and debauchery that now rages among too many of our greater sort of folks, is too clear and casting an evidence in the point: and pray tell me, of what blood are they come?

§. VII. Howbeit, when I have said all this, I intend not, by debasing one false quality, to make insolent another that is not true. I would not be thought to set the churl upon the present gentleman's shoulder; by no means: his rudeness will not mend the matter. But what I have writ is, to give aim to all where true nobility dwells, that every one may arrive at it by the ways of virtue and goodness. But for all this, I must allow a great advantage to the gentleman; and therefore prefer his station, just as the apostle Paul, who, after he had humbled the Jews, that insulted upon the Christians with their law and rites, gave them the advantage upon all other nations in statutes and judgments. I must grant, that the condition of our great men is much to be preferred to the ranks of inferior people. For, first, they have more power to do good: and, if their hearts be equal to their ability, they are blessings to the people of any country. Secondly, the eyes of the people are usually directed to them; and if they will be kind, just, and helpful, they shall have their affections and services. Thirdly, they are not under equal straits with the inferior sort; and consequently, they have more help, leisure, and occasion, to polish their passions and tempers with books and conversation. Fourthly, they have more time to observe the actions of other nations; to travel, and view the laws, customs and interests of other countries, and bring home whatever is worthy or imitable. And so an easier way is open for great men to get honour; and such as love true reputation, will embrace the best means to it. But because it too often happens, that great men do little mind to give God the glory of their prosperity, and to live answerable to his mercies; but on

the contrary 'live without God in the world,' fulfilling the lusts thereof, his hand is often seen, either in impoverishing or extinguishing them, and raising up men of more virtue and humility to their estates and dignity. However, I must allow, that among people of this rank, there have been some of them of more than ordinary virtue, whose examples have given light to their families. And it has been something natural for some of their descendants to endeavour to keep up the credit of their houses, in proportion to the merit of their founder. And, to say true, if there be any advantage in such descent, it is not from blood, but education: for blood has no intelligence in it, and is often spurious and uncertain; but education has a mighty influence, and strong bias upon the affections and actions of men. In this, the ancient nobles and gentry of this kingdom did excel: and it were much to be wished, that our great people would set about to recover the ancient economy of their houses, the strict and virtuous discipline of their ancestors, when men were honoured for their atchievements, and when nothing more exposed a man to shame, than his being born to a nobility that he had not a virtue to support.

§. VIII. O but I have an higher motive! the glorious gospel of Jesus Christ, which having taught this northern isle, and all ranks professing to believe in it, let me prevail upon you to seek the honour that it has brought from heaven, to all the true disciples of it, who are indeed the followers of God's Lamb, that 'takes away the sins of the world[d].' Receive with meekness his gracious word into your hearts, that subdues the world's lusts, and leads in the holy way to blessedness. Here are charms no carnal eye hath seen, nor ear heard, nor heart perceived, but they are revealed to such humble converts by his Spirit. Remember you are but creatures, and that you must die, and after all be judged.

[d] John i. 29.

§. IX. But

§. IX. But perſonal pride ends not in nobility of blood; it leads folks to a fond value of their perſons, be they noble or ignoble; eſpecially if they have any pretence to ſhape or beauty. It is admirable to ſee, how much it is poſſible for ſome to be taken with themſelves, as if nothing elſe deſerved their regard, or the good opinion of others. It would abate their folly, if they could find in their hearts to ſpare but half the time to think of God, and their latter end, which they moſt prodigally ſpend in waſhing, perfuming, painting, patching, attiring and dreſſing. In theſe things they are preciſe, and very artificial; and for coſt they ſpare not. But that which aggravates the evil is, the pride of one might comfortably ſupply the need of ten. 'Groſs impiety that it is, that a nation's pride ſhould 'not be ſpared to a nation's poor!' But what is this for at laſt? only to be admired, to have reverence, draw love, and command the eyes and affections of beholders. And ſo fantaſtick are they in it, as hardly to be pleaſed too. Nothing is good, or fine, or faſhionable enough for them: the ſun itſelf, the bleſſing of heaven and comfort of the earth, muſt not ſhine upon them, leſt it tan them; nor the wind blow, for fear it ſhould diſorder them. O impious nicety! yet while they value themſelves above all elſe, they make themſelves the vaſſals of their own pride: worſhipping their ſhape, feature, or complexion, which ſoever is their excellency. The end of all which is, but too often, to excite unlawful love, which I call luſt, and draw one another into as miſerable as evil circumſtances. In ſingle perſons it is of ill conſequence; for if it does not awaken unchaſte deſires, it lays no foundation for ſolid and laſting union: want of which helps to make ſo many unhappy marriages in the world: but in married people, the ſin is aggravated; for they have none of right to pleaſe, but one another; and to affect the gaiety and vanity of youth, is an ill ſign of loving and living well at home: it looks rather like dreſſing for a market. It has ſad effects in families; diſcontents, partings, duels, poiſonings, and other infamous murders. No age can

better tell us the ſad effects of this ſort of pride, than this we live in; as, how exceſſive wanton, ſo how fatal it has been to the ſobriety, virtue, peace, and health of families in this kingdom.

§. X. But I muſt needs ſay, that of all creatures this ſort of pride does leaſt become the old and homely, if I may call the ill-favoured and deformed ſo; for the old are proud only of what they had; which ſhews to their reproach, their pride has out-lived their beauty, and when they ſhould be a repenting, they are making work for repentance. But the homely are yet worſe, they are proud of what they never had, nor ever can have. Nay, their perſons ſeem as if they were given for a perpetual humiliation to their minds; and to be proud of them, is loving pride for pride's ſake, and to be proud without a temptation to be proud. And yet in my whole life I have obſerved nothing more doating on itſelf: a ſtrange infatuation and inchantment of pride! what! not to ſee right with their eyes, becauſe of the partiality of their minds? This ſelf-love is blind indeed. But to add expence to the vanity, and to be coſtly upon that which cannot be mended, one would think they ſhould be downright mad; eſpecially if they conſider that they look the homelier for the things that are thought handſome, and do but thereby draw their deformity more into notice, by that which does ſo little become them.

But in ſuch perſons follies we have a ſpecimen of man; what a creature he is in his lapſe from his primitive image. All this (as Jeſus ſaid of ſin of old) comes from within[d]; that is, the diſregard that man and woman have to the Word of their Creator in their hearts, which ſhews pride, and teaches humility and ſelf-abaſement, and directs the mind to the true object of honour and worſhip; and that with an awe and reverence ſuitable to his ſovereignty and majeſty. Poor mortals! but living dirt; made of what they tread on; who, with all their pride, cannot ſecure themſelves from the ſpoil of ſick-

[d] Mat. xv. 11, 18, 19, 20.

neſs,

nefs, much lefs from the ftroke of death[e]. O! did people confider the inconftancy of all vifible things, the crofs and adverfe occurrences of man's life, the certainty of his departure, and eternal judgment, it is to be hoped, they would bring their deeds to Chrift's light in their hearts, and they would fee if they were wrought in God or no, as the beloved difciple tells us from his dear Mafter's mouth[f]. Art thou fhapely, comely, beautiful; the exact draught of an human creature? admire that power that made thee fo. Live an harmonious life to the curious make and frame of thy creation; and let the beauty of thy body teach thee to beautify thy mind with holinefs, the ornament of the beloved of God. Art thou homely or deformed? magnify that goodnefs which did not make thee a beaft; and with the grace that is given unto thee, (for it has appeared unto all) learn to adorn thy foul with enduring beauty. Remember, the king of heaven's daughter, the church, (of which true Chriftians are members) is all glorious within: and if thy foul excel, thy body will only fet off the luftre of thy mind. Nothing is homely in God's fight but fin; and that man and woman, that commune with their own hearts, and fin not; who in the light of holy Jefus, watch over the movings and inclinations of their own fouls, and that fuppref every evil in its conception, they love the yoke and crofs of Chrift, and are daily by it crucified to the world, but live to God in that life which outlives the fading fatisfactions of it.

CHAP. XII.

§. 1. The character of a proud man: a glutton upon himfelf. Is proud of his pedigree. §. 2. He is infolent and quarrelfome, but cowardly, yet cruel. §. 3. An ill child, fubject and fervant. §. 4. Unhofpitable. §. 5. No friend to any. §. 6. Dangerous and mif-

[e] Deut. xxx. 14. Rom. x. 8. [f] John iii. 20, 21.

chievous

chievous in power. §. 7. Of all things pride bad in miniſters. §. 8. They claim prerogative above all others. §. 9. And call themſelves the clergy: their lordlineſs and avarice. §. 10. Death ſwallows all. §. 11. The way to eſcape theſe evils.

§. I. TO conclude this great head of pride, let us briefly ſee upon the whole matter, what is the character of a proud man in himſelf, and in divers relations and capacities. A proud man then is a kind of glutton upon himſelf; for he is never ſatisfied with loving and admiring himſelf; whilſt nothing elſe with him is worthy either of love or care: if good enough to be the ſervant of his will, it is as much as he can find in his heart to allow; as if he had been only made for himſelf, or rather that he had made himſelf. For as he deſpiſes man, becauſe he cannot abide an equal, ſo he does not love God, becauſe he would not have a ſuperior; he cannot bear to owe his being to another, leſt he ſhould thereby acknowledge one above himſelf. He is one that is mighty big with the honour of his anceſtors, but not of the virtue that brought them to it; much leſs will he trouble himſelf to imitate them. He can tell you of his pedigree, his antiquity, what eſtate, what matches; but forgets that they are gone, and that he muſt die too.

§. II. But how troubleſome a companion is proud man! ever poſitive and controuling; and if you yield not, inſolent and quarrelſome: yet at the upſhot of the matter, cowardly: but if ſtrongeſt, cruel. He has no bowels of adverſity, as if it were below him to be ſenſible: he feels no more of other mens miſeries, than if he was not a man, or it was a ſin to be ſenſible. For not feeling himſelf intereſted, he looks no farther: he will not diſquiet his thoughts with other mens inſelicities: it ſhall content him to believe they are juſt: and he had rather churliſhly upbraid them as the cauſe, than be ready to commiſerate or relieve them. So that compaſſion and charity are with him as uſeleſs, as humility and meekneſs are hateful.

§. III. A

§. III. A proud man makes an ill child, ſervant, and ſubject: he contemns his parents, maſter, and prince: he will not be ſubject. He thinks himſelf too wiſe, or too old, to be directed; as if it were a ſlaviſh thing to obey; and that none were free, that may not do what they pleaſe; which turns duty out of doors, and degrades authority. On the other hand, if it be an huſband, or father, or maſter, there is ſcarcely any enduring. He is ſo inſufferably curious and teſty, that it is an affliction to live with him: for hardly can any hand carry it even enough to pleaſe him. Some peccadillo about his cloaths, his diet, his lodging, or attendance, quite diſorders him: but eſpecially if he fancies any want in the ſtate and reſpect he looks for. Thus pride deſtroys the nature of relations: on the one ſide, it learns to contemn duty; and on the other ſide, it turns love into fear, and makes the wife a ſervant, and the children and ſervants, ſlaves.

§. IV. But the proud man makes an ill neighbour too; for he is an enemy to hoſpitality: he deſpiſes to receive kindneſs, becauſe he would not ſhew any, nor be thought to need it. Beſides, it looks too equal and familiar for his haughty humour. Emulation and detraction are his element; for he is jealous of attributing any praiſe to others, where juſt, leſt that ſhould cloud and leſſen him, to whom it never could be due: he is the man that fears what he ſhould wiſh, to wit, that others ſhould do well. But that is not all; he maliciouſly miſcalls their acts of virtue, which his corruptions will not let him imitate, that they may get no credit by them. If he wants any occaſion of doing miſchief, he can make one; either, they uſe him ill, or have ſome deſign upon him; the other day they paid him not the cap and knee; the diſtance and reſpect he thinks his quality, parts, or merits do require. A ſmall thing ſerves a proud man to pick a quarrel; of all creatures the moſt jealous, ſullen, ſpiteful, and revengeful: he can no more forgive an injury, than forbear to do one.

§. V. Nor is this all; a proud man can never be a friend to any body. For beſides that his ambition may always

always be bribed by honour and preferment to betray that relation, he is unconversible; he must not be catechised and counselled, much less reproved or contradicted: no, he is too covetous of himself to spare another man a share, and much too high, stiff, and touchy: he will not away with those freedoms that a real friendship requires. To say true, he contemns the character; it is much too familiar and humble for him: his mighty soul would know nothing besides himself, and vassals to stock the world. He values other men as we do cattle, for their service only; and, if he could, would use them so; but as it happens, the number and force are unequal.

§. VI. But a proud man in power is very mischievous; for his pride is the more dangerous by his greatness, since from ambition in private men, it becomes tyranny in them: it would reign alone; nay, live so, rather than have competitors: *aut Cæsar, aut nullus.* Reason must not check it, nor rules of law limit it; and either it can do no wrong, or it is sedition to complain of the wrong that it does. The men of this temper would have nothing thought amiss they do; at least, they count it dangerous to allow it to be so, though so it be; for that would imply they had erred, which it is always matter of state to deny. No, they will rather chuse to perish obstinately, than by acknowledging, yield away the reputation of better judging to inferiors; though it were their prudence to do so. And, indeed, it is all the satisfaction that proud great men make to the world for the miseries they often bring upon it, that, first or last, upon a division, they leave their real interest to follow some one excess of humour, and are almost ever destroyed by it. This is the end pride gives proud men, and the ruin it brings upon them, after it has punished others by them.

§. VII. But above all things, pride is intolerable in men pretending to religion; and, of them, in ministers; for they are names of the greatest contradiction. I speak without respect or anger to persons or parties; for I only touch upon the bad of all. What shall pride do with

h religion, that rebukes it? or ambition with minist-, whose very office is humility? And yet there are t too many of them, that, besides an equal guilt with hers in the fleshly pride of the world, are even proud that name and office, which ought always to mind em of self-denial. Yea, they use it as the beggars o the name of God and Christ, only to get by it: lacing to their own account the advantages of that re-erend profession, and thereby making their function ut a politick handle to raise themselves to the great referments of the world. But, O then, how can such e his ministers, that said, 'My kingdom is not of this 'world?' Who, of mankind, more self-conceited than these men? If contradicted, as arrogant and angry as if it were their calling to be so. Counsel one of them, he scorns you; reprove him, and he is almost ready to excommunicate you. 'I am a minister and an elder:' flying thither to secure himself from the reach of just censure, which indeed exposes him but the more to it: and therefore his fault cannot be the less, by how much it is worse in a minister to do ill, and spurn at reproof, than an ordinary man.

§. VIII. O but he pleads an exemption by his office! What! shall he breed up chickens to pick out his own eyes? be rebuked or instructed by a lay-man, or parishioner! a man of less age, learning, or ability! no such matter; he would have us believe that his ministerial prerogative has placed him out of the reach of popular impeachment. He is not subject to vulgar judgments. Even questions about religion are schism: believe as he says: it is not for you to pry so curiously into the mysteries of religion: never good day since lay-men meddled so much with the minister's office. Not considering, poor man! that the contrary is most true; not many good days since ministers meddled so much in lay-mens business. Though perhaps there is little reason for the distinction, beside spiritual gifts, and the improvement of them by a diligent use of them for the good of others.

Such

Such good ſayings as theſe, 'Be ready to teach; 'anſwer with meekneſs: let every man ſpeak as of the 'gift of God, that is in him: if any thing be revealed 'to him that ſits by, let the firſt hold his peace; be 'not lords over God's heritage, but meek and lowly; 'waſhing the feet of the people, as Jeſus did thoſe of 'his poor diſciples[a]; are unreaſonable and antiquated inſtructions with ſome clergy; and it is little leſs than hereſy to remember them of theſe things: to be ſure a mark of great diſaffection to the church, in their opinion. For by this time their pride has made them the church, and the people but the porch at beſt; a cypher that ſignifies nothing, unleſs they clap their figure before it: forgetting, that if they were as good as they ſhould be, they could be but miniſters, ſtewards, and under-ſhepherds; that is, ſervants to the church, family, flock, and heritage of God; and not that they are that church, family, flock, and heritage, which they are only ſervants unto. Remember the words of Chriſt, 'Let him that would be greateſt be your ſervant[b].'

§. IX. There is but one place to be found in the holy ſcripture, where the word *clerus* (κλῆρος) can properly be applied to the church, and they have got it to themſelves; from whence they call themſelves the clergy, that is, the inheritance or heritage of God. Whereas Peter exhorts the miniſters of the goſpel, 'not to be lords over God's heritage, nor to feed them 'for filthy lucre[c].' Peter (belike) foreſaw pride and avarice to be the miniſters temptations; and, indeed, they have often proved their fall: and, to ſay true, they could hardly fall by worſe. Nor is there any excuſe to be made for them in theſe two reſpects, which is not worſe than their ſin. For if they have not been lords over God's heritage, it is becauſe they have made themſelves that heritage, and diſ-inherited the people: ſo that now they may be the people's lords, with a ſalvo to good old Peter's exhortation.

[a] 2 Tim. ii. 24, 25. Tit. iii. 1 Cor. xiv. 30. [b] Mat. xx. 26. [c] 1 Pet. v. 2, 3.

And

And for the other sin of avarice, they can only avoid it, and speak truth, thus, 'that never feeding the flock, 'they cannot be said to feed it for lucre:' that is, they get the people's money for nothing. An example of which is given us, by the complaint of God himself, from the practice of the proud, covetous, false prophets of old, 'that the people gave their money for that which 'was not bread, and their labour for that which did not 'profit them [d]:' and why? Because then the priest had no vision; and too many now despise it.

§. X. But alas! when all is done, what folly, as well as irreligion, is there in pride? It cannot add one cubit to any man's stature: What crosses can it hinder? What disappointments help, or harm frustrate? It delivers not from the common stroke; sickness disfigures; pain misshapes; and death ends the proud man's fabrick. Six foot of cold earth bounds his big thoughts; and his person, that was too good for any place, must at last lodge within the strait limits of so little and so dark a cave: and who thought nothing well enough for him, is quickly the entertainment of the lowest of all animals, even worms themselves. Thus pride and pomp come to the common end; but with this difference, less pity from the living, and more pain to the dying. The proud man's antiquity cannot secure him from death, nor his heraldry from judgment. Titles of honour vanish at this extremity; and no power or wealth, no distance or respect can rescue or insure them: as the tree falls, it lies; and as death leaves men, judgment finds them.

§. XI. O, what can prevent this ill conclusion? and what can remedy this woful declension from ancient meekness, humility, and piety, and that godly life and power which were so conspicuous in the authority of the preachings, and examples of the living of the first and purest ages of Christianity! truly, nothing but an inward and sincere examination, by the testimony of the holy Light and Spirit of Jesus, of the condition of their

[d] Isa. lv. 2.

souls

souls and minds toward Christ, and a better enquiry into the matter and examples of holy record. It was his complaint of old, 'that light was come into the world, 'but men loved darkness rather than light, because 'their deeds were evil[e].' If thou wouldest be a child of God, and a believer in Christ, thou must be a child of light. O man! thou must bring thy deeds to it, and examine them by that holy lamp in thy soul, which is the candle of the Lord, that shews thee thy pride and arrogancy, and reproves thy delight in the vain fashions of this world. Religion is a denial of self; yea, of self-religion too. It is a firm tie or bond upon the soul to holiness, whose end is happiness: for by it men come to see the Lord. 'The pure in heart (says Jesus) see God[f]:' he that once comes to bear Christ's yoke, is not carried away by the devil's allurements; he finds excelling joys in his watchfulness and obedience. If men loved the cross of Christ, his precepts and doctrine, they would cross their own wills, which lead them to break Christ's holy will, and lose their own souls in doing the devil's. Had Adam minded that holy light in paradise more than the serpent's bait, and stayed his mind upon his Creator, the rewarder of fidelity, he had seen the snare of the enemy, and resisted him. O do not delight in that which is forbidden! look not upon it, if thou wouldest not be captivated by it. Bring not the guilt of sins of knowledge upon thy own soul. Did Christ submit his will to his Father's, and, for the joy that was set before him, endure the cross, and despise the shame of a new and untrodden way to glory[g]? Thou also must submit thy will to Christ's holy law and light in thy heart, and for the reward he sets before thee, to wit, eternal life, endure his cross, and despise the shame of it. All desire to rejoice with him, but few will suffer with him, or for him. Many are the companions of his table; not many of his abstinence. The loaves they follow, but the cup of his agony they leave. It is too bitter: they like not

[e] John iii. 19. [f] Mat. v. 8. [g] Heb. i. 2.

to

to drink thereof. And divers will magnify his miracles, that are offended at the ignominy of his cross. But, O man! as he for thy salvation, so thou for the love of him must humble thyself, and be contented to be of no reputation [h], that thou mayest follow him; not in a carnal, formal way, of vain man's tradition and prescription, but as the Holy Ghost by the apostle doth express it, 'In the new and living way [i],' which Jesus hath consecrated, that brings all that walk in it to the eternal rest of God: whereinto he himself is entered, who is the holy and only blessed Redeemer.

CHAP. XIII.

§. 1. Avarice (the second capital lust) its definition and distinction. §. 2. It consists in a desire of unlawful things. §. 3. As in David's case about Uriah's wife. §. 4. Also Ahab's about Naboth's vineyard. §. 5. Next, in unlawful desires of lawful things. §. 6. Covetousness is a mark of false prophets. §. 7. A reproach to religion. §. 8. An enemy to government. §. 9. Treacherous. §. 10. Oppressive. §. 11. Judas an example. §. 12. So Simon Magus. §. 13. Lastly, in unprofitable hoarding of money. §. 14. The covetous man a common evil. §. 15. His hypocrisy. §. 16. Gold his god. §. 17. He is sparing to death. §. 18. Is reproved by Christ and his followers. §. 19. Ananias and Sapphira's sin and judgment. §. 20. William Tindal's discourse on that subject referred unto. §. 21. Peter Charron's testimony against it. §. 22. Abraham Cowley's witty and sharp satire upon it.

§. I. I AM come to the second part of this discourse, which is avarice, or covetousness, an epidemical and a raging distemper in the world, attended with all the mischiefs that can make men miserable in themselves,

[h] Phil. ii. 7. [i] Heb. x. 19, 20.

and in ſociety: ſo near a-kin to the foregoing evil, pride; that they are ſeldom apart: liberality being almoſt as hateful to the proud as to the covetous. I ſhall define it thus: Covetouſneſs is the love of money or riches: 'which (as the apoſtle hath it) is the root of all evil[a].' It brancheth itſelf into theſe three parts: Firſt, Deſiring of unlawful things. Secondly, Unlawfully deſiring of lawful things. And laſtly, Hoarding up, or unprofitably with-holding the benefit of them from the relief of private perſons, or the public. I ſhall firſt deliver the ſenſe of ſcripture, and what examples are therein afforded againſt this impiety; and next, my own reaſons, with ſome authorities from authors of credit: by which it will appear, that the working of the love of riches out of the hearts of people, is as much the buſineſs of the Croſs of Chriſt, as the rooting out of any one ſin that man is fallen into.

§. II. And firſt, of deſiring or coveting of unlawful things: It is expreſsly forbidden by God himſelf, in the law he delivered to Moſes upon Mount Sinai, for a rule to his people, the Jews, to walk by: 'Thou 'ſhalt not covet (ſaith God) thy neighbour's houſe, 'thou ſhalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor his 'man-ſervant, nor his maid-ſervant, nor his ox, nor his 'aſs, nor any thing that is thy neighbour's[b].' This God confirmed by thunderings and lightnings, and other ſenſible ſolemnities, to ſtrike the people with more awe in receiving and keeping of it, and to make the breach of theſe moral precepts more terrible to them. Micah complains full-mouth'd in his time, 'They covet 'fields, and take them by violence[c];' but their end was miſery. Therefore was it ſaid of old, 'Wo to 'them that covet an evil covetouſneſs:' this is to our point. We have many remarkable inſtances of this in ſcripture; two of which I will briefly report.

§. III. David, though otherwiſe a good man, by unwatchfulneſs is taken; the beauty of Uriah's wife was too hard for him, being diſarmed, and off from his

[a] Epheſ. v. 3, 5. 1 Tim. vi. 9, 10. [b] Exod. xx. [c] Mic. i. 2.

ſpiritual

ſpiritual watch. There was no diſſuaſive would do: Uriah muſt be put upon a deſperate ſervice, where it was great odds if he ſurvived it. This was to haſten the unlawful ſatisfaction of his deſires by a way that looked not like direct murder. The contrivance took: Uriah is killed, and his wife is quickly David's. This interpreted David's covetouſneſs. But went it off ſo? No, David had ſharp ſauce with his meat. 'His pleaſure ſoon turned to anguiſh and bitterneſs of ſpirit: his ſoul was overwhelmed with ſorrow: the waves went over his head: he was conſumed within him: he was ſtuck in the mire and clay; he cried, he wept; yea, his eyes were as a fountain of tears. Guiltineſs was upon him, and he muſt be purged; his ſins waſhed white as ſnow, that were as red as crimſon, or he is undone for ever[d].' His repentance prevailed: behold, what work this part of covetouſneſs makes! what evil, what ſorrow! O that the people of this covetouſneſs would let the ſenſe of David's ſorrows ſink deep into their ſouls, that they might come to David's ſalvation! 'Reſtore me,' ſaith that good man: it ſeems he once knew a better ſtate: yes, and this may teach the better ſort to fear, and ſtand in awe too, leſt they ſin and fall. For David was taken at a diſadvantage: he was off his watch, and gone from the croſs: the law was not his lamp and light, at that inſtant: he was a wanderer from his ſafety, his ſtrong tower, and ſo ſurprized: then and there it was the enemy met him, and vanquiſhed him.

§. IV. The ſecond inſtance is that of Naboth's vineyard: it was coveted by Ahab and Jezebel[e]: that which led them to ſuch an unlawful deſire, found means to accompliſh it. Naboth muſt die, for he would not ſell it. To do it, they accuſe the innocent man of blaſphemy, and find two knights of the poſt, ſons of Belial, to evidence againſt him. Thus, in the name of God, and in ſhew of pure zeal to his glory, Naboth

[d] Pſal. li. Pſal. lxxvij. Pſal. xlii. 7. Pſal. lxix. 2, 14. Pſal. vi. 6, 7. [e] 1 Kings xxi.

muſt die; and accordingly was ſtoned to death. The news of which coming to Jezebel, ſhe bid Ahab ariſe and take poſſeſſion, for Naboth was dead: but God followed both of them with his fierce vengeance. 'In the place where the dogs licked the blood of 'Naboth' (ſaith Elijah in the name of the Lord) 'ſhall 'dogs lick thy blood; even thine; and I will bring 'evil upon thee, and take away thy poſterity:' and of Jezebel (his wife and partner in this covetouſneſs and murder) he adds 'the dogs ſhall eat her fleſh by the 'walls of Jezreel.' Here is the infamy and puniſhment due to this part of covetouſneſs. Let this deter thoſe that deſire unlawful things; the rights of others: for God, that is juſt, will certainly repay ſuch with intereſt in the end. But perhaps theſe are few: either that they do not or dare not ſhew it, becauſe the law will bite if they do. But the next part hath company enough, that will yet exclaim againſt the iniquity of this part of covetouſneſs; and by their ſeeming abhorrence of it, would excuſe themſelves of all guilt in the reſt: let us conſider that.

§. V. The next and moſt common part of covetouſneſs is, the unlawful deſire of lawful things; eſpecially of riches. Money is lawful, but 'the love of it is 'the root of all evil,' if the man of God ſay true. So riches are lawful; but they that purſue them, 'fall 'into divers temptations, ſnares and luſts;' if the ſame good man ſay right. He calls them 'uncertain' to ſhew their folly and danger that ſet their hearts upon them. Covetouſneſs is hateful to God: he hath denounced great judgments upon thoſe that are guilty of it. God charged it on Iſrael of old, as one of the reaſons of his judgments: 'For the iniquity of his 'covetouſneſs (ſaith God) was I wroth, and ſmote 'him.' In another place, 'Every one is given to 'covetouſneſs; and from the prophet to the prieſt, 'every one dealeth falſly; therefore will I give their 'wives unto others, and their fields to them that ſhall 'inherit them.' In another place, God complained thus: 'But thine eyes and thy heart are not but for 'thy

'thy covetousness[f].' By Ezekiel God renews and repeats his complaint against their covetousness: 'and 'they come to thee as the people, and sit before thee 'as my people: they hear thy words, but will not do 'them; with their mouths they shew much love, but 'their hearts go after covetousness[g]. Therefore God, in the choice of magistrates, made it part of their qualification, to hate covetousness; foreseeing the mischief that would follow to that society or government where covetous men were in power; that self would bias them, and they would seek their own ends at the cost of the publick. David desired, 'that his 'heart might not incline to covetousness, but to the 'testimonies of his God[h].' And the wise man expressly tells us, that, 'He that hateth covetousness, 'shall prolong his days[i]; making a curse to follow it. And it is by Luke charged upon the Pharisees, as a mark of their wickedness. And Christ, in that evangelist, bids his followers 'take heed and beware of 'covetousness[k]:' and he giveth a reason for it, that carrieth a most excellent instruction in it; 'for (saith he) 'a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the 'things which he possesseth[l]:' but he goeth farther; he joins covetousness with adultery, murder, and blasphemy[m]. No wonder then if the apostle Paul is so liberal in his censure of this evil; he placeth it with all unrighteousness, to the Romans[n]: to the Ephesians he writeth the like; and addeth, 'Let not covetousness 'be so much as named among you[o]:' and bids the Colossians, 'mortify their members[p];' and names several sins, as fornication, uncleanness, and such like, but ends with covetousness; with this at the tail of it, 'which (saith he) is idolatry.' And we know there is not a greater offence against God: nay, this very apostle calls 'the love of money the root of all evil; which '(saith he) whilst some have coveted after, they have

[f] Isa. lvii. 17. Jer. vi. 13. ch. viii. 10. and xxii. 17. [g] Ezek. xxxiii. 31. [h] Psal. cxix. 36. [i] Prov. xxvi. 16. [k] Luke xvi. 14. [l] Luke xii. 15. [m] Mark vii. 22. [n] Rom. i. 29. [o] Eph. v. 3. [p] Col. iii. 5, 6.

'erred from the faith, and pierced themselves through 'with divers sorrows: for they that will be rich, fall 'into temptation, and a snare, and many foolish and 'hurtful lusts. O man of God, (saith he to his be-'loved friend Timothy) flee these things, and follow 'after righteousness, faith, love, patience, and meek-'ness [q].'

§. VI. Peter was of the same mind; for he maketh covetousness to be one of the great marks of the false prophets and teachers that should arise among the Christians; and by that they might know them; 'Who (saith he) through covetousness, shall, with feigned 'words, make merchandize of you [r].' To conclude, therefore, the author to the Hebrews, at the end of his epistle, leaves this (with other things) not without great zeal and weight upon them: 'Let (saith he) your 'conversation be without covetousness,' (he rests not in this generality, but goes on) 'and be content with 'such things as you have; for God hath said, I will 'never leave thee, nor forsake thee [s]:' What then? Must we conclude that those who are not content, but seek to be rich, have forsaken God? The conclusion seems hard; but yet it is natural: for such, it is plain, are not content with what they have; they would have more; they covet to be rich, if they may; they live not with those dependencies and regards to Providence, to which they are exhorted; nor is godliness, with content, great gain to them.

§. VII. And truly it is a reproach to a man, especially the religious man, that he knows not when he hath enough; when to leave off; when to be satisfied: that notwithstanding God sends him one plentiful season of gain after another, he is so far from making that the cause of withdrawing from the trafficks of the world, that he makes it a reason of launching farther into it; as if the more he hath, the more he may. He therefore reneweth his appetite, bestirs himself more than ever, that he may have his share in the scramble, while any

[q] 1 Tim. vi. 9, 10, 11. [r] 2 Pet. ii. 3. [s] Heb. xiii. 5.

thing

thing is to be got: this is as if cumber, not retirement, and gain, not content, were the duty and comfort of a Christian. O that this thing was better considered! for by not being so observable nor obnoxious to the law as other vices are, there is more danger, for want of that check. It is plain that most people strive not for substance, but wealth. Some there be that love it strongly, and spend it liberally, when they have got it. Though this be sinful, yet more commendable than to love money for money's sake. That is one of the basest passions the mind of man can be captivated with: a perfect lust; and a greater, and more soul-defiling one there is not in the whole catalogue of concupiscence. Which considered, should quicken people into a serious examination, how far this temptation of love of money hath entered them; and the rather, because the steps it maketh into the mind are almost insensible, which renders the danger greater. Thousands think themselves unconcerned in the caution, that yet are perfectly guilty of the evil. How can it be otherwise, when those that have, from a low condition, acquired thousands, labour yet to advance, yea, double and treble those thousands; and that with the same care and contrivance by which they got them. Is this to live comfortably, or to be rich? Do we not see how early they rise; how late they go to bed? how full of the change, the shop, the warehouse, the custom-house; of bills, bonds, charter-parties, &c. they are? running up and down as if it were to save the life of a condemned innocent. An insatiable lust, and therein ungrateful to God, as well as hurtful to men; who giveth it to them to use, and not to love: that is the abuse. And if this care, contrivance, and industry, and that continually, be not from the love of money, in those that have ten times more than they began with, and much more than they spend or need, I know not what testimony man can give of his love to any thing.

§. VIII. To conclude, It is an enemy to government in magistrates; for it tends to corruption. Wherefore those that God ordained, were such as feared him, and

hated covetousness. Next, it hurts society; for old traders keep the young ones poor: and the great reason why some have too little, and so are forced to drudge like slaves to feed their families, and keep their chin above water, is, because the rich hold fast, and press to be richer, and covet more, which dries up the little streams of profit from smaller folks. There should be a standard, both as to the value and time of traffick; and then the trade of the master to be shared among his servants that deserve it. This were both to help the young to get their livelihood, and to give the old time to think of leaving this world well, in which they have been so busy, that they might obtain a share in the other, of which they have been so careless.

§. IX. There is yet another mischief to government; for covetousness leads men to abuse and defraud it, by concealing or falsifying the goods they deal in: as bringing in forbidden goods by stealth, or lawful goods so as to avoid the payment of dues, or owning the goods of enemies for gain; or that they are not well made, or full measure; with abundance of that sort of deceit.

§. X. But covetousness has caused destructive feuds in families: for estates falling into the hands of those, whose avarice has put them upon drawing greater profit to themselves than was consistent with justice, has given birth to much trouble, and caused great oppression. It too often falling out, that such executors have kept the right owners out of possession with the money they should pay them.

§. XI. But this is not all; for covetousness betrays friendship: a bribe cannot be better placed to do an ill thing, or undo a man. Nay, it is a murderer too often both of soul and body: of the soul, because it kills that life it should have in God: where money masters the mind, it extinguishes all love to better things: of the body, for it will kill for money, by assassinations, poisons, false witness, &c. I shall end this head of covetousness, with the sin and doom of two covetous men, Judas and Simon Magus.

Judas's

Judas's religion fell in thorny ground: love of money choked him. Pride and anger in the Jews endeavoured to murder Christ; but till covetousness set her hand to effect it, they were all at a loss. They found Judas had the bag, and probably loved money; they would try him, and did. The price was set, and Judas betrays his Master, his Lord (that never did him wrong) into the hands of his most cruel adversaries. But to do him right, he returned the money, and to be revenged on himself, was his own hangman. A wicked act, a wicked end. Come on, you covetous! What say ye now to brother Judas? Was he not an ill man? Did he not very wickedly? Yes, yes. Would you have done so? No, no, by no means. Very well; but so said those evil Jews of stoning the prophets, and that yet crucified the beloved Son of God; he that came to save them, and would have done it, if they had received him, and not rejected the day of their visitation. Rub your eyes well, for the dust is got into them; and carefully read in your own consciences, and see, if, out of love to money, you have not betrayed the just One in yourselves, and so are brethren with Judas in iniquity. I speak for God against an idol; bear with me: have you not resisted, yea, quenched the good spirit of Christ, in your pursuit after your beloved wealth? 'Examine yourselves, try yourselves; know ye not 'your own selves, that if Christ dwell not (if he rule 'not, and be not above all beloved) in you, you are 'reprobates';' in an undone condition?

§. XII. The other covetous man is Simon Magus, a believer too; but his faith could not go deep enough for covetousness. He would have driven a bargain with Peter, so much money for so much Holy Ghost; that he might sell it again, and make a good trade of it; corruptly measuring Peter by himself, as if he had only had a better knack of cozening the people than himself, who had set up in Samaria for the great power of God, before the power of God in Philip and Peter

[1] 2 Cor. xiii. 5.

undeceived

undeceived the people. But what was Peter's answer and judgment? 'Thy money (says he) perish with 'thee: thou hast neither part nor lot in this matter: 'thou art in the gall of bitterness, and in the bond of 'iniquity[u]:' a dismal sentence. Besides, it tends to luxury, and rises often out of it: for from having much they spend much, and so become poor by luxury: such are covetous to get, to spend more, which temperance would prevent. For if men would not, or could not, by good laws well executed, and a better education, be so lavish in their tables, houses, furniture, apparel, and gaming, there would be no such temptation to covet earnestly after what they could not spend: for there is but here and there a miser that loves money for money's sake:—

§. XIII. Which leads to the last and basest part of covetousness, which is yet the most sordid; to wit, Hoarding up, or keeping money unprofitably, both to others and themselves too. This is Solomon's miser, 'that makes himself rich, and hath nothing[w]:' a great sin in the sight of God. He complained of such, as had stored up the labours of the poor in their houses; he calls it their spoils, and that it is a grinding of the poor, because they see it not again[x]. But he blesseth those that consider the poor, and commandeth every one, 'to open freely to his brother that is in need[y];' not only he that is spiritually, but naturally so; and, not to withhold his gift from the poor. The apostle chargeth Timothy in the sight of God, and before Jesus Christ, 'that he fail not to charge them that are rich 'in this world, that they trust not in their uncertain 'riches, but in the living God, who giveth liberally; 'and that they do good with them, that they may be 'rich in good works[z]. Riches are apt to corrupt; and that which keeps them sweet and best, is charity: he that uses them not, gets them not for the end for which they are given; but loves them for themselves,

[u] Acts viii. 8, 9, to 24. [w] Prov. xvii. 7. [x] Isa. iii. 14, 15.
[y] Psal. xli. 1. Deut. xv. 7. [z] 1 Tim. vi. 17.

and

and not their ſervice. The avaricious is poor in his wealth: he wants for fear of ſpending; and increaſes his fear with his hope, which is his gain; and ſo tortures himſelf with his pleaſure: the moſt like to the man that hid his talent in a napkin, of all others; for this man's talents are hid in his bags out of ſight, in vaults, under boards, behind wainſcots; elſe upon bonds and mortgages, growing but as under ground; for it doth good to none.

§. XIV. This covetous man is a monſter in nature; for he has no bowels; and is like the poles, always cold. An enemy to the ſtate, for he ſpirits their money away. A diſeaſe to the body politick, for he obſtructs the circulation of the blood, and ought to be removed by a purge of the law: for theſe are vices at heart, that deſtroy by wholeſale. The covetous, he hates all uſeful arts and ſciences, as vain, leſt they ſhould coſt him ſomething the learning: wherefore ingenuity has no more place in his mind, than in his pocket. He lets houſes fall, and highways poach, to prevent the charge of repairs; and for his ſpare diet, plain cloaths, and mean furniture, he would place them to the account of moderation. O monſter of a man! that can take up the croſs for covetouſneſs, and not for Chriſt.

§. XV. But he pretends negatively to ſome religion too; for he always rails at prodigality, the better to cover his avarice. If you would beſtow a box of ſpikenard on a good man's head, to ſave money, and to ſhew righteous, he tells you of the poor: but if they come, he excuſes his want of charity with the unworthineſs of the object, or the cauſes of his poverty, or that he can beſtow his money upon thoſe that deſerve it better; who rarely opens his purſe till quarter-day, for fear of loſing it.

§. XVI. But he is more miſerable than the pooreſt; for he enjoys not what he yet fears to loſe; they fear not what they do not enjoy. Thus is he poor by overvaluing his wealth; but he is wretched, that hungers with money in a cook's ſhop: yet having made a god of his

his gold, who knows, but he thinks it unnatural to eat what he worſhips?

§. XVII. But, which aggravates this ſin, I have myſelf once known ſome, that to get money, have wearied themſelves into the grave; and to be true to their principle, when ſick, would not ſpare a fee to a doctor, to help the poor ſlave to live; and ſo died to ſave charges: a conſtancy that canonizes them martyrs for money.

§. XVIII. But now let us ſee what inſtances the ſcripture will give us in reproof of the ſordid hoarders and hiders of money. A good-like young man came to Chriſt, and enquired the way to eternal life: Chriſt told him he knew the commandments; he replied, he had kept them from his youth: (it ſeems he was no looſe perſon, and indeed ſuch are uſually not ſo, to ſave charges) 'and yet lackeſt thou one thing (ſaith Chriſt) 'ſell all, diſtribute it to the poor, and thou ſhalt have 'treaſure in heaven, and come and follow me.' It ſeems Chriſt pinched him in the ſore place; he hit the mark, and ſtruck him to the heart, who knew his heart: by this he tried how well he had kept the commandments, to love God above all. It is ſaid, the young man was very ſorrowful, and went his way; and the reaſon which is given, is, that he was very rich. The tides met, money and eternal life: contrary deſires: but which prevailed? alas! his riches. But what ſaid Chriſt to this? 'How hardly ſhall they that have 'riches enter into the kingdom of God?' He adds, 'It is eaſier for a camel to go through a needle's eye, 'than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of 'heaven:' that is, ſuch a rich man, to wit, a covetous rich man, to whom it is hard to do good with what he has: it is more than an ordinary miracle: O who then would be rich and covetous! It was upon theſe rich men that Chriſt pronounced his wo, ſaying, 'Wo unto 'you that are rich, for ye have received your conſola-'tion here: What! none in the heavens? no, unleſs you become willing to be poor men, can reſign all, live

looſe

loose to the world, have it at arm's-end, yea, underfoot, a servant, and not a master.

§. XIX. The other instance is a very dismal one too: it is that of Ananias and Sapphira. In the beginning of apostolick times, it was customary for those who received the word of life, to bring what substance they had, and lay it at the apostles feet: of these, Joses, surnamed Barnabas, was exemplary. Among the rest, Ananias and his wife Sapphira, confessing to the truth, sold their possession, but covetously reserved some of the purchase-money from the common purse, to themselves, and brought a part for the whole, and laid it at the apostles feet. But Peter, a plain and a bold man, in the majesty of the Spirit, said, 'Ananias, why hath 'Satan filled thine heart to lye to the Holy Ghost; 'and to keep back part of the price of the land? 'whilst it remained, was it not thine own? and after 'it was sold, was it not in thine own power? why hast 'thou conceived this thing in thine heart? thou hast 'not lied unto men, but unto God.' But what followed this covetousness and hypocrisy of Ananias? why, Ananias hearing these words, 'he fell down, and 'gave up the ghost.' The like befel his wife, being privy to the deceit their avarice had led them to. And it is said, that 'great fear came upon all the 'church, and those that heard of these things:' and also should on those that now read them. For if this judgment was shewn and recorded, that we should beware of the like evils, what will become of those, that under the profession of Christianity, a religion that teaches men to live loose from the world, and to yield up all to the will and service of Christ and his kingdom, not only retain a part, but all; and cannot part with the least thing for Christ's sake. I beseech God to incline the hearts of my readers to weigh these things. This had not befallen Ananias and Sapphira, if they had acted as in God's presence, and with that entire love, truth, and sincerity, that became them. O that people would use the light that Christ hath given them, to search and see how far they are under the power of this

this iniquity! For would they but watch against the love of the world, and be less in bondage to the things that are seen, which are temporal, they would begin to set their hearts on things above, that are of an eternal nature. Their life would be hid with Christ in God, out of the reach of all the uncertainties of time, and troubles and changes of mortality. Nay, if people would but consider how hardly riches are got, how uncertainly they are kept, the envy they bring; that they can neither make a man wise, nor cure diseases, nor add to life, much less give peace in death: no, nor hardly yield any solid benefit above food and raiment (which may be had without them) and that if there be any good use for them, it is to relieve others in distress; being but stewards of the plentiful providences of God, and consequently accountable for our stewardship: if, I say, these considerations had any room in our minds, we should not thus post to get, nor care to hide and keep, such a mean and impotent thing. O that the cross of Christ (which is the Spirit and Power of God in man) might have more place in the soul, that it might crucify us more and more to the world, and the world to us; that, like the days of paradise, the earth might again be the footstool; and the treasure of the earth a servant, and not a god, to man!—Many have writ against this vice; three I will mention.

§. XX. William Tindal, that worthy apostle of the English reformation, has an intire discourse, to which I refer the reader, intitled, 'The Parable of the Wicked 'Mammon.' The next is—

§. XXI. Peter Charron (a famous Frenchman, and in particular for the book he wrote of Wisdom) hath a chapter against covetousness, part of which take as followeth: "To love and affect riches, is covetous-"ness: not only the love and affection, but also every "over-curious care and industry about riches. The "desire of goods, and the pleasure we take in possessing "of them, is grounded only upon opinion: the im-"moderate desire to get riches, is a gangrene in our "souls, which, with a venomous heat consumeth our

"natural

" natural affections, to the end it might fill us with
" virulent humours. So ſoon as it is lodged in our
" hearts, all honeſt and natural affection, which we
" owe either to our parents or friends, or ourſelves,
" vaniſheth away: all the reſt, in reſpect of our
" profit, ſeemeth nothing; yea, we forget in the end,
" and condemn ourſelves, our bodies, our minds, for
" this tranſitory traſh; and as our proverb is, We ſell
" our horſe to get us hay. Covetouſneſs is the vile
" and baſe paſſion of vulgar fools, who account riches
" the principal good of a man, and fear poverty, as
" the greateſt evil; and not contenting themſelves
" with neceſſary means, which are forbidden no man,
" weigh that is good in a goldſmith's balance, when
" nature has taught us to meaſure it by the ell of ne-
" ceſſity. For, what greater folly can there be, than
" to adore that which nature itſelf hath put under our
" feet, and hidden in the bowels of the earth, as un-
" worthy to be ſeen; yea, rather to be contemned,
" and trampled under foot? This is that which the
" ſin of man hath only torn out of the entrails of the
" earth, and brought unto light to kill himſelf. We
" dig out the bowels of the earth, and bring to light
" thoſe things, for which we would fight: We are not
" aſhamed to eſteem thoſe things moſt highly, which
" are in the loweſt parts of the earth. Nature ſeemeth
" even in the firſt birth of gold, and the womb from
" whence it proceedeth, after a ſort to have preſaged
" the miſery of thoſe that are in love with it; for it
" hath ſo ordered the matter, that in thoſe countries
" where it groweth, there groweth with it neither
" graſs, nor plant, nor other thing that is worth any
" thing: as giving us to underſtand thereby, that in
" thoſe minds where the deſire of this metal groweth,
" there cannot remain ſo much as a ſpark of true
" honour and virtue. For what thing can be more
" baſe, than for a man to degrade, and to make him-
" ſelf a ſervant and a ſlave to that which ſhould be
" ſubject unto him? Riches ſerve wiſe men, but com-
" mand a fool: for a covetous man ſerveth his riches,

" and

" and not they him: and he is ſaid to have goods as
" he hath a fever, which holdeth and tyrannizeth over
" a man, not he over it. What thing more vile, than
" to love that which is not good, neither can make a
" good man? yea, is common, and in the poſſeſſion
" of the moſt wicked in the world; which many times
" perverts good manners, but never amends them?
" without which, ſo many wiſe men have made them-
" ſelves happy, and by which ſo many wicked men
" have come to a wicked end. To be brief; what
" thing more miſerable, than to bind the living to the
" dead, as Mezentius did, to the end their death might
" be languiſhing, and the more cruel; to tye the ſpirit
" unto the excrement and ſcum of the earth, to pierce
" through his own ſoul with a thouſand torments,
" which this amorous paſſion of riches brings with it;
" and to entangle himſelf with the ties and cords of
" this malignant thing, as the ſcripture calls them;
" which doth likewiſe term them thorns and thieves,
" which ſteal away the heart of man; ſnares of the
" devil, idolatry, and the root of all evil. And truly,
" he that ſhall ſee the catalogue of thoſe envies and
" moleſtations, which riches engender into the heart of
" man, as their proper thunderbolt and lightning,
" they would be more hated than they are now loved.
" Poverty wants many things, but covetouſneſs all:
" a covetous man is good to none, and worſe to him-
" ſelf." Thus much of Charron, a wiſe and great man. My next teſtimony is yielded by an author not unlikely to take with ſome ſort of people for his wit; may they equally value his morality, and the judgment of his riper time.

§. XXII. Abraham Cowley, a witty and ingenious man, yieldeth us the other teſtimony: of avarice he writeth us: " There are two ſorts of avarice; the one
" is but a baſtard-kind, and that is a rapacious appe-
" tite of gain; not for its own ſake, but for the
" pleaſure of refunding it immediately through all
" the channels of pride and luxury. The other is the
" true kind, and properly ſo called, which is a reſtleſs
" and

" and unſatiable deſire of riches, not for any farther " end or uſe, but only to hoard and preſerve, and " perpetually increaſe them. The covetous man of " the firſt kind is like a greedy oſtrich, which devour- " eth any metal, but it is with an intent to feed upon " it, and in effect it maketh a ſhift to digeſt and excern " it. The ſecond is like the fooliſh chough, which " loveth to ſteal money, only to hide it. The firſt " doth much harm to mankind, and a little good to " ſome few: the ſecond doth good to none, no, not to " himſelf. The firſt can make no excuſe to God or " angels, or rational men, for his actions: the ſecond " can give no reaſon or colour, not to the Devil him- " ſelf, for what he doth: he is a ſlave to Mammon " without wages. The firſt maketh a ſhift to be be- " loved, ay, and envied too, by ſome people: the " ſecond is the univerſal object of hatred and con- " tempt. There is no vice hath been ſo pelted with " good ſentences, and eſpecially by the poets, who " have purſued it with ſatires, and fables, and allego- " ries, and alluſions, and moved (as we ſay) every " ſtone to fling at it; among all which, I do not re- " member a more fine correction, than that which was " given it by one line of Ovid's:

" ——————— Multa
" Luxuriæ deſunt, omnia avaritiæ.

" Which is, Much is wanting to luxury, All to avarice. " To which ſaying I have a mind to add one member, " and render it thus: Poverty wants ſome, luxury " many, avarice all things. Somebody ſaith of a " virtuous and wiſe man, that having nothing, he " hath all. This is juſt his antipode, who having all " things, yet hath nothing.

" And oh! what man's condition can be worſe,
" Than his, whom plenty ſtarves, and bleſſings curſe?
" The beggars but a common fate deplore;
" The rich-poor man's emphatically poor.

" I wonder how it cometh to paſs, that there hath " never been any law made againſt him: againſt him, " do I ſay? I mean, for him. As there are publick

"provisions made for all other mad-men, it is very
"reasonable that the king should appoint some per-
"sons to manage his estate during his life (for his
"heirs commonly need not that care) and out of it to
"make it their business to see, that he should not want
"alimony befitting his condition; which he could
"never get out of his own cruel fingers. We relieve
"idle vagrants, and counterfeit beggars, but have no
"care at all of these really poor men, who are, me-
"thinks, to be respectfully treated, in regard of their
"quality. I might be endless against them; but I
"am almost choaked with the superabundance of the
"matter. Too much plenty impoverisheth me, as it
"doth them." Thus much against avarice, that moth of the soul, and canker of the mind.

CHAP. XIV.

§. 1. Luxury, what it is, and the mischief of it to mankind. An enemy to the cross of Christ. §. 2. Of luxury in diet, how unlike Christ, and contrary to scripture. §. 3. The mischief it does to the bodies, as well as minds of people. §. 4. Of luxury in the excess of apparel, and of recreations: that sin brought the first coat: people not to be proud of the badge of their misery. §. 5. The recreations of the times enemies to virtue: they rise from degeneracy. §. 6. The end of clothes allowable; the abuse reprehended. §. 7. The chiefest recreation of good men of old, was to serve God, and do good to mankind, and follow honest vocations, not vain sports and pastimes. §. 8. The heathens knew and did better things. The sobriety of infidels above Christians. §. 9. Luxury condemned in the case of Dives. §. 10. The doctrine of the scripture positively against a voluptuous life.

§. I. I AM now come to the other extreme, and that is luxury, which is, An excessive indulgence of self in ease and pleasure. This is the last great impiety

piety ſtruck at in this diſcourſe of the holy croſs of Chriſt, which indeed is much of the ſubject of its mortifying virtue and power. A diſeaſe as epidemical as killing: it creeps into all ſtations and ranks of men; the pooreſt often exceeding their ability to indulge their appetite; and the rich frequently wallowing in thoſe things that pleaſe the luſts of their eye and fleſh, and the pride of life; as regardleſs of the ſevere diſcipline of Jeſus, whom they call Saviour, as if luxury, and not the croſs, were the ordained way to heaven. 'What 'ſhall we eat, what ſhall we drink, and what ſhall we 'put on?' once the care of luxurious Heathens, is now the practice, and (which is worſe) the ſtudy, of pretended Chriſtians. But let ſuch be aſhamed, and repent; remembering that Jeſus did not reproach the Gentiles for thoſe things, to indulge his followers in them. They that will have Chriſt to be theirs, muſt be ſure to be his, to be like-minded, to live in temperance and moderation, as knowing the Lord is at hand. Sumptuous apparel, rich unguents, delicate waſhes, ſtately furniture, coſtly cookery, and ſuch diverſions as balls, maſques, muſick-meetings, plays, romances, &c. which are the delight and entertainment of the times, belong not to the holy path that Jeſus and his true diſciples and followers trod to glory: no, 'through many 'tribulations (ſays none of the leaſt of them) muſt 'we enter into the kingdom of God.' I do earneſtly beſeech the gay and luxurious, into whoſe hands this diſcourſe ſhall be directed, to conſider well the reaſons and examples here advanced againſt their way of living; if haply they may come to ſee how remote it is from true Chriſtianity, and how dangerous to their eternal peace. God Almighty by his grace ſoften their hearts to inſtruction, and ſhed abroad his tender love in their ſouls, that they may be overcome to repentance, and to the love of the holy way of the croſs of Jeſus, the bleſſed Redeemer of men. For they cannot think that he can benefit them, while they refuſe to lay down their ſins for the love of him that laid down his life for the love of them; or that he will give them a place in

heaven, that refuſe him any in their hearts on earth. But let us examine luxury in all its parts.

§. II. Luxury has many parts; and the firſt that is forbidden by the ſelf-denying Jeſus, is the belly: 'Take no thought (ſays he to his diſciples) ſaying, 'what ſhall we eat, or what ſhall we drink?---for after 'theſe things do the Gentiles ſeek[a]:' as if he had ſaid, the uncircumciſed, the Heathen, ſuch as live without the true God, and make a god of their belly, whoſe care is to pleaſe their appetite, more than to ſeek God and his kingdom: you muſt not do ſo, but 'ſeek you firſt 'the kingdom of God, and his righteouſneſs, and all 'other things ſhall be added.' That which is convenient for you will follow: let every thing have its time and order.

This carries a ſerious reprehenſion to the luxurious eater and drinker, who is taken up with an exceſſive care of his palate and belly, what he ſhall eat, and what he ſhall drink: who being often at a loſs what to have next, therefore has an officer to invent, and a cook to dreſs, diſguiſe, and drown the ſpecies, that it may cheat the eye, look new and ſtrange; and all to excite an appetite, or raiſe an admiration. To be ſure there is great variety, and that curious and coſtly: the ſauce, it may be, dearer than the meat: and ſo full is he fed, that without it he can ſcarce find out a ſtomach; which is to force an hunger, rather than to ſatisfy it. And as he eats, ſo he drinks; rarely for thirſt, but pleaſure; to pleaſe his palate. For that purpoſe he will have divers ſorts, and he muſt taſte them all: one, however good, is dull and tireſome; variety is more delightful than the beſt; and therefore the whole world is little enough to fill his cellar. But were he temperate in his proportions, his variety might be imputed rather to curioſity than luxury. But what the temperate man uſes as a cordial, he drinks by full draughts, till, inflamed by exceſs, he is fitted to be an inſtrument of miſchief, if not to others, always to himſelf; whom

[a] Mat. vi. 31, 32.

perhaps

perhaps at last he knows not: for such brutality are some come to, they will sip themselves out of their own knowledge. This is the lust of the flesh, that is not of the Father, but of the world: for upon this comes in the music and dance, and mirth, and the laughter which is madness [b], that the noise of one pleasure may drown the iniquity of another, lest his own heart should deal too plainly with him. Thus the luxurious live; 'they 'forget God, they regard not the afflicted.' O that the sons and daughters of men would consider their wantonness and their iniquity in these things! How ill do they requite the goodness of God in the use and abuse of the plenty he yields them: how cruel are they to his creatures, how lavish of their lives and virtue, how thankless for them; forgetting the giver, and abusing the gift by their lusts; and despising counsel, and casting instruction behind them. They lose tenderness, and forget duty, being swallowed up of voluptuousness; adding one excess to another. God rebuked this sin in the Jews by the prophet Amos: 'Ye that put 'far away the evil day, and cause the seat of violence 'to come near; and lie upon beds of ivory, and stretch 'themselves upon their couches, and eat the lambs 'out of the flock, and the calves out of the stall; and 'chant to the sound of the viol, and invent to them-'selves instruments of musick, like David; that drink 'wine in bowls, and anoint themselves with the chief 'ointments: but they are not grieved for the affliction 'of Joseph [c].'—These, it seems, were the vices of the degenerate Jews, under all their pretence to religion; and are they not of Christians at this day? Yea, they are; and these are the great parts of luxury struck at in this discourse. Remember Dives, with all his sumptuous fare, went to hell; and the apostle pronounces heavy woes upon those 'whose God is their belly;' for such 'glory in their shame [d].'

Christ places these things to the courts of worldly kings, not his kingdom; making them unseemly in his

[b] Eccl. ii. 2. [c] Amos vi. 3, 4, 5, 6. [d] Phil. iii. 19.

followers: his feaſt therefore (which was his miracle) to the multitude, was plain and ſimple; enough, but without curioſity, or the art of cookery: and it went down well, for they were hungry; the beſt and fitteſt time to eat. And the apoſtle, in his directions to his much beloved Timothy, debaſes the lovers of worldly fulneſs; adviſing him to 'godlineſs and content, as 'the chiefeſt gain:' adding, 'and having food and 'raiment, let us therewith be content[e].' Behold the abſtemious, and moſt contented life of thoſe royal pilgrims, the ſons of heaven, and immortal offspring of the great power of God; they were in faſts and perils often, and eat what was ſet before them; and in all conditions learnt to be contented. O bleſſed men! O bleſſed ſpirits! let my ſoul dwell with yours for ever!

§. III. But the diſeaſes which luxury begets and nouriſhes, make it an enemy to mankind: for beſides the miſchief it brings to the ſouls of people, it undermines health, and ſhortens the life of man, in that it gives but ill nouriſhment, and ſo leaves and feeds corrupt humours, whereby the body becomes rank and foul, lazy and ſcorbutick; unfit for exerciſe, and more for honeſt labour. The ſpirits being thus loaded with ill fleſh, and the mind effeminated, a man is made unactive, and ſo unuſeful in civil ſociety; for idleneſs follows luxury, as well as diſeaſes. Theſe are the burdens of the world, devourers of good things, ſelf-lovers, and ſo forgetters of God: but (which is ſad, and yet juſt) the end of thoſe that forget God, is to be 'turned into hell[f].'

§. IV. But there is another part of luxury, which has great place with vain man and woman, and that is the gorgeouſneſs of apparel; one of the fooliſheſt, becauſe moſt coſtly, empty and unprofitable exceſſes people can well be guilty of. We are taught by the ſcriptures of truth to believe that ſin brought the firſt coat; and if conſent of writers be of force, it was as well without

[e] 1 Tim. vi. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11. [f] Pſal. ix. 17.

as

as within: to those that so believe, I direct my discourse, because they, I am sure, are the generality. I say, if sin brought the first coat, poor Adam's offspring have little reason to be proud or curious in their clothes; for it seems their original was base, and the finery of them will neither make them noble, nor man innocent again [g]. But doubtless blessed was that time, when innocence, not ignorance, freed our first parents from such shifts: they were then naked, and knew no shame; but sin made them ashamed to be longer naked. Since therefore guilt brought shame, and shame an apron and a coat, how very low are they fallen, that glory in their shame, that are proud of their fall? for so they are, that use care and cost to trim and set off the very badge and livery of that lamentable lapse. It is all one, as for a man that had lost his nose by a scandalous distemper, to take pains to set out a false one, in such shape and splendor, as should give but the greater occasion for all to gaze upon him; as if he would tell them, he had lost his nose, for fear they should think he had not. But would a wise man be in love with a false nose, though ever so rich, and however finely made? Surely no: and shall people that call themselves Christians, shew so much love for clothes, as to neglect innocence, their first cloathing? Doth it not shew what cost of time, pains, and money, people are at to set off their shame, with the greatest shew and solemnity of folly? is it not to delight in the effect of that cause, which they rather should lament? If a thief were to wear chains all his life, would their being gold, and well made, abate his infamy? to be sure his being choice of them would increase it. Why, this is the very case of the vain fashion-mongers of this shameless age; yet will they be Christians, judges in religion, saints, what not? O miserable state indeed! to be so blinded by the lust of the eye, the lust of the flesh, and the pride of life, as to call shame decency, and to be curious and expensive about that which should be their humiliation.

[g] Gen. iii. 21.

And not only are they grown in love with these vanities, and thereby express how wide they are from primitive innocence; but it is notorious how many fashions have been and are invented on purpose to excite lust: which still puts them at a greater distance from a simple and harmless state, and enslaves their minds to base concupiscence.

§. V. Nor is it otherwise with recreations, as they call them; for these are nearly related. Man was made a noble, rational, grave creature: his pleasure stood in his duty, and his duty in obeying God; which was to love, fear, adore, and serve him; and in using the creation with true temperance and godly moderation; as knowing well that the Lord, his judge, was at hand, the inspector and rewarder of his works. In short, his happiness was in his communion with God; his error was to leave that conversation, and let his eyes wander abroad, to gaze on transitory things. If the recreations of the age were as pleasant and necessary as they are said and made to be, unhappy then would Adam and Eve have been, that never knew them. But had they never fallen, and the world not been tainted by their folly and ill example; perhaps man had never known the necessity or use of many of these things. Sin gave them birth, as it did the other; they were afraid of the presence of the Lord, which was the joy of their innocency, when they had sinned; and then their minds wandered, sought other pleasures, and began to forget God; as he complained afterwards by the prophet Amos: 'They put far away the evil day: they eat the 'fat of the flock: they drink wine in bowls: they an-'oint themselves with the chief perfumes: they stretch 'themselves upon beds of ivory: they chant to the 'sound of the viol, and invent unto themselves in-'struments of musick, like David, not heeding or re-'membering the afflictions and captivity of poor 'Joseph[h];' him they wickedly sold, innocency was quite banished, and shame soon began to grow a custom,

[h] Amos vi. 3, 4, 5, 6.

till

till they were grown ſhameleſs in the imitation. And truly, it is now no leſs a ſhame to approach primitive innocence by modeſt plainneſs, than it was matter of ſhame to Adam that he loſt it, and became forced to tack fig-leaves for a covering. Wherefore in vain do men and women deck themſelves with ſpecious pretences to religion, and flatter their miſerable ſouls with the fair titles of Chriſtian, innocent, good, virtuous, and the like, whilſt ſuch vanities and follies reign. Wherefore to you all, from the eternal God, I am bound to declare, 'you mock him that will not be mocked, and 'deceive yourſelves[i];' ſuch intemperance muſt be denied, and you muſt know yourſelves changed, and more nearly approach to primitive purity, before you can be entitled to what you do but now uſurp; 'for 'none but thoſe who are led by the Spirit of God, are 'the children of God[k],' which guides into all temperance and meekneſs.

§. VI. But the Chriſtian world (as it would be called) is juſtly reproveable, becauſe the very end of the firſt inſtitution of apparel is groſsly perverted. The utmoſt ſervice that clothes originally were deſigned for, when ſin had ſtripped them of their native innocence, was, as hath been ſaid, to cover their ſhame, therefore plain and modeſt: next, to fence out cold, therefore ſubſtantial: laſtly, to declare ſexes, therefore diſtinguiſhing. So that then neceſſity provoked to clothing, now pride and vain curioſity: in former times ſome benefit obliged, but now wantonneſs and pleaſure: then they minded them for covering, but now that is the leaſt part; their greedy eyes muſt be provided with gaudy ſuperfluities; as if they made their clothes for trimming, to be ſeen rather than worn; only for the ſake of other curioſities that muſt be tacked upon them, although they neither cover ſhame, fence from cold, nor diſtinguiſh ſexes; but ſignally diſplay their wanton, fantaſtick, full-fed minds, that have them.

[i] Gal. vi. 7. [k] Rom. viii. 14. Gal. v. 24.

§. VII. Then

§. VII. Then the beſt recreations were to ſerve God, be juſt, follow their vocations, mind their flocks, do good, exerciſe their bodies in ſuch manner as was ſuitable to gravity, temperance, and virtue; but now that word is extended to almoſt every folly that carries any appearance above open ſcandalous filth (deteſted of the very actors, when they had done it); ſo much are men degenerated from Adam in his diſobedience; ſo much more confident and artificial are they grown in all impieties: yea, their minds, through cuſtom, are become ſo very inſenſible of the inconveniency that attends the like follies, that what was once mere neceſſity, a badge of ſhame, at beſt but a remedy, is now the delight, pleaſure, and recreation of the age. How ignoble is it! how ignominious and unworthy of a reaſonable creature; man which is endued with underſtanding, fit to contemplate immortality, and made a companion (if not ſuperior) to angels, that he ſhould mind a little duſt; a few ſhameful rags; inventions of mere pride and luxury; toys, ſo apiſh and fantaſtick; entertainments ſo dull and earthy, that a rattle, a baby, a hobby-horſe, a top, are by no means ſo fooliſh in a ſimple child, nor unworthy of his thoughts, as are ſuch inventions of the care and pleaſure of men. It is a mark of great ſtupidity, that ſuch vanities ſhould exerciſe the noble mind of man, and image of the great Creator of heaven and earth.

§. VIII. Of this many among the very Heathens of old had ſo clear a proſpect, that they deteſted all ſuch vanity; looking upon curioſity in apparel, and that variety of recreations now in vogue and eſteem with falſe Chriſtians, to be deſtructive of good manners, in that it more eaſily ſtole away the minds of people from ſobriety to wantonneſs, idleneſs, effeminacy, and made them only companions for the beaſt that periſhes: witneſs thoſe famous men, Anaxagoras, Socrates, Plato, Ariſtides, Cato, Seneca, Epictetus, &c. who placed true honour and ſatisfaction in nothing below virtue and immortality. Nay, ſuch are the remains of innocence among ſome Moors and Indians in our times, that they do

do not only traffick in a ſimple poſture, but if a Chriſtian (though he muſt be an odd one) fling out a filthy word, it is cuſtomary with them, by way of moral, to bring him water to purge his mouth. How much do the like virtues, and reaſonable inſtances, accuſe people profeſſing Chriſtianity, of groſs folly and intemperance? O! that men and women had the fear of God before their eyes! and that they were ſo charitable to themſelves, as to remember whence they came, what they are doing, and to what they muſt return: that ſo, more noble, more virtuous, more rational and heavenly things might be the matters of their pleaſure and entertainment! that they would be once perſuaded to believe how inconſiſtent the folly, vanity, and converſation they are moſtly exerciſed in, really are with the true nobility of a reaſonable ſoul; and let that juſt principle, which taught the Heathens, teach them, leſt it be found more tolerable for Heathens than ſuch Chriſtians in the day of account! For if their ſhorter notions, and more imperfect ſenſe of things could yet diſcover ſo much vanity; if their degree of light condemned it, and they, in obedience thereunto, diſuſed it, doth not it behove Chriſtians much more? Chriſt came not to extinguiſh, no, but to improve that knowledge: and they who think they need do leſs now than before, had need to act better than they think. I conclude, that the faſhions and recreations now in repute are very abuſive of the end of man's creation; and that the inconveniencies that attend them, as wantonneſs, idleneſs, prodigality, pride, luſt, reſpect of perſons (witneſs a plume of feathers, or a lace-coat in a country village, whatever be the man that wears them) with the like fruits, are repugnant to the duty, reaſon, and true pleaſure of man, and abſolutely inconſiſtent with that wiſdom, knowledge, manhood, temperance, induſtry, which render man truly noble and good.

§. IX. Again, theſe things which have been hitherto condemned, have never been the converſation or practice of the holy men and women of old times, whom the ſcriptures recommend for holy examples, worthy of imitation.

imitation. Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, were plain men, and princes, as graziers are, over their families and flocks. They were not solicitous of the vanities so much lived in by the people of this generation, for in all things they pleased God by faith. The first forsook his father's house, kindred, and country; a true type or figure of that self-denial all must know, that would have Abraham to their father. They must not think to live in those pleasures, fashions and customs they are called to leave; no, but part with all, in hopes of the great recompence of reward, 'and that 'better country, which is eternal in the heavens[l].' The prophets were generally poor mechanicks; one a shepherd, another an herdsman, &c. They often cried out upon the full-fed, wanton Israelites to repent, to fear and dread the living God, to forsake the sins and vanities they lived in; but they never imitated them. John Baptist, the messenger of the Lord, who was sanctified in his mother's womb, preached his embassy to the world in a coat of camel's hair, a rough and homely garment. Nor can it be conceived that Jesus Christ himself was much better apparelled, who according to the flesh, was of poor descent, and in life of great plainness; insomuch that it was usual in way of derision to say, 'Is not this Jesus the son of Joseph a 'carpenter[m]?' And this Jesus tells his followers, that as for soft raiment, gorgeous apparel and delicacies, they were for kings courts: implying, that he and his followers were not to seek after those things; but seems thereby to express the great difference that was betwixt the lovers of the fashions and customs of the world, and those whom he had chosen out of it. And he did not only come in that mean and despicable manner himself, that he might stain the pride of all flesh, but therein became exemplary to his followers, what a self-denying life they must lead, if they would be his true disciples. Nay, he farther leaves it with them in a

[l] Heb. xi. Amos vii. 15, 16. [m] Luke i. 15. Mat. iii. 1, 2, 3, 4. Mat. xiii. 55. Mark vi. 3. Luke vii. 25.

parable,

parable, to the end that it might make the deeper impreſſion, and that they might ſee how inconſiſtent a pompous worldly-pleaſing life is with the kingdom he came to eſtabliſh and call men to the poſſeſſion of: and that is the remarkable ſtory of Dives; who is repreſented, firſt, as a rich man; next, as a voluptuous man, in his rich apparel, his many diſhes, and his pack of dogs; and laſtly, as an uncharitable man, or one who was more concerned how to pleaſe the luſt of the eye, the luſt of the fleſh, and the pride of life, and fare ſumptuouſly every day, than to take compaſſion of poor Lazarus at his gate: no, his dogs were more pitiful and kind than he. But what was the doom of this jolly man, this great Dives? We read it was everlaſting torment; but that of Lazarus eternal joy with Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of God. In ſhort; Lazarus was a good man, the other a great man: the one poor and temperate, the other rich and luxurious: there are too many of them alive; and it were well, if his doom might awaken them to repentance.

§. X. Nor were the twelve apoſtles, the immediate meſſengers of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, other than poor men, one a fiſherman, another a tent-maker; and he that was of the greateſt (though perhaps not the beſt employment) was a cuſtom-gatherer. So that it is very unlikely that any of them were followers of the faſhions of the world: nay, they were ſo far from it, that, as became the followers of Chriſt, they lived poor, afflicted, ſelf-denying lives; bidding the churches to walk as they had them for examples. And to ſhut up this particular, they gave this pathetical account of the holy women in former times, as an example of godly temperance, namely, that firſt they did expreſsly abſtain from gold, ſilver, braided hair, fine apparel, or ſuch like; and next, 'that their adornment was a 'meek and quiet ſpirit, and the hidden man of the 'heart, which are of great price with the Lord:' affirm-'ing, 'that ſuch as live in pleaſure, are dead whilſt 'they

'Thy riches and thy fairs, thy merchandize, and all 'thy company, which is in the midst of thee, shall 'fall into the midst of the sea, in the day of thy ruin; 'and the inhabitants of the isles shall be astonished at 'thee, and their merchants hiss at thee; thou shalt be 'a terror, and shalt be no more[b].' Thus hath God declared his displeasure against the luxury of this wanton world. Yet farther the prophet Zephaniah goes, for thus he speaks: 'And it shall come to pass, 'in the day of the Lord's sacrifice, that I will punish 'the princes, and the king's children, and all such as 'are clothed with strange apparel[c].' Of how evil consequence was it in those times, for the greatest men to give themselves the liberty of following the vain customs of other nations; or of changing the usual end of clothes, or apparel, to gratify foolish curiosity?

§. II. This did the Lord Jesus Christ expressly charge his disciples not to be careful about; insinuating that such as were, could not be his disciples: for, says he, 'Take no thought, saying, what shall we eat? or what 'shall we drink? or wherewithal shall we be clothed? '(for after all these things do the Gentiles seek) for 'your heavenly Father knoweth that you have need of 'all these things; but seek ye first the kingdom of God, 'and his righteousness, and all these things shall be 'added unto you[d].' Under which of eating, and drinking, and apparel, he comprehends all external things whatsoever; and so much appears, as well because they are opposed to the kingdom of God and his righteousness, which are invisible and heavenly things, as that those very matters he enjoins them not to be careful about, are the most necessary, and the most innocent in themselves. If then, in such cases, the minds of his disciples were not to be solicitous, much less in foolish, superstitious, idle inventions, to gratify the carnal appetites and minds of men: so certain it is, that those who live therein, are none of his followers, but the Gentiles; and (as he elsewhere says) 'the na-

[b] Ezek. xxvii. [c] Zeph. i. 8. [d] Mat. vi. 31, 32, 33.

'tions

'tions of the world who know not God[e].' If then the distinguishing mark between the disciples of Jesus, and those of the world, is, that one minds the things of heaven, and God's kingdom, that 'stands in 'righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost[f],' (being not careful of external matters, even the most innocent and necessary) and that the other minds eating, drinking, apparel, and the affairs of the world, with the lusts, pleasures, profits, and honours that belong to it; be you intreated for your souls sakes, O inhabitants of England, to be serious, to reflect a while upon yourselves, what care and cost you are at, of time and money, about foolish, nay, vicious things: so far are you degenerated from the primitive Christian life. What buying and selling, what dealing and chaffering, what writing and posting, what toil and labour, what noise, hurry, bustle, and confusion, what study, what little contrivances and over-reachings, what eating, drinking, vanity of apparel, most ridiculous recreations; in short, what rising early, going to bed late, expence of precious time, is there about things that perish? View the streets, shops, exchanges, plays, parks, coffee-houses, &c. And is not the world, this fading world, writ upon every face? Say not within yourselves, How otherwise should men live, and the world subsist? the common, though frivolous objection: there is enough for all; let some content themselves with less: a few things plain and decent, serve a Christian life. It is lust, pride, avarice, that thrust men upon such folly: were God's kingdom more the exercise of their minds, these perishing entertainments would have but little of their time or thoughts.

§. III. This self-denying doctrine was confirmed and enforced by the apostles in their example, as we have already shewn; and in their precepts too, as we shall yet evince in those two most remarkable passages of Paul and Peter; where they do not only tell us what should be done, but also, what should be denied and

[e] Luke xii. 22 to 36. [f] Rom. xiv. 17.

avoided. 'In like manner I will, that women adorn 'themselves in modest apparel: (what is that?) with 'shame-facedness and sobriety; not with broidered 'hair, or gold, or pearls, or costly array, [then it 'seems these are immodest] but, which becometh wo-'men professing godliness, with good works[g]:' absolutely implying, that those who attire themselves with gold, silver, broidered hair, pearls, costly array, cannot in so doing be women professing godliness; making those very things to be contrary to modesty and what is good; and consequently that they are evil, and unbecoming 'women professing godliness.' To which the apostle Peter joins another precept after the like sort, viz. 'Whose adorning, let it not be that outward 'adorning of plaiting the hair, and of wearing of gold, 'or of putting on apparel: (what then?) but let it be 'the hidden man of the heart, in that which is not 'corruptible, even the ornament of a meek and 'quiet spirit, which is in the sight of God of great 'price.' And as an inducement, he adds, 'for after 'this manner in the old time, the holy * women, who 'so trusted in God, adorned themselves.' Which doth not only intimate, that both holy women were so adorned, and that it behoves such as would be holy, and trust in the holy God, to be so adorned; but also, that they who used those forbidden ornaments, were the women and people in all ages, that (for all their talk) 'were not holy, nor did trust in God.' Such are so far from trusting in God, that the apostle Paul expressly says, that 'she that liveth in pleasure is dead '(to God) whilst she liveth[h]:' and the same apostle farther enjoined, 'that Christians should have their con-'versation in heaven, and their minds fixed on things 'above: walk honestly as in the day, not in rioting and 'drunkenness, not in chambering and wantonness, not 'in envy and strife: let not fornication, uncleanness,

[g] 1 Tim. ii. 9, 10.

* Note, not a word of men, as if this vanity belonged not to the sex; let them observe that.

[h] 1 Tim. v. 6.

'or

'or covetousness, be once named amongst you; neither filthiness, nor foolish talking or jesting, which are not convenient; but rather giving of thanks: and let no corrupt communication proceed out of your mouth, but that which is good, to the use of edifying, that it may minister grace unto the hearers. But put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make no provision for the flesh, to fulfil the desires thereof. And grieve not the Holy Spirit; (intimating such conversation doth) but be ye followers of God, as dear children: walk circumspectly, not as fools, but as wise; redeeming the time, because the days are evil[1].'

§. IV. By this measure yourselves, O inhabitants of this land, who think yourselves wronged if not accounted Christians: see what proportion your life and spirit bears with these most holy and self-denying precepts and examples. Well, my friends, my soul mourns for you: I have been with and among you: your life and pastime are not strangers to my notice; and with compassion, yea, inexpressible pity, I bewail your folly. O that you would be wise! O that the just principle in yourselves were heard! O that eternity had time to plead a little with you! Why should your beds, your glasses, your clothes, your tables, your loves, your plays, your parks, your treats, your recreations (poor perishing joys) have all your souls, your time, your care, your purse, and consideration? be ye admonished, I beseech you, in the name of the living God, by one that, some of you know, hath had his share in these things, and consequently time to know how little the like vanities conduce to true and solid happiness. No, my friends, God Almighty knows (and would to God, you would believe and follow me) they end in shame and sorrow. Faithful is that most Holy One, who hath determined, that every man and woman shall reap what they sow: and will not trouble,

[1] Phil. iii. 20. Col. iii. 1, 2, 3, 4. Rom. xiii. 13, 14. Eph. v. 2, 3. ch. iv. 29. Rom. xiii. 14. Eph. iv. 30. ch. v. 1, 15, 16.

anguish, and disappointment, be a sad and dreadful harvest for you to reap, for all your mis-spent time and substance about superfluities and vain recreations? Retire then; quench not the Holy Spirit in yourselves; redeem your precious abused time; frequent such conversation as may help you against your evil inclinations; so shall you follow the examples, and keep the precepts of Jesus Christ, and all his followers. For hitherto we have plainly demonstrated, that no such way of living, as is in request among you of the land, ever was, or can be truly Christian.

§. V. But the best recreation is to do good: and all Christian customs tend to temperance, and some good and beneficial end; which more or less may be in every action. For instance: if men and women would be diligent to follow their respective callings, frequent the assemblies of religious people, visit sober neighbours to be edified, and wicked ones to reform them; be careful in the tuition of their children, exemplary to their servants, relieve the necessitous, see the sick, visit the imprisoned, administer to their infirmities, and indispositions, endeavour peace amongst neighbours: also study moderately such commendable and profitable arts as navigation, arithmetic, geometry, husbandry, gardening, handicraft, medicine, &c. And, that women spin, sow, knit, weave, garden, preserve, and the like housewifely and honest employments (the practice of the greatest and noblest matrons and youth, among the very Heathens) helping others, who for want are unable to keep servants, to ease them in their necessary affairs; often and private retirements from all worldly objects, to enjoy the Lord; secret and steady meditations on the divine life and heavenly inheritance: which to leave undone, and prosecute other things, under the notion of recreations, is accursed lust and damnable impiety. It is most vain in any to object, that they cannot do these always, and therefore, why may not they use these common diversions? For I ask, what would such be at? what would they do? and what would

would they have? They that have trades, have not time enough to do the half of what hath been recommended. And as for those who have nothing to do, and indeed do nothing, which is worse, but sin, which is worst of all, here is variety of pleasant, of profitable, nay, of very honourable employments and diversions for them. Such can with great delight sit at a play, a ball, a masque, at cards, dice, &c. drinking, revelling, feasting, and the like, an entire day; yea, turn night into day, and invert the very order of the creation, to humour their lusts. And were it not for eating and sleeping, it would be past a doubt, whether they would ever find time to cease from those vain and sinful pastimes, till the hasty calls of death should summon their appearance in another world. Yet do they think it intolerable, and hardly possible for any to sit so long at a profitable or religious exercise.

§. VI. But how do these think to pass their vast eternity away? 'for as the tree falls so it lies[k].' Let none deceive themselves, nor mock their immortal souls, with a pleasant, but most false and pernicious dream, that they shall be changed by a constraining and irresistible power, just when their souls take leave of their bodies: no, no, my friends, 'what you sow, that 'shall you reap[l]:' if vanity, folly, visible delights, fading pleasures; no better shall you ever reap than corruption, sorrow, and the woful anguish of eternal disappointments. But alas! what is the reason that the cry is so common, Must we always doat on these things? why, most certainly it is this, they know not what is the joy and peace of speaking and acting as in the presence of the most holy God: that passes such vain understandings, darkened with the glories and pleasures of the god of this world; whose religion is so many mumbled and ignorantly devout-said words, as they teach parrots; for if they were of those whose hearts are set on things above, and whose treasure is in

[k] Eccl. xi. 3. [l] Gal. vi. 4 to 9. Eph. v. 6.

heaven[m], there would their minds inhabit, and their greatest pleasure constantly be: and such who call that a burden, and seek to be refreshed by such pastimes, as a play, a morrice-dance, a punchanello, a ball, a masque, cards, dice, or the like, I am bold to affirm, they not only never knew the divine excellency of God, and his truth, but thereby declare themselves most unfit for them in another world. For how is it possible that they can be delighted to eternity, with that satisfaction which is so tedious and irksome for thirty or forty years; that for a supply of recreation to their minds, the little toys and fopperies of this perishing world must be brought into practice and request? Surely, those who are to reckon for every idle world, must not use sports to pass away that time, which they are commanded so diligently to redeem[n]; considering no less work is to be done, than making their 'calling and election 'sure[o]:' much less study to invent recreations for their vain minds, and spend the greatest part of their days and months, and years therein, not allowing a quarter of that time toward the great concernment of their lives and souls, for which that time was given them[p].

§. VII. There is but little need to drive away that, by foolish divertisements, which flies away so swiftly of itself; and when once gone, is never to be recalled. Plays, parks, balls, treats, romances, musics, love-sonnets, and the like, will be a very invalid plea for any other purpose than their condemnation, who are taken and delighted with them, at the revelation of the righteous judgment of God. O my friends! these were never invented, but by that mind which had first lost the joy and ravishing delights of God's holy presence[q]. So that we conclude, first, that of those many excellent employments already mentioned, as worthy to possess such minds as are inclined to these vanities, there is store enough of time, not only to take up their spare hours, but double so much, and that with great

[m] Phi. iv. 6, 7. Eph. iv. 18, 19, 20. Mat. xiii. 8, 9. Rom. x. 2.
[n] Mat. xii. 18. [o] Eph. v. 1. [p] Phi. iii. 14. 2 Pet. ii. 10.
Col. iv. 5. [q] 1 Tim. iv. 5 to 11.

delight,

delight, diverſion, and profit, both to themſelves and others; were they but once weaned from vain and fruitleſs fopperies, and did they but conſider, how great the ſatisfaction, and how certain the rewards are, which attend this, and the other life, for ſuch univerſal benefits and virtuous examples. The ſecond concluſion is, that what is alledged by me can be diſpleaſing and ungrateful to none, but ſuch as know not what it is to walk with God, to prepare for an eternal manſion, to have the mind exerciſed on heavenly and good things, to follow the examples of the holy men and women of former happy ages: ſuch as know not Chriſt's doctrine, life, death, and reſurrection, but only have their minds faſtened to the fleſh, and by the objects of it are allured, deceived, and miſerably ruined: and laſtly, that deſpiſe heaven, and the joys that are not ſeen, though eternal, for a few periſhing trifles that they do ſee, though they are decreed to paſs away. How theſe are baptized with Chriſt, into his holy life, cruel ſufferings, ſhameful death, and raiſed with him to immortal deſires, heavenly meditations, a divine new life, growing into the knowledge of heavenly myſteries, and all holineſs, even unto the meaſure of the ſtature of Jeſus Chriſt, the great example of all; how (I ſay) theſe reſemble moſt neceſſary Chriſtian qualifications, and what ſhare they have therein, let their conſciencies tell them upon a ſerious enquiry in the cool of the day[r].

§. VIII. But, in the next place, ſuch attire and paſtimes do not only ſhew the exceeding worldlineſs of people's inclinations, and their very great ignorance of the divine joys, but by imitating theſe faſhions, and frequenting theſe places and diverſions, not only much good is omitted, but a certain door is opened to much evil to be committed. As firſt, precious time, that were worth a world on a dying bed, is loſt: money, that might be employed for ſome general good, vainly expended: pleaſure is taken in meer ſhame; luſts are

[r] Rom. vi. 3 to 8. 1 Cor. xii. 13. Gal. iii. 27. Col. ii. 12, 13. Eph. iii. 12, 13.

gratified, the minds of people alienated from heavenly things, and exercised about meer folly: pride taken in clothes, first given to cover nakedness, whereby the creature is neglected, and the noble creation of God disregarded, and men become acceptable by their trims, and the alamodeness of their dress and apparel: from whence respect to persons doth so naturally arise, that for any to deny it, is to affirm the sun shines not at noon-day: nothing being more notorious, than the cringing, scraping, sirring, and madaming of persons, according to the gaudiness of their attire, which is detestable to God, and so absolutely forbidden in the scriptures, that to do it, is to break the whole law, and consequently to incur the punishment thereof. Next, what great holes do the like practices make in mens estates? how are their vocations neglected? young women deluded? the marriage-bed invaded? contentions and family-animosities begotten? partings of man and wife? dis-inheriting of children? dismissing of servants? On the other hand, servants made slaves, children disregarded, wives despised and shamefully abused, through the intemperance of their husbands; which either puts them upon the same extravagance, or, laying such cruel injustice to heart, they pine away their days in grief and misery[a]. But of all these wretched inventions, the play-houses, like so many hellish seminaries, do most perniciously conduce to these sad and miserable ends; where little besides frothy, wanton, if not directly obscene and profane humours, are represented; which are of notorious ill consequence upon the minds of most, especially the youth that frequent them. And thus it is that idle and debauched stagers are encouraged and maintained; than which scarcely a greater abomination can be thought on of that rank of impieties, as will anon particularly be shown; and truly, nothing but the excessive pleasure people take therein could blind their eyes from seeing it.

[a] James ii. 1 to 9.

§. IX. Bu

§. IX. But lastly, the grand indisposition of mind in people to solid, serious, and heavenly meditations, by the almost continual as well as pleasant rumination in their minds, of those various adventures they have been entertained with, which in the more youthful can never miss to inflame and animate their boiling and airy constitutions[t]. And in the rest of the common recreations of balls, masques, treats, cards, dice, &c. there are the like opportunities to promote the like evils. And yet farther; how many quarrels, animosities, nay murders too, as well as expence of estate and precious time, have been the immediate consequences of the like practices? In short, these were the ways of the Gentiles that knew not God[u], but never the practice of them that feared him: nay, the more noble among the Heathens themselves, namely, Anaxagoras, Socrates, Plato, Antisthenes, Heraclitus, Zeno, Aristides, Cato, Tully, Epictetus, Seneca, &c. have left their disgust to these things upon record, as odious and destructive, not only of the honour of the immortal God, but of all good order and government, as leading into loosenes, idleness, ignorance and effeminacy, the great cankers, and bane of all states and empires. But such is the latitudinarian impudence of this age, that they canonize themselves for saints, if not guilty of every Newgate-filth, and kennel-impiety. And the pretended innocency of these things steals away their minds from that which is better, into the love of them: nay, it gives them confidence to plead for them, and by no means will they think the contrary: but why? because it is a liberty that feeds the flesh, and gratifies the lustful eye and palate of poor mortality: wherefore they think it a laudable condition to be no better than the beast that eats and drinks but what his nature doth require, although the number is very small of such. So very exorbitant are men and women grown in this present age: for either they do believe their actions are

[t] Job xxxv. 13. [u] Eph. iv. 17 to 25.

to

to be ruled by their own wills; or elſe, at beſt, that not to be ſtained with the vileſt wickedneſs is matter of great boaſting: and indeed it is ſo, in a time when nothing is too wicked to be done. But certainly, it is a ſign of univerſal impiety, in a land, when not to be guilty of ſins, the very Heathens loathe, is to be virtuous, yes, and Chriſtian too, and that to no ſmall degree of reputation: a diſmal ſymptom to a country! But is it not to be greatly blinded, that thoſe we call infidels ſhould deteſt thoſe practices as infamous, which people, that call themſelves Chriſtians, cannot or will not ſee to be ſuch, but guild them over with the fair titles of ornaments, decency, recreation, and the like. Well, my friends, if there were no God, no heaven, no hell, no holy examples, no Jeſus Chriſt, in croſs, doctrine and life to be conformed unto; yet would charity to the poor, help to the needy, peace among neighbours, viſits to the ſick, care of the widow and fatherleſs [w], with the reſt of thoſe temporal good offices already repeated, be a nobler employment, and much more worthy of your expence and pains. Nor indeed is it to be conceived, that the way to glory is ſmoothed with ſuch variety of carnal pleaſures; for then conviction, a wounded ſpirit, a broken heart, a regenerate mind, in a word, immortality would prove as meer fictions as ſome make them, and others therefore think them: no, theſe practices are for ever to be extinguiſhed, and expelled all Chriſtian ſociety. For I affirm, that to one who internally knows God, and hath a ſenſe of his bleſſed preſence, all ſuch recreations are death; yea, more dangerouſly evil, and more apt to ſteal away the mind from the heavenly exerciſe, than groſſer impieties. For they are ſo big, they are plainly ſeen; ſo dirty, they are eaſily detected: which education and common temperance, as well as conſtitution in many, teach them to abhor; and if they ſhould be committed, they carry with them a proportional conviction. But theſe pre-

[w] Phil. iv. 6, 7, 8, 9. Job xxiv. 12.

tended

tended innocents, these supposed harmless satisfactions, are more surprizing, more destructive; for as they easily gain an admission by the senses, so the more they pretend to innocency, the more they secure the minds of people in the common use of them; till they become so insensible of their evil consequences, that with a mighty confidence they can plead for them [x].

§. X. But as this is plainly not to deny themselves, but, on the contrary, to employ the vain inventions of carnal men and women to gratify the desire of the eye, the desire of the flesh, and the pride of life [y]; all which exercise the mind below the divine and only true pleasure, or else, tell me what does: so, be it known to such, that the Heavenly life and Christian joys are of another kind, as hath already been expressed: nay, that the true disciples of the Lord Christ must be hereunto crucified, as to objects and employments that attract downwards, and that their affections should be raised to a more sublime and spiritual conversation, as to use this world, even in its most innocent enjoyments, as if they used it not. But if they take pleasure in any thing below, it should be in such good offices as beforementioned; whereby a benefit may redound in some respect to others: in which God is honoured over all visible things, the nation relieved, the government bettered, themselves rendered exemplary of good, and thereby justly intituled to present happiness, a sweet memorial with posterity, as well as to a seat at his right hand, where there are joys and pleasures for ever: than which, there can be nothing more honourable, nothing more certain, world without end [z].

[x] Prov. xviii. 14. Psal. li. 17. Mat. v. 4. Luke vi. 25. Rom. ii. 7. Psal. xl. 8. Prov. xiii. 21. Rom. vii. 22. Heb. xi. 13, 14, 15, 16. Rom. i. 25 to 39. Job i. 4. [y] 1 John ii. 15, 16, 17. [z] Job xxxvi. 7. Psal. v. 12. Psal. xxxvii. 25, 29. Prov. x. 7.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

§. 1. Luxury ſhould not be uſed by Chriſtians, becauſe of its inconſiſtency with the Spirit of Chriſtianity. §. 2. The cup of which Chriſt's true diſciples drank. §. 3. O! who will drink of this cup? §. 4. An objection anſwered of the nature of God's kingdom, and what it ſtands in. §. 5. Of the frame of the ſpirit of Chriſt's followers.

§. I. BUT the luxury oppoſed in this diſcourſe, ſhould not be allowed among Chriſtians, becauſe both that which invents it, delights in it, and pleads ſo ſtrongly for it, is inconſiſtent with the true Spirit of Chriſtianity; nor doth the very nature of the Chriſtian religion admit thereof. For therefore was it, that immortality and eternal life were brought to light, that all the invented pleaſures of mortal life, in which the world lives, might be denied and relinquiſhed; and for this reaſon it is, that nothing leſs than immenſe rewards and eternal manſions are promiſed, that men and women might therefore be encouraged willingly to forſake the vanity and fleſhly ſatisfactions of the world, and encounter with boldneſs the ſhame and ſufferings they muſt expect to receive at the hand of, it may be, their neareſt intimates and relations [a].

For if the Chriſtian religion had admitted the poſſeſſion of this world in any other ſenſe, than the ſimple and naked uſe of thoſe creatures really given of God for the neceſſity and convenience of the whole creation: for inſtance, did it allow all that pride, vanity, curioſity, pomp, exchange of apparel, honours, preferments, faſhions, and the cuſtomary recreations of the world, with whatever may delight and gratify their ſenſes; then what need of a daily croſs, a ſelf-denying life, 'working out ſalvation with fear and trembling,' ſeek-

[a] Luke xvi. 15. John xv. 17, 18, 19. ch. xvi. 20. ch. xvii. 15, 16, 17. Heb. xi. 24, 25, 26, 27. Rom. viii. 19. 2 Tim. iii. 11, 12. Heb. xii. 1, 2.

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ing the things that are above, having the treasure and heart in heaven, no idle talking, no vain jesting, but fearing and meditating all the day long, undergoing all reproach, scorn, hard usage, bitter mockings and cruel deaths? What need these things? and why should they be expected in order to that glorious immortality and eternal crown, if the vanity, pride, expence, idleness, concupiscence, envy, malice, and whole manner of living among the (called) Christians, were allowed by the Christian religion? No certainly; but as the Lord Jesus Christ well knew in what foolish trifles and vain pleasures, as well as grosser impieties, the minds of men and women were fixed, and how much they were degenerated from the heavenly principle of life, into a lustful or unlawful seeking after the enjoyments of this perishing world, nay, inventing daily new satisfactions to gratify their carnal appetites, so did he not less foresee the difficulty that all would have to relinquish and forsake them at his call, and with what great unwillingness they would take their leave of them, and be weaned from them. Wherefore to induce them to it, he did not speak unto them in the language of the law, that they should have an earthly Canaan, great dignities, a numerous issue, a long life, and the like: no, rather the contrary, at least to take these things in their course[b]; but he speaks to them in a higher strain, namely, He assures them of a kingdom and a crown that are immortal, that neither time, cruelty, death, grave or hell, with all its instruments, shall ever be able to disappoint, or take away, from those that should believe and obey him. Farther, that they should be taken into that near alliance of loving friends, yea, the intimate divine relation of dear brethren, and co-heirs with him of all celestial happiness, and a glorious immortality. Wherefore if it be recorded, that those who heard not Moses, were to die, much more they who refuse to hear and obey

[b] Mat. xvi. 24. Luke ix. 23. Phil. ii. 12. Col. iii. 1, 2. Eph. v. 4, 5. Neh. xiii. Psal. cxii. 1. Isa. xxviii. 14. Psal. cxix. 97. Luke xviii. 23. Heb. xi. 16. ch. x. 33. ch. xi. 37, 38.

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the precepts of this Great and Eternal Rewarder of all that diligently seek and follow him [c].

§. II. And therefore it was that he was pleased to give us, in his own example, a taste of what his disciples must expect to drink deeply of, namely, the cup of self-denial, cruel trials, and most bitter afflictions: he came not to consecrate a way to the eternal rest through gold and silver, ribbons, laces, points, perfumes, costly clothes, curious trims, exact dresses, rich jewels, pleasant recreations, plays, treats, balls, masques, revels, romances, love-songs, and the like pastimes of the world: no, no, alas! but by forsaking all such kind of entertainments, yea, and sometimes more lawful enjoyments too; and chearfully undergoing the loss of all on the one hand, and the reproach, ignominy, and the most cruel persecution from ungodly men on the other. He needed never to have wanted such variety of worldly pleasures, had they been suitable to the nature of his kingdom: for he was tempted, as are his followers, with no less bait than all the glories of the world [d]: but he that commanded to 'seek another country, and 'to lay up treasures in the heavens that fade not away,' and therefore charged them, never to be much inquisitive about what they should eat, drink, or put on, because (saith he) 'after these things the Gentiles, that 'knew not God, do seek;' (and Christians that pretend to know him too) 'but, having food and rai-'ment, therewith be content:' he, I say, that enjoined this doctrine, and led that holy and heavenly example, even the Lord Jesus Christ, bad them, that would be his disciples, 'take up the same cross, and follow 'him [e].'

§. III. O who will follow him? Who will be true Christians? we must not think to steer another course,

[c] Luke vi. 20. ch. xii. 32. ch. xxii. 29. Col. i. 13. 1 Thess. ii. 12. Heb. xii. 28. Jam. ii. 5. John xv. 14, 15. Rom. viii. 17. Heb. ii. 11. ch. xii. 2. 1 Pet. ii. 21. Luke xii. 29 to 31. 2 Tim. v. 6. Mat. xix. 27, 28, 29. Luke vi. 22. John xv. 10. [d] Mat. x. 37, 38. Luke xii. 32, 33, 34, 35, 36. [e] Mat. xvi. 19, 20, 31, 32, 33. 1 Tim. vi. 6 to 11. Mat. viii. 31 to 39.

nor

nor to drink of another cup than hath the Captain of our salvation done before us[f]: no; for it is the very question he asked James and John, the sons of Zebedee of old, when they desired to sit at his right and left hand in his kingdom, 'Are ye able to drink of the cup that I shall 'drink of, and to be baptized with the baptism that I 'am baptized withal[g]?' otherwise no disciples, no Christians. Whoever they are that would come to Christ, and be right Christians, must readily abandon every delight that would steal away the affections of the mind, and exercise it from the divine principle of life, and freely write a bill of divorce for every beloved vanity; and all, under the Sun of righteousness, is so, compared with him.

§. IV. But some are ready to object, (who will not seem to want scripture for their lusts, although it be evidently misapplied) 'The kingdom of God stands not in meats, 'or in drinks, or in apparel,' &c. Answ. Right; therefore it is that we stand out of them. But surely, you have the least reason of any to object this to us, who make those things so necessary to conversation, as our not conforming to them renders us obnoxious to your reproach; which how Christian, or resembling it is of the righteousness, peace, and joy in which the heavenly kingdom stands, let the just principle in your own consciencies determine. Our conversation stands in temperance, and that stands in righteousness, by which we have obtained that kingdom your latitude and excess have no share or interest in. If none therefore can be true disciples, but they that come to bear the daily cross, and that none bear the cross, but those who follow the example of the Lord Jesus Christ, through his baptism, and afflictions and temptations; and that none are so baptized with him, but those whose minds are retired from the vanities in which the generality of the world live, and become obedient to the holy light and divine grace, with which they have been enlightened from on high, and thereby are daily exercised to the

[f] Heb. ii. 10. [g] Mat. xx. 22, 23.

crucify-

crucifying of every contrary affection, and bringing of immortality to light; if none are true disciples but such, (as most undoubtedly they are not) then let the people of these days a little soberly reflect upon themselves, and they will conclude, that none who live and delight in these vain customs, and this un-christ-like conversation, can be true Christians, or disciples of the crucified Jesus[h]: for otherwise, how would it be a cross? or the Christian life matter of difficulty and reproach? No, the offence of the cross would soon cease, which is the power of God to them that believe; that every lust and vanity may be subdued, and the creature brought into an holy subjection of mind to the heavenly will of its Creator[i]. For therefore has it been said, that Jesus Christ was and is manifested, that by his holy, self-denying life and doctrine, he might put a baffle upon the proud minds of men, and by the immortality he brought, and daily brings to light, he might stain the glory of their fading rests and pleasures[k]; that having their minds weaned from them, and being crucified thereunto, they might seek another country, and obtain an everlasting inheritance: 'for the things that are seen are temporal[l]' (and those they were, and all true Christians are, to be redeemed from resting in) but the things that are 'not 'seen, are eternal;' those they were, and all are to be, brought to, and have their affections chiefly fixed upon[m].

§. V. Wherefore a true disciple of the Lord Jesus Christ is to have his mind so conversant about heavenly things, that the things of this world may be used as if they were not: that having such things as are 'ne-'cessary and convenient, he be therewith content[n],' without the superfluity of the world, whereby the pleasure, that in times of ignorance was taken in the customs and fashions of the world, may more abundantly be supplied in the hidden and heavenly life of Jesus:

[h] Rom. vi. 3, 4, 5, 6. Phi. iii. 10. 1 Pet. iv. 13. Tit. ii. 11, 12, 13. John i. 9. Rom. vi. 6. Gal. ii. 20. ch. v. 24. ch. vi. 4. 2 Tim. i. 10. [i] Gal. v. 11. 1 Cor. i. 17, 18. [k] Ver. 27, 28, 29. [l] Heb. iv. 1 to 12. [m] 2 Cor. iv. 1, 7, 8. [n] 1 Tim. vi. 8.

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for unless there be an abiding in Christ, it will be impossible to bring forth that much fruit which he requires at the hands of his followers, and wherein his Father is glorified. But as it is clear, that such as live in the vanities, pleasures, recreations, and lusts of the world, abide not in him, neither know him, (for they that know him, depart from iniquity) so is their abiding and delighting in those bewitching follies, the very reason why they are so ignorant and insensible of him: 'Him who continually stands knocking at the door of 'their hearts [p], in whom they ought to abide, and whose divine power they should know to be the cross on which every beloved lust and alluring vanity should be slain and crucified; that so they might feel the heavenly life to spring up in their hearts, and themselves to be quickened to seek the things that are above; 'that when 'Christ shall appear, they might appear with him in 'glory, who is over all, God blessed for ever. Amen [q].'

CHAP. XVII.

§. The customs, fashions, &c. which make up the attire and pleasure of the age, are enemies to inward retirement. §. 2. Their end is to gratify lust. §. 3. Had they been solid, Adam and Eve had not been happy, that never had them. §. 4. But the confidence and presumption of Christians (as they would be called) in the use of them, is abominable. §. 5. Their authors farther condemn them, who are usually loose and vain people. §. 6. Mostly borrowed of the Gentiles, that knew not God. §. 7. An objection of their usefulness considered and answered, and the objectors reproved. §. 8. The best Heathens abhorring what pretended Christians plead for. §. 9. The use of these things encourages the authors and makers of them to continue in them. §. 10. The objection of

[p] Rom. v. 6, 7, 8. John xv. 8. Rev. iii. 20. [q] Col. iii. 1, 2, 3, 4. Rom. ix. 5.

the maintenance of families anſwered. None muſt do evil, that good ſhould follow: but better employs may be found more ſerviceable to the world. §. 11. Another objection anſwered: God no author of their inventions, and ſo not excuſable by his inſtitution. §. 12. People pleading for theſe vanities, ſhew what they are. An exhortation to be weighty and conſiderate. A great part of the way to true diſcipleſhip is, to abandon this ſchool and ſhop of Satan.

§. I. NEXT, thoſe cuſtoms and faſhions, which make up the common attire and converſation of the times, do eminently obſtruct the inward retirement of peoples minds, by which they may come to behold the glories of immortality: who inſtead of 'fearing their 'Creator in the days of their youth, and ſeeking the 'kingdom of God in the firſt place[a]' (expecting the addition of ſuch other things as may be neceſſary and convenient, according to the injunctions of God, and the Lord Jeſus Chriſt) as ſoon as they can do any thing, they look after pride, vanity, and that converſation which is moſt delightful to the fleſh, which becomes their moſt delightful entertainment: all which do but evidently beget luſtful conceptions, and inflame to inordinate thoughts, wanton diſcourſes, laſcivious treats, if not at laſt to wicked actions. To ſuch it is tedious and offenſive to ſpeak of heaven, or another life: bid them reflect upon their actions, not grieve the Holy Spirit, conſider of an eternal doom, prepare for judgment[b]; and the beſt return that is uſual, is reproachful jeſts, profane repartees, if not direct blows. Their thoughts are otherwiſe employed: their mornings are too ſhort for them to waſh, to ſmooth, to paint, to patch, to braid, to curl, to gum, to powder, and otherwiſe to attire and adorn themſelves; whilſt their afternoons are as commonly beſpoke for viſits, and

[a] Eccl. xii. 1. Luke xii. 29, 30, 31. [b] Eccl. iv. 8. 2 Tim. ii. 16, 21, 22. Eph. iv. 30. Jer. xviii. 18, 19, 20. ch. xx. 10.

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for plays; where their usual entertainments are some stories fetched from the more approved romances; some strange adventures, some passionate amours, unkind refusals, grand impediments, importunate addresses, miserable disappointments, wonderful surprizes, unexpected encounters, castles surprized, imprisoned lovers rescued, and meetings of supposed dead ones; bloody duels, languishing voices ecchoing from solitary groves, overheard mournful complaints, deep-fetched sighs sent from wild deserts, intrigues managed with unheard-of subtlety: and whilst all things seem at the greatest distance, then are people alive, enemies friends, despair turned to enjoyment, and all their impossibilities reconciled; things that never were, are not, nor ever shall or can be, they all come to pass[c]. And as if men and women were too slow to answer the loose suggestions of corrupt nature; or were too intent on more divine speculations and heavenly affairs, they have all that is possible for the most extravagant wits to invent, not only express lies, but utterly impossibilities to very nature, on purpose to excite their minds to those idle passions, and intoxicate their giddy fancies with swelling nothings, but airy fictions; which not only consume their time, effeminate their natures, debase their reason, and set them on work to reduce these things to practice, and make each adventure theirs by imitation; but if disappointed, as who can otherwise expect from such mere phantasms, the present remedy is latitude to the greatest vice. And yet these are some of their most innocent recreations, which are the very gins of Satan to insnare people; contrived most agreeable to their weakness, and in a more insensible manner mastering their affections, by entertainments most taking to their senses. In such occasions it is that their hearts breed vanity, their eyes turn interpreters to their thoughts, and their looks do whisper

[c] Tit. ii. 3, 4, 5. Eph. v. 3. 4. 1 Tim. iv. 2. 1 Tim. iv. 4. Psal. xii. 2. Eccl. i. 11, 17. ch. vi. 9. Isa. v. 12. ch. xiv. 29. ch. lix. 3, 4.

the ſecret inflammations of their intemperate minds; wandering ſo long abroad, till their laſcivious actings bring night home, and load their minds and reputations with luſt and infamy[d].

§. II. Here is the end of all their faſhions and recreations, 'to gratify the luſt of the eye, the luſt of the 'fleſh, and the pride of life[e]:' clothes, that were given to cover ſhame, now want a covering for their ſhameful exceſs; and that which ſhould remember men of loſt innocency, they pride and glory in: but the hundredth part of theſe things coſt man the loſs of paradiſe, that now make up the agreeable recreation, ay, the accompliſhment of the times. For as it was Adam's fault to ſeek a ſatisfaction to himſelf, other than what God ordained; ſo it is the exerciſe, pleaſure, and perfection of the age, to ſpend the greateſt portion of their time in vanities, which is ſo far from the end of their creation, namely, a divine life, that they are deſtructive of it[f].

§. III. Were the pleaſures of the age true and ſolid, Adam and Eve had been miſerable in their innocency, who knew them not: but as it was once their happineſs, not to know them in any degree, ſo it is theirs, that know Chriſt indeed, to be by his eternal power redeemed and raiſed to the love of immortality: which is yet a myſtery to thoſe who live and have pleaſure in their curious trims, rich and changeable apparel, nicety of dreſs, invention and imitation of faſhions, coſtly attire, mincing gaits, wanton looks, romances, plays, treats, balls, feaſts, and the like converſation in requeſt: for as theſe had never been, if man had ſtaid at home with his Creator, and given the entire exerciſe of his mind to the noble ends of his creation; ſo certain it is, that the uſe of theſe vanities is not only a ſign that men and women are yet ignorant of their true reſt and pleaſure, but it greatly obſtructs and hinders the retirement of their minds, and their ſerious enquiry

[d] Prov. vii. 10 to 21. [e] 1 John ii. 15, 16. [f] Eccl. xii. 1.

after

after those things that are eternal[g]. O, that there should be so much noise, clutter, invention, traffick, curiosity, diligence, pains, and vast expence of time and estate, to please and gratify poor vain mortality! and that the soul, the very image of Divinity itself, should have so little of their consideration! What, O what more pregnant instances and evident tokens can be given, that it is the body, the senses, the case, a little flesh and bone covered with skin, the toys, fopperies, and very vanities of this mortal life and perishing world, that please, that take, that gain them; on which they dote; and think they never have too much time, love or money, to bestow upon them.

§. IV. Thus are their minds employed, and so vain are they in their imaginations, and dark in their understandings, that they not only believe them innocent, but persuade themselves they are good Christians all this while; and to rebuke them is worse than heresy. Thus are they strangers to the hidden life; and by these things are they diverted from all serious examination of themselves; and a little by-rote-babble, with a forced zeal of half an hour's talk in other mens words, which they have nothing to do with, is made sufficient; being no more their states, or at least their intention, as their works shew, than was it the young man's in the gospel, that said, 'he would go, and did not[h].' But alas! why? Oh, there are other guests! What are they? Pharamond, Cleopatra, Cassandra, Clelia; a play, a ball, a spring-garden; the park, the gallant, the exchange; in a word, the World. These stay, these call, these are importunate, and these they attend, and these are their most familiar associates. Thus are their hearts captivated from the divine exercise; nay, from such external affairs as immediately concern some benefit to

[g] Eph. ii. 1 to 5. Col. ii. 13. 1 Pet. i. 14, 15, 16, 17, 18. Tit. ii. 11, 12. Jam. v. 5. Mat. vii. 17, 18, 19. Rom. viii. 8. Mat. xvi. 26. 1 Cor vi. 13. Job xxxv. 15. Isa. xl. 6. 1 Pet. i. 24. [h] Luke viii. 14. Prov. i. 25, 30. ch. x. 17. ch. xii. 1. ch. xv. 15. Isa. lviii. 1, 2 to 10. Jer. xvi. 19, 20, 21. 2 Tim. iii. 4. Mat. vi. 7.

themſelves, or needy neighbours; pleaſing themſelves with the received ideas of thoſe toys and fopperies into their looſe and airy minds: and if in all things they cannot practiſe them, becauſe they want the means of it, yet, as much as may be, at leaſt to dote upon them, be taken with them, and willingly ſuffer their thoughts to be hurried after them. All which greatly indiſpoſes the minds, and diſtracts the ſouls of people from the divine life and principle of the holy Jeſus: but, as it hath been often ſaid, more eſpecially the minds of the younger ſort, to whom the like divertiſements (where their inclinations being preſented with what is very ſuitable to them, they become excited to more vanity, than ever they thought upon before) are incomparably dearer than all that can be ſaid of God's fear, a retired life, eternal rewards, and joys unſpeakable and full of glory: ſo vain, ſo blind, and ſo very inſenſible are men and women, of what truly makes a diſciple of Chriſt[i]! O! that they would ponder on theſe things, and watch againſt, and out of all theſe vanities, for the coming of the Lord, leſt being unprepared, and taken up with other gueſts, they enter not into his everlaſting reſt[k].

§. V. That which farther manifeſts the unlawfulneſs of theſe numerous faſhions and recreations is, that they are either the inventions of vain, idle, and wanton minds to gratify their own ſenſualities, and raiſe the like wicked curioſity in others to imitate the ſame; by which nothing but luſt and folly are promoted: or the contrivances of indigent and impoveriſhed wits, who make it the next way for their maintenance: in both which reſpects, and upon both which conſiderations, they ought to be deteſted. For the firſt licences expreſs impiety; and the latter countenances a wretched way of livelihood, and conſequently diverts from more lawful, more ſerviceable, and more neceſſary employments. That ſuch perſons are both the inventors

[i] Iſa. lix. 4. Jer. ii. 5. Eccl. xi. 10. [k] Rom. xiii. 11, 12. Mat. xv. 7 to 14.

and

and actors of all these follies, cannot be difficult to demonstrate: for were it possible, that any one could bring us father Adam's girdle, and mother Eve's apron, what laughing, what fleering, what mocking of their homely fashion would there be? surely their taylor would find but little custom, although we read, it was God himself 'that made them coats of skins[l].' The like may be asked of all the other vanities, concerning the holy men and women through all the generations of holy writ. How many pieces of ribband, and what feathers, lace-bands, and the like, did Adam and Eve wear in paradise, or out of it? What rich embroideries, silks, points, &c. had Abel, Enoch, Noah, and good old Abraham? Did Eve, Sarah, Susannah, Elizabeth, and the Virgin Mary use to curl, powder, patch, paint, wear false locks of strange colours, rich points, trimmings, laced gowns, embroidered petticoats, shoes with slipslaps laced with silk or silver lace, and ruffled like pigeons feet, with several yards, if not pieces of ribbands? How many plays did Jesus Christ and his apostles recreate themselves at? What poets, romances, comedies, and the like, did the apostles and saints make, or use to pass away their time withal? I know they bid all 'redeem their time, to avoid foolish talking, vain jesting, profane babblings and fabulous stories; as what tend to ungodliness: and rather to watch, to work out their salvation with fear and trembling, to flee foolish and youthful lusts, and to follow righteousness, peace, goodness, love, charity; and to mind the things that are above, as they would have honour, glory, immortality and eternal life[m].'

§. VI. But if I were asked, Whence came they then? I could quickly answer, From the Gentiles, that knew not God; (for some amongst them detested them, as will be shown) they were the pleasures of an effeminate Sardanapalus, a fantastick Miracles, a comical Aristo-

[l] Gen. iii. 21. [m] Eph. v. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 15, 16. 2 Tim. ii. 16, 22. Mat. xxv. 13. Phil. ii. 12, 13. Col. iii. 1, 2, 3. Rom. ii. 6, 7.

phanes, a prodigal Charaxus, a luxurious Aristippus; and the practices of such women as the infamous Clytemnestra, the painted Jezebel, the lascivious Campaspe, the immodest Posthumia, the costly Corinthian Lais, the most impudent Flora, the wanton Ægyptian Cleopatra, and most insatiable Messalina: persons whose memories have stunk through all ages, and that carry with them a perpetual rot: these, and not the holy self-denying men and women in ancient times, were devoted to the like recreations and vain delights. Nay, the more sober of the very Heathens themselves, and that upon a principle of great virtue, as is by all confessed, detested the like folly and wanton practices. There is none of them to be found in Plato, or in Seneca's works: Pythagoras, Socrates, Phocion, Zeno, &c. did not accustom themselves to these entertainments. The virtuous Penelope, the chaste Lucretia, the grave Cornelia, and modest Pontia, with many others, could find themselves employment enough amongst their children, servants and neighbours: they, though nobles, next their devotion, delighted most in spinning, weaving, gardening, needle-work, and such like good housewifery, and commendable entertainment: who, though called Heathens, expressed much more Christianity in all their actions, than do the wanton, foolish people of this age, who notwithstanding will be called Christians. But above all, you playmongers, whence think you came your so passionately beloved comedies? than which, as there is not any one diversion, that is more pernicious, so not one more in esteem, and fondly frequented: Why I will tell you. Their great-grand-father was an Heathen, and that not of the best sort: his name was Epicharmus. It is true, he is called a philosopher, or a lover of wisdom; but he was only so by name, and no more one in reality than the comedians of these times are true Christians. It is reported of him by Suidas, a Greek historian, that he was the first man who invented comedies; and by the help of one Phormus, he made also fifty fables. But would you know his country, and the reason of his invention?

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His country was Syracuſe, the chief city in Sicily, famous for the infamy of many tyrants; to pleaſe and gratify the luſts of ſome of whom, he ſet his wits to work. And do not you think this an ill original? and is it leſs in any one to imitate or juſtify the ſame, ſince the more ſober Heathens have themſelves condemned them? nay, is it not abominable, when ſuch as call themſelves Chriſtians do both imitate and juſtify the like inventions? Nor had the melancholy tragedies a better parentage, namely, one Theſpis, an Athenian poet; to whom they alſo do aſcribe the original of that impudent cuſtom of painting faces, and the counterfeit or repreſentation of other perſons by change of habit, humours, &c. all which are now ſo much in uſe and reputation with the great ones of the times. To theſe let me add that poetical amoroſo, whom an inordinate paſſion of love firſt tranſported to thoſe poetical raptures of admiration (indeed ſordid effeminacy, if not idolatry); they call him Alcman, or Alcina, a Lydian: he, being exceedingly in love with a young woman of his own country, is ſaid to have been the firſt perſon that gave the world a ſight of that kind of folly, namely, love-ſtories and verſes; which have been ſo diligently imitated by almoſt all nations ever ſince in their romances.

§. VII. I know that ſome will ſay, But we have many comedies and tragedies, ſonnets, catches, &c. that are on purpoſe to reprehend vice, from whence we learn many commendable things. Though this be ſhameful, yet many have been wont, for want of ſhame or underſtanding, or both, to return me this for anſwer. Now I readily ſhall confeſs, that it was the next remedy amongſt the Heathens, againſt the common vices, to the more grave and moral lectures of their philoſophers, of which number I ſhall inſtance two: Euripides, whom Suidas calls a learned tragical poet, and Eupolis, whom the ſame hiſtorian calls a comical poet. The firſt was a man ſo chaſte, and therefore ſo unlike thoſe of our days, that he was called Μισογύνης, or one that hated women, that is, wanton ones, for otherwiſe he was twice married: the other he characters as a moſt ſevere repre-

reprehender of faults. From which I gather, that their design was not to feed the idle, lazy fancies of people, nor merely to get money; but since by the means of loose wits, the people had been debauched, their work was to reclaim them, rendering vice ridiculous, and turning wit against wickedness. And this appears the rather, from the description given, as also that Euripides was supposed to have been torn in pieces by wanton women; which doubtless was for declaiming against their impudence: and the other being slain in the battle betwixt the Athenians and Lacedemonians, was so regretted, that a law was made, that never after such poets should be allowed to bear arms: doubtless it was because in losing him, they lost a reprover of vice. So that the end of the approved comedians and tragedians of those times was but to reform the people, by making sin odious: and that not so much by a rational and argumentative way, usual with their philosophers, as by sharp jeers, severe reflections, and rendering their vicious actions shameful, ridiculous, and detestable; so that for reputation sake they might not longer be guilty of them: which to me is but a little softer than a whip, or a Bridewell. Now if you that plead for them, will be contented to be accounted Heathens, and those of the more dissolute and wicked sort too, that will sooner be jeered than argued out of your sins, we shall acknowledge to you, that such comedies and tragedies as these may be serviceable: but then for shame, abuse not the name of Jesus Christ so impudently, as to call yourselves Christians, whose lusts are so strong, that you are forced to use the low shifts of Heathens to repel them: to leave their evils not for the love of virtue, but out of fear, shame, or reputation. Is this your love to Jesus? your reverence to the scriptures, that through faith are able to make the 'man of God perfect?' Is all your prattle about ordinances, prayers, sacraments, christianity, and the like come to this; that at last you must betake yourselves to such instructors, as were by the sober Heathens permitted to reclaim the most vicious of the people that

were

were amongst them? and such remedies too, as below which there is nothing but corporal punishment?

§. VIII. This is so far from Christianity, that many of the nobler Heathens, men and women, were better taught and better disposed; they found out more heavenly contemplations, and subjects of an eternal nature to meditate upon. Nay, so far did they outstrip the Christians of these times, that they not only were exemplary by their grave and sober conversation, but, for the public benefit, the Athenians instituted the Gynæcosmi, or Twenty Men, who should make it their business to observe the peoples apparel and behaviour; that if any were found immodest, and to demean themselves loosely, they had full authority to punish them. But the case is altered, it is punishable to reprove such: yes, it is matter of the greatest contumely and reproach. Nay, so impudent are some grown in their impieties, that they sport themselves with such religious persons; and not only manifest a great neglect of piety, and a severe life, by their own looseness, but their extreme contempt of it, by rendering it ridiculous through comical and abusive jests on public stages. Which, how dangerous it is, and apt to make religion little worth in the peoples eyes, beside the demonstration of this age, let us remember, that Aristophanes had not a readier way to bring the reputation of Socrates in question with the people, who greatly reverenced him for his grave and virtuous life and doctrine, than by his abusive representations of him in a play: which made the airy, wanton, unstable croud rather part with Socrates in earnest, than Socrates in jest. Nor can a better reason be given, why the poor Quakers are made so much the scorn of men, than because of their severe reprehensions of sin and vanity, and their self-denying conversation amidst so great intemperance in all worldly satisfactions: yet can such libertines all this while strut and swell for Christians, and stout it out against precept and example; but we must be whimsical, conceited, morose, melancholy, or else hereticks, deceivers, and what not? O blindness! pharisaical hypocrisy! as if such

ſuch were fit to be judges of religion, or that it were poſſible for them to have a ſight and ſenſe of true religion, or really to be religious, whilſt darkened in their underſtandings by the god of the pleaſures of this world, and their minds ſo wrapped up in external enjoyments, and the variety of worldly delights: no; in the name of the everlaſting God, you mock him, and deceive your ſouls; for the wrath of the Almighty is againſt you all, whilſt in that ſpirit and condition: in vain are all your babbles and ſet performances, God laughs you to ſcorn; his anger is kindling becauſe of theſe things. Wherefore be ye warned to temperance, and repent.

§. IX. Beſides, this ſort of people are not only wicked, looſe and vain, who both invent and act theſe things; but by your great delight in ſuch vain inventions, you encourage them therein, and hinder them from more honeſt and more ſerviceable employments. For what is the reaſon that moſt commodities are held at ſuch exceſſive rates, but becauſe labour is ſo very dear? And why is it ſo, but becauſe ſo many hands are otherwiſe beſtowed, even about the very vanity of all vanities? Nay, how common is it with theſe mercenary procurers to people's folly, that when their purſes begin to grow low, they ſhall preſent them with a new (and pretendedly more convenient) faſhion; and that perhaps, before the former coſtly habits ſhall have done half their ſervice: which either muſt be given away, or new vampt in the cut moſt alamode. O prodigal, yet frequent folly!

§. X. I know I am coming to encounter the moſt plauſible objection they are uſed to urge, when driven to a pinch, viz. 'But how ſhall thoſe many families 'ſubſiſt, whoſe livelihood depends upon ſuch faſhions 'and recreations as you ſo earneſtly decry?' I anſwer; It is a bad argument to plead for the commiſſion of the leaſt evil, that never ſo great a good may come of it: if you and they have made wickedneſs your pleaſure and your profit, be ye content that it ſhould be your grief and puniſhment, till the one can learn to be without

out ſuch vanity, and the others have found out more honeſt employments. It is the vanity of the few great ones that makes ſo much toil for the many ſmall; and the great exceſs of the one occaſions the great labour of the other. Would men learn to be contented with few things, ſuch as are neceſſary and convenient, (the ancient Chriſtian life) all things might be at a cheaper rate, and men might live for little. If the landlords had leſs luſts to ſatisfy, the tenants might have leſs rent to pay, and turn from poor to rich, whereby they might be able to find more honeſt and domeſtic employments for children, than becoming ſharpers, and living by their wits, which is but a better word for their ſins. And if the report of the more intelligent in huſbandry be credible, lands are generally improveable ten in twenty: and were there more hands about more lawful and ſerviceable manufactures, they would be cheaper, and greater vent might be made of them, by which a benefit would redound to the world in general: nay, the burden lies the heavier upon the laborious country, that ſo many hands and ſhoulders (as have the luſt-caterers of the cities) ſhould be wanting to the plough and uſeful huſbandry. If men never think themſelves rich enough, they may never miſs of trouble and employment; but thoſe who can take the primitive ſtate and God's creation for their model, may learn with a little to be contented; as knowing that deſires after wealth do not only prevent or deſtroy true faith, but, when got, increaſe ſnares and trouble. It is no evil to repent of evil; but that cannot be, whilſt men maintain what they ſhould repent of: it is a bad argument to avoid temperance, or juſtify the contrary, becauſe otherwiſe the actors and inventors of exceſs would want a livelihood; ſince to feed them that way is to nurſe the cauſe, inſtead of ſtarving it. Let ſuch of thoſe vanity-huckſters as have got ſufficient be contented to retreat, and ſpend it more honeſtly than they have got it; and ſuch as really are poor, be rather helped by charity to better callings: this were more prudent, nay, Chriſtian, than to conſume money upon

ſuch

ſuch fooliſh toys and fopperies. Publick work-houſes would be effectual remedies to all theſe lazy and luſtful diſtempers, with more profit, and a better conſcience. Therefore it is that we cannot, we dare not ſquare our converſation by the world's: no, but by our plainneſs and moderation to teſtify againſt ſuch extravagant vanities; and by our grave and ſteady life to manifeſt our diſlike, on God's behalf, to ſuch intemperate and wanton curioſity; yea, to deny ourſelves what otherwiſe perhaps we lawfully could uſe with a juſt indifferency, if not ſatisfaction, becauſe of that abuſe that is amongſt the generality.

§. XI. I know, that ſome are ready farther to object; 'Hath God given us theſe enjoyments on purpoſe to 'damn us if we uſe them?' Anſw. But to ſuch miſerable, poor, ſilly ſouls, who would rather charge the moſt high and holy God with the invention or creation of their dirty vanities, than want a plea to juſtify their own practice, not knowing how for ſhame, or fear, or love, to throw them off; I anſwer, that what God made for man's uſe was good; and what the bleſſed Lord Jeſus Chriſt allowed, or enjoined, or gave us in his moſt heavenly example, is to be obſerved, believed, and practiſed. But in the whole catalogue the ſcriptures give of both, I never found the attires, recreations, and way of living, ſo much in requeſt with the generality of the Chriſtians of theſe times[n]: no certainly. God created man an holy, wiſe, ſober, grave, and reaſonable creature, fit to govern himſelf and the world; but Divinity was then the great object of his reaſon and pleaſure; all external enjoyments of God's giving being for neceſſity, convenience, and lawful delight, with this proviſo too, that the Almighty was to be ſeen, and ſenſibly enjoyed and reverenced, in every one of them. But how very wide the Chriſtians of theſe times are from this primitive inſtitution is not difficult to determine, although they make ſuch loud pretenſions to that moſt holy Jeſus, who not only gave the

[n] Luke viii. 14. ch. xii. 28, 29 to 31.

world

world a certain evidence of an happy restoration, by his own coming, but promised his assistance to all that would follow him in the self-denial and way of his holy cross; and therefore hath so severely enjoyned no less on all, as they would be everlastingly saved[o]. But whether the minds of men and women are not as profoundly involved in all excess and vanity, as those who know him not any farther than by hear-say; and whether being thus banished the presence of the Lord, by their greedy seeking the things that are below, and thereby having lost the taste of divine pleasure, they have not feigned to themselves an imaginary pleasure, to quiet or smother conscience, and pass their time without that anguish and trouble, which are the consequences of sin, that so they might be at ease and security while in the world; let their own consciences declare. Adam's temptation is represented by the fruit of a tree; thereby intimating the great influence external objects, as they exceed in beauty, carry with them upon our senses: so that unless the mind keep upon its constant watch, so prevalent are visible things, that hard it is for one to escape being ensnared in them; and he shall need to be only sometimes entrapped, to cast so thick a veil of darkness over the mind, that not only it shall with pleasure continue in its fetters to lust and vanity, but proudly censure such as refuse to wear them, strongly pleading for them, as serviceable and convenient[p]. That strange passion do perishing objects raise in those minds, where way is made, and entertainment given to them. But Christ Jesus is manifested in us, and hath given unto us a taste and understanding of him that is true; and to all, such a proportion of his good Spirit, as is sufficient, would they obey it, to redeem their minds from that captivity they have been in to lust and vanity, and intirely ransom them from the dominion of all visible objects, and whatsoever may gratify the desires of the eye, the lust of the

[o] John viii. 12. ch. xv. 6, 7, 8. ch. xvii. 20. [p] Rom. ii. 8. Gen. iii. 6. Mark xiii. 33, 34, 35, 36, 37.

flesh, and the pride of life, that they might be regenerated in their minds, changed in their affections, and have their whole hearts set on things that are above, where moth nor rust can never pass, or enter to harm or destroy [q].

§. XII. But it is a manifest sign, of what mould and make those persons are, who practise and plead for such Egyptian shameful rags, as pleasures. It is to be hoped that they never knew, or to be feared they have forgot, the humble, plain, meek, holy, self-denying, and exemplary life, which the Eternal Spirit sanctifies all obedient hearts into; yea, it is indubitable, that either such always have been ignorant, or else that they have lost sight, of that good land, that heavenly country and blessed inheritance, they once had some glimmering prospect of [r]. O that they would but withdraw a while, sit down, weigh and consider with themselves, where they are, and whose work and will they are doing! that they would once believe, the devil hath not a stratagem more pernicious to their immortal souls, than this of exercising their minds in the foolish fashions and wanton recreations of the times! Great and gross impieties beget a detestation in the opinion of sober education and reputation; and therefore since the devil rightly sees such things have no success with many, it is his next and fatalest design to find some other entertainments, that carry less of infection in their looks, though more of security, because less of scandal and more of pleasure in their enjoyment, on purpose to busy and arrest people from a diligent search and enquiry after those matters which necessarily concern their eternal peace: that being ignorant of the heavenly life, they may not be induced to press after it; but, being only formally religious, according to the traditions and precepts of others, proceed to their common pleasures, and find no check therefrom (their religion and conversation for the most part agreeing well together) where-

[q] 1 John v. 20. 1 Thess. v. 23. [r] Gal. v. 22, 23, 24, 25. Eph. v. 8, 9, 10, 11, 15, 16.

by

by an improvement in the knowledge of God, a going on from grace to grace, a growing to the measure of the stature of Jesus Christ himself is not known: but as it was in the beginning at seven, so it is at seventy; nay, not so innocent, unless by reason of the old saying, Old men are twice children. Oh! the mystery of godliness, the heavenly life, the true Christian, are another thing[s]! Wherefore we conclude, that as the design of the devil (where he cannot involve and draw into gross sin) is to busy, delight, and allure the minds of men and women by more seeming innocent entertainments, on purpose that he may more easily secure them from minding their duty and progress and obedience to the only true God, which is eternal life; and thereby take up their minds from heavenly and eternal things: so those who would be delivered from these snares should mind the holy, just, grave, and self-denying teachings of God's Grace and Spirit in themselves, that they may reject and for ever abandon the like vanity and evil; and, by a reformed conversation, condemn the world of its intemperance: so will the true discipleship be obtained; for otherwise many enormous consequences, and pernicious effects will follow. It is to encourage such impious persons to continue and proceed in the like trades of feeding the people's lusts, and thereby such make themselves partakers of their plagues, who, by continual fresh desires to the like curiosities, and that way of spending time and estate, induce them to spend more time in studying how to 'abuse time[t];' lest, through their pinching and small allowance, those prodigals should call their Father's house to mind: for, whatsoever any think, more pleasant baits, alluring objects, grateful entertainments, cunning emissaries, acceptable sermons, insinuating lectures, taking orators, the crafty devil has not ever had, by which to entice and ensnare the minds of peo-

[s] Eph. vi. 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18. Eph. i. 16 to 23. ch. iv. 12, 13. [t] John xvii. 3. Rom. i. 11. Tit. ii. 11, 12, 13, 14.

ple, and totally to divert them from heavenly reflections, and divine meditations, than the attire, sports, plays, and pastimes of this godless age, the school and shop of Satan, hitherto so reasonably condemned.

CHAP. XVIII.

§. 1. But if these customs, &c. were but indifferent, yet being abused, they deserve to be rejected. §. 2. The abuse is acknowledged by those that use them, therefore should leave them. §. 3. Such as pretend to seriousness, should exemplarily withdraw from such latitudes: a wise parent weans his child of what it dotes too much upon; and we should watch over ourselves and neighbours. §. 4. God, in the case of the brazen serpent, &c. gives us an example to put away the use of abused things. §. 5. If these things were sometimes convenient, yet when their use is prejudicial in example, they should be disused. §. 6. Such as yet proceed to love their unlawful pleasures more than Christ and his cross, the mischief they have brought to persons and estates, bodies and souls. §. 7. Ingenuous people know this to be true: an appeal to God's Witness in the guilty: their state that of Babylon. §. 8. But temperance in food, and plainness in apparel, and sober conversation, conduce most to good: so the apostle teaches in his epistles. §. 9. Temperance enriches a land: it is a political good, as well as a religious one in all governments. §. 10. When people have done their duty to God, it will be time enough to think of pleasing themselves. §. 11. An address to the magistrates, and all people, how to convert their time and money to better purposes.

§. I. BUT should these things be as indifferent, as they are proved perniciously unlawful (for I never heard any advance their plea beyond the bounds of mere indifferency) yet so great is their abuse, so universal

universal the sad effects thereof, like to an infection, that they therefore ought to be rejected of all, especially those, whose sobriety hath preserved them on this side of that excess, or whose judgments (though themselves be guilty) suggest the folly of such intemperance. For what is an indifferent thing, but that which may be done, or left undone? Granting, I say, this were the case, yet doth both reason and religion teach, that when they are used with such an excess of appetite, as to leave them would be a cross to their desires, they have exceeded the bounds of mere indifferency, and are thereby rendered no less than necessary. Which being a violation of the very nature of the things themselves, a perfect abuse enters; and consequently they are no longer to be considered in the rank of things simply indifferent, but unlawful.

§. II. Now that the whole exchange of things against which I have so earnestly contended, are generally abused by the excess of almost all ages, sexes, and qualities of people, will be confessed by many, who yet decline not to conform themselves to them; and to whom, as I have understood, it only seems lawful, because (say they) the abuse of others should be no argument why we should not use them. But to such I answer, that they have quite forgot, or will not remember, they have acknowledged these things to be but of an indifferent nature: if so, (and vanity never urged more) I say, there can be nothing more clear, than since they acknowledge their great abuse, that they are wholly to be forsaken: for since they may as well be let alone as done at any time, surely they should then of duty be let alone, when the use of them is an abetting the general excess, and a mere exciting others to continue in their abuse, because they find persons reputed sober to imitate them, or otherwise give them an example[a]: precepts are not half so forcible as examples.

§. III. Every one that pretends to seriousness ought to inspect himself, as having been too forward to help

[a] Phil. iii. 17.

on the excess, and can never make too much haste out of those inconveniencies, that by his former example he encouraged any to; that by a new one he may put a seasonable check upon the intemperance of others[b]. A wise parent ever withdraws those objects, however innocent in themselves, which are too prevalent upon the weak senses of his children, on purpose that they might be weaned. And it is as frequent with men to bend a crooked stick as much the contrary way, that they might make it strait at last. Those that have more sobriety than others should not forget their stewardships, but exercise that gift of God to the security of their neighbours. It was murdering Cain that rudely asked the Lord, 'Was he his brother's keeper[c]? for every man is necessarily obliged thereto; and therefore should be so wise, as to deny himself the use of such indifferent enjoyments, as cannot be used by him without too manifest an encouragement to his neighbour's folly.

§. IV. God hath sufficiently excited men to what is said; for in the case of the brazen serpent, which was an heavenly institution and type of Christ, he with great displeasure enjoined it should be broke to pieces, because they were too fond and doating upon it[d]. Yes, the very groves themselves, however pleasant for situation, beautiful for their walks and trees, must be cut down; and why? only because they had been abused to idolatrous uses. And what is an idol, but that which the mind puts an over-estimate or value upon? None can benefit themselves so much by an indifferent thing, as others by not using that abused liberty.

§. V. If those things were convenient in themselves, which is a step nearer necessity than mere indifferency, yet when by circumstances they become prejudicial, such conveniency itself ought to be given up; much more what is but indifferent should be denied. People ought not to weigh their private satisfactions more than a public good; nor please themselves in too free an

[b] Rom xiv. to the end. [c] Gen. iv. 9. [d] 2 Kings xviii. 3, 4.

use

uſe of indifferent things, at the coſt of being ſo really prejudicial to the public, as they certainly are, whoſe uſe of them (if no worſe) becomes exemplary to others, and begets an impatiency in their minds to have the like[e]. Wherefore it is both reaſonable and incumbent on all, to make only ſuch things neceſſary, as tend to life and godlineſs, and to employ their freedom with moſt advantage to their neighbours[f]. So that here is a two-fold obligation; the one, not to be exemplary in the uſe of ſuch things; which, though they may uſe them, yet not without giving too much countenance to the abuſe and exceſſive vanity of their neighbours. The other obligation is, that they ought ſo far to condeſcend to ſuch religious people who are offended at theſe faſhions, and that kind of converſation, as to reject them[g].

§. VI. Now thoſe, who notwithſtanding what I have urged will yet proceed; what is it, but that they have ſo involved themſelves and their affections in them, that it is hardly poſſible to reform them; and that, for all their many proteſtations againſt their fondneſs to ſuch fopperies, they really love them more than Chriſt and his croſs? Such cannot ſeek the good of others, who do ſo little reſpect their own. For, after a ſerious conſideration, what vanity, pride, idleneſs, expence of time and eſtates, have been, and yet are? how many perſons debauched from their firſt ſobriety, and women from their natural ſweetneſs and innocency, to looſe, airy, wanton, and many times more enormous practices? how many plentiful eſtates have been over-run by numerous debts, chaſtity enſnared by accurſed luſtful intrigues? youthful health overtaken by the haſty ſeizure of unnatural diſtempers, and the remaining days of ſuch ſpent upon a rack of their vices procuring, and ſo made ſlaves to the unmerciful but neceſſary effects of their own inordinate pleaſures? in which agony they

[e] Pſal. x. 3, 4. [f] 2 Pet. i. 3. Eph. v. 7. [g] Rom. xiv. 1. to the end.

vow the greatest temperance: but are no sooner out of it, than in their vice again[h].

§. VII. That these things are the case, and almost innumerable more, I am persuaded no ingenuous person of any experience will deny: how then, upon a serious reflection, any that pretend conscience, or the fear of God Almighty, can longer continue in the garb, livery, and conversation of those whose whole life tends to little else than what I have repeated, much less join with them in their abominable excess[i], I leave to the Just Principle in themselves to judge. No surely! this is not to obey the voice of God, who in all ages did loudly cry to all, 'Come out (of what?) of the ways, fashions, converse and spirit of Babylon?' What is that? the great city of all these vain, foolish, wanton, superfluous, and wicked practices, against which the scriptures denounce most dreadful judgments; ascribing all the intemperance of men and women to the cup of wickedness she hath given them to drink; whose are the things indifferent, if they must be so[k]. And for witness, hear what the Revelations say in her description: 'How much she hath glorified herself, 'and lived deliciously, so much torment and sorrow 'give her. And the kings of the earth, who have 'lived deliciously with her, shall bewail and lament 'her; and the merchants of the earth shall weep over 'her; for no man buyeth their merchandize any more: 'the merchandize of gold and silver, and precious 'stones, and of pearls, and fine linen, and purple, 'and silk, and scarlet, and all manner of vessels of 'ivory, and all manner of vessels of most precious 'wood; and cinnamon, and odours, and ointments, 'and frankincense, and wine, and oil, and fine flour, 'and beasts, and slaves, and souls of men[l].' Behold the character and judgment of luxury; and though I know it hath a farther signification than what is literal, yet

[h] Lam. iv. 5. Prov. xxi. 17. Job xxi. 13, 14. Psal. lv. 23. Psal. xxxvii. 10. Eccl. viii. 12. Psal. xxxvii. 1, 2. Prov. ii. 22.
[i] Jer. xvi. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. [k] Isa. iii. 13 to 16. Jer. l. 8. ch. xv. 6, 7. Amos vi. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. [l] Rev. xviii. 7, 8, 11, 13.

there

there is enough to shew the pomp, plenty, fulness, idleness, ease, wantonness, vanity, lust, and excess of luxury that reign in her. But at the terrible day who will go to her exchange any more? who to her plays? who will follow her fashions then? and who shall traffick in her delicate inventions? Not one; for she shall be judged. No plea shall excuse, or rescue her from the wrath of the Judge; for strong is the Lord who will perform it[m]. If yet these reasonable pleas will not prevail, however I shall caution such, in the repetition of part of Babylon's miserable doom: Mind, my friends, more heavenly things; hasten to obey that Righteous Principle, which would exercise and delight you in that which is eternal; or else with Babylon, the mother of lust and vanity, the fruits which your souls lust after shall depart from you, and all things which are dainty and goodly shall depart from you, and you shall find them no more[n]! O Dives! no more! Lay your treasures therefore up in heaven, O ye inhabitants of the earth, where nothing can break through to harm them; but where time shall shortly be swallowed up of eternity[o]!

§. VIII. But my arguments against these things end not here; for the contrary most of all conduces to good, namely, 'temperance in food, plainness in apparel; 'with a meek, shame-faced, and quiet spirit, and 'that conversation which doth only express the same in 'all godly honesty:' as the apostle saith, 'Let no corrupt communication proceed out of your mouth, 'but that which is good to the use of edifying, that it 'may administer grace to the hearers; neither filthiness, nor foolish talking, nor jesting, but rather giving of thanks: for let no man deceive you with vain 'words, because of these things cometh the wrath of 'God upon the children of disobedience[p].' And if

[m] Rev. xviii. 8. [n] Ver. 14. [o] Luke xii. 33, 34. [p] Col. iv. 5, 6. 1 Thess. iv. 11, 12. 1 Pet. iii. 1, 2, 3, 4. Eph. iv. 29. & v. 3, 4, 5, 6. 1 Tim. iv. 12. Phil. iii. 16 to 20. 1 Pet. ii. 12. Prov. xxxi. 23 to 31. 2 Chr. xiii. 7. Prov. xxiv. 23. James ii. 2 to 9. Luke xii. 32, 30. 1 Tim. iv. 2 Pet. iii. 11. Psal. xxvi. 6.

men and women were but thus adorned, after this truly Christian manner, impudence would soon receive a check, and lust, pride, vanity, and wantonness, find a rebuke. They would not be able to attempt such universal chastity, or encounter such godly austerity: virtue would be in credit, and vice afraid and ashamed, and excess not dare to shew its face. There would be an end of gluttony, and gaudiness of apparel, flattering titles, and a luxurious life; and then primitive innocency and plainness would come back again, and that plain-hearted downright harmless life would be restored, of not much caring what we should eat, drink, or put on, as Christ tells us the Gentiles did, and as we know this age daily does, under all its talk of religion: but as the ancients, who with moderate care for necessaries and conveniencies of life, devoted themselves to the concernments of a celestial kingdom, more minded their improvement in righteousness, than their increase in riches; for they laid their treasure up in heaven, and endured tribulation for an inheritance that cannot be taken away[q].

§. IX. But the temperance I plead for, is not only religiously, but politically good: it is the interest of good government to curb and rebuke excesses: it prevents many mischiefs; luxury brings effeminacy, laziness, poverty, and misery; but temperance preserves the land[r]. It keeps out foreign vanities, and improves our own commodities: now we are their debtors, then they would be debtors to us for our native manufactures. By this means, such persons, who by their excess, not charity, have deeply engaged their estates, may in a short space be enabled to clear them from those incumbrances, which otherwise (like moths) soon eat out plentiful revenues[s]. It helps persons of mean substance to improve their small stocks, that they may not expend their dear earnings and hard-got wages upon superfluous apparel, foolish may-games, plays, dancing, shews, taverns, ale-houses, and the like folly and intem-

[q] Mat. xxv. 31. [r] Prov. x. 4. [s] Eccl. x. 16, 17, 18.

perance;

perance; with which this land is more infested, and by which it is rendered more ridiculous, than any kingdom in the world: for none I know of is so infested with cheating mountebanks, savage morrice-dancers, pick-pockets, and profane players, and stagers; to the slight of religion, the shame of government, and the great idleness, expence, and debauchery of the people: for which the Spirit of the Lord is grieved, and the judgments of the Almighty are at the door, and the sentence ready to be pronounced, 'Let him that is unjust, be unjust still[t].' Wherefore it is, that we cannot but loudly call upon the generality of the times, and testify, both by our life and doctrine, against the like vanities and abuses, if possible any may be weaned from their folly, and chuse the good old path of temperance, wisdom, gravity, and holiness, the only way to inherit the blessings of peace and plenty here, and eternal happiness hereafter[u].

§. X. Lastly, supposing we had none of these foregoing reasons justly to reprove the practice of the land in these particulars; however, let it be sufficient for us to say, that when people have first learned to fear, worship, and obey their Creator, to pay their numerous vicious debts, to alleviate and abate their oppressed tenants; but above all outward regards, when the pale faces are more commiserated, the pinched bellies relieved, and naked backs cloathed; when the famished poor, the distressed widow, and helpless orphan (God's works, and your fellow-creatures) are provided for! then I say, (if then) it will be time enough for you to plead the indifferency of your pleasures. But that the sweat and tedious labour of the husbandmen, early and late, cold and hot, wet and dry, should be converted into the pleasure, ease, and pastime of a small number of men; that the cart, the plough, the thresh, should be in that continual severity laid upon nineteen parts of the land, to feed the inordinate lusts and delicious appetites of the twentieth, is so far from the appointment

[t] Rev. xxii. 11. [u] Prov. xxi. 4, 29.

of

of the great Governor of the world, and God of the spirits of all flesh, that to imagine such horrible injustice as the effects of his determinations, and not the intemperance of men, were wretched and blasphemous. As on the other side, it would be to deserve no pity, no help, no relief from God Almighty, for people to continue that expence in vanity and pleasure, whilst the great necessities of such objects go unanswered: especially, since God hath made the sons of men but stewards to each other's exigencies and relief. Yea, so strict is it enjoined, that on the omission of these things, we find this dreadful sentence partly to be grounded, 'Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire,' &c. As on the contrary, to visit the sick, see the imprisoned, relieve the needy, &c. are such excellent properties in Christ's account, that thereupon he will pronounce such blessed, saying, 'Come ye blessed of my Father, 'inherit the kingdom prepared for you,' &c. So that the great are not (with the Leviathan in the deep) to prey upon the small, much less to make a sport of the lives and labours of the lesser ones, to gratify their inordinate senses[w].

§. XI. I therefore humbly offer an address to the serious consideration of the civil magistrate, That if the money which is expended in every parish in such vain fashions, as wearing of laces, jewels, embroideries, unnecessary ribbons, trimming, costly furniture, and attendance, together with what is commonly consumed in taverns, feasts, gaming, &c. could be collected into a public stock, or something in lieu of this extravagant and fruitless expence, there might be reparation to the broken tenants, work-houses for the able, and almshouses for the aged and impotent[x]. Then should we

[w] Eccl. xii. 1. Psal. xxxvii. 21. Psal. x. 2. Psal. iv. 2. Psal. lxxix. 12. Psal. lxxxii. 3, 4. Prov. xxii. 7. Isa. iii. 14, 15. Ezek. xxii. 29. Amos v. 11, 12. ch. viii. 4, 7, 8. Isa. i. 16, 17, 18. Jer. vii. 6. Rom. xii. 20. 2 Cor. ix. 7. Psal. xl. 4. Acts x. 34. Rom. ii. 11. Eph. vi. 9. Col. iii. 25. 1 Pet. i. 17. Jam. v. 4, 5. Psal. xli. 1. Mat. xxv. 34, 35, 36. Jam. ii. 15, 16. Psal. cxii. 9.
[x] Prov. xiv. 21. Mat. xix. 21.

have

have no beggars in the land, the cry of the widow and the orphan would ceaſe, and charitable reliefs might eaſily be afforded towards the redemption of poor captives, and refreſhment of ſuch diſtreſſed Proteſtants as labour under the miſeries of perſecution in other countries: nay, the exchequer's needs, on juſt emergencies, might be ſupplied by ſuch a bank: this ſacrifice and ſervice would pleaſe the juſt and merciful God: it would be a noble example of gravity and temperance to foreign ſtates, and an unſpeakable benefit to ourſelves at home.

Alas! why ſhould men need perſuaſions to what their own felicity ſo neceſſarily leads them to? had thoſe vitioſos of the times but a ſenſe of heathen Cato's generoſity, they would rather deny their carnal appetites, than leave ſuch noble enterprizes unattemped. But that they ſhould eat, drink, play, game, and ſport away their health, eſtates, and above all, their irrevocable precious time, which ſhould be dedicated to the Lord, as a neceſſary introduction to a bleſſed eternity, and than which (did they but know it) no worldly ſolace could come in competition; I ſay, that they ſhould be continually employed about theſe poor, low things, as to have the Heathens judge them in God's day, as well as Chriſtian precepts and examples condemn them. And their final doom will prove the more aſtoniſhing, in that this vanity and exceſs are acted under a profeſſion of the ſelf-denying religion of Jeſus, whoſe life and doctrine are a perpetual reproach to the moſt of Chriſtians. For he (bleſſed man) was humble, but they are proud; he forgiving, they revengeful; he meek, they fierce; he plain, they gaudy; he abſtemious, they luxurious; he chaſte, they laſcivious; he a pilgrim on earth, they citizens of the world: in fine, he was meanly born, poorly attended, and obſcurely brought up: he lived deſpiſed, and died hated of the men of his own nation. O you pretended followers of this crucified Jeſus! 'examine yourſelves, try yourſelves; know you not your own ſelves, if he dwell not (if he rule not) in you, that you are reprobates'? be

[y] 2 Cor. xiii. 5.

'ye

'ye not deceived, for God will not be mocked (at last 'with forced repentances); such as you sow, such '(such you must) reap in God's day[z].' I beseech you hear me, and remember you were invited and intreated to the salvation of God. I say, as you sow you reap: if you are enemies to the cross of Christ, (and you are so, if you will not bear it, but do as you list, and not as you ought) if you are uncircumcised in heart and ear (and you are so, if you will not hear and open to him that knocks at the door within), and if you resist and quench the Spirit in yourselves, that strives with you to bring you to God (and that you certainly do, who rebel against its motions, reproofs, and instructions) then 'you sow to the flesh, to fulfil 'the lusts thereof, and of the flesh will you reap 'the fruits of corruption, woe, anguish, and tri-'bulation, from God the judge of quick and dead, by 'Jesus Christ[a].' But if you will daily bear the holy cross of Christ, and sow to the Spirit; if you will listen to the light and grace that comes by Jesus, and which he has given to all people for salvation, and square your thoughts, words, and deeds thereby (which leads and teaches the lovers of it, to deny all ungodliness, and the world's lusts, and to live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present evil world) then may you with confidence look for the 'blessed hope, 'and joyful coming, and glorious appearance of the 'great God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ[b].' Let it be so, O you Christians, and escape the wrath to come! why will you die? let the time past suffice: remember, that No Cross, No Crown. 'Redeem then the time, 'for the days are evil, and yours but very few. There-'fore gird up the loins of your minds, be sober, fear, 'watch, pray, and endure to the end[c];' calling to mind, for your encouragement and consolation; that all such, as 'through patience and well-doing wait for immor-'tality, shall reap glory, honour, and eternal life, in 'the kingdom of the Father; whose is the kingdom, 'the power, and the glory for ever[d].' Amen.

[z] Gal. vi. 7, 8. [a] Rom. ii. 8. [b] Tit. iii. 11, 12, 13.
[c] Eph. v. 16. [d] Rom. ii. 7, 9.

PART

PART II.

Containing an account of the living and dying Sayings of men eminent for their Greatneſs, Learning, or Virtue; and that of divers periods of time, and nations of the world. All concurring in this one teſtimony, "That a life of ſtrict "virtue, viz. To do well, and bear ill, is the "way to everlaſting happineſs." Collected in favour of the truth delivered in the Firſt Part.

By WILLIAM PENN.

The PREFACE.

NO CROSS, NO CROWN ſhould have ended here; but that the power, examples and authorities have put upon the minds of people, above the moſt reaſonable and preſſing arguments, inclined me to preſent my readers with ſome of thoſe many inſtances that might be given, in favour of the virtuous life recommended in our diſcourſe. I choſe to caſt them into three ſorts of teſtimonies (not after the threefold ſubject of the book, but) ſuitable to the times, qualities, and circumſtances of the perſons that gave them forth; whoſe divers excellencies and ſtations have tranſmitted their names with reputation to our own times. The firſt teſtimony comes from thoſe called Heathens, the ſecond from Profeſſed Chriſtians, and the laſt from Retired, Aged, and Dying Men; being their laſt and ſerious reflections, to which no oſtentation or worldly intereſts could induce them. Where it will be eaſy for the conſiderate reader to obſerve how much the pride, avarice, and luxury of the world, ſtood reprehended in the judgments of perſons of great credit amongſt

amongſt men; and what was that life and conduct, that in their moſt retired meditations, when their ſight was cleareſt, and judgment moſt free and diſabuſed, they thought would give peace here, and lay foundations of eternal bleſſedneſs.

CHAP. XIX.

The teſtimonies of ſeveral great, learned, and virtuous Perſonages among the Gentiles, urged againſt the exceſſes of the age, in favour of the ſelf-denial, temperance, and piety herein recommended.

I. Among the Greeks, viz. §. 1. Of Cyrus. §. 2. Artaxerxes. §. 3. Agathocles. §. 4. Philip. §. 5. Alexander. §. 6. Ptolomy. §. 7. Xenophanes. §. 8. Antigonus. §. 9. Themiſtocles. §. 10. Ariſtides. §. 11. Pericles. §. 12. Phocion. §. 13. Clitomachus. §. 14. Epaminondas. §. 15. Demoſthenes. §. 16. Agaſicles. §. 17. Ageſilaus. §. 18. Agis. §. 19. Alcamenes. §. 20. Alexandridas. §. 21. Anaxilas. §. 22. Ariſton. §. 23. Archidamus. §. 24. Cleomenes. §. 25. Derſyllidas. §. 26. Hippodamus. §. 27. Leonidas. §. 28. Lyſander. §. 29. Pauſanias. §. 30. Theopompus, &c. §. 31. The manner of life and government of the Lacedæmonians in general. §. 32. Lycurgus their lawgiver. (II.) Among the Romans, viz. §. 33. Of Cato. §. 34. Scipio Africanus. §. 35. Auguſtus. §. 36. Tiberius. §. 37. Veſpaſian. §. 38. Trajan. §. 39. Adrian. §. 40. Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. §. 41. Pertinax. §. 42. Peſcennius. §. 43. Alexander Severus. §. 44. Aurelianus. §. 45. Dioclesian. §. 46. Julian. §. 47. Theodoſius. (III.) The lives and doctrines of ſome of the Heathen philoſophers among the Greeks and Romans, viz. §. 48. Thales. §. 49. Pythagoras. §. 50. Solon. §. 51. Chilon. §. 52. Periander. §. 53. Bias.

§. I. CYRUS (than whom a greater monarch we hardly find in story) is more famous for his virtue, than his power; and indeed it was that which gave him power. God calls him his shepherd: now let us see the principles of his conduct and life. So temperate was he in his youth, that when Astyages urged him to drink wine, he answered, I am afraid lest there should be poison in it; having seen thee reel and sottish after having drunk thereof. And so careful was he to keep the Persians from corruption of manners, that he would not suffer them to leave their rude and mountainous country, for one more pleasant and fruitful, lest through plenty and ease, luxury at last might debase their spirits. And so very chaste was he, that having taken a lady of quality, a most beautiful woman, his prisoner, he refused to see her, saying, I have no mind to be a captive to my captive. It seems, he claimed no such propriety; but shunned the occasion of evil. The comptroller of his houshold asking him one day what he would please to have for his dinner? Bread, said he; for I intend to encamp nigh the water: a short and easy bill of fare: but this shews the power he had over his appetite as well as his soldiers; and that he was fit

fit to command others, that could command himself; according to another saying of his, No man (saith he) is worthy to command, who is not better than those who are to obey: and when he came to die, he gave this reason of his belief of immortality, I cannot, said he, persuade myself to think, that the soul of man, after having sustained itself in a mortal body, should perish when delivered out of it, for want of it: a saying of perhaps as great weight, as may be advanced against atheism from more enlightened times.

§. II. Artaxerxes Mnemon, being upon an extraordinary occasion reduced to eat barley bread and dried figs, and drink water; What pleasure (saith he) have I lost till now through my delicacies and excess!

§. III. Agathocles becoming king of Sicily, from being the son of a potter, always, to humble his mind to his original, would be daily served in earthen vessels upon his table: an example of humility and plainness.

§. IV. Philip king of Macedon, upon three sorts of good news arriving in one day, feared too much success might transport him immoderately; and therefore prayed for some disappointments to season his prosperity, and caution his mind under the enjoyment of it. He refused to oppress the Greeks with his garrisons, saying, I had rather retain them by kindness, than fear; and to be always beloved, than for a while terrible. One of his minions persuading him to decline hearing of a cause, wherein a particular friend was interested; I had much rather, says he, thy friend should lose his cause, than I my reputation. Seeing his son Alexander endeavour to gain the hearts of the Macedonians by gifts and rewards, Canst thou believe, says he, that a man that thou hast corrupted to thy interests will ever be true to them? When his court would have had him quarrel and correct the Peloponnenses for their ingratitude to him, he said, By no means; for if they despise and abuse me, after being kind to them, what will they do if I do them harm? A great example of patience in a king, and wittily said. Like to this was his reply to the ambassadors of Athens, whom asking after audience,

audience, If he could do them any ſervice, and one of them ſurlily anſwering, The beſt thou canſt do us is, to hang thyſelf; he was nothing diſturbed, though his court murmured; but calmly ſaid to the ambaſſador, Thoſe who ſuffer injuries, are better people than thoſe that do them. To conclude with him, being one day fallen along the ground, and ſeeing himſelf in that poſture, he cried out, What a ſmall ſpot of earth do we take up! and yet the whole world cannot content us.

§. V. ALEXANDER was very temperate and virtuous in his youth: a certain governor having written to him, that a merchant of the place had ſeveral fine boys to ſell, he returned him this anſwer with great indignation, What haſt thou ſeen in any act of my life, that ſhould put thee upon ſuch a meſſage as this? and avoided the woman his courtiers flung in his way to debauch him. Nay, he would not ſee the wife of Darius, famed for the moſt beautiful princeſs of the age; which, with his other virtues, made Darius (the laſt Perſian king) to ſay, If God has determined to take my empire from me, I wiſh it into the hands of Alexander, my virtuous enemy. He hated covetouſneſs; for though he left great conqueſts, he left no riches; which made him thus to anſwer one that aſked him dying, Where he had hid his treaſures; Among my friends, ſays he. He was wont to ſay, He owed more to his maſter for his education, than to his father for his birth; by how much it was leſs to live, than to live well.

§. VI. PTOLEMY, ſon of Lagus, being reproached for his mean original, and his friends angry that he did not reſent it; We ought, ſays he, to bear reproaches patiently.

§. VII. XENOPHANES being jeered for refuſing to play at a forbidden game, anſwered, I do not fear my money, but my reputation: they that make laws, muſt keep them. A commendable ſaying.

§. VIII. ANTIGONUS being taken ſick, he ſaid, It was a warning from God to inſtruct him of his mortality.

A poet flattering him with the title of the Son of God; he anſwered, My ſervant knows the contrary. Another ſycophant telling him, that the will of kings is the rule of juſtice: No, ſaith he, rather juſtice is the rule of the will of kings. And being preſſed by his minions to put a garriſon into Athens, to hold the Greeks in ſubjection, he anſwered, He had not a ſtronger garriſon than the affections of his people.

§. IX. Themistocles, after all the honour of his life, ſits down with this concluſion, That the way to the grave is more deſirable than the way to worldly honours. His daughter being courted by one of little wit and great wealth, and another of little wealth and great goodneſs; he choſe the poor man for his ſon-in-law; For, ſaith he, I will rather have a man without money, than money without a man; reckoning, that not money, but worth, makes the man. Being told by Symmachus, that he would teach him the art of memory; he gravely anſwered, He had rather learn the art of forgetfulneſs; adding, He could remember enough, but many things he could not forget, which were neceſſary to be forgotten; as the honours, glories, pleaſures and conqueſts he had ſpent his days in, too apt to tranſport to vain glory.

§. X. Aristides, a wiſe and juſt Greek, of greateſt honour and truſt with the Athenians; he was a great enemy to cabals in government: the reaſon he renders is, Becauſe, ſaith he, I would not be obliged to authorize injuſtice. He ſo much hated covetouſneſs, though he was thrice choſen treaſurer of Athens, that he lived and died poor, and that of choice: for being therefore reproached by a rich uſurer, he anſwered, Thy riches hurt thee, more than my poverty hurts me. Being once baniſhed by a contrary faction in the ſtate, he prayed to God, That the affairs of his country might go ſo well, as never to need his return; which however cauſed him preſently to be recalled. Whereupon he told them, That he was not troubled for his exile with reſpect to himſelf, but the honour of his country. Themiſtocles, their general, had a project to propoſe

to

to render Athens mistress of Greece, but it required secresy: the people obliged him to communicate it to Aristides, whose judgment they would follow. Aristides having privately heard it from Themistocles, publickly answered to the people, True, there was nothing more advantageous, nor nothing more unjust: which quashed the project.

§. XI. Pericles, as he mounted the tribunal, prayed to God, That not a word might fall from him that might scandalize the people, wrong the public affairs, or hurt his own. One of his friends praying him to speak falsly in his favour, We are friends, saith he, but not beyond the altar; meaning not against religion and truth. Sophocles, being his companion, upon sight of a beautiful woman, said to Pericles, Ah, what a lovely creature is that! to whom Pericles replied, It becometh a magistrate not only to have his hands clean, but his tongue and eyes also.

§. XII. Phocion, a famous Athenian, was honest and poor, yea, he contemned riches: for a certain governor making rich presents, he returned them; saying, I refused Alexander's. And when several persuaded him to accept of such bounty, or else his children would want, he answered, If my son be virtuous, I shall leave him enough; and if he be vicious, more would be too little. He rebuked the excess of the Athenians, and that openly, saying, He that eateth more than he ought, maketh more diseases than he can cure. To condemn or flatter him, was to him alike. Demosthenes telling him, Whenever the people were enraged, they would kill him; he answered, And thee also, when they are come to their wits. He said, An orator was like a cypress tree, fair and great, but fruitless. Antipater, pressing him to submit to his sense, he answered, Thou canst not have me for a friend and flatterer too. Seeing a man in office to speak much, and do little, he asked, How can that man do business, that is already drunk with talking? After all the great services of his life, he was unjustly condemned to die; and going to the place of execution, lamented of the people, one of

his enemies ſpit in his face; he took it without any diſorder of mind, only ſaying, Take him away. Before execution, his friends aſked him, Whether he had nothing to ſay to his ſon? Yes, ſaid he, let him not hate my enemies, nor revenge my death: I ſee it is better to ſleep upon the earth with peace, than with trouble upon the ſofteſt bed: that he ought to do that which is his duty, and what is more is vanity: that he muſt not carry two faces: that he promiſe little, but keep his promiſes: the world does the contrary.

§. XIII. Clitomachus had ſo great a love to virtue, and practiſed it with ſuch exactneſs, that if at any time in company he heard wanton or obſcene diſcourſe, he was wont to quit the place.

§. XIV. Epaminondas being invited to a ſacrificial feaſt, ſo ſoon as he had entered he withdrew, becauſe of the ſumptuous furniture and attire of the place and people; ſaying, I was called at Leuctra to a ſacrifice, but I find it is a debauch. The day after the great battle which he obtained upon his enemies he ſeemed ſad and ſolitary, which was not his ordinary temper; and being aſked why? anſwered, I would moderate the joy of yeſterday's triumphs. A Theſſalian general, and his colleague in a certain enterprize, knowing his poverty, ſent him two thouſand crowns to defray his part of the charges; but he ſeemed angry, and anſwered, This looks like corrupting me; contenting himſelf with leſs than five pounds, which he borrowed of one of his friends for that ſervice. The ſame moderation made him refuſe the preſents of the Perſian emperor, ſaying, They were needleſs, if he only deſired of him what was juſt; if more, he was not rich enough to corrupt him. Seeing a rich man refuſe to lend one of his friends money that was in affliction; he ſaid, Art not thou aſhamed to refuſe to help a good man in neceſſity? After he had freed Greece from trouble, and made the Thebans his countrymen triumph over the Lacedæmonians, (till then invincible) that ungrateful people arraigned him and his friends, under pretence of acting ſomething without authority; he, as general, took

took the blame upon himſelf, juſtified the action both from neceſſity and ſucceſs, arraigning his judges for ingratitude, whilſt himſelf was at the bar; which cauſed them to withdraw with fallen countenances, and hearts ſmitten with guilt and fear. To conclude, he was a man of great truth and patience, as well as wiſdom and courage; for he was never obſerved to lie, in earneſt or in jeſt. And notwithſtanding the ill and croſs humours of the Thebans, aggravated by his incomparable hazards and ſervices for their freedom and renown, it is reported of him, that he ever bore them patiently; often ſaying, That he ought no more to be revenged of his country, than of his father. And being wounded to death in the battle of Mantinea, he adviſed his countrymen to make peace, none being fit to command: which proved true. He would not ſuffer them to pull the ſword out of his body, till he knew he had gained the victory; and then he ended his days, with this expreſſion in his mouth, I die contentedly, for it is in defence of my country; and I am ſure I ſhall live in the eternal memory of good men. This, for a Gentile and a general, hath matter of praiſe and example in it.

§. XV. DEMOSTHENES, the great orator of Athens, had theſe ſentences: That wiſe men ſpeak little; and that therefore nature hath given men two ears and one tongue, to hear more than they ſpeak. To one that ſpoke much he ſaid, How cometh it, that he who taught thee to ſpeak, did not teach thee to hold thy tongue? He ſaid of a covetous man, That he knew not how to live all his life-time, and that he left it for another to live after he was dead. That it was an eaſy thing to deceive one's ſelf, becauſe it was eaſy to perſuade one's ſelf to what one deſired. He ſaid, That calumnies were eaſily received, but time would always diſcover them. That there was nothing more uneaſy to good men, than not to have the liberty of ſpeaking freely: and that if one knew what one had to ſuffer from the people, one would never meddle to govern them. In fine, That man's happineſs was to be like

God; and to resemble him, we must love truth and justice.

§. XVI. Agasicles, king of the Lacedæmonians (or Spartans, which are one) was of the opinion, That it was better to govern without force: And, says he, the means to do it, is to govern the people as a father governs his children.

§. XVII. Agesilaus, king of the same people, would say, That he had rather be master of himself, than of the greatest city of his enemies; and to preserve his own liberty, than to usurp the liberty of another man. A prince, says he, ought to distinguish himself from his subjects by his virtue, and not by his state or delicacy of life. Wherefore he wore plain, simple clothing; his table was as moderate, and his bed as hard, as that of any ordinary subject. And when he was told, that one time or other he would be obliged to change his fashion; No, saith he, I am not given to change, even in a change: and this I do, saith he, to remove from young men any pretence of luxury; that they may see their prince practise what he counsels them to do. He added, That the foundation of the Lacedæmonian laws was, to despise luxury, and to reward with liberty: Nor, saith he, should good men put a value upon that which mean and base souls make their delight. Being flattered by some with divine honour, he asked them, If they could not make gods too? If they could, why did they not begin with themselves?—The same austere conduct of life made him refuse to have his statue erected in the cities of Asia: nor would he suffer his picture to be taken; and his reason is good; For, saith he, the fairest portraiture of men is their own actions.—Whatsoever was to be suddenly done in the government, he was sure to set his hand first to the work, like a common person. He would say, It did not become men to make provision to be rich, but to be good. Being asked the means to true happiness, he answered, To do nothing that should make a man fear to die: another time, To speak well, and do well. Being called home by the Ephori, (or supreme magistrates, the way of the Spartan

Spartan constitution) he returned; saying, It is not less the duty of a prince to obey laws, than to command men. He conferred places of trust and honour upon his enemies, that he might constrain their hatred into love. A lawyer asked him for a letter to make a person judge, that was of his own friends; My friends, says he, have no need of a recommendation to do justice.—A comedian of note wondering that Agesilaus said nothing to him, asked, if he knew him? Yes, saith he, I know thee; art not thou the buffoon Callipedes?—One calling the king of Persia the great king, he answered, He is not greater than I, unless he hath more virtue than I. —One of his friends catching him playing with his children, he prevented him thus; Say nothing, till thou art a father too.—He had great care of the education of youth; often saying, We must teach children what they shall do when they are men. The Egyptians despising him because he had but a small train and a mean equipage; Oh, saith he, I will have them to know, royalty consists not in vain pomp, but in virtue.

§. XVIII. Agis, another king of Lacedæmonia, imprisoned for endeavouring to restore their declining discipline, being asked, whether he repented not of his design? answered, No; for, saith he, good actions never need repentance. His father and mother desiring of him to grant something he thought unjust, he answered, I obeyed you when I was young; I must now obey the laws, and do that which is reasonable.—As he was leading to the place of execution, one of his people wept; to whom he said, Weep not for me; for the authors of this unjust death are more in fault than I.

§. XIX. Alcamenes, king of the same people, being asked, which was the way to get and preserve honour? answered, To despise wealth. Another wondering why he refused the presents of the Messenians, he answered, I make conscience to keep the laws that forbid it. To a miser accusing him of being so reserved in his discourse, he said, I had rather conform to reason, than

thy covetousness; or, I had rather be covetous of my words, than money.

§. XX. ALEXANDRIDAS hearing an exile complain of his banishment, saith he, Complain of the cause of it (to wit his deserts); for there is nothing hurtful but vice. Being asked, why they were so long in making the process of criminals in Lacedæmonia? Because, saith he, when they are once dead they are past repentance. This shews their belief of immortality and eternal blessedness; and that even poor criminals, through repentance, may obtain it.

§. XXI. ANAXILAS would say, That the greatest advantage kings had over other men, was their power of excelling them in good deeds.

§. XXII. ARISTON, hearing one admire this expression, We ought to do good to our friends, and evil to our enemies; answered, By no means, we ought to do good to all; to keep our friends, and to gain our enemies. A doctrine the most difficult to flesh and blood, of all the precepts of Christ's sermon upon the mount; nay, not allowed to be his doctrine; but both 'An eye 'for an eye;' defended, against his express command, and oftentimes an eye put out, an estate sequestered, and life taken away, under a specious zeal for religion too; as if sin could be christened, and impiety entitled to the doctrine of Christ. Oh, will not such Heathens rise up in judgment against our worldly Christians in the great day of God!

§. XXIII. ARCHIDAMUS, also king of Sparta, being asked, who was master of Lacedæmonia? The laws, saith he, and after them the magistrates.—One praising a musician in his presence, Ah! saith he, but when will you praise a good man?—Another saying, That man is an excellent musician: That is all one, saith he, as if thou wouldst say, There is a good cook: counting both trades of voluptuousness.—Another promising him some excellent wine; I care not, saith he, for it will only put my mouth out of taste to my ordinary liquor; which it seems was water.—Two men chose him an arbitrator; to accept it, he made them promise to do

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what he would have them: Then ſaid he, ſtir not from this place till you have agreed the matter between yourſelves; which was done.—Dennis, king of Sicily, ſending his daughters rich apparel, he forbad them to wear it, ſaying, You will ſeem to me but the more homely.—This great man certainly was not of the mind to bring up his children at the exchanges, dancing ſchools and play-houſes.

§. XXIV. CLEOMENES, king of the ſame people, would ſay, That kings ought to be pleaſant; but not to cheapneſs and contempt. He was ſo juſt a man in power, that he drove away Demaratus, his fellow-king, (for they always had two) for offering to corrupt him in a cauſe before them, Leſt, ſaith he, he ſhould attempt others leſs able to reſiſt him, and ſo ruin the ſtate.

§. XXV. DERSYLLIDAS perceiving that Pyrrhus would force a prince upon his countrymen the Lacedæmonians, whom they lately ejected, ſtoutly oppoſed him, ſaying, If thou art God, we fear thee not, becauſe we have done no evil; and if thou art but a man, we are men too.

§. XXVI. HIPPODAMUS, ſeeing a young man aſhamed, that was caught in bad company, he reproved him ſharply, ſaying, For time to come keep ſuch company as thou needeſt not bluſh at.

§. XXVII. LEONIDAS, brother to Cleomenes, and a brave man, being offered by Xerxes to be made an emperor of Greece, anſwered, I had rather die for my own country, than have an unjuſt command over other mens. Adding, Xerxes deceived himſelf, to think it a virtue to invade the right of other men.

§. XXVIII. LYSANDER, being aſked by a perſon, what was the beſt frame of government? That, ſaith he, where every man hath according to his deſerts. Though one of the greateſt captains that Sparta bred, he had learned by his wiſdom to bear perſonal affronts: Say what thou wilt, ſaith he, (to one that ſpoke abuſively to him) Empty thyſelf, I ſhall bear it. His daughters were contracted in marriage to ſome perſons of quality: but he dying poor, they refuſed to marry them; upon which the Ephori condemned each of them in a great

great sum of money, because they preferred money before faith and engagement.

§. XXIX. Pausanias, son of Cleombrotus, and colleague of Lysander, beholding among the Persian spoils they took, the costliness of their furniture, said, It had been much better if they had been worth less, and their masters more. And after the victory of Platea, having a dinner drest according to the Persian manner, and beholding the magnificence and furniture of the treat; What, saith he, do these people mean, that live in such wealth and luxury, to attack our meanness and poverty?

§. XXX. Theopompus saith, The way to preserve a kingdom is, to embrace the counsel of one's friends, and not to suffer the meaner sort to be oppressed. One making the glory of Sparta to consist in commanding well, he answered, No, it is in knowing how to obey well. He was of opinion, That great honours hurt a state; adding, That time would abolish great, and augment moderate, honours among men; meaning that men should have the reputation they deserve, without flattery and excess.

A rhetorician bragging himself of his art, was reproved by a Lacedæmonian, Dost thou call that an art, saith he, which hath not truth for its object? Also a Lacedæmonian being presented with an harp after dinner by a musical person, I do not, saith he, know how to play the fool. Another being asked, What he thought of a poet of the times, answered, Good for nothing but to corrupt youth. Nor was this only the wisdom and virtue of some particular persons, which may be thought to have given light to the dark body of their courts; but their government was wise and just, and the people generally obeyed it; making virtue to be true honour, and that honour dearer to them than life.

§. XXXI. Lacedæmonian customs, according to Plutarch, were these: 'They were very temperate in 'their eating and drinking, their most delicate dish 'being a pottage made for the nourishment of antient 'people. They taught their children to write and

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'read, to obey the magiſtrates, to endure labour, and 'to be bold in danger: the teachers of other ſciences 'were not ſo much as admitted in Lacedæmonia. 'They had but one garment, and that new but once a 'year. They rarely uſed baths or oil, the cuſtom of 'thoſe parts of the world. Their youth lay in troops 'upon mats; the boys and girls apart. They accuſ-'tomed their youth to travel by night without light, 'to uſe them not to be afraid. The old governed the 'young; and thoſe of them who obeyed not the aged, 'were puniſhed. It was a ſhame not to bear reproof 'among the youth; and among the aged, matter of 'puniſhment not to give it. They made ordinary 'cheer, on purpoſe to keep out luxury; holding, that 'mean fare kept the ſpirit free, and the body fit for 'action. The muſic they uſed was ſimple, without 'art of changings; their ſongs compoſed of virtuous 'deeds of good men, and their harmony mixed with 'ſome religious extaſies, that ſeemed to carry their 'minds above the fear of death. They permitted 'not their youth to travel, leſt they ſhould corrupt 'their manners; and for the ſame reaſon, they per-'mitted not ſtrangers to dwell amongſt them, that 'conformed not to their way of living. In this they 'were ſo ſtrict, that ſuch of their youth that were not 'educated in their cuſtoms, enjoyed not the privileges 'of natives. They would ſuffer neither comedies nor 'tragedies to be acted in their country. They con-'demned a ſoldier but for painting his buckler of 'ſeveral colours: and publicly puniſhed a young man, 'for having learnt but the way to a town given to 'luxury. They alſo baniſhed an orator for bragging 'that he could ſpeak a whole day upon any ſubject; 'for they did not like much ſpeaking, much leſs for a 'bad cauſe. They buried their dead without any ce-'remony or ſuperſtition; for they only uſed a red cloth 'upon the body, broidered with olive leaves: this burial 'had all degrees. Mourning they forbad, and epi-'taphs too. When they prayed to God, they ſtretched 'forth their arms; which, with them, was a ſign that they

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'must do good works, as well as make good prayers. 'They asked of God but two things, patience in labour 'and happiness in well-doing.'

This account is mostly the same with Xenophon's: adding, 'that they eat moderately, and in common; 'the youth mixed with the aged, to awe them, and 'give them good example. That in walking, they 'would neither speak, nor turn their eyes aside, any 'more than if they were statues of marble. The men 'were bred bashful, as well as the women, not speak-'ing at meals, unless they were asked a question. 'When they were fifteen years of age, instead of leav-'ing them to their own conduct, as in other places, 'they had most care of their conversation, that they 'might preserve them from the mischiefs that age is 'incident to. And those that would not comply with 'these rules, were not counted always honest people. 'And in this their government was excellent; That 'they thought there was no greater punishment for a 'bad man, than to be known and used as such, at all 'times, and in all places: for they were not to come 'into the company of persons of reputation; they 'were to give place to all others; to stand when others 'sat; to be accountable to every honest man that met 'them, of their conversation; that they must keep 'their poor kindred; that they used not the same 'freedoms that honest people might use: by which 'means they kept virtue in credit, and vice in con-'tempt. They used all things necessary for life, with-'out superfluity, or want; despising riches, and sump-'tuous apparel and living: judging, that the best 'ornament of the body is health; and of the mind, 'virtue. And since (saith Xenophon) it is virtue 'and temperance that render us commendable, and 'that it is only the Lacedæmonians that reverence it 'publicly, and have made it the foundation of their 'state; their government, of right, merits preference 'to any other in the world. But that, saith he, which 'is strange, is, that all admire it, but none imitate it.' Nor is this account and judgment fantastical.

§. XXXII. Ly-

§. XXXII. Lycurgus, their famous founder and lawgiver, instilled these principles, and by his power with them made them laws to rule them. Let us hear what he did: Lycurgus, willing to reclaim his citizens from a luxurious to a virtuous life, and shew them how much good conduct and honest industry might meliorate the state of mankind, applied himself to introduce a new model of government, persuading them to believe, that though they were descended of noble and virtuous ancestors, if they were not exercised in a course of virtue, they would, like the dog in the kitchen, rather leap at the meat, than run at the game. In fine, they agreed to obey him. The first thing then, that he did, to try his power with them, was, to divide the land into equal portions, so that the whole Laconick country seemed but the lots of brethren. This grieved the rich; but the poor, which were the most, rejoiced. He rendered wealth useless, by community; and forbad the use of gold and silver: he made money of iron, too base and heavy to make a thief: he retrenched their laws of building, suffering no more ornament than could be made with a hatchet and a saw: and their furniture was like their houses. This course disbanded many trades; no merchant, no cook, no lawyer, no flatterer, no divine, no astrologer, was to be found in Lacedæmonia. Injustice was banished their society, having cut up the root of it, which is avarice, by introducing a community, and making gold and silver useless. To prevent the luxury of tables as well as of apparel, he ordained public places of eating, where all should publicly be served; those that refused to come thither were reputed voluptuous, and reproved, if not corrected. He would have virgins labour, as well as young men, that their bodies being used to exercise might be the stronger and healthier, when married, to bring forth children. He forbad that they should have any portions, to the end that none might make suit to them for their wealth, but person and worth; by which means the poor went off as well as the rich: and that their virtue might prefer them, they

they were denied to uſe any ornaments. He would not let the young people marry, till they arrived at the flower of their age, to the end, that their children might be ſtrong and vigorous. Chaſtity was ſo general, and ſo much in requeſt, that no law was made againſt adultery; believing, that where luxury, and the arts leading to it, were ſo ſeverely forbid, it was needleſs. He forbad coſtly offerings in the temple, that they might offer often; for that God regardeth the heart, not the offering. Theſe, and ſome more, were the laws he inſtituted; and whilſt the Spartans kept them, it is certain they were the firſt ſtate of Greece, which laſted about five hundred years. It is remarkable that he would never ſuffer the laws to be written, to avoid barratry; and that the judges might not be tied religiouſly to the letter of the law, but left to the circumſtances of fact; in which no inconvenience was obſerved to follow.

II. The Romans alſo yield us inſtances to our point in hand.

§. XXXIII. Cato, that ſage Roman, ſeeing a luxurious man loaden with fleſh, Of what ſervice, ſaith he, can that man be, either to himſelf, or the common-wealth? One day beholding the ſtatues of ſeveral perſons erecting, that he thought little worthy of remembrance, that he might deſpiſe the pride of it; I had rather, ſaid he, they ſhould aſk, why they ſet not up a ſtatue to Cato, than why they do. He was a man of ſeverity of life, both example and judge. His competitors in the government, hoping to be preferred, took the contrary humour, and mightily flattered the people: this good man deſpiſed their arts, and with an unuſual fervency cried out, That the diſtempers of the common-wealth did not require flatterers to deceive them, but phyſicians to cure them: which ſtruck ſo great an awe upon the people, that he was firſt choſen of them all. The fine dames of Rome became governors to their huſbands; he lamented the change, ſaying, It is ſtrange that thoſe who command the world ſhould

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yet be ſubject to women. He thought thoſe judges, that would not impartially puniſh malefactors, greater criminals than the malefactors themſelves; a good leſſon for judges of the world. He would ſay, That it was better to loſe a gift than a correction; for, ſays he, the one corrupts us, but the other inſtructs us. That we ought not to ſeparate honour from virtue; for then there would be few any more virtuous. He would ſay, No man is fit to command another, that cannot command himſelf. Great men ſhould be temperate in their power, that they may keep it. For men to be too long in offices in a government, is to have too little regard to others, or the dignity of the ſtate. They that do nothing will learn to do evil. That thoſe who have raiſed themſelves by their vices ſhould gain to themſelves credit by virtue. He repented him, that ever he paſſed one day without doing good. And that there is no witneſs any man ought to fear, but that of his own conſcience. Nor did his practice fall much ſhort of his principles.

§. XXXIV. Scipio Africanus, though a great general, loaded with honours and triumphs, preferred retirement to them all; being uſed to ſay, That he was never leſs alone than when he was alone: implying, that the moſt buſy men in the world are the moſt deſtitute of themſelves; and that external ſolitarineſs gives the beſt company within. After he had taken Carthage, his ſoldiers brought him a moſt beautiful priſoner; he anſwered, 'I am your general;' refuſing to debaſe himſelf, or diſhonour her.

§. XXXV. Auguſtus, eating at the table of one of his friends, where a poor ſlave breaking a cryſtal veſſel fell upon his knees, begging him, that his maſter might not fling him to the lampreys, as he had uſed to do, for food, with ſuch of them as offended him; Auguſtus, hating his friend's cruelty, broke all his friend's cryſtal veſſels, both reproving his luxury and his ſeverity. He never recommended any of his own children, but he always added, If they deſerve it. He reproved his daughter for her exceſs in apparel, and both rebuked

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and impriſoned her for her immodeſt latitudes. The people of Rome complaining that wine was dear, he ſent them to the fountains, telling them, They were cheap.

§. XXXVI. TIBERIUS would not ſuffer himſelf to be called Lord, nor yet His Sacred Majeſty: For, ſays he, they are divine titles, and belong not to man. The commiſſioners of his treaſury adviſing him to increaſe his taxes upon the people, he anſwered, No, it was fit to ſhear, but not to flay the ſheep.

§. XXXVII. VESPASIAN was a great and an extraordinary man, who maintained ſomething of the Roman virtue in his time. One day ſeeing a young man finely dreſſed, and richly perfumed, he was diſpleaſed with him, ſaying, I had rather ſmell the poor man's garlick, than thy perfume; and took his place and government from him. A certain perſon being brought before him, that had conſpired againſt him, he reproved him, and ſaid, That it was God who gave and took away empires. Another time, conferring favour upon his enemy, and being aſked why he did ſo? he anſwered, That he ſhould remember the right way.

§. XXXVIII. TRAJAN would ſay, That it became an Emperor to act towards his people, as he would have his people act towards him. The governor of Rome having delivered the ſword into his hand, and created him emperor, Here, ſaith he, take it again: if I reign well uſe it for me: if ill, uſe it againſt me. An expreſſion which ſhews great humility and goodneſs, making power ſubſervient to virtue.

§. XXXIX. ADRIAN, alſo emperor, had ſeveral ſayings worthy of notice: one was, That a good prince did not think the eſtates of his ſubjects belonged to him. He would ſay, That kings ſhould not always act the king: that is, ſhould be juſt, and mix ſweetneſs with greatneſs, and be converſible by good men. That the treaſures of princes are like the ſpleen, that never ſwells but it makes other parts ſhrink: teaching princes thereby to ſpare their ſubjects. Meeting one that was his enemy before he was emperor, he cried out to him,

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Now thou haſt no more to fear: intimating, that having power to revenge himſelf, he would rather uſe it to do him good.

§. XL. MARCUS AURELIUS ANTONINUS, a good man (the Chriſtians of his time felt it) commended his ſon for weeping at his tutor's death; anſwering thoſe that would have rendered it unſuitable to his condition, Let him alone, ſays he, it is fit he ſhould ſhew himſelf a man, before he be a prince. He refuſed to divorce his wife, at the inſtigation of his courtiers, though reputed naught; anſwering, I muſt divorce the empire too; for ſhe brought it: refuſing them, and defending his tenderneſs. He did nothing in the government without conſulting his friends; and would ſay, It is more juſt that one ſhould follow the advice of many, than many the mind of one. He was more philoſopher than emperor; for his dominions were greater within than without: and having commanded his own paſſions by a circumſpect conformity to virtuous principles, he was fit to rule thoſe of other men. Take ſome of his excellent ſayings, as followeth.—Of my grandfather Verus I have learned to be gentle and meek, and to refrain from all anger and paſſion. From the fame and memory of him that begot me, ſhame-facedneſs and man-like behaviour. I obſerved his meekneſs, his conſtancy without wavering, in thoſe things, which after a due examination and deliberation he had determined; how free from all vanity he carried himſelf in matter of honour and dignity! his laborioufneſs and aſſiduity! his readineſs to hear any man that had ought to ſay tending to any common good! how he did abſtain from all unchaſte love of youth! his moderate condeſcending to other men's occaſions as an ordinary man. Of my mother, to be religious and bountiful, and to forbear not only to do, but to intend, any evil: to content myſelf with a ſpare diet, and to fly all ſuch exceſs as is incident to great wealth. Of my grandfather, both to frequent public ſchools and auditories, and to get me good and able teachers at home; and that I ought not to think much, if upon ſuch occaſions I

were at excessive charge. I gave over the study of rhetorick and poetry, and of elegant neat language. I did not use to walk about the house in my senator's robe, nor to do any such things. I learned to write letters without any affectation and curiosity; and to be easy, and ready to be reconciled, and well pleased again with them that had offended me, as soon as any of them would be content to seek unto me again. To observe carefully the several dispositions of my friends, and not to be offended with ideots, nor unreasonably to set upon those that are carried away with the vulgar opinions, with the theorems and tenets of philosophers. To love the truth and justice, and to be kind and loving to all them of my house and family, I learned from my brother Severus: and it was he that put me in the first conceit and desire of an equal common-wealth, administered by justice and equality; and of a kingdom, wherein should be regarded nothing more than the good and welfare (or liberty) of the subjects. As for God, and such suggestions, helps and inspirations, as might be expected, nothing did hinder but that I might have begun long before to live according to nature. Or that even now, that I was not yet partaker, and in present possession of that life, that I myself (in that I did not observe those inward motions and suggestions; yea, and almost plain and apparent instructions and admonitions of God) was the only cause of it. I that understand the nature of that which is good, that it is to be desired; and of that which is bad, that it is odious and shameful: who know moreover, that this transgressor, whosoever he be, is my kinsman, not by the same blood and seed, but by participation of the same Reason, and of the same Divine Particle, or Principle: how can I either be hurt by any of these, since it is not in their power to make me incur any thing that is reproachful, or be angry and ill-affected towards him, who, by nature, is so near unto me? for we are all born to be fellow-workers, as the feet, the hands, and the eyelids; as the rows of upper and under teeth: for such therefore to be in opposition, is against nature. He

saith,

ſaith, it is high time for thee to underſtand the true nature, both of the world, whereof thou art a part, and of that Lord and Governor of the world, from whom, as a channel from the ſpring, thou thyſelf didſt flow. And that there is but a certain limit of time appointed unto thee, which if thou ſhalt not make uſe of, to calm and allay the many diſtempers of thy ſoul, it will paſs away, and thou with it, and never after return. Do, ſoul, do abuſe and contemn thyſelf yet a while! and the time for thee to repent thyſelf will be at an end! Every man's happineſs depends upon himſelf; but behold, thy life is almoſt at an end, whilſt, not regarding thyſelf as thou oughteſt, thou doſt make thy happineſs to conſiſt in the ſouls and conceits of other men. Thou muſt alſo take heed of another kind of wandering; for they are idle in their actions who toil and labour in their life, and have no certain ſcope to which to direct all their motions and deſires. As for life and death, honour and diſhonour, labour and pleaſure, riches and poverty, all theſe things happen unto men indeed, both good and bad equally, but as things which of themſelves are neither good nor bad, becauſe of themſelves neither ſhameful nor praiſe-worthy. Conſider the nature of all worldly viſible things; of thoſe eſpecially, which either enſnare by pleaſure, or for their irkſomeneſs are dreadful, or for their outward luſtre and ſhew are in great eſteem and requeſt; how vile and contemptible, how baſe and corruptible, how deſtitute of all true life and being they are. There is nothing more wretched than that ſoul, which, in a kind of circuit, compaſſeth all things; ſearching even the very depths of all the earth, and, by all ſigns and conjectures, prying into the very thoughts of other men's ſouls; and yet of this is not ſenſible, that it is ſufficient for a man to apply himſelf wholly, and confine all his thoughts and cares to the guidance of that Spirit which is within him, and truly and really ſerve him. For even the leaſt things ought not to be done without relation to the end: and the end of the reaſonable creature is, To follow and obey him who is the

reason, as it were, and the law, of this great city and most ancient common-wealth. Philosophy doth consist in this; For a man to preserve that spirit which is within him from all manner of contumelies and injuries, and above all pains and pleasures; never to do any thing either rashly, or feignedly, or hypocritically: he that is such, is He surely; indeed a very priest and minister of God; well acquainted, and in good correspondence, with Him especially that is seated and placed within himself: to whom also he keeps and preserveth himself, neither spotted by pleasure, nor daunted by pain; free from any manner of wrong or contumely. Let thy God that is in thee, to rule over thee, find by thee that he hath to do with a man, an aged man, a sociable man, a Roman, a prince, and that hath ordered his life as one that expecteth, as it were, nothing but the sound of the trumpet, sounding a retreat to depart out of this life with all readiness. Never esteem of any thing as profitable, which shall ever constrain thee either to break thy faith or to lose thy modesty; to hate any man, to suspect, to curse, to dissemble, to lust after any thing that requireth the secret of walls or veils. But he that preferreth before all things his rational part and spirit, and the sacred mysteries of virtue which issue from it, he shall never want either solitude or company; and, which is chiefest of all, he shall live without either desire or fear. If thou shalt intend that which is present, following the rule of right and reason, carefully, solidly, meekly; and shalt not intermix any other business; but shalt study this, to preserve thy spirit unpolluted and pure; and, as one that were even now ready to give up the ghost, shalt cleave unto him, without either hope or fear of any thing, in all things that thou shalt either do or speak; contenting thyself with heroical truth, thou shalt live happily; and from this there is no man that can hinder thee. Without relation to God, thou shalt never perform aright any thing human; nor, on the other side, any thing divine. At what time soever thou wilt, it is in thy power to retire into thyself, and to be at rest; for a man

man cannot retire any whither to be more at reſt, and freer from all buſineſs, than into his own ſoul. Afford then thyſelf this retiring continually, and thereby refreſh and renew thyſelf. Death hangeth over thee whilſt yet thou liveſt; and, whilſt thou mayeſt, be good. How much time and leiſure doth he gain, who is not curious to know what his neighbour hath ſaid, or hath done, or hath attempted, but only what he doth himſelf, that it may be juſt and holy. Neither muſt he uſe himſelf to cut off actions only, but thoughts and imaginations alſo that are not neceſſary; for ſo will unneceſſary conſequent actions the better be prevented and cut off. He is poor that ſtands in need of another, and hath not in himſelf all things needful for his life. Conſider well, whether magnanimity rather, and true liberty, and true ſimplicity, and equanimity, and holineſs, whether theſe be not moſt reaſonable and natural. Honour that which is chiefeſt and moſt powerful in the world, and that is It which makes uſe of all things, and governs all things: ſo alſo in thyſelf, honour that which is chiefeſt and moſt powerful, and is of one kind and nature with that; for it is the very ſame, which being in thee, turneth all other things to its own uſe, and by whom alſo thy life is governed. What is it that thou doſt ſtay for? an extinction, or a tranſlation? for either of them, with a propitious and contented mind. But till that time come, what will content thee? what elſe, but to worſhip and praiſe God, and to do good unto men? As he lay a-dying, and his friends about him, he ſpake thus; Think more of death than of me, and that you and all men muſt die, as well as I. Adding, I recommend my ſon to you, and to God, if he be worthy.

§. XLI. PERTINAX, alſo emperor, being adviſed to ſave himſelf from the fury of the mutineers, anſwered, No, what have I done that I ſhould do ſo? ſhewing, that innocence is bold, and ſhould never give ground where it can ſhew itſelf, be heard, and have fair play.

§. XLII. Pescennius, ſeeing the corruption that reigned among officers of juſtice, adviſed, That judges ſhould have firſt ſalaries, that they might do their duty without any bribes or perquiſites. He ſaid, He would not offend the living, that he might be praiſed when he was dead.

§. XLIII. Alexander Severus, having taſted both of a private life, and the ſtate of an emperor, had this cenſure, Emperors, ſays he, are ill managers of the public revenue, to feed ſo many unuſeful mouths. Wherefore he retrenched his family from pompous to ſerviceable. He would not employ perſons of quality in his domeſtic ſervice, thinking it too mean for them, and too coſtly for him: adding, That perſonal ſervice was the work of the loweſt order of the people. He would never ſuffer offices of juſtice to be ſold; For, ſaith he, it is not ſtrange that men ſhould ſell what they buy; meaning juſtice. He was impartial in correction: My friends, ſays he, are dear to me, but the common-wealth is dearer. Yet he would ſay, That ſweetening power to the people made it laſting. That we ought to gain our enemies, as we keep our friends; that is, by kindneſs. He ſaid, That we ought to deſire happineſs, and to bear afflictions: that thoſe things which are deſirable may be pleaſant; but the troubles we avoid may have moſt profit in the end. He did not like pomp in religion; for it is not gold that recommends the ſacrifice, but the piety of him that offers it. An houſe being in conteſt betwixt ſome Chriſtians and keepers of taverns, the one to perform religion, the other to ſell drink therein, he decided the matter thus; That it were much better that it were any way employed to worſhip God, than to make a tavern of it. Behold! by this we may ſee the wiſdom and virtue that ſhined among Heathens.

§. XLIV. Aurelianus, the emperor, having threatened a certain town that had rebelled againſt him, That he would not leave a dog alive therein; and finding the fear he raiſed brought them eaſily to their duty, bid his ſoldiers go kill all their dogs, and pardon the people.

§. XLV. Dio-

§. XLV. Dioclesian would say, That there was nothing more difficult than to reign well; and the reason he gave was, That those who had the ears of princes do so continually lay ambushes to surprize them to their interests, that they can hardly make one right step.

§. XLVI. Julian, coming to the empire, drove from the palace troops of eunuchs, cooks, barbers, &c. His reason was this, That having no women he needed no eunuchs; and loving simple plain meat, he needed no cooks: and he said, One barber would serve a great many. A good example for the luxurious Christians of our times.

§. XLVII. Theodosius the younger was so merciful in his nature, that instead of putting people to death, he wished it were in his power to call the dead to life again.

These were the sentiments of the ancient grandees of the world, to wit, emperors, kings, princes, captains, statesmen &c. not unworthy of the thoughts of persons of the same figure and quality now in being: and for that end they are here collected, that such may with more ease and brevity behold the true statues of the ancients, not lost, or lessened by the decays of time.

III. I will now proceed to report the virtuous doctrines and sayings of men of more retirement; such as philosophers and writers, of both Greeks and Romans, who in their respective times were masters in the civility, knowledge and virtue that were among the Gentiles, being most of them many ages before the coming of Christ.

§. XLVIII. Thales, an ancient Greek philosopher, being asked by a person that had committed adultery, if he might swear? answered, By no means; for perjury is not less sinful than adultery; and so thou wouldest commit two sins to cover one. Being asked, What was the best condition of a government? he answered, That the people be neither rich nor poor; for he placed external happiness in moderation. He would say, That the hardest thing in the world was, to know a man's

ſelf; but the beſt, to avoid thoſe things which we reprove in others: an excellent and cloſe ſaying. That we ought to chuſe well, and then to hold faſt. That the felicity of the body conſiſts in health, and that in temperance; and the felicity of the ſoul in wiſdom. He thought that God was without beginning or end; that he was the ſearcher of hearts; that he ſaw thoughts, as well as actions: for being aſked of one, if he could ſin, and hide it from God? he anſwered, No, how can I, when he that thinks evil, cannot?

§. XLIX. PYTHAGORAS, a famous and virtuous philoſopher of Italy, being aſked, when men might take the pleaſure of their paſſions? anſwered, When they have a mind to be worſe. He ſaid, The world was like a comedy, and the true philoſophers the ſpectators. He would ſay, That luxury led to debauchery, and debauchery to violence, and that to bitter repentance. That he who taketh too much care of his body makes the priſon of his ſoul more inſufferable. That thoſe who do reprove us are our beſt friends. That men ought to preſerve their bodies from diſeaſes by temperance; their ſouls from ignorance by meditation; their will from vice, by ſelf-denial; and their country from civil war, by juſtice. That it is better to be loved than feared. That virtue makes bold; But, ſaith he, there is nothing ſo fearful as an evil conſcience. He ſaid, That men ſhould believe of a Divinity, that it is, and that it overlooks them, and neglecteth them not; there is no being nor place without God. He told the ſenators of Crotonia (being two thouſand) praying his advice, That they received their country as a depoſitum or truſt from the people; wherefore they ſhould manage it accordingly, ſince they were to reſign their account, with their truſt, to their own children. That the way to do it, was to be equal to all the citizens, and to excel them in nothing more than juſtice. That every one of them ſhould ſo govern their family, that he might refer himſelf to his own houſe, as to a court of judicature, taking great care to preſerve natural affection. That they be examples of temperance in their

own

own families, and to the city. That in courts of judicature none attest God by an Oath, but use themselves so to speak, as they may be believed without an oath. That the discourse of that philosopher is vain, by which no passion of man is healed: for, as there is no benefit of medicine, if it expel not diseases out of bodies; so neither of philosophy, if it expel not evil out of the soul. Of God, an heavenly life and state, he saith thus, They mutually exhorted one another, that they should not tear asunder 'God which 'is in them.' Their study and friendship, by words and actions, had reference to some divine temperament; and to union with God, and to unity with the mind, and the Divine Soul. That all which they determine to be done aims and tends to the acknowledgment of the Deity. This is the principle; and the whole life of man consists in this, 'That he follow God;' and this is the ground of philosophy. He saith,

Hope all things; for to none belongs despair:
All things to God easy and perfect are.

The work of the Mind is life. The work of God is immortality, eternal life. The Mind in man is termed God, by participation: the rational soul, is directed by the Mind, it inclines the will to virtue, and is termed the good Dæmon, Genius, or Spirit. If by phantasy and ill affections, it draws the will to vices, the evil Dæmon: whence Pythagoras desired of God, to keep us from evil, and to shew every one the Dæmon, or good Spirit, he ought to use. The rational man is more noble than other creatures, as more divine; not content solely with one operation (as all other things drawn along by nature, which always acts after the same manner) but endued with various gifts, which he useth according to his free will; in respect of which liberty,

——Men are of heavenly race,
Taught by Diviner Nature what t'imbrace.

By Diviner Nature, is meant the intellectual soul; as to intellect, man approaches nigh to God; as to inferior senses,

ſenſes, he recedeth from God. By chorus, the infinite joy of the bleſſed ſpirits, their immutable delight, ſtiled by Homer, ἄσβεστος γέλως (inextinguiſhable laughter). For what greater pleaſure, than to behold the ſerene aſpect of God, and next him the ideas and forms of all things, more purely and tranſparently, than ſecondarily, in created beings. The Pythagoreans had this diſtich, among thoſe commonly called the Golden Verſes:

Rid of this body, if the heavens free
You reach, henceforth immortal you ſhall be.
Or thus:
Who after death, arrive at th' heavenly plain,
Are ſtraight like Gods, and never die again.

§. L. Solon, eſteemed, as Thales, one of the Seven Sages of Greece, a noble philoſopher, and a law-giver to the Athenians, was ſo humble, that he refuſed to be prince of that people, and voluntarily baniſhed himſelf, when Piſiſtratus uſurped the government there; reſolving never to out-live the laws and freedom of his country*. He would ſay, That to make a government laſt, the magiſtrates muſt obey the laws, and the people the magiſtrates. It was his judgment, that riches brought luxury, and luxury brought tyranny. Being aſked by Cræſus, king of Lydia, when ſeated in his throne, richly clothed, and magnificently attended, if he had ever ſeen any thing more glorious? He anſwered, Cocks, peacocks, and pheaſants; by how much their beauty is natural. Theſe undervaluing expreſſions of wiſe Solon meeting ſo pat upon the pride and luxury of Cræſus, they parted: the one deſirous of toys and vanities; the other an example and inſtructor of true nobility and virtue, that contemned the king's effeminacy. Another time Cræſus aſked him, who was the happieſt man in the world? expecting he ſhould have ſaid, Cræſus, becauſe the moſt famous for wealth in thoſe parts; he anſwered, Tellus; who,

* Plutarch. Herod.

though

though poor, yet was an honest and good man, and contented with what he had: that after he had served the common-wealth faithfully, and seen his children and grand-children virtuously educated, died for his country in a good old age, and was carried by his children to his grave †. This much displeased Cræsus, but he dissembled it. Whilst Solon recommended the happiness of Tellus, Cræsus, moved, demanded whom he assigned the next place too, (making no question but himself should be named) Cleobis, saith he, and Bito; brethren that loved well, had a competency, were of great health and strength, most tender and obedient to their mother, religious of life; who, after sacrificing in the temple, fell asleep, and waked no more. Hereat Cræsus, growing angry, Strange! saith he; doth our happiness seem so despicable, that thou wilt not rank us equal with private persons? Solon answered, Dost thou enquire of us about human affairs? knowest thou not, that Divine Providence is severe, and often full of alteration? Do not we, in process of time, see many things we would not? Aye, and suffer many things we would not? Count man's life at seventy years, which makes ‡ twenty-six thousand two hundred and fifty and odd days, there is scarcely one day like another: so that every one, O Cræsus, is attended with crosses. Thou appearest to me very rich, and king over many people; but the question thou askest, I cannot resolve, till I hear thou hast ended thy days happily; for he that hath much wealth is not happier than he that gets his bread from day to day; unless Providence continue those good things, and that he dieth well. In every thing, O king, we must have regard to the end; for man, to whom God dispenseth worldly good things, he at last utterly deserts. Solon, after his discourse, not flattering Cræsus, was dismissed, and accounted unwise, that he neglected the present good, out of regard to the future. Æsop, that wrote the Fables, being then at Sardis, sent for thither by

† Plutarch. Laert. ‡ According to the Athenian account.

Cræsus,

Cræsus, and much in favour with him, was grieved to see Solon so unthankfully dismissed; and said to him, Solon, We must either tell kings nothing at all, or what may please them: No, saith Solon, either nothing at all, or what is best for them. However, it was not long ere Cræsus was of another mind; for, being taken prisoner by Cyrus, the founder of the Persian monarchy, and by his command fettered and put on a pile of wood to be burned, Cræsus sighed deeply, and cried, O Solon, Solon! Cyrus bid the interpreter ask, on whom he called? He was silent; but at last, pressing him answered, Upon him, whom I desire, above all wealth, to have spoken with all tyrants. This not understood, upon farther importunity he told them, Solon, an Athenian; who long since, says he, came to me, and seeing my wealth, despised it; besides, what he told me is come to pass: nor did his counsel belong to me alone, but to all mankind, especially those that think themselves happy. Whilst Cræsus said thus, the fire began to kindle, and the out-parts to be seized by the flame: Cyrus, informed of the interpreters what Cræsus said, began to be troubled; and knowing himself to be a man, and that to use another, not inferior to himself in wealth, so severely, might one day be retaliated, instantly commanded the fire to be quenched, and Cræsus and his friends to be brought off; whom, ever after, as long as he lived, Cyrus had in great esteem ‖. Thus Solon gained due praise, that of two kings; his advice saved one, and instructed the other. And as it was in Solon's time that Tragical plays were first invented, so was he most severe against them; foreseeing the inconveniences that followed, upon the people's being affected with that novelty of pleasure. It is reported of him, that he went himself to the play, and after it was ended, he went to Thespis, the great actor, and asked him, If he were not ashamed to tell so many lies in the face of so great an auditory? Thespis

‖ Herodot. Halicar.

answered,

anſwered, as it is now uſual, There is no harm nor ſhame to act ſuch things in jeſt. Solon, ſtriking his ſtaff hard upon the ground, replied, But in a ſhort time, we who approve of this kind of jeſt ſhall uſe it in earneſt in our common affairs and contracts. In fine, he abſolutely forbad him to teach or act plays: conceiving them deceitful and unprofitable; diverting youth and tradeſmen from more neceſſary and virtuous employments. He defined them happy, who are competently furniſhed with their outward callings, that live temperately and honeſtly. He would ſay, That cities are the common-ſhore of wickedneſs. He affirmed that to be the beſt family, which got not unjuſtly, kept not unfaithfully, ſpent not with repentance. Obſerve (ſaith he) honeſty in thy converſation, 'more ſtrictly than an Oath.' Seal words with ſilence; ſilence with opportunity. Never lie, but ſpeak the truth. Fly pleaſure, for it brings ſorrow. Adviſe not the people what is moſt pleaſant, but what is beſt. Make not friends in haſte, nor haſtily part with them. Learn to obey, and thou wilt know how to command. Be arrogant to none; be mild to thoſe that are about thee. Converſe not with wicked perſons. Meditate on ſerious things. Reverence thy parents. Cheriſh thy friend. Conform to reaſon; and in all things take counſel of God. In fine, his two ſhort ſentences were theſe, Of nothing Too much; and, Know Thyſelf *.

§. LI. Chilon, another of the wiſe men of Greece, would ſay, That it was the perfection of a man to foreſee and prevent miſchiefs. That herein good people differ from bad ones, their hopes were firm and aſſured. That God was the great touch-ſtone, or rule of mankind. That mens tongues ought not to outrun their judgment. That we ought not to flatter great men, leſt we exalt them above their merit and ſtation; nor to ſpeak hardly of the helpleſs. They that would govern a ſtate well, muſt govern their fa-

* Stob. Sent. 3. Clem. Alex. Strom. 1.

milies

milies well. He would ſay, That a man ought ſo to behave himſelf, that he fall neither into hatred nor diſgrace. That that common-wealth is happieſt, where the people mind the law more than the lawyers. Men ſhould not forget the favours they receive, nor remember thoſe they do. Three things he ſaid were difficult, yet neceſſary to be obſerved, To keep ſecrets, forgive injuries, and uſe time well. Speak not ill, (ſays he) of thy neighbour. Go ſlowly to the feaſts of thy friends, but ſwiftly to their troubles. Speak well of the dead. Shun buſy-bodies. Prefer loſs before covetous gain. Deſpiſe not the miſerable. If powerful, behave thyſelf mildly, that thou mayeſt be loved, rather than feared. Order thy houſe well: bridle thy anger: graſp not at much: make not haſte, neither dote upon any thing below. A prince (ſaith he) muſt not take up his time about tranſitory and mortal things; eternal and immortal are fitteſt for him. To conclude: he was ſo juſt in all his actions, that Laertius tells us, he profeſſed in his old age, that he had never done any thing contrary to the conſcience of an upright man; only, that of one thing he was doubtful, having given ſentence againſt his friend, according to law, he adviſed his friend to appeal from him (his judge), ſo to preſerve both his friend and the law. Thus true and tender was conſcience in Heathen Chilon.

§. LII. PERIANDER (a prince and philoſopher too) would ſay, That pleaſures are mortal, but virtues immortal. In ſucceſs, be moderate; in diſappointments, patient and prudent. Be alike to thy friends, in proſperity and in adverſity. Peace is good; raſhneſs, dangerous; gain, ſordid. Betray not ſecrets. Puniſh the guilty. Reſtrain men from ſin. They that would rule ſafely muſt be guarded by love, not arms. To conclude, ſaith he, live worthy of praiſe, ſo wilt thou die bleſſed *.

§. LIII. BIAS, one of the Seven Wiſe Men, being in a ſtorm with wicked men, who cried mightily to God;

* Baart. Suid. Protag. Stob. 2S.

Hold

Hold your tongues, ſaith he, it were better he knew not you were here *: a ſaying that hath great doctrine in it; the devotion of the wicked doth them no good: it anſwers to that paſſage in ſcripture, 'The prayers of 'the wicked are an abomination to the Lord [a].' An ungodly man aſking him, What godlineſs was? he was ſilent; but the other murmuring, ſaith he, What is that to thee? that is not thy concern. He was ſo tender in his nature, that he ſeldom judged any criminal to death, but he wept; adding, One part goeth to God, and that other part I muſt give the law. That man is unhappy, ſaith he, that cannot bear affliction. It is a diſeaſe of the mind, to deſire that which cannot, or is not fit to be had. It is an ill thing not to be mindful of other men's miſeries. To one who aſked, What is hard? he anſwered, To bear chearfully a change for the worſe. Thoſe, ſays he, who buſy themſelves in vain knowledge, reſemble owls that ſee by night, and are blind by day; for they are ſharp-ſighted in vanity, but dark at the approach of true light and knowledge. He adds, Undertake deliberately; but then go through. Speak not haſtily, leſt thou ſin. Be neither ſilly nor ſubtil. Hear much; ſpeak little, and ſeaſonably. Make profeſſion of God every where; and impute the good thou doſt, not to thyſelf, but to the power of God. His country being invaded, and the people flying with the beſt of their goods, aſked, Why he carried none of his? I, ſaith he, carry my goods within me. Valerius Maximus adds, In his breaſt; not to be ſeen by the eye, but to be prized by the ſoul; not to be demoliſhed by mortal hands; preſent with them that ſtay, and not forſaking thoſe that fly.

§. LIV. Cleobulus, a prince and philoſopher of Lyndus. He would ſay, That it was man's duty to be always employed upon ſomething that was good. Again, Be never vain nor ungrateful. Beſtow your daughters virgins in years, but matrons in diſcretion. Do good to thy friend, to keep him; to thy enemy, to gain him. When any man goeth forth, let him conſider what he

* Laert. Stob. [a] Prov. xv. 8.

hath

hath to do; when he returneth, examine what he hath done. Know, that to reverence thy father is thy duty. Hear willingly, but truſt not haſtily. Obtain by perſuaſion, not by violence. Being rich, be not exalted; poor, be not dejected. Forego enmity: inſtruct thy children: pray to God, and perſevere in godlineſs*.

§. LV. PITTACUS being aſked, What was beſt? he anſwered, To do the preſent thing well. He would ſay, What thou doſt take ill in thy neighbour, do not thyſelf. Reproach not the unhappy; for the hand of God is upon them. Be true to thy truſt. Bear with thy neighbour; love thy neighbour. Reproach not thy friend, though he recede from thee a little. He would ſay, That common-wealth is beſt ordered, where the wicked have no command; and that family, which hath neither ornament nor neceſſity. To conclude: he adviſed to acquire honeſty; love diſcipline; obſerve temperance; gain prudence; mind diligence; and keep truth, faith, and piety. He had a brother, who dying without iſſue left him his eſtate; ſo that when Cræſus offered him wealth, he anſwered, I have more by half than I deſire. He alſo affirmed That family the beſt, who got not unjuſtly, kept not unfaithfully, ſpent not with repentance: and, That happineſs conſiſts in a virtuous and honeſt life, with being content with a competency of outward things, and in uſing them temperately. And to conclude, he earneſtly enjoined all to flee corporal pleaſure; for, ſays he, it certainly brings ſorrow: but to obſerve an honeſt life more ſtrictly than an oath; and meditate on ſerious things†.

§. LVI. HIPPIAS, a philoſopher: It is recorded of him, that he would have every one provide his own neceſſaries; and, that he might do what he taught, he was his own tradeſman. He was ſingular in all ſuch arts and employments, inſomuch that he made the

* Laert. Plut. Sympoſ. Sap. Sep. Stob. Ser. Stob. 28.

† Plutarch.

very

very buſkins he wore ‡. A better life than an Alexander's.

§. LVII. The Gymnoſophiſtæ were a ſect of philoſophers in Ægypt, that ſo deſpiſed gaudy apparel, and the reſt of the world's intemperance, that they went almoſt naked; living poorly, and with great meanneſs: by which they were enabled againſt all cold, and overcame that luſt by innocence, which people, that are called Chriſtians, though covered, are overcome withal *.

§. LVIII. The Bambycatii were a certain great people that inhabited about the river Tygris, in Aſia; who obſerving the great influence gold, ſilver, and precious jewels had upon their minds, agreed to bury all in the earth, to prevent the corruption of their manners. They uſed inferior metals, and lived with very ordinary accommodation; wearing moſtly but one very grave and plain robe to cover nakedneſs. It were well, if Chriſtians would mortify their unſatiable appetites after wealth and vanity any way, for Heathens judge their exceſs †.

§. LIX. The Athenians had two diſtinct numbers of men, called the Gynaecoſmi and Gynaeconomi. Theſe were appointed by the magiſtrates to overlook the actions of the people: the firſt was to ſee that they apparelled and behaved themſelves gravely; eſpecially that women were of modeſt behaviour: and the other was to be preſent at their treats and feſtivals, to ſee that there was no exceſs, nor diſorderly carriage: and in caſe any were found criminal, they had full power to puniſh them ‖. When, alas! when ſhall this care and wiſdom be ſeen among the Chriſtians of theſe times, that ſo intemperance might be prevented? But it is too evident they love the power and the profits, but deſpiſe the virtue, of government; making it an end, inſtead of a means to that happy end, viz. The well-ordering the manners and converſation of the

‡ Cic. lib. de Orat. * Plin. 7. 2. Cic. Tuſc. Queſt. 5.
† Plin. ‖ Vid. Suid.

people, and equally distributing rewards and punishments.

§. LX. ANACHARSIS, a Scythian, was a great philosopher; Cræsus offered him large sums of money, but he refused them. Hanno did the like; to whom he answered, My apparel is a Scythian rug; my shoes, the hardness of my feet; my bed, the earth; my sauce, hunger: you may come to me as one that is contented; but those gifts which you so much esteem, bestow either on your citizens, or in sacrifice to the immortal Gods *.

§. LXI. ANAXAGORAS, a nobleman, but true philosopher, left his great patrimony to seek out wisdom: and being reproved by his friends for the little care he had of his estate, answered, It is enough that You care for it. One asked him, Why he had no more love for his country than to leave it? Wrong me not, saith he, my greatest care is my country, pointing his finger towards heaven. Returning home, and taking a view of his great possessions, If I had not disregarded them (saith he) I had perished. He was a great clearer and improver of the doctrine of One Eternal God, denying divinity to sun, moon and stars; saying, God was infinite, not confined to place; the Eternal Wisdom and Efficient Cause of all things; the Divine Mind and Understanding; who, when matter was confused, came and reduced it to order, which is the world we see †. He suffered much from some magistrates for his opinion; yet, dying, was admired by them: his epitaph in English thus:

Here lies, who through the truest paths did pass
To th' world cœlestial, Anaxagoras.

§. LXII. HERACLITUS was invited by king Darius, for his great virtue and learning, to this effect; Come, as soon as thou canst, to my presence and royal palace; for the Greeks, for the most part, are not obsequious

* Cic. Tus. Quest. 5. Clem. Alex. Strob. Usur. Lysand. Cic. Tus. Quest. 5.

† Plut. contra

to

to wiſe men, but deſpiſe the good things which they deliver. With me thou ſhalt have the firſt place, and daily honour and titles: thy way of living ſhall be as noble as thy inſtructions. But Heraclitus refuſing his offer, returned this anſwer; Heraclitus to Darius the king, health. Moſt men refrain from juſtice and truth, and purſue inſatiableneſs and vain-glory, by reaſon of their folly; but I, having forgot all evil, and ſhunning the ſociety of inbred envy and pride, will never come to the kingdom of Perſia, being contented with a little, according to my own mind. He alſo ſlighted the Athenians. He had great and clear apprehenſions of the nature and power of God, maintaining his divinity againſt the idolatry in faſhion. This definition he gives of God; He is not made with hands. The whole world, adorned with his creatures, is his manſion. Where is God? Shut up in temples? Impious men! who place their God in the dark. It is a reproach to a man, to tell him he is a ſtone; yet the God you profeſs is born of a rock. You ignorant people! you know not God: his works bear witneſs of him. Of himſelf he ſaith, O ye men, will ye not learn why I never laugh? it is not that I hate men, but their wickedneſs. If you would not have me weep, live in peace: you carry ſwords in your tongues; you plunder wealth, raviſh women, poiſon friends, betray the truſt people repoſe in you: ſhall I laugh, when I ſee men do theſe things? their garments, beards, and heads, adorned with unneceſſary care; a mother deſerted by a wicked ſon; or young men conſuming their patrimony; a citizen's wife taken from him; a virgin raviſhed; a concubine kept as a wife; others filling their bellies at feaſts, more with poiſon than with dainties? Virtue would ſtrike me blind, if I ſhould laugh at your wars. By muſic, pipes, and ſtripes, you are excited to things contrary to all harmony. Iron, a metal more proper for ploughs and tillages, is fitted for ſlaughter and death: men, raiſing armies of men, covet to kill one another; and puniſh men that quit the field for not ſtaying to murder men. They honour,

as valiants, ſuch as are drunk with blood; but lions, horſes, eagles, and other creatures, uſe not ſwords, bucklers, and inſtruments of war: their limbs are their weapons, ſome their horns, ſome their bills, ſome their wings; to one is given ſwiftneſs; to another, bigneſs; to a third, ſwimming. No irrational creature uſeth a ſword, but keeps itſelf within the laws of its creation; except MAN, that doth not ſo; which brings the heavier blame, becauſe he hath the greateſt underſtanding. You muſt leave your wars, and your wickedneſs, which you ratify by a law, if you would have me leave my ſeverity. I have overcome pleaſure, I have overcome riches, I have overcome ambition, I have maſtered flattery: fear hath nothing to object againſt me, drunkenneſs hath nothing to charge upon me, anger is afraid of me: I have won the garland, in fighting againſt theſe enemies.—This, and much more, did he write in his epiſtles to Hermodorus, of his complaints againſt the great degeneracy of the Epheſians. And in an epiſtle to Aphidamus, he writes, I am fallen ſick, Aphidamus, of a dropſy. Whatſoever is of us, if it get the dominion, it becomes a diſeaſe. Exceſs of heat is a fever; exceſs of cold, a palſy; exceſs of wind, a cholick: my diſeaſe cometh from exceſs of moiſture. The ſoul is ſomething divine, which keeps all theſe in a due proportion. I know the nature of the world; I know that of man; I know diſeaſes; I know health: I will cure myſelf, 'I will imitate 'GOD,' who makes equal the inequalities of the world. But if my body be overpreſſed, it muſt deſcend to the place ordained; however, my ſoul ſhall not deſcend; but, being a thing immortal, ſhall aſcend on high, where an heavenly manſion ſhall receive me.—A moſt weighty and pathetical diſcourſe: they that know any thing of God, may ſavour ſomething divine in it. Oh! that the degenerate Chriſtians of theſe times would but take a view of the virtue, temperance, zeal, piety, and faith of this Heathen, who, notwithſtanding that he lived five hundred years before the coming of Chriſt in the fleſh, had theſe excellent ſentences!

ſentences! Yet again; he taught that God puniſheth not by taking away riches; he rather alloweth them to the wicked, to diſcover them; for poverty may be a veil. Speaking of God, How can that light which never ſets be ever hidden or obſcured? Juſtice, ſaith he, ſhall ſeize one day upon defrauders and witneſſes of falſe things. Unleſs a man hopes to the end, for that which is to be hoped for, he ſhall not find that which is unſearchable; which Clemens, an ancient father, applied to Iſa. vi. 'Unleſs you believe, you ſhall not 'underſtand.' Heraclitus derided the ſacrifices of creatures: Do you think, ſaith he, to pacify God, and cleanſe yourſelves, by polluting yourſelves with blood? as if a man ſhould go into the dirt to cleanſe himſelf. Which ſhewed a ſight of a more ſpiritual worſhip, than that of the ſacrifices of beaſts. He lived ſolitary in the mountains; had a ſight of his end: and as he was prepared for it, ſo he rejoiced in it. Theſe certainly were the men, 'who having not a law without them, 'became a law unto themſelves, ſhewing forth the 'work of the law written in their hearts[b].' And who, for that reaſon, ſhall judge the circumciſion, and receive the reward of 'Well done,' by him who is judge of quick and dead.

§. LXIII. Democritus would ſay, That he had lived to an extraordinary age, by keeping himſelf from luxury and exceſs. That a little eſtate went a great way with men that were neither covetous nor prodigal. That luxury furniſhed great tables with variety; and temperance furniſheth little ones. That riches do not conſiſt in the poſſeſſion, but right uſe, of wealth. He was a man of great retirement, avoiding public honours and employments: bewailed by the people of Abdera as mad, whilſt indeed he only ſmiled at the madneſs of the world.

§. LXIV. Socrates, the moſt religious and learned philoſopher of his time (and of whom it is reported Apollo gave this character, That he was the wiſeſt man

[b] Rom. ii. 14.

on earth) was a man of a ſevere life, and inſtructed people gratis in juſt, grave and virtuous manners: for which being envied by Ariſtophanes, the vain comical wit of that age, as one ſpoiling the trade of plays, and exerciſing the generality of the people with more noble and virtuous things; he was repreſented by him in a play, in which he rendered Socrates ſo ridiculous, that the vulgar would rather part with Socrates in earneſt, than Socrates in jeſt; which made way for their impeaching him, as an enemy to their gods; for which they put him to death. But in a ſhort ſpace, his eighty judges, and the whole people, ſo deeply repented the loſs, that they ſlew many of his accuſers: ſome hanged themſelves; none would trade with them, nor anſwer them a queſtion. They erected ſeveral ſtatues to his praiſe; they forbad his name to be mentioned, that they might forget their injuſtice: they called home his baniſhed friends and ſcholars. And, by the moſt wiſe and learned men of that age, it is obſerved, that famous city was puniſhed with the moſt dreadful plagues that ever raged amongſt them; and all Greece, with it, never proſpered in any conſiderable undertaking; but from that time always decayed*. Amongſt many of his ſober and religious maxims, upon which he was accuſtomed to diſcourſe with his diſciples, theſe are ſome:

He taught every-where, That an upright man, and an happy man, are all one. They that do good, are employed: they that ſpend their time in recreations, are idle. To do good is the beſt courſe of life; he only is idle, who might be better employed. An horſe is not known by his furniture, but qualities; ſo men are to be eſteemed for virtue, not wealth. Being aſked, Who lived without trouble? he anſwered, Thoſe who are conſcious to themſelves of no evil thing. To one who demanded, What was nobility? he anſwered, A good temper and diſpoſition of ſoul

* Plat. Apolog. Diog. Laert. Helvic. Cic. Tuſ. Queſt. 1. Xenoph. Brut. Cic. Orat. Liban. Apol. Varro Hiſt. Schol. Ariſt.

and

and body. They who know what they ought to do, and do it not, are not wise and temperate, but fools and stupid. To one that complained, he had not been benefited by his travels; Not without reason (says Socrates) thou didst travel with thy Self: intimating, he knew not the eternal Mind of God to direct and inform him. Being demanded, What wisdom was? said, A virtuous composure of the soul. And being asked, Who were wise? answered, Those that sin not. Seeing a young man rich, but ignorant of heavenly things, and pursuing earthly pleasures; Behold (says he) a golden slave. Soft ways of living beget neither a good constitution of body nor mind. Fine and rich clothes are only for comedians. Being demanded from what things men and women ought to refrain? he answered, Pleasure. Being asked, What continence and temperance were? he said, Government of corporal desires and pleasures. The wicked live to eat, &c. but the good eat to live. Temperate persons become the most excellent; eat that which neither hurts the body nor mind, and which is easy to be gotten. One saying, It was a great matter to abstain from what one desires; But (says he) it is better not to desire at all. [This is deep religion, even very hard to professed Christians.] "It is the property of God, to need nothing; and they that need, and are contented with, least, come nearest to God. The only and best way to worship God is, to mind and obey whatsoever he commands. That the souls of men and women partake of the Divine Nature. That God is seen of the virtuous mind. That by waiting upon him, they are united unto him, in an inaccessible place of purity and happiness. Which God, he asserted always to be near him *."

* Clem. Alex. Strom. 2. 417. Xen. mem. 3. p. 720. Xen. mem. 3. p. 778, 779, 780. Stob. Ech. Strom. 1. 11. Stob. 4. 6. Stob. 2. 18. Xenoph. Mem. 3. Senec. Epist. 1. 103. Stob. 28. Stob. 32. Xen. Mem. 1. Ælian. 9. Stob. 37. Stob. 37. Stob. 87. Xen. Mem. 3. 4. Ælian. Var. Hist. 9. Stob. 37. Xenoph. Mem. 4. 802. Plat. Phæd.

Many more are the excellent ſayings of this great man, who was not leſs famous for his ſayings, than his example, with the greateſt nations; yet died he a ſacrifice to the ſottiſh fury of the vain world. The hiſtory of his life reports, that his father was told, He ſhould have the Guide of his life WITHIN him, which ſhould be more to him than five hundred maſters; which proved true: inſtructing his ſcholars herein, charging them not to neglect theſe divine affairs, which chiefly concern man, to mind or enquire after ſuch things as are without in the viſible world. He taught the uſe of outward things only as they were neceſſary to life and commerce; forbidding ſuperfluities and curioſities *. He was martyred for his doctrine, after having lived ſeventy years the moſt admired, followed, and viſited, of all men in his time, by kings and commonwealths; and than whom, antiquity mentions none with more reverence and honour. Well were it for poor England, if her conceited Chriſtians were true Socrates's; whoſe ſtrict, juſt, and ſelf-denying life doth not beſpeak him more famous, than it will Chriſtians infamous at the revelation of the righteous judgment; where Heathens virtue ſhall aggravate Chriſtians intemperance; and their humility, the others exceſſive pride: and juſtly too, ſince a Greater than Socrates is come, whoſe name they profeſs, but they will not obey his law †.

§. LXV. PLATO, that famous philoſopher and ſcholar to Socrates, was ſo grave, and devoted to divine things, nay, ſo diſcreetly politick, that in his Common-wealth he would not ſo much as harbour poetical fancies (much leſs open ſtages) as being too effeminate, and apt to withdraw the minds of youth from more noble, more manly, as well as more heavenly exerciſes ‡. Plato, ſeeing a young man play at dice, reproved him ſharply; the other anſwered, What! for ſo ſmall a matter? Cuſtom (ſaith Plato) is no ſmall

* Xen. Mem. 1. p. 710. † Xen. Mem. 4. Plato de Legib. ‡ Plato de Rep.

thing:

thing: let idle hours be ſpent more uſefully. Let youth (ſaid he) take delight in good things; for pleaſures are the baits of evil. Obſerve; the momentary ſweetneſs of a delicious life is followed with eternal ſorrow; the ſhort pain of the contrary with eternal pleaſure ‖. Being commanded to put on a purple garment by the king of Sicily, he refuſed, ſaying, He was a man, and ſcorned ſuch effeminacies. Inviting Timothy, the Athenian general, to ſupper, he treated him with herbs, water, and ſuch ſpare diet as he was accuſtomed to eat. Timothy's friends next day, laughing, aſked, how he was entertained? he anſwered, Never better in his life; for he ſlept all night after his ſupper: thereby commending his temperance. He addicted himſelf to religious contemplations; and is ſaid to have lived a virtuous and ſingle life, always eyeing and obeying the MIND, which he ſometimes called GOD, the Father of all things; affirming, Who lived ſo, ſhould become like him, and ſo be related to, and joined with, the Divinity itſelf*. This ſame Plato, upon his dying-bed, ſent for his friends about him, and told them, The whole world was out of the way, in that they underſtood not, nor regarded, the Mind, (that is, God, or the word, or Begotten of God) aſſuring them, Thoſe men died moſt comfortably, that lived moſt conformable to Right Reaſon, and ſought and adored the Firſt Cauſe, meaning God.

§. LXVI. ANTISTHENES, an Athenian philoſopher, had taught in the ſtudy of eloquence ſeveral years; but upon hearing Socrates treat of the ſerioufneſs of religion, of the divine life, eternal rewards, &c. 'bad all his ſcholars ſeek them a new maſter; for he 'had found one for himſelf.' Wherefore ſelling his eſtate, he diſtributed it to the poor, and betook himſelf wholly to the conſideration of heavenly things; going chearfully ſix miles every day, to hear Socrates ‡.—But where are the like preachers and converts

‖ Diog. Laert. in vit. Xen. Crat. Stob. Ælian. * Alcinous.
‡ Laert. vit. Socr. Ælian.

amongſt

amongſt the people called Chriſtians! Obſerve the daily pains of Socrates; ſurely he did not ſtudy a week to read a written ſermon: we are aſſured of the contrary; for it was frequent with him to preach to the people at any time of the day, in the very ſtreets, as occaſion ſerved, and his Good Genius moved him. Neither was he an hireling, or covetous; for he did it gratis: ſurely then he had not fat benefices, tithes, glebes, &c. And let the ſelf-denial and diligence of Antiſthenes be conſidered, who, of a philoſopher and maſter, became a ſcholar, and that a daily one: ſurely, it was then matter of reproach, as it is now: ſhewing thereby both want of knowledge, (though called a philoſopher) and his great deſire to obtain it of one that could teach him. None of theſe uſed to go to plays, balls, treats, &c. They found more ſerious employments for their minds, and were examples of temperance to the world. I will repeat ſome of his grave ſentences, as reported by Laertius and others, namely, That thoſe only are noble who are virtuous. That virtue was ſelf-ſufficient to happineſs. That it conſiſteth in actions, not requiring many words, nor much learning, and is ſelf-ſufficient to wiſdom: for that all other things have reference thereunto. That men ſhould not govern by force, nor by laws, unleſs good, but by juſtice. To a friend, complaining he had loſt his notes, Thou ſhouldeſt have writ them upon thy mind (ſaith he) and not in a book. Thoſe who would never die, muſt live juſtly and piouſly. Being aſked, What learning was beſt? That, ſaith he, which unlearneth evil. To one that praiſed a life full of pleaſures and delicacies; Let the ſons of my enemies, ſaith he, live delicately: counting it the greateſt miſery. We ought, ſays he, to aim at ſuch pleaſures as follow honeſt labour; and not thoſe which go before it*. When at any time he ſaw a woman richly dreſſed, he would, in a way of reproach, bid her huſband bring out his horſe and arms: meaning, if he were

* Stob. ibid. 117. Diog. Laert.

prepared

prepared to juſtify the injuries ſuch wantonneſs uſeth to produce, he might the better allow thoſe dangerous freedoms: otherwiſe, ſaith he, pluck off her rich and gaudy attire. He is ſaid to exclaim bitterly againſt pleaſures; often ſaying, I had rather be mad, than addicted to pleaſure, and ſpend my days in decking and feeding my carcaſe. Thoſe, ſays he, who have once learned the way to temperance and virtue, let them not offer to entangle themſelves again with fruitleſs ſtories, and vain learning; nor be addicted to corporal delicacies, which will dull the mind, and will divert and hinder them from the purſuit of thoſe more noble and heavenly virtues*. Upon the death of his beloved maſter, Socrates, he inſtituted a ſect called Cynicks; out of whom came the great ſect of the Stoicks: both which had theſe common principles, which they daily, with great and unwearied diligence, did maintain, and inſtruct people in the knowledge of, viz. No man is wiſe or happy, but the good and virtuous man. That not much learning, nor ſtudy of many things, was neceſſary. That a wiſe man is never drunk nor mad: that he never ſinneth. That a wiſe man is void of paſſion: that he is ſincere, religious, grave: that he only is divine. That ſuch only are prieſts and prophets, who have God in themſelves. And that his law is imprinted in their minds, and the minds of all men. That ſuch an one ONLY can pray; is innocent, meek, temperate, ingenuous, noble; a good magiſtrate, father, ſon, maſter, ſervant, and worthy of praiſe. On the contrary, that wicked men can be none of theſe. "That the ſame belongs to men and "women †."

Their diet was ſlender, their food only what would ſatisfy nature. Their garments exceeding mean. Their habitations ſolitary and homely. They affirmed, thoſe who lived with feweſt things, and were contented, moſt nearly approached God, who wants nothing.

* Agel. lib. 9. c. 5. † Laert. vir. mem. Laert. Plut. de rep. Stoi. Stob. Cic. de Nat. Deo. lib. ii. Lect. de Ira Dei, cap. 10.

They

They voluntarily despised riches, glory, and nobility, as foolish shews, and vain fictions, that had no true and solid worth or happiness in them. They made all things to be good and evil, and flatly denied the idle stories of fortune and chance *.

Certainly these were they, who having no external law, 'became a law unto themselves;' and did not abuse the knowledge they had of the invisible God; but to their capacities instructed men in the knowledge of that righteous, serious, solid and heavenly Principle, which leads to true and everlasting happiness all those that embrace it.

§. LXVII. Xenocrates refused Alexander's present, yet treated his ambassadors after his temperate and spare manner; saying, You see I have no need of your master's bounty, that am so well pleased with this. He would say, That one ought not to carry one's eyes or one's hands into another man's house; that is, be a busy-body. That one ought to be most circumspect of one's actions before children, lest by example one's faults should out-live one's self. He said, Pride was the greatest obstruction to true knowledge. His chastity and integrity were remarkable, and reverenced in Athens: Phryne, the famous Athenian courtezan, could not place a temptation upon him; nor Philip, king of Macedon, a bribe; though the rest sent in the embassy were corrupted. And being once brought for a witness, the judges rose up, and cried out, Tender no oath to Xenocrates, for he will speak the truth! A respect they did not allow to one another. Holding his peace at some detracting discourse, they asked him, why he spoke not? Because, saith he, I have sometimes repented of speaking, but never of holding my peace †.

§. LXVIII. Bion would say, That great men walk in slippery places. That it is a great mischief not to bear affliction. That ungodliness is an enemy to assurance.

* Plut. Pl. Ph. 16. Cic. Tusc. Quest. 4. Diog. Laert. vit. Mem. Stob. † Laert. Val. Max. 4. 3. 2. 16. Cic. pro Fal. Val. Max. 7. 2.

He

He ſaid to a covetous man, That he did not poſſeſs his wealth, but his wealth poſſeſſed him; abſtaining from uſing it, as if it were another man's. In fine, That men ought to purſue a courſe of virtue, without regard to the praiſe or reproach of men.

§. LXIX. Demonax, ſeeing the great care that men had of their bodies, more than of their minds; They deck the houſe, ſaith he, but ſlight the maſter. He would ſay, That many are inquiſitive after the make of the world, but are little concerned about their own, which were a ſcience much more worthy of their pains. To a city that would eſtabliſh the gladiators, or prize-fighters, he ſaid, That they ought firſt to overthrow the Altar of Mercy: intimating the cruelty of ſuch practices. One aſking him, why he turned philoſopher? Becauſe, ſaith he, I am Man. He would ſay of the prieſts of Greece, If they could better inſtruct the people, they could not give them too much; but if not, the people could not give them too little. He lamented the unprofitableneſs of good laws, by being in bad mens hands.

§. LXX. Diogenes was angry with criticks, that were nice of words, and not of their own actions; with muſicians, that tune their inſtruments, but could not govern their paſſions; with aſtrologers, that have their eyes in the ſky, and look not to their own goings; with orators, that ſtudy to ſpeak well, but not to do well; with covetous men, that take care to get, but never uſe their eſtates; with thoſe philoſophers, that deſpiſe greatneſs, and yet court great men; and with thoſe that ſacrifice for health, and yet ſurfeit themſelves with eating their ſacrifices. One time, diſcourſing of the nature, pleaſure and reward of virtue, and the people not regarding what he ſaid, he fell a ſinging; at which every one preſſed to hear: whereupon he cried out, in abhorrence of their ſtupidity, 'O God, 'how much more is the world in love with folly, than 'with wiſdom!' Seeing a man ſprinkling himſelf with water, after having done ſome ill thing; Unhappy man! ſaith he, doſt thou not know that the errors of life

life are not to be washed away with water? To one who said, Life is an ill thing; he answered, Life is not an ill thing; but an ill life is an ill thing. He was very temperate, for his bed and his table he found every-where. One seeing him wash herbs, said, If thou hadst followed Dionysius, king of Sicily, thou wouldest not have needed to have washed herbs: he answered, If thou hadst washed herbs, thou needest not to have followed Dionysius. He lighted a candle at noon, saying, I look for a MAN; implying, that the world was darkened by vice, and men effeminated. To a luxurious person, that had wasted his means, supping upon olives; If, says he, thou hadst used to dine so, thou wouldst not have needed to sup so. To a young man dressing himself neatly, If this, saith he, be for the sake of men, thou art unhappy; if for women, thou art unjust. Another time, seeing an effeminate young man; Art thou not ashamed, saith he, to use thyself worse than nature hath made thee? she hath made thee a man, but thou wilt force thyself to be a woman. To one that courted a bad woman; O wretch! said he, what meanest thou, to ask for that which is better lost than found? To one that smelled of sweet unguents, Have a care, saith he, this perfume make not thy life stink. He compared covetous men to such as have the dropsy: Those are full of money, yet desire more; these of water, yet thirst for more. Being asked, What beasts were the worst? In the field, saith he, bears and lions; in the city, usurers and flatterers. At a feast, one giving him a great cup of wine, he threw it away; for which being blamed, If I had drank it, saith he, not only the wine would have been lost, but I also. One asking him, how he might order himself best? he said, By reproving those things in thyself, which thou blamest in others. Another demanding, what was hardest? he answered, To know ourselves, to whom we are partial. An astrologer discoursing to the people of the wandering stars; No, saith he, it is not the stars, but these (pointing to the people that heard him). Being asked, what men were most

moſt noble? They, ſaith he, who contemn wealth, honour and pleaſure, and endure the contraries, to wit, poverty, ſcorn, pain, and death. To a wicked man, reproaching him for his poverty; I never knew, ſaith he, any man puniſhed for his poverty, but many for their wickedneſs. To one bewailing himſelf that he ſhould not die in his own country; Be of comfort, ſaith he, for the way to heaven is alike in every place. One day he went backwards; whereat the people laughing, Are you not aſhamed, ſaith he, to do that all your life-time, which you deride in me?

§. LXXI. CRATES, a Theban, famous for his ſelf-denial and virtue; deſcended from the houſe of Alexander, of great eſtate, at leaſt two hundred talents; which, having moſtly diſtributed among the poor citizens, he became a conſtant profeſſor of the Cynick philoſophy. He exceedingly inveighed againſt common women. Seeing at Delphos a golden image, that Phryne, the courtezan, had ſet up, by the gains of her trade, cried out, This is a trophy of the Greeks intemperance. Seeing a young man highly fed, and fat; Unhappy youth, ſaith he, do not fortify thy priſon. To another, followed by a great many paraſites; Young man, ſaith he, I am ſorry to ſee thee ſo much alone. Walking one day upon the exchange, where he beheld people mighty buſy after their divers callings; Theſe people, ſaith he, think themſelves happy; but I am happy that have nothing to do with them: for I place my happineſs in poverty, not in riches*. Oh! men do not know how much a wallet, a meaſure of lupins, with ſecurity, is worth. Of his wife, Hipparchia, a woman of wealth and extraction, but nobler for her love to true philoſophy, and how they came together, there will be occaſion to make mention in its place.

§. LXXII. ARISTOTLE, a ſcholar to Plato, and the oracle of philoſophy to theſe very times, though not ſo divinely contemplative as his maſter, nevertheleſs fol-

* Laert.

lows

lows him in this; That luxury ſhould by good diſcipline be exiled human ſocieties†. Ariſtotle ſeeing a youth finely dreſt, ſaid, Art thou not aſhamed, when nature hath made thee a man, to make thyſelf a woman? And to another, gazing on his fine cloak; Why doſt thou boaſt of a ſheep's fleece? He ſaid, It was the duty of a good man to live ſo under laws, as he ſhould do if there were none‡.

§. LXXIII. MANDANIS, a great and famous philoſopher of the Gymnoſophiſts, whom Alexander the Great required to come to the feaſt of Jupiter's ſon (meaning himſelf), declaring, That if he came, he ſhould be rewarded; if not, he ſhould be put to death. The philoſopher contemned his meſſage, as vain and ſordid: he firſt told them, That he denied him to be Jupiter's ſon (a mere fiction). Next, That as for his gifts, he eſteemed them nothing worth; his own country could furniſh him with neceſſaries; beyond which he coveted nothing. And laſtly, As for the death he threatened, he did not fear it; but of the two, he wiſhed it rather; in that, ſaith he, it is a change to a more bleſſed and happy ſtate‖.

§. LXXIV. ZENO, the great Stoick, and author of that philoſophy, had many things admirable in him; who not only ſaid, but practiſed. He was a man of that integrity, and ſo reverenced for it by the Athenians, that they depoſited the keys of the city in his hands, as the only perſon fit to be intruſted with their liberties: yet by birth a ſtranger, being of Pſittacon in Cyprus*. Antigonus, king of Macedonia, had a great reſpect for him, and deſired his company, as the following letter expreſſeth:

'King Antigonus to Zeno the philoſopher, health: 'I think that I exceed thee in fortune and glory; 'but in learning and diſcipline, and that perfect feli-'city which thou haſt attained, I am exceeded by 'thee; wherefore I thought it expedient to write to

† Stob. Strom. 45. ‡ Stob. 161. ibid. 46. ‖ Stob. 161. ibid. 46. * Stob. 161. Laert.

'thee,

'thee, that thou wilt come to me, assuring myself thou 'wilt not deny it. Use all means therefore to come to 'us; and know, thou art not to instruct me only, but 'all the Macedonians: for he who teacheth the king 'of Macedonia, and guideth him to virtue, it is evi-'dent, that he doth likewise instruct all his subjects 'in virtue: for such as is the prince, such for the most 'part are those who live under his government.'

ZENO answered thus: 'To king Antigonus, Zeno 'wisheth health: I much esteem thy earnest desire of 'learning, in that thou aimest at philosophy; not po-'pular, which perverteth manners; but that true dis-'cipline which conferreth profit; avoiding that gene-'rally commended pleasure, which effeminates the 'souls of men. It is manifest that thou art inclined 'to generous things, not only by nature, but by 'choice; with indifferent exercise and assistance thou 'mayest easily attain to virtue. But I am very infirm 'of body, being fourscore years of age, and so not 'well able to come; yet I will send thee some of my 'chief disciples, who, in those things concerning the 'soul, are nothing inferior to me; and whose instruc-'tions, if thou wilt follow them, will conduct thee to 'perfect blessedness.'——Thus Zeno refused Antigonus, but sent Persaus his countryman, and Philonides, a Theban. He would say, That nothing was more unseemly than pride, especially in youth, which was a time of learning. He therefore recommended to young men modesty in three things; in their walking, in their behaviour, and in their apparel: often repeating those verses of Euripides, in honour of Capaneus:

> 'He was not puft up with his store;
> Nor thought himself above the poor.

Seeing a man very finely dressed, stepping lightly over a kennel; That man, saith he, doth not care for the dirt, because he could not see his face in it. He also taught, The people should not affect delicacy of diet, no not in their sickness. To one that smelt with unguents; Who is it, saith he, that smells so effeminately?

nately? Seeing a friend of his taken too much up with the buſineſs of his land; Unleſs thou loſe thy land, ſaith he, thy land will loſe thee. Being demanded, Whether a man that doth wrong, may conceal it from God? No, ſaith he, nor yet he who thinks it. Which teſtifies to the omnipreſence of God. Being aſked, Who was his beſt friend? he anſwered, My other ſelf; intimating the Divine part that was in him. He would ſay, The end of man was not to live, eat, and drink; but to uſe this life ſo, as to obtain an happy life hereafter. He was ſo humble, that he converſed with mean and ragged perſons; whence Timon thus:

And for companions gets of ſervants ſtore,
Of all men the moſt empty, and moſt poor.

He was patient, and frugal in his houſhold expences. Laertius ſaith, he had but one ſervant: Seneca avers, he had none. He was mean in his clothes: in his diet by Philemon thus deſcribed:

He water drinks, then broth and herbs doth eat;
Teaching his ſcholars almoſt without meat.

His chaſtity was ſo eminent, that it became a proverb; As chaſte as Zeno. When the news of his death came to Antigonus, he broke forth into theſe words, What an object have I loſt? And being aſked, Why he admired him ſo much? Becauſe, ſaith he, though I beſtowed many great things upon him, he was never therewith exalted nor dejected. The Athenians, after his death, by a public decree, erected a ſtatue to his memory; it runs thus: 'Whereas Zeno, the ſon of 'Mnaſeas, a Scythian, has profeſſed philoſophy about 'fifty-eight years in this city, and in all things per-'formed the office of a good man, encouraging thoſe 'young men, who applied themſelves to him, to 'the love of virtue and temperance, leading himſelf 'a life ſuitable to the doctrine which he profeſſed; a 'pattern to the beſt to imitate; the people have 'thought fit to do honour to Zeno, and to crown him 'with a crown of gold, according to law, in reward

'of

'of his virtue and temperance, and to build a tomb 'for him, publickly in the Ceramick,' &c. These two were his epitaphs, one by Antipater:

Here Zeno lies, who tall Olympus scal'd;
Not heaping Pelion on Ossa's head:
Nor by Herculean labours so prevail'd;
But found out virtue's paths, which thither led.

The other by Xenodotus, the Stoick, thus:

Zeno, thy years to hoary age were spent,
Not with vain riches, but with self-content.

§. LXXV. SENECA, a great and excellent philosopher (who, with Epictetus, shall conclude the testimonies of the men of their character) hath so much to our purpose, that his works are but a kind of continued evidence for us: he saith, Nature was not so much an enemy, as to give an easy passage of life to all other creatures, and that man alone should not live without so many arts: she hath commanded us none of these things. We have made all things difficult to us, by disdaining things that are easy: houses, clothes, meats, and nourishment of bodies, and those things which are now the care of life, were easy to come by, freely gotten, and prepared with a light labour: for the measure of these things was necessity, not voluptuousness: but we have made them pernicious and admirable; they must be sought with art and skill. Nature sufficeth to that which she requireth.

Appetite hath revolted from nature, which continually inciteth itself, and increases with the ages, helping vice by wit. First, it began to desire superfluous, then contrary things: last of all, it sold the mind to the body, and commanded it to serve the lusts thereof. All these arts, wherewith the city is continually set at work, and maketh such a stir, do center in the affairs of the body, to which all things were once performed as to a Servant, but now are provided as for a Lord. Hence the shops of engravers, perfumers, &c. hence of those that teach effeminate motions of the body,

and vain and wanton ſongs: for natural behaviour is deſpiſed, which completed deſires with neceſſary help: now it is clowniſhneſs and ill-breeding, to be contented with as much as is requiſite. What ſhall I ſpeak of rich marbles curiouſly wrought, wherewith temples and houſes do ſhine? what of ſtately galleries, and rich furniture? Theſe are but the devices of moſt vile ſlaves, the inventions of men, not of wiſe men: for wiſdom ſits deeper; it is the miſtreſs of the mind. Wilt thou know what things ſhe hath found out, what ſhe hath made? Not unſeemly motions of the body, nor variable ſinging by trumpet or flute; nor yet weapons, wars, or fortifications: ſhe endeavoureth profitable things; ſhe favours peace, and calls all mankind to an agreement: ſhe leadeth to a bleſſed eſtate: ſhe openeth the way to it, and ſhews what is evil from what is good, and chaſeth vanity out of the mind: ſhe giveth ſolid greatneſs, but debaſeth that which is puffed up, and would be ſeen of men: ſhe bringeth forth the 'Image of God to be ſeen in the 'ſouls of men:' and ſo from corporeal, ſhe tranſlateth into incorporeal things. Thus in the 90th epiſtle to Lucilius.—To Gallio he writeth thus: "All men, brother Gallio, are deſirous to live happy; yet blind to the means of that bleſſedneſs, as long as we wander hither and thither, and follow not our Guide, but the diſſonant clamour of thoſe that call on us to undertake different ways. Our ſhort life is wearied and worn away amongſt errors, although we labour to get us a good mind. There is nothing therefore to be more avoided, than following the multitude without examination, and believing any thing without judging. Let us enquire what is beſt to be done, not what is moſt uſually done; and what planted us in the poſſeſſion of eternal felicity; not what is ordinarily allowed of by the multitude, which is the worſt interpreter of truth. I call the Multitude as well thoſe that are clothed in White, as thoſe in other colours: for I examine not the colours of the garments, wherewith their bodies are clothed: I truſt not mine eyes to inform me what a

man

man is; 'I have a better and truer Light, whereby I 'can diſtinguiſh truth from falſhood.' Let the ſoul find out the Good of the ſoul. If once ſhe may have leiſure to withdraw into herſelf, oh! how will ſhe confeſs, I wiſh all I have done were undone; and all I have ſaid, when I recollect it, I am aſhamed of it, when I now hear the like in others. Theſe things below, whereat we gaze, and whereat we ſtay, and which one man with admiration ſhews unto another, do outwardly ſhine, but are inwardly empty. Let us ſeek out ſomewhat that is good, not in appearance, but ſolid, united and beſt, in that which leaſt appears: let us diſcover this. Neither is it far from us; we ſhall find it, if we ſeek it. For it is wiſdom, not to wander from that Immortal Nature, but to form ourſelves according to his law and example. Bleſſed is the man who judgeth rightly: bleſſed is he who is contented with his preſent condition: and bleſſed is he who giveth ear to that Immortal Principle, in the government of his life."—An whole volume of theſe excellent things hath he written. No wonder a man of his doctrine and life, eſcaped not the cruelty of brutiſh Nero, under whom he ſuffered death; as alſo did the apoſtle Paul, with whom, it is ſaid, Seneca had converſed. When Nero's meſſenger brought him the news that he was to die; with a compoſed and undaunted countenance he received the errand, and preſently called for pen, ink, and paper, to write his laſt will and teſtament; which the captain refuſing, he turned towards his friends, and took his leave thus: 'Since, my loving friends, I cannot bequeath you any other thing in acknowledgement of what I owe you, I leave you at leaſt the richeſt and beſt portion I have, that is, The Image of my Manners and Life; which doing, you will obtain true happineſs.' His friends ſhewing great trouble for the loſs of him, Where, ſaith he, are thoſe memorable precepts of philoſophy; and what is become of thoſe proviſions, which for ſo many years together we have laid up againſt the brunts and afflictions of providence? Was Nero's cruelty unknown to us?

What could we expect better at his hands, that killed his brother, and murdered his mother, but that he would alſo put his tutor and governor to death? Then turning to his wife, Pompeja Paulina, a Roman lady, young and noble, beſeeched her, for the love ſhe bore him and his philoſophy, to ſuffer patiently his affliction; For (ſaith he) my hour is come, wherein I muſt ſhew, not only by diſcourſe, but by death, the fruit I have reaped by my meditations. I embrace it without grief; wherefore do not diſhonour it with thy tears. Aſſuage thy ſorrow, and comfort thyſelf in the knowledge thou haſt had of me, and of my actions; and lead the reſt of thy life with that honeſt induſtry thou haſt addicted thyſelf unto. And dedicating his life to God, he expired.

§. LXXVI. Epictetus, contemporary with Seneca, and an excellent man, thought no man worthy of the profeſſion of philoſophy, that was not purified from the errors of his nature. His morals were very excellent, which he comprized under theſe two words, Suſtaining and Abſtaining; or Bearing and Forbearing: To avoid evil, and patiently to ſuffer afflictions: which do certainly comprize the Chriſtian doctrine and life, and are the perfection of the beſt philoſophy that was at any time taught by Egyptians, Greeks, or Romans, when it ſignified virtue, ſelf-denial, and a life of religious ſolitude and contemplation.

How little the Chriſtians of the times are true philoſophers, and how much more theſe philoſophers were Chriſtians than they, let the Righteous Principle in every conſcience judge. But is it not then intolerable, that they ſhould be eſteemed Chriſtians, who are yet to learn to be good Heathens; that prate of Grace and Nature, and know neither; who will preſume to determine what is become of Heathens, and know not where they are themſelves, nor mind what may become of them; that can run readily over a tedious liſt of famous perſonages, and calumniate ſuch as will not, with them, celebrate their memories with extravagant and ſuperfluous praiſes, whilſt they make it laudable to

act

act the contrary; and none so ready a way to become vile, as not to be vicious? A strange paradox, but too true: so blind, so stupified, so besotted are the foolish sensualists of the world, under their great pretences to religion, faith and worship. Ah! did they but know the peace, the joy, the unspeakable ravishments of soul, that inseparably attend the innocent, harmless, still, and retired life of Jesus; did they but weigh within themselves the authors of their vain delights and pastimes, the nature and disposition they are so grateful to, the dangerous consequence of exercising the mind and its affections below, and arresting and taking them up from their due attendance and obedience to the most holy crying voice in their consciences, 'Repent, Return: 'All is vanity and vexation of spirit.' Were but these things reflected upon; were the incessant wooings of Jesus, and his importunate knocks and intreaties, by his Light and Grace, at the door of their hearts, but kindly answered, and He admitted to take up his abode there; and lastly, were such resolved to give up to the instructions and holy guidance of his Eternal Spirit, in all the humble, heavenly and righteous conversation it requires, and of which he is become our captain and example; then, oh! then, both root and branch of vanity, the nature that invented, and that which delights herself therein, with all the follies themselves, would be consumed and vanish. But they, alas! cheat themselves by misconstrued scriptures, and daub with the untempered mortar of misapplied promises. They will be saints, whilst they are sinners; and in Christ, whilst in the spirit of the world, walking after the flesh, and not after the Spirit, by which the true children of God are led. My friends, mind the Just Witness and Holy Principle in yourselves, that you may experimentally know more of the divine life; in which (and not in a multitude of vain repetitions) true and solid felicity eternally consists.

IV. Nor is this reputation, wisdom, and virtue, only to be attributed to Men: there were Women also, in

the Greek and Roman ages, that honoured their ſex by great examples of meekneſs, prudence, and chaſtity: and which I do the rather mention, that the honour ſtory yields to their virtuous conduct may raiſe an allowable emulation in thoſe of their own ſex, at leaſt, to equal the noble character given them by antiquity. I will begin with

§. LXXVII. PENELOPE, wife to Ulyſſes, a woman eminent for her beauty and quality, but more for her ſingular chaſtity. Her huſband was abſent from her twenty years; partly in ſervice of his country, and partly in exile; and being believed to be dead, ſhe was earneſtly ſought by divers lovers, and preſſed by her parents to change her condition; but all the importunities of the one, or perſuaſions of the other, not prevailing, her lovers ſeemed to uſe a kind of violence, that where they could not intice, they would compel: to which ſhe yielded, upon this condition; That they would not preſs her to marry, till ſhe had ended the work ſhe had in hand: which they granting, ſhe undid by night what ſhe wrought by day; and with that honeſt device ſhe delayed their deſire, till her worthy huſband returned, whom ſhe received, though in beggars clothes, with an heart full of love and truth. A conſtancy that reproaches too many of the women of the times, who, without the excuſe of ſuch an abſence, can violate their huſbands beds. Her work ſhews the induſtry and employment, even of the women of great quality in thoſe times; whilſt thoſe of the preſent age deſpiſe ſuch honeſt labour, as mean and mechanical.

§. LXXVIII. THEOXENA, a woman of great virtue, being in a place encompaſſed by the armies of the king of Macedonia, finding ſhe could not eſcape their hands, rather than fall under the power of his ſoldiers to be defiled, choſe to die: and therefore flying into the ſea, delivered her life up in the waters; thereby chuſing death, rather than ſave her life with the hazard of her virtue.

§. LXXIX. PANDORA and PROTOGENIA, two virtuous daughters of an Athenian king, ſeeing their country like

like to be over-run by its enemies, freely offered their lives in ſacrifice, to appeaſe the fury of their enemies, for the preſervation of their country.

§. LXXX. HIPPARCHIA, a fair Macedonian virgin, noble of blood (as they term it) but more truly noble of mind, I cannot omit to mention; who entertained ſo earneſt an affection for Crates, the Cynical philoſopher, as well for his ſevere life as excellent diſcourſe, that by no means could her relations nor ſuitors, by all their wealth, nobility and beauty, diſſuade her from being his companion: upon which ſtrange reſolution, they all betook themſelves to Crates, beſeeching him to ſhew himſelf a true philoſopher, in perſuading her to deſiſt: which he ſtrongly endeavoured by many arguments; but not prevailing, went his way, and brought all the little furniture of his houſe, and ſhewed her: This (ſaith he) is thy huſband; that, the furniture of thy houſe: conſider on it, for thou canſt not be mine, unleſs thou followeſt the ſame courſe of life: (for, being rich above twenty talents, which is more than fifty thouſand pounds, he neglected all, to follow a retired life:) all which had ſo contrary an effect, that ſhe immediately went to him, before them all, and ſaid, I ſeek not the pomp and effeminacy of this world, but knowledge and virtue, Crates; and chuſe a life of temperance, before a life of delicacies: for true ſatisfaction, thou knoweſt, is in the mind; and that pleaſure is only worth ſeeking, that laſts for ever. Thus was it, ſhe became the conſtant companion both of his love and life, his friendſhip and his virtues; travelling with him from place to place, and performing the public exerciſes of inſtruction with Crates, wherever they came. She was a moſt violent enemy to all impiety, but eſpecially to wanton men and women, and thoſe whoſe garb and converſation ſhewed them devoted to vain pleaſures and paſtimes: effeminacy rendering the like perſons not only unprofitable, but pernicious to the whole world. Which ſhe as well made good by the example of her exceeding induſtry, temperance, and ſeverity, as thoſe are wont to do by their

their intemperance and folly: for ruin of health, eſtates, virtue, and loſs of eternal happineſs, have ever attended, and ever will attend, ſuch earthly minds.

§. LXXXI. LUCRETIA, a moſt chaſte Roman dame, whoſe name and virtue is known by that tragedy that follows them. For Sextus, the ſon of Tarquin the Proud, king of Rome, hearing it was her cuſtom to work late in her chamber, did there attempt her, with his ſword in his hand, vowing he would run her through; and put one of his ſervants in the poſture of lying with her, on purpoſe to defame her, if ſhe would not yield to his luſts. Having forced his wicked end, ſhe ſends for her father, then governor of Rome, her huſband and her friends, to whom having revealed the matter, and with tears lamented her irreparable calamity, ſhe ſlew herſelf in their preſence; that it might not be ſaid Lucretia out-lived her chaſtity, even when ſhe could not defend it. I praiſe the virtue, not the act. But God ſoon avenged this, with other impieties, upon that wicked family; for the people hearing what Sextus had done, whoſe flagitious life they equally hated with his father's tyranny, and their ſenſe of both, aggravated by the reverence they conceived for the chaſte and exemplary life of Lucretia, betook themſelves to their arms; and headed by her father, her huſband, Brutus and Valerius, they drove out that Tarquin family: in which action the hand of Brutus avenged the blood of Lucretia upon infamous Sextus, whom he ſlew in the battle.

§. LXXXII. CORNELIA, alſo a noble Roman matron, and ſiſter to Scipio, was eſteemed the moſt famous and honourable perſonage of her time, not more for the greatneſs of her birth, than her exceeding temperance. And hiſtory particularly mentions this, as one great inſtance of her virtue, for which ſhe was ſo much admired, to wit, That ſhe never was accuſtomed to wear rich apparel, but ſuch apparel as was very plain and grave; rather making her children (whom her inſtructions and example had made virtuous) her greateſt ornaments;

naments: a good pattern for the vain and wanton dames of the age.

§. LXXXIII. PONTIA was another Roman dame, renowned for her ſingular modeſty: for though Octavius attempted her with all imaginable allurements and perſuaſions, ſhe choſe rather to die by his cruelty, than be polluted by his luſt. So he took her life, that could not violate her chaſtity.

§. LXXXIV. ARRIA, wife to Cecinna Pætus, is not leſs famous in ſtory for the magnanimity ſhe ſhewed, in being the companion of her huſband's diſgraces, who thruſt herſelf into priſon with him, that ſhe might be his ſervant; and ſhewed him firſt by death to be revenged of the tyrant.

§. LXXXV. POMPEIA PLAUTINA, wife to Julianus the emperor, commended for her compaſſion of the poor, uſed the power her virtue had given her with her huſband, to put him upon all the juſt and tender things that became his charge, and to diſſuade him from whatſoever ſeemed harſh to the people: particularly, ſhe diverted him from a great tax his flatterers adviſed him to lay upon the people.

§. LXXXVI. PLOTINA, the wife of Trajan, a woman (ſaith a certain author) adorned with piety, chaſtity, and all the virtues that a woman is capable of. There are two inſtances; one of her piety, the other of her chaſtity. The firſt is this; When her huſband was proclaimed emperor, ſhe mounted the Capitol after the choice; where, in a religious manner, ſhe ſaid, 'Oh 'that I may live under all this honour, with the ſame 'virtue and content that I enjoyed before I had it!' The ſecond is this: Her huſband being once exiled, ſhe cauſed her hair to be cut ſhort, as the men wore it, that with leſs notice and danger ſhe might be the companion of his baniſhment.

§. LXXXVII. POMPEIA PAULINA, a Roman lady of youth and beauty, deſcended of the moſt noble families of Rome, fell in love with Seneca, for the excellency of his doctrine, and the gravity and purity of his manners. They married, and lived great examples together

gether to both their ſexes. So great was her value for her huſband, and ſo little did ſhe care to live when he was to die, that ſhe choſe to be the companion of his death as ſhe had been of his life: and her veins were cut as well as his, whilſt ſhe was the auditor of his excellent diſcourſes: but Nero hearing of it, and fearing leſt Paulina's death might bring him great reproach, becauſe of her noble alliance in Rome, ſent with all haſte to have her wounds cloſed, and if it were poſſible to ſave her life: which, though as one half dead, was done, and ſhe againſt her will lived; but always with a pale hue, and wan complexion of face, to tell how much of her life was gone with Seneca her deareſt friend, philoſopher, and huſband.

§. LXXXVIII. Thus may the voluptuous women of the times read their reproof in the character of a brave Heathen; and learn, that ſolid happineſs conſiſts in a neglect of wealth and greatneſs, and a contempt of all corporal pleaſures, as more befitting beaſts than immortal ſpirits: and which are loved by none but ſuch, as not knowing the excellency of heavenly things, are both inventing and delighting, like brutes, in that which periſheth; giving the preference to poor mortality, and ſpending their lives to gratify the luſts of a little dirty fleſh and blood, 'that ſhall never enter into 'the kingdom of heaven:' by all which their minds become darkened, and ſo inſenſible of more celeſtial glories, that they do not only refuſe to enquire after them, but infamouſly ſcoff and deſpiſe thoſe that do, as a fooliſh and mad people: to that ſtrange degree of darkneſs and impudence this age has got. But if the exceeding temperance, chaſtity, virtue, induſtry, and contentedneſs of very Heathens, with the plain and neceſſary enjoyments God has been pleaſed to vouchſafe the ſons and daughters of men, as ſufficient to their wants and conveniency, (that they may be the more at leiſure to anſwer the great end of their being born) will not ſuffice, but that they will exceed the bounds, precepts, and examples, both of Heathens and Chriſtians; anguiſh and tribulation will

will overtake them, when they ſhall have an eternity to think upon, with gnaſhing teeth, what to all eternity they can never remedy: theſe diſmal wages are decreed for them who ſo far affront God, heaven and eternal felicity, as to neglect their ſalvation from ſin here, and wrath to come, for the enjoyment of a few fading pleaſures. For ſuch to think, notwithſtanding their lives of ſenſe and pleaſure, wherein their minds become ſlaves to their bodies, that they ſhall be everlaſtingly happy, is an addition to their evils; ſince it is a great abuſe to the holy God, that men and women ſhould believe Him an eternal companion of their carnal and ſenſual minds: for, 'as the tree falls, ſo it lies;' and as death leaves men, judgment finds them: and there is no repentance in the grave. Therefore I beſeech you, to whom this comes, to retire: withdraw a while; let not the body ſee all, taſte all, enjoy all; but let the ſoul ſee too, taſte and enjoy thoſe heavenly comforts and refreſhments, proper to that eternal world of which ſhe is an inhabitant, and where ſhe muſt ever abide in a ſtate of peace or plagues, when this viſible one ſhall be diſſolved.

CHAP. XX.

§. 1. The doctrine of Chriſt from Matt. v. about denial of ſelf. §. 2. John Baptiſt's example. §. 3. The teſtimonies of the apoſtle Peter, &c. §. 4. Paul's godly exhortation againſt pride, covetouſneſs, and luxury. §. 5. The primitive Chriſtians nonconformity to the world. §. 6. Clemens Romanus againſt the vanity of the Gentiles. §. 7. Machiavel of the zeal of the Primitive Chriſtians. §. 8. Tertullian, Chryſoſtom, &c. on Matt. xii. 36. §. 9. Gregory Nazianzen. §. 10. Jerom. §. 11. Hilary. §. 12. Ambroſe. §. 13. Auguſtine. §. 14. Council of Carthage. §. 15. Cardan. §. 16. Gratian. §. 17. Petrus Bellonius. §. 18. Waldenſes. §. 19. What they underſtood by Daily Bread in the Lord's Prayer. §. 20. Their judgment concerning Taverns. §. 21. Dancing,

Dancing, Musick, &c. §. 22. An epistle of Bartholomew Tertian to the Waldensian churches, &c. §. 23. Their extreme suffering and faithfulness. Their degeneracy reproved that call them their ancestors. §. 24. Paulinus, bishop of Nola, relieving slaves and prisoners. §. 25. Acacius, bishop of Amida, his charity to enemies.

HAVING abundantly shewn, how much the doctrine and conversation of the virtuous Gentiles condemn the pride, avarice, and luxury of the professed Christians of the times; I shall, in the next place, to discharge my engagement, and farther fortify this discourse, present my reader with the judgment and practice of the most Christian times; as also of eminent writers both ancient and modern. I shall begin with the Blessed Author of that religion*.

§. 1. JESUS CHRIST, in whose mouth there was found no guile, (sent from God, with a testimony of love to mankind, and who laid down his life for their salvation; whom God hath raised by his mighty power to be Lord of all) is of right to be first heard in this matter; 'for never man spake like him,' to our point; short, clear, and close; and all opposite to the way of this wicked world. 'Blessed (says he) are the poor in 'spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of God:' he doth not say, Blessed are the proud, the rich, the high-minded: here is humility and the fear of the Lord blest. 'Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be 'comforted:' he doth not say, Blessed are the feasters, dancers, and revellers of the world, whose life is swallowed up of pleasure and jollitry: no, as he was a man of sorrows, so he blessed the godly-sorrowful. 'Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth:' he doth not say, Blessed are the ambitious, the angry, and those that are puffed up: he makes not the earth a

* The doctrine and practice of the blessed Lord Jesus and his apostles, the primitive Christians, and those of more modern times, in favour of this discourse.

blessing

blessing to them: and though they get it by conquest and rapine, it will at last fall into the hands of the meek to inherit. Again, 'Blessed are they which do hunger 'and thirst after righteousness:' but no blessing to the hunger and thirst of the luxurious man. 'Blessed are 'the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy:' he draws men to tenderness and forgiveness, by reward. Hast thou one in thy power that hath wronged thee? be not rigorous, exact not the utmost farthing; be merciful, and pity the afflicted, for such are blessed. Yet farther, 'Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see 'God:' he doth not say, Blessed are the proud, the covetous, the unclean, the voluptuous, the malicious: no, such shall never see God. Again, 'Blessed are 'the peace-makers, for they shall be called the 'children of God:' he doth not say, Blessed are the contentious, back-biters, tale-bearers, brawlers, fighters, makers of war; neither shall they be called the children of God, whatever they may call themselves. Lastly, 'Blessed are you, when men shall revile you, 'and persecute you, and say all manner of evil against 'you falsly, for my sake; rejoice and be exceeding 'glad, for great is your reward in heaven[a]:' he blesseth the troubles of his people, and translates earthly sufferings into heavenly rewards. He doth not say, Blessed are you when the world speaks well of you, and fawns upon you: so that his blessings cross the world's; for the World blesseth those as happy, that have the world's favour: He blesseth those as happy, that have the world's frowns. This solveth the great objection, "Why are you so foolish to expose yourselves to the law, to incur the displeasure of magistrates, and suffer the loss of your estates and liberties? Cannot a man serve God in his heart, and do as others do? Are you wiser than your fore-fathers? call to mind your ancestors. Will you question their salvation by your novelties, and forget the future good of your wife and children, as well as sacrifice the present comforts of

[a] Matt. v.

your

your life, to hold up the credit of a party?" a language I have more than once heard: I ſay, this doctrine of Chriſt is an anſwer and antidote againſt the power of this objection. He teaches us to embrace truth under all thoſe ſcandals. The Jews had more to ſay of this kind than any, whoſe way had a more extraordinary inſtitution; but Chriſt minds not either inſtitution or ſucceſſion. He was a New Man, and came to conſecrate a New Way, and that in the will of God; and the power that accompanied his miniſtry, and that of his followers, abundantly proved the divine authority of his miſſion, who thereby warns his to expect and to bear contradiction, reviling, and perſecution: for if they did it to the Green tree, much more were they to expect that they would do it to the Dry: if to the Lord, then to the ſervant.

Why then ſhould Chriſtians fear that reproach and tribulation, that are the companions of his religion, ſince they work to his ſincere followers a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory? But indeed they have great cauſe to fear and be aſhamed, who are the authors of ſuch reproach and ſuffering, ſo contrary to the meek and merciful ſpirit of Chriſt: for if they are bleſſed who are reviled and perſecuted for his ſake; the revilers and perſecutors muſt be curſed. But this is not all: he bade his diſciples 'follow him, learn 'of him, for he was meek and lowly:' he taught them to bear injuries, and not ſmite again; to exceed in kindneſs; to go two miles, when aſked to go one; to part with cloak and coat too; to give to them that aſk, and to lend to them that borrow; to forgive, aye, and love enemies too; commanding them, ſaying, 'Bleſs 'them that curſe you; do good to them that hate 'you; and pray for them which deſpitefully uſe you, 'and perſecute you[b]:' urging them with a moſt ſenſible demonſtration, 'That,' ſaith he, 'you may be 'the children of your Father, which is in heaven; 'for he maketh the ſun to riſe upon the good and the

[b] Matt. v.

'evil,

'evil, and his rain to descend upon the just and the 'unjust.' He also taught his disciples to believe and rely upon God's Providence, from the care that he had over the least of his creatures: 'Therefore,' saith he, 'I say unto you, take no thought for your life, what 'you shall eat, and what you shall drink, nor yet for 'your body, what you shall put on: is not the life 'more than meat, and the body, than raiment? Be-'hold the fowls of the air; for they sow not, neither 'do they reap, nor gather into barns; yet your hea-'venly Father feedeth them; are you not much better 'than they? Which of you by taking thought, can 'add one cubit unto his stature? And why take you 'thought for raiment? Consider the lilies of the field, 'how they grow; they toil not, neither do they spin: 'and yet I say unto you, that even Solomon in all his 'glory was not arrayed like one of these. Wherefore, 'if God so clotheth the grass of the field, which to-day 'is, and to-morrow is cast into the oven, shall he not 'much more clothe you? O ye of little faith? There-'fore take no thought, saying, What shall we eat, or 'what shall we drink, or wherewithal shall we be 'clothed? (for after all those things do the Gentiles 'seek) for your heavenly Father knoweth that you 'have need of all these things. But seek you first the 'kingdom of God, and his righteousness, and all 'these things shall be added unto you. Take there-'fore no thought for to-morrow, for to-morrow shall 'take thought for the things of itself; sufficient is the 'day for the evil thereof[c].' Oh! how plain, how sweet, how full, yet how brief, are his blessed sentences! they thereby shew from whence they came, and that Divinity itself spoke them. What are laboured, what are forced and scattered in the best of other writers, and not all neither, are here comprized after a natural, easy, and conspicuous manner. He sets nature above art, and trust above care. This is he that himself came poor into the world, and so lived in it: he

[c] Matt. vi.

lay in a manger, converſed with mechanicks; faſted much, retired often: and when he feaſted, it was with barley loaves and fiſh, dreſſed doubtleſs in an eaſy and homely manner. He was ſolitary in his life, in his death ignominious: 'The foxes had holes, the birds 'of the air had neſts, but the Son of Man had not a 'place whereon to lay his head.' He that made all things as God, had nothing as Man. Which hath this bleſſed inſtruction in it, that the meaneſt and pooreſt ſhould not be dejected, nor yet the richeſt and higheſt be exalted. In fine, having taught this doctrine, and lived as he ſpoke, he died to confirm it; and offered up himſelf a propitiation for the 'ſins of the whole 'world,' when no other ſacrifice could be found, that could atone for man with God: who, riſing above the power of death and the grave, hath led captivity captive, and is become the Firſt-born from the dead, and Lord of the living; and his Living people praiſe him, who is worthy for ever.

§. II. JOHN the Baptiſt, who was the fore-runner of Chriſt's appearance in the fleſh, did by his own abſtinence ſufficiently declare what ſort of perſon it was he came to prepare and beſpeak people to receive. For, though ſanctified in his mother's womb, and declared by Chriſt to be the greateſt of all prophets, yet his clothing was but a coarſe garment of camel's hair, and a leathern girdle, and his food only locuſts and wild honey: a life very natural, and of great ſimplicity. This was all the pomp and retinue, which the greateſt ambaſſador that ever came to the world was attended with, about the beſt of meſſages, to wit, 'Repent, for the king-'dom of God is at hand.' And, 'There is One com-'ing after me, whoſe ſhoes-latchet I am not worthy 'to unlooſe, who ſhall baptize you with fire, and with 'the Holy Ghoſt; and is the Lamb of God that taketh 'away the ſin of the world[d].' Did the fore-runner of the coming of God (for Emmanuel is God with men) appear without the ſtate, grandeur, and luxury of the

[d] Mark i. 7, 8.

world?

world? and shall those who pretend to receive the message, and that for glad-tidings too, and confess the Emmanuel, Christ Jesus, to be the Lord, live in the vanity and excess of the world, and care more for their fine clothes, delicate dishes, rich furniture, stately attendance, and pleasant diversion, than for the holy cross of Christ, and the blessed narrow way that leadeth to salvation? Be ashamed and repent!

§. III. PETER, ANDREW, PHILIP, and the rest of the holy apostles, were by calling, as well as doctrine, not a luxurious people; for they were made up of poor fishermen and mechanicks: for Christ called not his disciples out of higher ranks of men; nor had they ability, any more than will, to use the excesses herein reproved. You may conceive what their lives were, by what their Master's doctrine was; for they were the true scholars of his heavenly discipline. Peter thus speaks, and exhorteth the Christians of his time, 'Let not your adorning be that outward adorning of 'plaiting the hair, and the wearing of gold, and of 'putting on of apparel; but let it be the hidden man 'of the heart, in that which is not corruptible, even 'the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit, which is in 'the sight of God of great price; for after this manner 'in the old time, the holy women, who also trusted in 'God, adorned themselves. Wherefore gird up the 'loins of your minds, be sober, and hope to the end, 'as obedient children; not fashioning yourselves according to your former lusts, in your ignorance, but 'as he which hath called you is holy, so be you holy 'in all manner of conversation; and giving all diligence, add to your faith, virtue; to virtue, knowledge; and to knowledge, temperance; and to temperance, patience; and to patience, godliness; and 'to godliness, brotherly kindness; and to brotherly 'kindness, charity: for if these things be in you, and 'abound, they make you that you shall be neither 'barren nor unfruitful: for so an entrance shall be 'administered unto you abundantly, into the everlasting kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ:

'not rendering evil for evil, or railing for railing; but 'contrary-wise, blessing; knowing that you are there-'unto called, that ye should inherit a blessing: for 'even hereunto were ye called, before Christ also suf-'fered for us, leaving us an example, that we should 'follow his steps, who did no sin, neither was guile 'found in his mouth; who, when he was reviled, he 'reviled not again; when he suffered, he threatened not, 'but committed himself to him that judgeth righte-'ously[e].'

§. IV. PAUL, who was also an apostle, though, as he saith, 'born out of due time:' a man of great knowledge and learning, but 'I count it,' saith he, 'all 'loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ 'Jesus my Lord, for whom I have suffered the loss of 'all things, and do count them but dung, that I may 'win Christ. Brethren be followers of me, and mark 'them which walk so, as ye have us for an example: 'for many walk, of whom I have told you often, and 'now tell you, even weeping, that they are the ene-'mies of the cross of Christ, whose end is destruction; 'for their god is their belly, they glory in their shame, 'and they mind earthly things. For our conversation 'is in heaven; from whence we look also for our 'Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ[f]. In like manner also, 'I will that women adorn themselves in modest apparel, 'with shamefacedness and sobriety; not with broidered 'hair, or gold, or pearls, or costly array; but with 'good works, as becometh women professing godli-'ness[g]. Be followers of God, as dear children; and 'walk in love, as Christ also hath loved us: but for-'nication, and all uncleanness, and covetousness, let 'it not be once named amongst you, as becometh 'saints; neither filthiness, nor foolish talking, nor 'jesting, which are not convenient; but rather giving 'of thanks: for this ye know, that no whoremonger,

[e] 1 Pet. iii. 3, 4. 1 Pet. i. 13, 14, 15. 2 Pet. i. 5, 12. 1 Pet. iii. 9. ch. ii. 21, 22, 23. [f] Phil. iii. 8. [g] 1 Tim. ii. 9, 10.

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'unclean person, nor covetous man, who is an idolater, 'hath an inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of 'God. See then that you walk circumspectly, not as 'fools, but as wise, redeeming the time, because the 'days are evil. Wherefore be ye not unwise, but un-'derstanding what the will of the Lord is; and be not 'drunk with wine, wherein is excess, but be filled 'with the Spirit, speaking to yourselves in hymns and 'spiritual songs, singing, and making melody in your 'hearts to the Lord. Rejoice in the Lord always; 'and I say again, Rejoice. Let your moderation be 'known to all men, for the Lord is at hand. Be care-'ful for nothing; for we brought nothing into this 'world, and it is certain we can carry nothing out: 'and, having food and raiment, let us be therewith 'content; for godliness with contentment is great 'gain: but they that will be rich, fall into temptation, 'and a snare, and into many foolish and hurtful lusts, 'which drown men in perdition and destruction: for 'the love of money is the root of all evil; which 'whilst some coveted after, they have erred from the 'faith, and pierced themselves through with many sor-'rows. But thou, O man of God, flee these things, 'and follow after righteousness, godliness, faith, love, 'patience, meekness. Fight the good fight of faith, 'and lay hold on eternal life, whereunto thou art also 'called, and hast professed a good profession before 'many witnesses. I give thee charge in the sight of 'God, who quickeneth all things, and before Christ 'Jesus, who before Pontius Pilate witnessed a good 'confession, that thou keep this commandment with-'out spot, unrebukeable, until the appearing of our 'Lord Jesus Christ. Charge them that are rich in this 'world, that they be not high-minded, nor trust in un-'certain riches, but in the living God, who giveth us 'richly all things to enjoy; that they do good, that 'they be rich in good works, ready to distribute, wil-'ling to communicate, laying up in store for them-'selves a good foundation against the time to come, 'that they may lay hold on eternal life. O Timothy,

'keep that which is committed to thy truſt, avoiding 'profane and vain babblings, and oppoſitions of ſcience, 'falſly ſo called, which ſome profeſſing, have erred 'concerning the faith. Grace be with thee, Amen[h].' This was the bleſſed doctrine theſe meſſengers of eternal life declared; and, which is more, they lived as they ſpoke. You find an account of their reception in the world, and the way of their living, in his firſt epiſtle to the Corinthians; 'For I think,' ſaith he, 'that God 'hath ſet forth us (the apoſtles) laſt, as it were men ap-'pointed to death; for we are made a ſpectacle to the 'world, to angels, and to men. We are fools for 'Chriſt's ſake; we are weak, we are deſpiſed: even 'unto this preſent hour we both hunger and thirſt, 'and have no certain dwelling-place; and labour, 'working with our hands: being reviled, we bleſs; 'being perſecuted, we ſuffer it; being defamed, we 'entreat. We are made as the filth of the world, and 'are as the off-ſcouring of all things unto this day[i].' This was the entertainment thoſe faithful followers of Jeſus received at the hands of an ungrateful world: but he who tells us of this, alſo tells us it is no unuſual thing; 'For,' ſaith he, 'ſuch as will live godly 'in Chriſt Jeſus, muſt ſuffer perſecution.' Beſides, he knew it had been the portion of the righteous in preceding ages, as in his excellent account of the faith, trials, and victory of the holy ancients, in his epiſtle to the Hebrews, he does largely expreſs, where he tells us, how great a ſojourner Abraham was, even in the land of promiſe, a ſtranger in his own country, (for God had given it unto him and his poſterity) 'Dwelling,' ſaith he, 'in tents with Iſaac and Jacob[k].' And why not better ſettled? Was it for want of underſtanding, or ability, or materials? No, he gives a better reaſon; 'For,' ſaith he, 'Abraham looked for a city which 'had foundations, whoſe builder and maker is God.' And ſpeaking of Moſes, he tells us, 'That by faith, 'when he was come to years of diſcretion, he refuſed

[h] Epheſ. v. [i] 1 Cor. iv. [k] 1 Cor. xi.

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'to be called the ſon of Pharaoh's daughter, chuſing 'rather to ſuffer affliction with the people of God, 'than to enjoy the pleaſures of ſin for a ſeaſon, eſteeming the reproach of Chriſt greater riches than 'the treaſures of Egypt; for he had reſpect unto 'the recompence of reward, nor feared he the wrath of 'the king, for he endured, ſeeing him who is inviſible.' He adds, 'And others had trials of cruel mockings 'and ſcourgings; yea, moreover, of bonds and imprisonments: they were ſtoned, they were ſawed 'aſunder, were tempted, were ſlain with a ſword; 'they wandered about in ſheep-ſkins and goat-ſkins, 'being deſtitute, afflicted, tormented, of whom the 'world was not worthy. They wandered in deſarts, 'and in mountains, and in dens, and caves of the 'earth; and theſe all have obtained a good report.' Methinks this ſhould a little abate the intemperance of profeſſed Chriſtians, I do not bid them be thus miſerable, but I would not have them make themſelves ſo hereafter; for this afflicted life hath joys tranſcending the utmoſt pleaſure that ſin can give, and in the end it will be found that it were better to be a poor pilgrim, than a citizen of the world. Nor was this only the life and inſtruction of apoſtolical teachers; the ſame plainneſs and ſimplicity of life was alſo followed by the firſt Chriſtians.

§. V. The Primitive Chriſtians, Ouzelius, in his Animadverſions on Minutius Felix, ſaith, were reproached by the Gentiles, for their ill-breeding, rude and unpoliſhed language, unfaſhionable behaviour, as a people that knew not how to carry themſelves in their addreſſes and ſalutations, calling them ruſticks and clowns, which the Chriſtians eaſily bore, valuing their profeſſion the more for its nonconformity to the world; wherefore it was uſual with them, by way of irony and contempt, to call the Gentiles, the well-bred, the eloquent, and the learned. This he proves by ample teſtimonies out of Arnobius, Lactantius, Iſiodorus, Peluſiota, Theodoret, and others. Which may inſtruct us, that the Chriſtian's behaviour was not regu-

lated by the customs of the country they lived in, as is usually objected against our singularity: no, they refused the embellishment of art, and would not wear the furniture of her invention; but as they were singular in their religion, so in the way of their conversation among men*.

§. VI. Clemens Romanus (if author of the Constitutions that go under his name) hath this among the rest: 'Abstain from the vain books of the Gentiles. What 'have you to do with vain and unprofitable discourses, 'which only serve to seduce weak persons †?' This Clement is remembered by Paul in one of his epistles; who in this exactly follows his advice to Timothy, about vain questions, doubtful disputes, and opposition of science[l]. Let us see how this moderation and purity of manners continued.

§. VII. Machiavel (no mean author) in his Disputations assures us, 'That the first promoters of Christianity were so diligent in rooting out the vanities and superstitions of the Gentiles, that they commanded all such poets and historians, which commended any thing of the Gentile conversation, or worship, to be burned‖. But that zeal is evidently extinguished, and those follies revived among the professors of the religion of Jesus.

§. VIII. Tertullian, Chrysostom, Theophylact, Gregory Nazianzene ‡, upon these words of Christ, 'But I say unto you, that every idle word that men 'shall speak, they shall give an account thereof in the 'day of judgment[m],' thus reflect upon vain discourse; 'The words mean (saith Tertullian) of all vain and 'superfluous speech, more talk than is necessary:' Says Chrysostom, 'Of such words as are not convenient, 'nor profitable, but move immodesty.' Says Theophylact, 'Of all lies, calumnies, all inordinate and ridiculous speeches.' Says Gregory, 'Such words

* Animad. in Min. Fel. p. 25. † Constit. Clem. Rom. l. 1. c. 2. [l] Phil. iv. 3. ‖ Mach. Dis. l. 2. c. 5. ‡ Tert. lib. de Patien. Chrysost. [m] Mat. xii. 36.

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'men ſhall account for, which want that profit ever 'redounding from modeſt diſcourſes, and that are 'ſeldom uttered from any preceding neceſſity or cauſe; 'things frivolous, fables, old wives tales.' All which ſufficiently reprehend the plays, poetry, and romances of the times, of great folly, vanity and ſin.

§. IX. GREGORY, and this a father of the church, a very extraordinary man, was ſo zealous for the ſimplicity and purity of the mind, language, and lives of the Chriſtians of his time, that he ſuppreſſed ſeveral Greek authors, as Menander, Diphilus, Apollodorus, Philemon, Alexis, Sappho, and others, which were the recreations of the vain Gentiles: Thus Cardan. Hear his judgment of fine clothes (none of the leaſt part of the luxury and vanity of the age) 'There be ſome,' ſaith he, 'of opinion that the wearing of precious and 'ſumptuous apparel is no ſin; which, if it were no 'fault, the Divine Word would never have ſo punc-'tually expreſſed, nor hiſtorically related, how the 'rich man, that was tormented in hell, was clothed 'in purple and ſilk: whence we may note, that, touch-'ing the matter or ſubject of attire, human curioſity 'availeth highly. The firſt ſubſtance of our garments 'was very mean, to wit, ſkins with wool; whence it is 'we read, God made Adam and his wife coats of ſkins; 'that is, ſkins of dead beaſts. Afterwards (to ſee 'the growing pride and vanity of men and women) 'they come to pure wool, becauſe lighter; after that 'to flax; then to dung and ordure of worms, to wit, 'ſilk; laſtly, to gold and ſilver, and precious ſtones; 'which exceſs of apparel highly diſpleaſed God: for 'inſtance whereof, (which the very Pagans themſelves 'obſerved) we read, that the very firſt among the 'Romans that ever wore purple was ſtruck with a 'thunder-bolt, and ſo died ſuddenly, for a terror to 'all ſucceeding times, that none ſhould attempt to live 'proudly, in precious attire.' This was the ſenſe of Gregory Nazianzene, that ancient Chriſtian writer, who wore commonly a poor coat, like to a frock; ſo did

did Juſtin Martyr, Jerom, and Auſtin, as their beſt robe.

§. X. JEROM, (a famous man, alſo ſtiled a father of the church) above all others ſeems poſitive in this matter, in an epiſtle he wrote to a noble virgin, called Demetias, in which he exhorted her, That after ſhe had ended her devotion, ſhe ſhould take in hand wool and weaving, after the commendable example of Dorcas; that by ſuch changing and variety of works, the day might ſeem leſs tedious, and the attempts of Satan leſs grievous; concluding his religious exhortation with this poſitive ſentence: (ſaith he) 'I ſpeak generally; No raiment or habit whatſoever ſhall ſeem precious in Chriſt's ſight, but that which thou makeſt thyſelf; either for thy own particular uſe, or example of other virgins, or to give unto thy grandmother or mother: no, though otherwiſe thou didſt diſtribute thy goods to the poor[n].' Let but this ſtrictneſs be conſidered, and compared with the apparel and converſation of the age: for, however Phariſee-like they otherwiſe ſaint him, and call him an Holy Father, ſure it is, they reject his counſel.

§. XI. HILARY, biſhop of Poictiers, a father of the church, and famous for his writings againſt the Arians, having travelled into Syria, was informed, that Abra, his only daughter, whom he left with her mother, was by the greateſt lords of the country ſolicited in marriage; being a young woman well-bred, fair, and rich, and in the prime of her age. He wrote to her, earneſtly preſſing her, By no means to fix her affections upon the pleaſure, greatneſs, or advantage that might be preſented to her; for in his voyage he had found a greater and worthier match, an huſband of far more power and magnificence, who would endow her with robes and jewels of an ineſtimable value. This he did to take off her deſires from the world, that he might wed her unto God: and it was his fervent and frequent prayer, which in ſome ſenſe was anſwered; for ſhe lived

[n] Acts ix. 36, 39.

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religiouſly, and died a virgin: Which ſhewed great nobility of mind, that taught his daughter to tread upon the mountains of worldly glory; and it was not leſs honourable in her, that ſo readily yielded to the excellent counſel of her pious father.

§. XII. Ambrose, another father, who was lieutenant of the province and city of Milan, and upon his diſcrete appeaſing of the multitude, diſordered upon ſome difference amongſt them about electing a biſhop, was by their uniform conſent choſen himſelf: although this perſon, of all others, might have been thought to plead for the accuſtomed recreations, eſpecially not having been long a Chriſtian (for he was a Catechumeniſt, or one but lately inſtructed) at the time of his being elected; yet doth he in ſo many words determine the matter thus: 'Plays ought not to be known by 'Chriſtians:' then not made, heard, and defended by Chriſtians; or they muſt be none that do ſo.

§. XIII. Augustine, more famous for his many books, and knowledge in church affairs, whoſe ſentences are oracles with ſome, gives this as his opinion of plays, and the like recreations, 'That they were more 'pernicious and abominable, than thoſe idolatrous ſa'crifices, which were offered in honour of their Pagan 'gods*. Doubtleſs he thought the one not ſo offenſive to reaſon, and the impreſſions Divinity hath made on every underſtanding, as the other were very pleaſant to the ſenſes, and therefore apt to ſteal away the mind from better things. For it was his maxim 'That every thing a man doth, is either an hindrance 'or furtherance to good ‡.' This would be eſteemed intolerable doctrine in a poor Quaker; yet will the poor Quakers rejoice, if it be eſteemed and followed, as good doctrine in Auguſtine.

§. XIV. The Council of Carthage, though times began to look ſomewhat miſtier, and the purity and ſpirituality of religion to be much declined by the profeſſors of Chriſtianity; yet there was ſo much zeal

* Auguſt. de civit. Dei, l. 2. c. 7. ‡ De ira Dei, l. 2. c. 7.

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left against the worst part of Heathenism, that I find an express Canon against the reading of vain books and comedies of the Gentiles, lest the minds of the people should be defiled by them. But this age either hath no such canon, or executeth it not, to the shame of their profession.

§. XV. CARDAN more particularly relateth, how even Gregory the Great was so zealous of preserving purity of manners among Christians (who lived almost two hundred years after the Carthaginian council) that he caused many Latin authors to be burned, as vain and lascivious; as Cæcilianus, Affranius, Nævius, Licinus, Zennius, Attilius, Victor, Livy's Dialogues: Nor did Plautus, Martial, and Terence (so much in request, both in the schools and academies of the land) escape their honest zeal, although the multitude of copies so far frustrated their good intentions, as that they are multiplied of late *.

§. XVI. GRATIAN also had such like passages as these, 'We see that the priests of the Lord, neglecting the 'gospel and the prophets, read comedies or play-'books, and sing love-verses, and read Virgil (a book 'in which are yet some good expressions) ||.' Strange! that these things should have been so severely censured of old, and that persons whose names are had in so much reverence, should repute these their censures the construction of Christ's precepts, and the natural consequences of the Christian doctrine; and yet that they should be so far neglected of this age, as not to be judged worthy an imitation. But pray let us hear what doctrine the Waldenses teach in this affair.

§. XVII. PETRUS BELLONIUS, that great and inquisitive traveller, when he came to Mount Athos, where there live in several monasteries six thousand Coloeri, or religious persons (so called), he did not so much as find there (no, nor in all Greece) one man acquainted with the conversation of those parts; for though they had

* Cardan. de Sapient. l. 2. || Jac. Laurentio de lib. Gentil. p. 40, 41.

several

ſeveral manuſcripts of divinity in their libraries, yet not one poet or hiſtorian; for the rulers of that church were ſuch enemies to that ſort of learning, that they anathematized all ſuch prieſts and religious perſons, as ſhould read or tranſcribe any books but what treated of religion: and perſuaded all others, that it was not lawful for a Chriſtian to ſtudy poeſy, &c. though nothing is more grateful in theſe days. Zeno was of the ſame opinion againſt poetry *.

§. XVIII. WALDENSES, were a people ſo called, from one Peter Waldo, a citizen of Lyons, in France, in the year 1160, that inhabited Piedmont, elſewhere called Albigenſes, from the country of Albia; Lollards in England, from one Reynard Lollard, who ſome time after came into theſe parts, and preached boldly againſt the idolatries, ſuperſtitions, and vain converſation of the inhabitants of this iſland. They had many other names, as Arnoldiſts, Eſperoniſts, Henricians, Siccars, Inſabaches, Patarenians, Turlupins, Lyoniſts, Fraticelli, Huſſites, Bohemians (ſtill the ſame); but finally, by their enemies, Damnable Hereticks, though by the Proteſtants, The true Church of Chriſt. And, to omit many teſtimonies, I will only inſtance in biſhop Uſher, who in his diſcourſe of the ſucceſſion of the Chriſtian church, defends them not only as true reformers, but makes the ſucceſſion of the Proteſtant church to be mainly evincible from their antiquity. I ſhall forbear all the circumſtances and principles they held, or in which he ſtrongly defends them againſt the cruelty and ignorance of their adverſaries, particularly Rainerius, Rubis Capetaneis, &c. ‡ only what they held concerning our preſent ſubject of Apparel and Recreations, I cannot be ſo injurious to the truth, their ſelf-denial, the good of others, at whoſe reformation I aim, and my own diſcourſe, as to omit it. And therefore I ſhall

* Pet. Bell. obſer. l. 1. c. 35. ibid. c. 40. cap. 39. ‡ XII. Cap. Hiſt. de orig. Walden. Vignia Hiſt. Bibl. p. 130. Dubran. Hiſt. Bohem. 14. Thuan. in Hiſt. ſui temp. p. 458. Mat. Paris. Hiſt. of Engl. An. 1174. Bellar. tom. 2. lib. 1. cap. 26. co. 86. Ecchius, com. loc. c. 28. Alp. l. 6. Con. Hieret. p. 99.

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proceed to alledge their faith and practice in these matters, however esteemed but of a trifling importance, by the loose, wanton, and carnal-minded of this generation, whose feeling is lost by the enjoyment of their inordinate desires, and that think it an high state of Christianity to be no better than the beasts that perish, namely, in not being excessive in Newgate and mere kennel-enormities. That these ancient reformers had another sense of these things, and that they made the conversation of the gospel of a Crucified Jesus to intend and require another sort of life, than what is used by almost all those who account themselves members of his church, I shall shew out of their own doctrines, as found in their most authentic histories.

§. XIX. To be brief: in their Exposition upon the Lord's Prayer, that part of it which speaks thus, 'Give 'us this day our daily bread;' where, next to that spiritual bread, (which they make it the duty of all to seek more than life) they come positively to deny the praying for more than is requisite for outward necessities, or that it is lawful to use more; condemning all superfluity and excess, out of fashion, pride, or wantonness, not only of bread, but all outward things, which they judge to be thereby comprehended; using Ezekiel's words, 'That fulness of bread, and abun-'dance of idleness, was the cause of the wickedness and 'the abominations of Sodom, for which God by fire 'destroyed them off the earth*.' Whereupon they conclude, with an ancient father of the primitive church, after this manner, "That costly apparel, superfluity in diet, (as three dishes, when one will serve) play, idleness and sleep, fatten the body, nourish luxury, weaken the spirit, and lead the soul unto death: But (say they) a spare diet, labour, short sleep, plain and mean garments, help to purify the soul, tame the body, mortify the lusts of the flesh, and comfort the spirit." So severe were they, that in that chapter Of the instruc-

* Jo. Paul. Per. Hist. Wald. in cat. l. 1. c. 3. p. 37, 31. Dona nos le nostre pan quotidian. en. choi. Memor. Morrel. Vign. Mem. f. 7. Ezek. xvi. 45. Thesaur. fed. Ap. Wald.

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tions of their children, they would not suffer them to converse with those of strange places or principles, whose conversation was gaming, plays, and the like wanton recreations; but especially concerning young women. "A man (say they) must have a great care of his daughter: hast thou daughters? keep them within to wholsome things; see they wander not; for Dinah, Jacob's daughter, was corrupted, by being seen of strangers *." They affirm no better to be the general event of such conversation.

To which I shall add their judgment and practice concerning taverns, public houses for treats and pleasures, with which the land swarms in our days.

§. XX. "A tavern is the fountain of sin, the school of the Devil; it works wonders fitting the place: it is the custom of God to shew his power in his church, and to work miracles; that is to say, to give sight to the spiritually blind, to make the lame to leap, the dumb to sing, the deaf to hear: but the Devil doth quite the contrary to all these in taverns, and the like places of pleasure. For when the drunkard goes to the tavern, he goes upright; but when he comes forth, he cannot go at all; he has lost his sight, speech, and hearing too. The lectures that are read in this school of the Devil (say these poor Waldenses, and first reformers) are gluttonies, oaths, perjuries, lyings, blasphemies, flatteries, and divers other wicked villanies and pernicious effects, by which the heart is withdrawn farther and farther from God ‡. And, as the book of Ecclesiasticus saith, 'The taverner shall not be freed 'from sin.'

But above other recreations, do but seriously observe, of what danger and ill consequence these first reformers thought Dancing, Music, and the like pastimes to be, which are the greatest divertisements of the times, viz.

* Ibid. l. 2. c. 3. Lifilli sign. naisson ali patrons carnals. de non esser rendus. &c. ‡ Ibid. l. 2. c. 3. La taverna de maisons de pleisirs es fortuna de pecca Eschola del Diavola, &c.

§. XXI. "Danc-

§. XXI. "Dancing is the Devil's proceſſion, and he that enters into a dance, entereth into his proceſſion; the Devil is the guide, the middle, and the end of the dance; as many paces as a man maketh in dancing, ſo many paces doth he make to go to hell. A man ſinneth in dancing divers ways, for all his ſteps are numbered; in his touch, in his ornaments, in his hearing, ſight, ſpeech, and other vanities. And therefore we will prove, firſt by the ſcripture, and afterwards by divers other reaſons, how wicked a thing it is to dance. The firſt teſtimony that we will produce, is that which we read in the goſpel, where it is ſaid, it pleaſed Herod ſo well, that it coſt John Baptiſt his life. The ſecond is in Exodus, when Moſes coming near to the congregation, ſaw the calf, he caſt the tables from him, and broke them at the foot of the mountain; and afterwards it coſt three thouſand of their lives. Beſides, the ornaments which women wear in their dances are as crowns for many victories, which the Devil hath got againſt the children of God; for the Devil hath not only one ſword in the dance, but as many as there are beautiful and well-adorned perſons in the dance; for the words of a woman are a glittering ſword. And therefore that place is much to be feared, wherein the enemy hath ſo many ſwords, ſince that only one ſword of his may be juſtly feared." Again, "The Devil in this place ſtrikes with a ſharpened ſword; for the women (who make it acceptable) come not willingly to the dance, if they be not painted and adorned; which (painting and ornament) is as a whetſtone, on which the Devil ſharpeneth his ſword.—They that deck and adorn their daughters, are like thoſe that put dry wood to the fire, to the end it may burn the better: for ſuch women kindle the fire of luxury in the hearts of men. As Sampſon's foxes fired the Philiſtines corn; ſo theſe women, they have fire in their faces, and in their geſtures and actions, their glances and wanton words, by which they conſume the goods of men." They proceed, "The Devil in the dance uſeth the ſtrongeſt armour that he hath; for his moſt powerful arms

arms are women: which is made plain unto us, in that the Devil made choice of the woman to deceive the first man: so did Balaam, that the children of Israel might be rejected of God. By a woman he made Sampson, David, and Absalom to sin. The Devil tempteth men by women three manner of ways; that is, by the touch, by the eye, by the ear; by these three means he tempteth foolish men to dancing, by touching their hands, beholding their beauty, hearing their songs and music."—Again, "They that dance break that promise and agreement they made with God in baptism, when their godfathers promise for them, That they shall renounce the Devil and all his pomp: for dancing is the pomp of the Devil; and he that danceth, maintaineth his pomp, and singeth his mass. For the woman that singeth in the dance, is the prioress (or chiefest) of the Devil, and those that answer are the clerks, and the beholders are the parishioners, and the music are the bells, and the fiddlers the ministers of the Devil. For, as when hogs are strayed, if the hog-herd call one, all assemble themselves together; so the Devil causeth one woman to sing in the dance, or to play on some instrument, and presently gather all the dancers together." Again, "In a dance, a man breaks the Ten Commandments of God: as first, 'Thou shalt have no other gods but me,' &c. for in dancing a man serves that person whom he most desires to serve, (after whom goes his heart)*: and therefore Jerom saith, 'Every man's God is that he serves and loves best (and that he loves best, which his thoughts wander and gad most after).' He sins against the Second commandment, when he makes an idol of that he loves. Against the Third; in that oaths, and frivolously using God's name, are frequently amongst dancers. Against the Fourth; for that by dancing the sabbath-day is profaned. Against the Fifth; for

* La Bales la profef. del Diavol. & qui intra an la Bal. &c. Sp. Alm. fol. 50, 51, 52, 53, 54. Job. xiv. 16. Ps. xxxvii. 23. Prov. xvi. 9. Jer. x. 23. Mark vi. 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28. Exod. xxxii. 4, 5, 6, 7.

in the dance parents are many times dishonoured, since thereby many bargains are made without their counsel. Against the Sixth; a man kills in dancing; for every one that sets about to please another, he kills the soul as oft as he persuades unto lust. Against the Seventh; for the party that danceth, be it male or female, committeth adultery with the party they lust after; 'for 'he that looketh on a woman to lust after her, hath 'already committed adultery with her in his heart.' Against the Eighth: a man sins in dancing, when he withdraweth the heart of another from God. Against the Ninth, when in dancing he speaks falsly against the truth, (and for some little honour, or secret lascivious end, denies what is true, or affirms what is false.) Against the Tenth, when women affect the ornaments of others, and men covet the wives, daughters, and servants of their neighbours (which undeniably attends all such plays and sports.)" Again, "A man may prove how great an evil dancing is, by the multitude of sins that accompany those that dance, for they dance without measure or number: and therefore, saith Augustine, the miserable dancer knows not, that as many paces as he makes in dancing, so many leaps he makes to hell*. They sin in their ornaments after a five-fold manner: First, by being proud thereof. Secondly, by inflaming the hearts of those that behold them. Thirdly, when they make those ashamed, that have not the like ornaments, giving them to covet the like. Fourthly, by making women importunate in demanding the like ornaments of their husbands: and, Fifthly, when they cannot obtain them of their husbands, they seek to get them elsewhere by sin. They sin by singing and playing on instruments; for their songs bewitch the hearts of those that hear them with temporal delight, forgetting God; uttering nothing in their songs but lies and vanities; and the very motion of the body, which is used in dancing, gives testimony enough of evil.—Thus you see, that danc-

* Jerom. in dec. int. oper.

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ing is the Devil's proceſſion, and he that enters into a dance enters into the Devil's proceſſion. Of dancing, the Devil is the guide, the middle, and the end; and he that entereth a good and wiſe man into the dance (if it can be that ſuch a one is either good or wiſe) cometh forth a corrupt and a wicked man: Sarah, that holy woman, was none of theſe*." Behold the apprehenſions of thoſe good old reformers, touching thoſe things that are ſo much in practice and reputation in theſe times, with ſuch as profeſs their religion; thus far verbatim. But I cannot leave off here till I have yet added the concluſion of their Catechiſm and Direction, with ſome paſſages out of one of their paſtors letters, fit to the preſent occaſion.

They conclude with this direction; namely, How to rule their bodies, and live in this world, as becomes the children of God. Not to ſerve the mortal deſires of the fleſh. To keep their members, that they be not arms of iniquity (and vanity). To rule their outward ſenſes. To ſubject the body to the ſoul. To mortify their members. To fly idleneſs. To obſerve a ſobriety and meaſure in eating and drinking, in their words and cares of this life. To do works of mercy. To live a moral (or juſt) life by faith. To fight againſt the deſires. To mortify the works of the fleſh. To give themſelves to the exerciſe of religion. To confer together touching the will of God. To examine diligently the conſcience. To purge, and amend, and pacify the ſpirit ‡.

To which I ſhall add the epiſtle of one of their paſtors, as I find it recorded amongſt other matters relating to theſe poor afflicted people.

* Auguſt. de Civit. Dei. ‡ Ibid. l. ii. Concl. p. 68. Encaren qual manier. fidel. debian regir. li ler. corps. Non ſervali deſirier mort. &c.

§. XXII. An Epiſtle of Paſtor Bartholomew Tertian, written to the Waldenſian churches of the valley of Pragela, thus tranſlated.

JESUS BE WITH YOU.

" TO all our faithful and well-beloved brethren in Chriſt Jeſus, health and ſalvation be with you all, Amen. Theſe are to put you in remembrance, and to admoniſh you my brethren (hereby acquitting myſelf of that duty which I owe unto you all, in the behalf of God, principally touching the care of your ſouls ſalvation, according to that light of the truth which the moſt high God hath beſtowed on us) that it would pleaſe every one of you to maintain, increaſe and nouriſh, to the uttermoſt of your power, without diminution, thoſe good beginnings and examples, which have been left unto us by our fore-fathers, whereof we are no ways worthy. For it would little profit us to have been renewed by the fatherly viſitation, and the light which hath been given us of God, if we give ourſelves to worldly, carnal converſations, which are diabolical, abandoning the principle which is of God, and the ſalvation of our ſouls, for this ſhort and temporal life *. For the Lord ſaith, ' What doth it profit ' a man to gain the whole world, and to loſe his own ' ſoul?' For it would be better for us never to have known the way of righteouſneſs, than having known it to do the contrary. Let me therefore intreat you, by the love of God, that you decreaſe not, or look back; but rather increaſe the charity, fear and obedience, which is due unto God, and to yourſelves, amongſt yourſelves; and ſtand faſt in all theſe good principles, which you have heard and underſtood of God by our means: and that you would remove from amongſt you all vain converſation and evil ſurmiſes, troubling the peace, the love, the concord, and whatſoever would indiſpoſe or deaden your minds to the ſervice of God,

* Hiſt. Wald. l. 4. c. 11. p. 55, 56, 57.

your

your own ſalvation, and the adminiſtration of the truth, if you deſire that God ſhould be merciful to you in your goods temporal and ſpiritual: For you can do nothing without him; and if you deſire to be heirs of his glory, do that which he commandeth: 'If you 'would enter into life, keep my commandments[e].'

Likewiſe be careful, that there be not nouriſhed among you, any ſports, gluttony, whoredom, dancings, nor any lewdneſs, or riot, nor queſtions, nor deceits, nor uſury, nor diſcords, nor ſupport or entertain any perſons of a wicked converſation, or that give any ſcandal or ill example amongſt you; but let charity and fidelity reign amongſt you, and all good example; doing one to another as every one deſires ſhould be done unto him; for otherwiſe it is impoſſible that any ſhould be ſaved, or can have the grace of God, or be good men in this world, or have glory in another. And therefore, if you hope and deſire to poſſeſs eternal life, to live in eſteem and credit, and to proſper in this world, in your goods temporal and ſpiritual, purge yourſelves from all diſorderly ways, to the end that God may be always with you, who forſakes not thoſe that truſt in him. But know this for certain, that God heareth not, nor dwelleth with ſinners, nor in the ſoul that is given unto wickedneſs, nor in the man that is ſubject to ſin. And therefore let every one cleanſe the ways of his heart, and fly the danger, if he would not periſh therein. I have no other thing at this preſent, but that you would put in practice theſe things; and the God of peace be with you all, and go along with us, and be preſent among us in our ſincere, humble, and fervent prayers; and that he will be pleaſed to ſave all thoſe his faithful, that truſt in Chriſt Jeſus.

Intirely yours, ready to do you ſervice in all things poſſible, according unto the will of God,

BARTHOLOMEW TERTIAN."

[e] Mat. xix. 17.

§. XXIII. Behold the life and doctrine, instruction and practice of the ancient Waldenses! how harmless, how plain, how laborious, how exceeding serious, and heavenly in their conversations! These were the men, women, aye, and children too, who, for above five hundred years, have valiantly, but passively, maintained a cruel war, at the expence of their own innocent blood, against the unheard-of cruelties and severities of several princes, nuncios and bishops; but above all, of certain cruel inquisitors, of whom their historians report, that they held it was a greater evil to conceal an heretick, than to be guilty of perjury; and for a clergyman to marry a wife, than to keep a whore. In short, to dissent, though, never so conscientiously, was worse than open immorality. It was against the like adversaries these poor Waldenses fought, by sufferings throughout the nations, by prisons, confiscations, banishments, wandering from hill to valley, from den to cave, being mocked, whipped, racked, thrown from rocks and towers, driven on mountains, and in one night thousands perished by excessive frosts and snows, smothered in caves, starved, imprisoned, ripped up, hanged, dismembered, rifled, plundered, strangled, broiled, roasted, burned; and whatsoever could be invented to ruin men, women, and children*. These Waldenses you Protestants pretend to be your ancestors; from them you say you have your religion; and often, like the Jews of the prophets, are you building their praises in your discourses: but oh! look back, I beseech you, how unlike are you to these afflicted pilgrims! What resemblance is there of their life in yours? Did they help to purchase and preserve you a liberty and religion (can you think) at the loss of all that was dear to them, that you might

* Bern. de Gir. lord de Hail. Hist. de la. Fr. l. 10. vesemb. Orat. in Wald. Beza Hist. hom. dig. virer. de ver. & falsa Rel. l. 4. c. 13. p. 249. Cat. Test. ve. 334. Vigin. Bib. Hist. p. 1. Vieaux Mem. fol. 6, 7. Mat. Par. in Hen. 3. An. 1220. Sigonius de Reg. Ital. l. 7.

pass

paſs away your days and years in pride, wantonneſs and vanity? What proportion bears your exceſs with their temperance? your gaudineſs with their plainneſs? your luxury and fleſh-pleaſing converſations, with their ſimplicity and ſelf-denial? But are you not got into that ſpirit and nature they condemned in their day? into that carnality and worldly-mindedneſs they reproved in their perſecutors? nay, into a ſtrain of perſecution too, whilſt you ſeem to hide all under a cloak of reformation? How can you hope to confute their perſecutors, whoſe worſt part perhaps was their cruelty, that turns perſecutors yourſelves? What have you, beſides their good words, that is like them? And do you think that words will fend off the blows of eternal vengeance? that a little by-rote-babble (though of never ſo good expreſſions in themſelves) ſhall ſerve your turn at the great day *? No, from God I tell you, that whilſt you live in the wantonneſs, pride, and luxury of the world, pleaſing and fulfilling the luſt of the eye, the luſt of the fleſh, and the pride of life, God deteſts you all, and laughs you and your worſhip to ſcorn [f]. Never tell me, I am too raſh, it is the Devil that ſays ſo: he has got two ſcriptures by the end in theſe days; one 'That there is none that doeth good;' and why? that he may perſuade all, it is impoſſible to overcome him; which is the reaſon ſo many are overcome: although glory is promiſed to none but conquerors. The ſecond, 'That we muſt not judge, 'leſt we be judged;' that is, whilſt we are guilty of the ſame things that are equivalent, leſt we are judged †. But away with Satan and his hypocriſy too: I know what I ſay, and from whom I ſpeak: once more I tell you all, whether you will hear or forbear, that unleſs you forſake your pride, luxury, avarice, and whole variety of vanities, and diligently mind the eternal Light of God in your hearts, to obey it, wrath will be

* Sernay, c. 47. Chef. l. 3. c. 7. [f] 1 John ii. 14, 15, 16, 17.
† The Devil a ſcripturian ſometimes.

your portion for ever. Truſt not your ſouls upon miſ-applied ſcriptures; 'He that is a child of God, muſt 'be holy, for God is holy, and none are his ſons and 'daughters, but thoſe who are adopted by the eternal 'Spirit, and led thereby[t].' It was an holy, plain, humble, divine life, theſe poor ſuffering Chriſtians both profeſſed and practiſed, refuſing to converſe with ſuch as lived in the ſuperfluities and exceſs of the world; for which, if you will believe their very adverſaries, they were perſecuted: for ſays Rainerius, (a great writer againſt them) "They uſe to teach, firſt, what the diſciples of Chriſt ought to be, and that none are his diſciples, but they that imitate his life: and that the popes, cardinals, &c. becauſe they live in luxury, pride, avarice, &c. are not the ſucceſſors of Chriſt; but themſelves only, in that they walk up to his commandments; thus (ſays he) they win upon the people." But if ſo, that none are Chriſtians but thoſe that imitate Chriſt, what will become of thoſe who call themſelves Chriſtians, and yet live at eaſe in the fleſh; not regarding the work of the holy croſs of Chriſt in their hearts, that crucifies them that bear it to the world, and the world to them? This was the true ground of their ſufferings, and their loud cries againſt the impieties of the greateſt; not ſparing any ranks, from the throne to the dunghill, as knowing their God was no reſpecter of perſons*. And now, if you would follow them indeed, if you would be Proteſtants in ſubſtance, and learn your enemies a way worth their changing, (for elſe better words go but a little way) if you would obtain the heavenly inheritance, and you would be eternally bleſſed, be ye perſuaded to forſake all the pride and the pomp of this vain world. O mind the concerns of an everlaſting reſt! Let the juſt and ſerious principle of God within you be the conſtant

[t] 1 Pet. i. 12, 13, 14. Rom. viii. 1 to 16. * Rain. cap. de ſtud. pervert. alios & modo dicendi. l. 98. Barron. Ecc. Annal. tom. 12. an. 1176. p. 835. Kranz. in Metrop. l. 8. ſect. 18. & in Sax. l. 8. cap. 16.

guide

guide and companion of your minds; and let your whole hearts be exercised thereby; that you may experience an entire reformation and change of affections, through the power of that Divine Leaven, which leavens the whole lump[h], viz. body, soul, and spirit, where it is received: to which and its work in man, our blessed Lord likened the kingdom of God, which he came to set up in the soul: that so having the joys and glory of another world in your view, you may give your best diligence to make your calling and election, to the possession of them, sure and certain; lest selling that noble inheritance for a poor mess of perishing pottage, you never enter into his eternal rest. And though this testimony may seem tedious, yet could it by no means be omitted.——To authorize our last reason, of converting superfluities into the relief of distressed persons, (although one would think it is so equal and sober, that it needs no other authority than its own, yet) I shall produce two testimonies, so remarkable, that as they ever were esteemed truly good, so they cannot be approved by any that refuse to do the same, without condemning themselves of great iniquity. O you are called with an high and holy call; as high as heaven, and as holy as God; for it is he that calls us to holiness, through Christ, who sent his Son to bless us, in turning us from the evil of our ways; and unless we are so turned, we can have no claim to the blessing that comes by Christ to men.

§. XXIV. It is reported of PAULINUS, bishop of Nola, in Italy; that instead of converting the demains of his diocese to particular enrichments, he employed it all in the redemption of poor slaves and prisoners; believing it unworthy of the Christian faith, to see God's creation labour under the want of what he had to spare*. All agree this was well done, but few agree to do the same.

§. XXV. But more particularly of ACACIUS, bishop of Amida, given us by Socrates Scholasticus, in this

[h] Mat. xiii. 33. * Ecc. Hist. p. 5. 393.

manner;

manner; "When the Roman soldiers purposed in no wise to restore again unto the king of Persia such captives as they had taken at the winning Azazena, being about seven thousand in number (to the great grief of the king of Persia) and all of them ready to starve for food; Acacius lamented their condition, and calling his clergy together, said thus unto them, Our God hath no need of Dishes or Cups, for he neither eateth nor drinketh; these are not his necessaries: wherefore seeing the church hath many precious Jewels, both of Gold and Silver, bestowed of the free will and liberality of the faithful, it is requisite that the captive soldiers should be therewith redeemed, and delivered out of prison and bondage; and they, perishing with famine, should therewith be refreshed and relieved. Thus he prevailed to have them all converted into money; some for their immediate refreshment, some for their redemption, and the rest for costage or provision, to defray the charges of their voyage *. Which noble act had such an universal influence, that it more famed the Christian religion amongst the Infidels, than all their disputes and battles: Insomuch that the king of Persia, and an Heathen, said, The Romans endeavour to win their adversaries both by wars and favours: and greatly desired to behold that man, whose religion taught so much charity to enemies; which, it is reported, Theodosius, the emperor, commanded Acacius to gratify him in." And if the apostle Paul's expression hath any force, 'That he is worse than an infidel, who provides not for his family[1];' how greatly doth this example aggravate your shame, that can behold such pity and compassion expressed to strangers, nay enemies, and those Infidels too, and be so negligent of your own family, (for England, aye, Christendom, in a sense, if not the World, is no more) as not only to see their great necessities unanswered, but that wherewith they should be satisfied, converted to gratify the lust

* Socrat. Scholast. l. 7. c. 21. [1] 1 Tim. v. 1.

of

of the eye, the luſt of the fleſh, and the pride of life. But however ſuch can pleaſe themſelves, in the deceitful daubing of their mercenary prieſts, and dream they are members of Jeſus Chriſt, it is certain that things were otherwiſe in the beginning; for then all was ſold and put into a common purſe, to ſupply indigencies: Not mattering earthly inheritances, farther than as they might in ſome ſenſe be ſubſervient to the great end for which they were given, namely, the good of the creation. Thus had the pureſt Chriſtians their minds and thoughts taken up with the better things, and raiſed with the aſſurance of a more excellent life and inheritance in the heavens, that will never paſs away[k]. And for any to flatter themſelves with being Chriſtians, whilſt ſo much exerciſed in the vanities, recreations, and cuſtoms of the world, as to this very day we ſee they are, is to mock the great God, and abuſe their immortal ſouls. The Chriſtian life is quite another thing.

And leſt that any ſhould object, "Many do great and ſeemingly good actions to raiſe their reputation only; and others only decry pleaſure, becauſe they have not wherewithal, or know not how, to take it;" I ſhall preſent them with ſerious ſayings of Aged and Dying men, and thoſe of the greateſt note and rank; whoſe experience could not be wanting to give the trueſt account how much their Honours, Riches, Pleaſures, and Recreations conduced to their ſatisfaction, upon a juſt reckoning, as well before their extreme moments, as upon their dying beds, when Death, that hard paſſage into eternity, looked them in the face.

[k] Acts iv. 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXI.

Serious Dying, as well as Living, TESTIMONIES.

§. 1. Solomon. §. 2. Chilon. §. 3. Ignatius. §. 4. Justin Martyr. §. 5. Chrysostom. §. 6. Charles V. §. 7. Michael de Montaigne. §. 8. Cardinal Wolsey. §. 9. Sir Philip Sidney. §. 10. Secretary Walsingham. §. 11. Sir John Mason. §. 12. Sir Walter Raleigh. §. 13. H. Wotton. §. 14. Sir Christopher Hatton. §. 15. Lord chancellor Bacon. §. 16. The great duke of Momerancy. §. 17. Henry prince of Wales. §. 18. Philip III. king of Spain. §. 19. Count Gondamor. §. 20. Cardinal Richlieu. §. 21. Cardinal Mazarine. §. 22. Chancellor Oxcistern. §. 23. Dr. Dun. §. 24. Jo. Selden. §. 25. H. Grotius. §. 26. P. Salmasius. §. 27. Fran. Junius. §. 28. A. Rivetus. §. 29. The late earl of Marlborough. §. 30. Sir Henry Vane. §. 31. Abraham Cowley. §. 32. Late earl of Rochester. §. 33. One of the family of Howard. §. 34. Princess Elizabeth of the Rhine. §. 35. Commissioner Whitlock. §. 36. A sister of the family of Penn. §. 37. My own father. §. 38. Anthony Lowther of Mask. §. 39. Seigneur du Renti.

III. The serious Apprehensions and Expressions of several Aged and Dying Men of Fame and Learning.

§. I. SOLOMON, than whom none is believed to have more delighted himself in the enjoyments of the world, at least better to have understood them; hear what he says, after all his experience; 'I 'said in my heart, Go to now; I will prove thee with 'Mirth; therefore enjoy Pleasure: And behold, this 'also is Vanity. I said of Laughter, It is mad; and 'of Mirth, What doth it? I made me great Works, 'builded Houses, planted Vineyards, made Gardens 'and Orchards, planted trees in them of all kind of 'fruit: I got me Servants and Maidens; also great 'posses-

'possessions; I gathered me Silver and Gold, and the 'peculiar treasures of Kings and Provinces; also Men 'and Women Singers, and the delights of the sons of 'men; as Musical Instruments, and that of all sorts: 'So I was great, and increased more than all that were 'before me in Jerusalem; and whatsoever mine eyes 'desired, I kept not from them; I with-held not mine 'heart from any joy. Then I looked on all the works 'which my hands had wrought, and behold, All was 'Vanity and Vexation of Spirit[1].' The reason he gives in the 18th and 19th verses is, that the time of enjoying them was very short, and it was uncertain who should be benefitted by them when he was gone. Wherefore he concludes all with this; 'Fear God, and keep his 'commandments, for this is the whole duty of man: 'For God shall bring every work into judgment, whe-'ther it be good, or whether it be evil.' O that men would lay this to heart!

§. II. Chilon (one of the seven wise men of Greece, already mentioned upon another occasion,) affords us a dying testimony of great example: It is related thus by Agellius: When his life drew towards an end, ready to be seized by death, he spoke thus to his friends about him: 'My words and actions, in this long term of 'years, have been (almost all) such as I need not re-'pent of; which, perhaps, you also know. Truly, 'even at this time I am certain,' "I never committed "any thing, the remembrance of which begets any "trouble in me," 'unless this one thing only; which, 'whether it were done amiss, or not, I am uncertain. 'I sat with two others, as judge, upon the life of my 'Friend; the law was such, as the person must of ne-'cessity be condemned; so that either my Friend must 'lose his life, or some deceit be used towards the Law. 'Revolving many things in my mind, for relief of a 'condition so desperate, I conceived that which I put 'in practice to be of all other the most easy to be 'borne: Silently I condemned him, and persuaded

[1] Eccl. ii. 1 to 11.

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'grieving at any worldly matter, I am prepared to 'dislodge, whensoever he shall please to call me. I 'am every where free: My farewell is soon taken of 'all my friends, except of myself. No man did ever 'prepare himself to quit the world more simply and 'fully, or more generally lay aside all thoughts of it, 'than I am fully assured I shall do. All the glory I 'pretend in my life, is, that I have lived Quietly: 'Quietly, not according to Metrodorus, Arcesilaus, 'or Aristippus; but according to Myself. Since phi-'losophy could never find any way for tranquillity, 'that might be generally good;' "Let every man in "his own particular seek for it." 'Let us not propose 'so fleeting and so wavering an end unto ourselves, as 'the World's Glory: Let us constantly follow Reason: 'And let the Vulgar Approbation follow us that way, 'if it please. I care not so much what I am with 'others, as I respect what I am IN MYSELF: I will be 'rich in myself, and not by borrowing. Strangers see 'but external appearances and events: Every man can 'set a good face upon the matter, when within he is 'full of care, grief and infirmities: They see not my 'heart, when they look upon my outward counte-'nance.—We are nought but Ceremony; Ceremony 'doth transport us, and we leave the Substance of things: We hold fast by the boughs, and leave the 'trunk or body, the Substance of things, behind us.'

§. VIII. CARDINAL WOLSEY, the most absolute and wealthy minister of state this kingdom ever had, that in his time seemed to govern Europe as well as England, when come to the period of his life, left the world with this close reflection upon himself; 'Had I been as dili-'gent to serve my God, as I was to please my king, 'he would not have left me now in my grey hairs.' A dismal reflection for all worldly-minded men; but those more especially who have the power and means of doing more good than ordinary in the world, and do it not; which seems to have been the case and reflection of this great man.

§. IX. Sir

§. IX. Sir PHILIP SIDNEY (a subject indeed of England; but, they say, chosen king of Poland; whom queen Elizabeth called HER PHILIP; the prince of Orange, HIS MASTER; whose friendship the lord Brooks was so proud of, that he would have it part of his epitaph, "Here lies Sir Philip Sidney's friend:" Whose death was lamented in verse by the then kings of France and Scotland, and the two universities of England) repented so much at his death of that witty vanity of his life, his Arcadia, that to prevent the unlawful kindling of heats in others, he would have committed it to the flames himself; and left this farewel amongst his friends, 'Love my memory; cherish my friends; their 'faith to me may assure you that they are honest: But 'above all, govern your will and affections by the 'Will and Word of your Creator. In me behold 'the End of this World, and all its Vanities.' And indeed he was not much out in saying so, since in him was to be seen the end of all natural parts, acquired learning, and civil accomplishments. His farewel seems spoken without terror, with a clear sense, and an equal judgment.

§. X. Secretary WALSINGHAM, an extraordinary man in queen Elizabeth's time, towards the conclusion of his days, in a letter to his fellow-secretary, Burleigh, then lord treasurer of England, writes thus; 'We have lived enough to our Country, our Fortunes, our Sovereign: It is high time we begin to live to Ourselves, and to our God.' Which giving occasion for some court-droll to visit, and try to divert him; 'Ah! '(saith he) 'while we Laugh, all things are serious 'round about us; God is serious, when he preserveth 'us; and hath patience towards us; Christ is serious, 'when he dieth for us; the Holy Ghost is serious, 'when he striveth with us; the whole creation is serious, in serving God and us; they are serious in hell 'and in heaven: And shall a man that hath one foot in 'his grave, Jest and Laugh?' O that our statesmen would weigh the conviction, advice, and conclusion of this great man; and the greatest man, perhaps, that

 has

has borne that character in our nation. For true it is, that none can be serious too soon, because none can be good too soon. Away then with all foolish talking and jesting, and let people mind more profitable things!

§. XI. JOHN MASON, knight, who had been privy-counsellor to four princes, and spent much time in the preferments and pleasure of the world, retired with these pathetical and regretful sayings: 'After so many 'years experience, SERIOUSNESS is the greatest Wisdom; 'TEMPERANCE the best Physic; a GOOD CONSCIENCE is 'the best Estate. And were I to live again, I would 'change the court for a cloister, my privy-counsellor's 'bustles for an hermit's retirement, and the whole life 'I lived in the palace, for one hour's enjoyment of God 'in the chapel. All things else forsake me; besides 'my God, my Duty, and my Prayers.'

§. XII. Sir WALTER RALEIGH is an eminent instance, being as extraordinary a man as our nation hath produced: In his person, well descended; of health, strength, and a masculine beauty: In understanding, quick; in judgment, sound; learned and wise, valiant and skilful: An Historian, a Philosopher, a General, a Statesman. After a long life, full of experience, he drops these excellent sayings a little before his death, to his son, to his wife, and to the world, viz. 'Exceed 'not in the humour of Rags and Bravery; for these 'will soon wear out of fashion: And no man is 'esteemed for Gay Garments, but by Fools and 'Women. On the other side, seek not Riches basely, 'nor attain them by evil means: Destroy no man for 'his Wealth, nor take any thing from the Poor; for 'the cry thereof will pierce the heavens: And it is most 'detestable before God, and most dishonourable be-'fore worthy men, to wrest any thing from the needy 'and labouring soul: God will never prosper thee, 'if thou offendest therein; but use thy poor neighbours 'and tenants well.' [A most worthy saying! But he adds] 'Have compassion on the Poor and Afflicted, and God 'will bless thee for it: Make not the hungry soul 'sorrowful; for if he curse thee in the bitterness of

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'his soul, his prayer shall be heard of him that made 'him. Now, for the world (dear child) I know it too 'well, to persuade thee to dive into the practices of it: 'Rather stand upon thy own guard against all those that 'tempt thee to it, or may practise upon thee; whether in thy Conscience, thy Reputation, or thy 'Estate: Resolve, that no man is Wise or Safe, but 'he that is Honest. Serve God; Let him be the author of all thy actions: Commend all thy endeavours 'to him, that must either wither or prosper them: 'Please him with prayer; lest if he frown, he confound 'all thy fortune and labour, like the drops of rain upon 'the sandy ground. Let my experienced advice, and 'fatherly instruction, sink deep into thy heart: So God 'direct thee in all thy ways, and fill thy heart with his 'grace.'

Sir WALTER RALEIGH's Letter to his WIFE, after his Condemnation.

'YOU shall receive, my dear wife, my last words, 'in these my last lines. My Love I send to you, 'That you may keep when I am dead; and my Counsel, 'that you may remember it when I am no more. I 'would not, with my will, present you Sorrows, dear 'Bess; let them go to the grave with me, and be 'buried in the dust: and seeing that it is not the will 'of God that I shall see you any more, bear my destruction patiently; and with an heart like yourself. 'First, I send you all the thanks which my heart can 'conceive, or my words express, for your many travails and cares for me: which, though they have not 'taken effect, as you wished, yet my debt to you is not 'the less; but pay it I never shall in this world. 'Secondly, I beseech you, for the love you bear me 'living, that you do not hide yourself many days; 'but by your travails seek to help my miserable fortunes, and the right of your poor child; your mourning cannot avail me, who am but dust. Thirdly,

'you shall understand, that my lands were conveyed '(*bona fide*) to my child; the writings were drawn at 'Midsummer was a twelve-month, as divers can wit-'ness; and I trust my blood will quench their malice, 'who desired my slaughter, that they will not seek to 'kill you and yours with extreme poverty. To what 'friend to direct you, I know not; for all mine have 'left me in the true time of trial. Most sorry am I, 'that being surprized by death, I can leave you no 'better estate; God hath prevented all my determina-'tions, that great God which worketh all in all. If 'you can live free from want, care for no more; for 'the rest is but a vanity. Love God, and begin be-'times; in him shall you find true, everlasting, and 'endless comfort: When you have travelled, and 'wearied yourself with all sorts of worldly cogitations, 'you shall sit down by sorrow in the end. Teach 'your son also to Serve and Fear God, whilst he is 'young, that the fear of God may grow up in him; 'then will God be an Husband to you, and a Father 'to him; an Husband and a Father, that can never be 'taken from you. Dear Wife, I beseech you, for my 'soul's sake, Pay all Poor Men. When I am dead, 'no doubt but you will be much sought unto; for the 'world thinks I was very rich: have a care of the fair 'pretences of men; for no greater misery can befal 'you in this life, than to become a prey unto the 'world, and after to be despised. As for me, I am 'no more yours, nor you mine: Death hath cut us 'asunder; and God hath divided me from the world, 'and you from me. Remember your poor child, for 'his father's sake, who loved you in his happiest estate. 'I sued for my life, but (God knows) it was for you 'and yours that I desired it: For know it, my dear 'wife, your child is the child of a True Man, who in 'his own respect despiseth death, and his mishapen 'and ugly forms. I cannot write much; God knows 'how hardly I steal this time, when all are asleep: 'And it is also time for me to separate my thoughts 'from the world. Beg my dead body, which living

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'was denied you; and either lay it in Sherburne, or 'in Exeter church, by my father and mother. I can 'say no more; Time and Death call me away. The 'everlasting God, powerful, infinite, and inscrutable, 'God Almighty, who is Goodness itself, the TRUE 'LIGHT and LIFE, keep you and yours, and have 'mercy upon Me, and forgive my persecutors, and 'false accusers; and send us to meet in his glorious 'kingdom. My dear wife, farewell; bless my boy, 'pray for me; and let my True God hold you both in 'his arms.

'Yours that was, but not now my own,

WALTER RALEIGH.'

Behold wisdom, resolution, nature, and grace! how strong in argument, wise in counsel, firm, affectionate, and devout. O that your heroes and politicians would make him their example in his death, as well as magnify the great actions of his life. I doubt not, had he been to live over his days again, with his experience, he had made less noise, and yet done more good to the world and himself. It is a sad thing to consider, that men hardly come to know themselves, or the world, till they are ready to leave it.

§. XIII. HENRY WOTTON, knight, thought it, 'The 'greatest happiness in this life, to be at leisure to be, 'and to do, good;' as in his latter end he was wont to say, when he reflected on past times, though a man esteemed sober and learned, 'How much time have I 'to repent of, and how little to do it in!'

§. XIV. Sir CHRISTOPHER HATTON, a little before his death advised his relations to be serious in the search after 'the will of God in the Holy Word:' For (said he) it is deservedly accounted a piece of excellent knowledge to understand the law of the land, and the customs of a man's country; how much more to know the statutes of heaven, and the laws of eternity; those immutable and eternal laws of justice and righteousness! To know the will and pleasure of the

Great Monarch and Universal King of the world! 'I have seen an end of all perfection; but thy commandments, O God, are exceeding broad.—Whatever other knowledge a man may be endued withal, could he by a vast and imperious mind, and an heart as large as the sand upon the sea shore, command all the knowledge of art and nature, of words and things; could he attain a mastery in all languages, and sound the depth of all arts and sciences; could he discourse the interest of all states, the intrigues of all courts, the reason of all civil laws and constitutions, and give an account of all histories; 'and yet not know the 'Author of his being, and the preserver of his life, 'his sovereign, and his judge; his surest refuge in 'trouble; his best friend, or worst enemy; the support of his life, and the hope of his death; his future 'happiness, and his portion for ever; he doth but '*sapienter descendere in infernum*, with a great deal of 'wisdom go down to hell.'

§. XV. Francis Bacon, lord high chancellor of England, some time before his death confessed, 'That 'to be religious, was to live strictly and severely: 'For if the opinion of another world be false, yet the 'sweetest life in this world is piety, virtue, and honesty: 'If it be true, there be none so wretched and miserable, as loose, carnal, profane persons.'

§. XVI. The great duke of Momerancy, colleague to the duke of Orleans, (brother to the French king Lewis the thirteenth) in the war by them agitated against the ministry of cardinal Richlieu, being taken and convicted at Lyons, a little before his beheading, looking upon himself, then very richly attired; 'Ah! '(says he) this becomes not a servant of the crucified 'Jesus! What do I with these vanities about me? 'He was poor, despised, and naked, when he went to 'the cross to die for my sins:' And immediately he stript himself of all his finery, and put a more grave and modest garment on him. A serious reflection, at a time when he best knew what was best.

§. XVII.

§. XVII. Henry, Prince of Wales, eldest son to king James the First, of whom others say many excellent things, hear what account he gives of himself at last: A person whom he loved, and that had been the companion of his diversions, being with him in his sickness, and asking him, How he did? Was, amongst many other sober expressions, answered thus, 'Ah 'Tom! I in vain wish for that time I lost with thee, 'and others, in vain recreations.' So vain were recreations, and so precious was time to a Prince, and no ordinary one neither, upon a dying-bed. But why wished he, with others, for more time, but that it might be better employed? Thus hath the Just Principle and Holy Spirit of God in men, throughout all generations, convinced them of their vanity and folly upon their dying-beds, who before were too much taken up to mind either a dying-bed, or a vast eternity; but when their days were almost numbered, when mortality hastened on them, when the revelation of the righteous judgment was at the door, and that all their worldly recreations and enjoyments must be parted with, and that eye for ever shut, and flesh turned to worms meat, that took delight therein; then, oh, then it was, the Holy Witness had room to plead with conscience: Then nothing but a holy, strict, and severe life, was valuable; then 'All the world for a 'little time,' who before had given all their time for a little of a vain world. But if so short a representation of the inconsistency of the vanities of the world with the Christian life could make so deep an impression; oh! to what a noble stature, and large proportion, had they been grown in all pious and heavenly knowledge, and how much greater had their rewards been, if they contentedly had foregone those perishing entertainments of the world betimes, and given the exercise of their minds to the tuition and guidance of that Universal Grace and Holy Spirit of God, which had so long shined in darkness, uncomprehended of it, and was at last but just perceived to give a sight of what they had been doing all their days.

§. XVIII. PHILIP III. king of Spain, seriously reflecting upon the life he had led in the world, cried out upon his death-bed, 'Ah, how happy were I, had 'I spent these twenty-three years that I have held my 'kingdom, in a retirement.' Crying out to his confessor, 'My concern is for my soul, not my body: 'I lay all that God has given me, my dominion, power, 'and my life, at the feet of Jesus Christ my Saviour.' Would kings would live, as well as die so!

§. XIX. Count GONDAMOR, ambassador in England for that very king, and held the ablest man of his time, who took great freedom as to his religion in his politicks, serving his ends by those ways that would best accomplish them. When towards his latter end, he grew very thoughtful of his past life; and after all his negotiations and successes in business, said to one of his friends, 'I fear nothing in the world more than sin.' Often professing, 'He had rather endure hell than sin.' So clear and strong were his convictions, and so exceeding sinful did sin appear to him, upon a serious consideration of his ways.

§. XX. Cardinal RICHLIEU, after having been first minister of state of Europe, as well as of France, confessed to old Peter du Moulin, the famous Protestant of that country, 'That being forced upon many irregu-'larities by that which they call REASON OF STATE, 'he could not tell how to satisfy his conscience for 'several things; and therefore had many temptations 'to doubt and disbelieve a God, another world, and 'the immortality of the soul, and thereby to relieve 'his mind from any disquiet, but in vain: So strong, 'he said, was the notion of God on his soul, so clear 'the impression of him upon the frame of the world, 'so unanimous the consent of mankind, so powerful 'the convictions of his own conscience, that he could 'not but "Taste the power of the world to come," 'and so live as one that must die, and so die as one that 'must live for ever.' And being asked one day, Why he was so sad? answered, 'Monsieur, Monsieur,

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'the soul is a serious thing; it must be either sad here 'for a moment, or be sad for ever.'

§. XXI. Cardinal MAZARINE, reputed the cunningest statesman of his time, and who gave great proofs of it in the successes of the French crown under his ministry: his aim was the Grandeur of the world, to which he made all other considerations submit: But, poor man! he was of another mind a little before his death: For being awakened by the smart lashes of conscience, which represented his soul's condition very dismal, with astonishment and tears he cried out, 'O my poor soul, 'what will become of thee! Whither wilt thou go?' And spoke one day thus to the queen mother of France, 'Madam, your favours have undone me: Were I to 'live again, I would be a Capuchin, rather than a 'Courtier.'

§. XXII. Count OXCISTERN, chancellor of Swedeland, a person of the first quality, station, and ability in his own country; and whose share and success, not only in the chief ministry of affairs in that kingdom, but in the greatest negotiations of Europe, during his time, made him no less considerable abroad. After all his knowledge and honour, being visited in his retreat from public business by commissioner Whitlock, ambassador to queen Christina, in the conclusion of their discourse, he said to the ambassador, 'I have seen much, and en-'joyed much of this world; but I never knew how to 'Live till now. I thank my good God that has given 'me time to know Him, and to know Myself. All 'the comfort I have, and all the comfort I take, and 'which is more than the whole world can give, is 'Feeling the Good Spirit of God in my heart, and 'reading in this good book, (holding up the bible) 'that came from it.' And farther addressed himself thus to the ambassador: 'You are now in the prime of 'your age and vigour, and in great favour and busi-'ness; but this will all leave you, and you will one 'day better understand and relish what I say to you; 'and then you will find that there is more wisdom,

'truth,

'truth, comfort, and pleasure in retiring and turning 'your heart from the world, to the good Spirit of God, 'and in reading the bible, than in all the courts and 'favours of princes.' This I had, as near as I am able to remember, from the ambassador's own mouth more than once. A very edifying history, when we consider from whom it came; one of the greatest and wisest men of his age; while his understanding was as sound and vigorous, as his experience and knowledge were great.

§. XXIII. Dr. DONNE, a great poet, taking his farewell of his friends, on his dying-bed, left this saying behind him, for them to measure their fancies and their actions by: 'I repent of all my life, but that part of it 'I spent in communion with God, and doing good.'

§. XXIV. SELDEN, one of the greatest scholars and antiquaries of his time; one who had taken a diligent survey of what knowledge was considerable amongst the Jews, Heathens, and Christians; at last professeth this, toward the end of his days, in his conference with Bishop Usher, 'That notwithstanding he had been so 'laborious in his enquiries, and curious in his collec-'tions, and had possessed himself of a treasure of 'books and manuscripts upon all ancient subjects; yet 'he could rest his soul on none, save the scriptures:' And above all, that passage lay most remarkable upon his spirit, Titus ii. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15. 'For the grace 'of God, that bringeth salvation, hath appeared unto 'all men; teaching us, that denying ungodliness, and 'worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and 'godly in this present world; looking for that blessed 'hope, and glorious appearing of the great God, and 'our Saviour Jesus Christ; who gave himself for us, 'that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and 'purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of 'good works: These things speak and exhort, and 'rebuke with all authority.' And indeed it is one of the most comprehensive passages in scripture; for it comprises the End, Means, and Recompence of Christianity.

§. XXV.

§. XXV. HUGO GROTIUS, than whom these latter ages think they have not had a man of more universal knowledge (a light, say the Statesmen; a light, say the Churchmen too) witness his "Annals," and his book, "De Jure Belli & Pacis;" also his "Christian Religion, "and Elaborate Commentaries." He winds up his life and choice in this remarkable saying, which should abate the edge of other men's inordinate desires after what they falsly call learning; namely, 'I would give 'all my learning and honour for the plain integrity of 'JEAN URICK,' who was a religious poor man, that spent eight of his hours of his time in prayer, eight in labour, and but eight in meals, sleep, and other necessaries. And to one that admired his great industry, he returned this by way of complaint: 'Ah! I have 'consumed my life in laboriously doing nothing. And to another, that enquired of his wisdom and learning what course to take? He solemnly answered, 'Be Serious.' Such was the sense he had, how much a serious life excelled, and was of force, towards a dying hour.

§. XXVI. To whom I join SALMASIUS, that famous French scholar, and the other's contemporary; who, (after his many volumes of learning, by which he had acquired great veneration among men of books) confessed so far to have mistaken True Learning, and that in which solid happiness consists, that he exclaimed thus against himself; 'Oh! I have lost a world of Time! 'Time, that most precious thing in the world! Whereof, had I but one year more, it should be spent in 'David's Psalms and Paul's Epistles. Oh, Sirs! (said 'he to those about him) Mind the World less, and 'God more. The fear of the Lord, that is wisdom; 'and to depart from evil, that is understanding[t].'

§. XXVII. FRANCIS JUNIUS, an ingenious person, who hath writ his own life; as he was reading "Tully "de Legibus," fell into a persuasion, "*Nihil curare* "*Deum, nec sui nec alieni*;" till in a tumult in Lyons

[t] Prov. ix. 10. and xvi. 17.

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the Lord wonderfully delivered him from imminent death; so that he was forced to acknowledge a Divine Providence therein. And his father hearing the dangerous ways that his son was misled into, sent for him home, where he carefully and piously instructed him, and caused him to read over the New Testament; of which he himself writeth thus: 'When I opened the 'New Testament, I first lighted upon John's first 'chapter, "In the beginning was the Word, &c." 'I read part of the chapter, and was suddenly con-'vinced, that the Divinity of the Argument, and the 'majesty and authority of the writing, did exceedingly 'excel all the eloquence of Human Writings: My 'body trembled, my mind was astonished, and was so 'affected all that day, that I knew not where and 'what I was. Thou wast mindful of me, O my God, 'according to the multitude of thy mercies, and call-'edst home thy lost sheep into the fold.' And as Justin Martyr of old, so he of late professed, 'That the power 'of godliness, in a plain simple Christian, wrought so 'upon him, that he could not but take up a strict and 'a serious life.'

§. XXVIII. A. Rivetus, a man of learning, and much reverenced in the Dutch nation, after a long life of study, in search of divine knowledge, upon his death-bed, being discoursed by his friend of heavenly things, brake forth in this manner; 'God has learned me more 'of himself in ten days Sickness, than I could get by 'all my Labour and Studies.' So near a way, so short a cut it is, to the knowledge of God, when people come into the Right Way, which is, To turn in their minds and hearts to the voice of God, and learn of him, who is a Spirit, to be taught of him, and led by him: 'For 'in righteousness such shall be established, and great 'shall be their peace.'

§. XXIX. A

§. XXIX. A Letter from JAMES earl of MARLBOROUGH, a little before his death, in the battle at sea, on the coast of Holland, &c.

'I Believe the goodness of your nature, and the friendship you have always borne me, will receive with kindness the last office of your friend. I am in health enough of body, and (through the mercy of God in Jesus Christ) well disposed in mind. This I premise, that you may be satisfied that what I write proceeds not from any fantastic terror of mind, but from a sober resolution of what concerns myself, and earnest desire to do you more good after my death, than mine example (God of his mercy pardon the badness of it) in my life-time may do you harm. I will not speak ought of the vanity of this world; your own age and experience will save that labour: but there is a certain thing that goeth up and down the world, called RELIGION, dressed and pretended fantastically, and to purposes bad enough; which yet, by such evil dealing, loseth not its being. The Great Good God hath not left it without a Witness, more or less, sooner or later, in every man's bosom, to direct us in the pursuit of it; and for the avoiding of those inextricable disquisitions and entanglements our own frail reasons would perplex us withal. God in his infinite mercy hath given us his Holy Word; in which, as there are many things hard to be understood, so there is enough plain and easy to quiet our minds, and direct us concerning our future being. I confess to God and you, I have been a great neglecter, and (I fear) despiser of it: (God of his infinite mercy pardon me the dreadful fault). But when I retired myself from the noise and deceitful vanity of the world, I found no true comfort in any other resolution, than what I had from thence. I commend, from the bottom of my heart, the same to your (I hope) happy use. Dear Hugh, let us be more generous, than to believe we die as the beasts

'that

'that perish; but with a Christian, manly, brave re-
'solution, look to what is eternal. I will not trouble
'you farther. The Only Great God and Holy God,
'Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, direct you to an happy
'end of your life, and send us a joyful resurrection!

'So prays your true friend,

'MARLBOROUGH.'

§. XXX. The late Sir HENRY VANE must be too fresh in memory to need a character; but it is certain his parts were of the first rate, and superior to the generality of men; yet he would often say, 'He owed them 'to religion.' In his youth he was much addicted to company, and promised little to business; but in reading of a book called "The Signs of a Godly Man," and being convicted in himself that they were just, but that he had no share in any one of them; he fell into that extreme Anguish and Horror, that for some Days and Nights he took little food or rest; which at once dissolved his old friendships, and made those impressions and resolutions to religion, that neither University, Courts, Princes, nor Parents, nor any Losses, or Disappointments, that threatened his New Course of Life, could weaken or alter. And though this laid him under some disadvantages for a time, his great integrity and abilities quickly broke through that obscurity; so that those of very differing sentiments did not only admire, but very often desired him to accept the most eminent negotiations of his country; which he served according to his own principles, with great success, and a remarkable self-denial. This great man's maxim was, 'Religion was the Best Master, and 'the Best Friend; for it made men wise, and would 'never leave them that never left it;' which he found true in himself: For as it made him wiser than those that had been his teachers, so it made him firmer than any hero, having something more than nature to support him (which was the judgment as well of foreigners as others, that had the curiosity to see him die);

die); making good ſome meditations of his own, viz. 'The Day of Death is the judge of all our other Days; 'the very trial and touchſtone of the actions of our life. 'It is the end that crowns the work, and a Good 'Death honoureth a man's whole life. The fading 'corruption and loſs of this life, is the paſſage into a 'better. Death is no leſs eſſential to us, than to live 'or to be born. In flying Death, thou flieſt thy ſelf; 'thy eſſence is equally parted into theſe two, Life 'and Death. It is no ſmall reproach to a Chriſtian, 'whoſe faith is in immortality, and the bleſſedneſs of 'another life, to fear Death much, which is the ne-'ceſſary paſſage thereunto.'

§. XXXI. Abraham Cowley (whom to name, is enough with the men of wit of our time and nation) ſpeaks not leſs in favour of the Temperance and Solitude ſo much laboured in the preceding diſcourſe: Yet that his judgment may have the more force with the reader, it may be fit that I ſhould ſay, That he was a man of a ſweet and ſingular wit, great learning, and an even judgment; that had known what cities, univerſities, and courts could afford; and that not only at home, but in divers nations abroad. Wearied with the world, he broke through all the entanglements of it; and, which was hardeſt, great friendſhip, and a perpetual praiſe; and retired to a ſolitary cottage near Barn-Elms, where his garden was his pleaſure, and he his own gardener: Whence he giveth us this following doctrine of retirement, which may ſerve for an account how well he was pleaſed in his change. 'The firſt 'work (ſaith he) that a man muſt do to make himſelf 'capable of the good of ſolitude, is the very eradi-'cation of all luſts; for how is it poſſible for a man 'to enjoy himſelf, while his affections are tied to 'things without himſelf. The firſt miniſter of ſtate 'hath not ſo much buſineſs in publick, as a wiſe man 'hath in private: If the one have little leiſure to be 'alone, the other hath leſs leiſure to be in company; 'the one hath but part of the affairs of one nation, 'the other all the works of God and nature under his

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'consideration. There is no saying shocks me so much, 'as that which I hear very often,' "That a man "doth not know how to pass his time." 'It would 'have been but ill spoken of Methuselah, in the nine 'hundred sixty-ninth year of his life. But that is 'not to deceive the world, but to deceive ourselves, as 'Quintilian saith, *Vitam fallere*, To draw on still, and 'amuse and deceive our life, till it be advanced in-'sensibly to the fatal period, and fall into that pit 'which nature hath prepared for it. The meaning of 'all this is no more, than that most vulgar saying, "Bene qui latuit, bene vixit;" 'He hath lived well, 'who hath lain well hidden. Which, if it be a truth, 'the world is sufficiently deceived: For my part, I 'think it is; and that the pleasantest condition in life 'is in Incognito. What a brave privilege is it, to be 'free from all contentions, from all envying, or being 'envied, from receiving and from paying all kind of 'ceremonies! We are here among the vast and no-'ble scenes of nature; we are there among the pitiful 'shifts of policy: We walk here in the light, and 'open ways of the divine bounty; we grope there in 'the dark and confused labyrinths of human malice: 'Our senses are here feasted with the clear and genuine 'taste of their objects; which are all sophisticated there; 'and, for the most part, overwhelmed with their con-'traries. Here pleasure looks, methinks, like a beau-'tiful, constant, and modest wife; it is there an im-'pudent, fickle, and painted harlot. Here, is harm-'less and cheap plenty: There, guilty and expenceful 'luxury. The antiquity of this art is certainly not to 'be contested by any other. The three first men in the 'world were a Gardener, a Ploughman, and a Grasier: 'And if any man object, That the second of these was 'a Murderer; I desire he would consider, that as soon 'as he was so, He quitted our Profession, and turned 'Builder. It is for this reason, I suppose, that the son 'of Sirach forbids us to hate husbandry; because '(saith he) the Most High hath created it. We were 'all born to this art, and taught by nature to nourish

'our

'our bodies by the ſame earth out of which they were 'made, and to which they muſt return, and pay at 'laſt for their ſuſtenance. Behold the Original and 'Primitive Nobility of all thoſe Great Perſons, who 'are too proud now not only to Till the ground, but 'almoſt to tread upon it. We may talk what we pleaſe 'of lilies and lions rampant, and ſpread eagles in 'fields d'or, or d'argent; but if heraldry were guided 'by Reaſon, a PLOUGH in a FIELD ARABLE would be 'the moſt noble and ancient arms.'

Bleſt be the man (and bleſt is he) whome'er,
(Plac'd far out of the roads of Hope or Fear)
A little Field, a little Garden, feeds;
The Field gives all that Frugal nature needs:
The wealthy Garden lib'rally beſtows
All ſhe can aſk, when ſhe Luxurious grows.
The ſpecious inconveniences that wait
Upon a life of buſineſs and of ſtate,
He ſees (nor doth the ſight diſturb his reſt)
By Fools deſir'd, by Wicked men poſſeſt.
———Ah wretched, and too Solitary, he
Who loves not his own Company:
He'll feel the weight of't many a day,
Unleſs he call in ſin or vanity
To help to bear't away.

Out of Martial, he gives us this following epigram, which he makes his by Tranſlation and Choice, to tell his own Solitude by: I place it here as his.

Would you be free? 'Tis your chief wiſh you ſay:
Come on; I'll ſhew thee, friend, the certain way:
If to no feaſts abroad thou lov'ſt to go,
Whilſt bounteous God doth bread at home beſtow;
If thou the goodneſs of thy clothes doſt prize
By thy own Uſe, and not by others Eyes;
If only ſafe from Weathers, thou canſt dwell
In a ſmall Houſe, but a convenient Shell;

If thou without a Sigh or Golden Wish
Canst look upon thy Beechen Bowl, or Dish;
If in thy mind such Power and Greatness be,
The Persian King's a Slave, compar'd with thee.
Whilst this hard truth I teach, methinks I see
The monster, London, laugh at me;
I should at thee too, foolish city,
If it were fit to laugh at Misery;
But thy estate I pity.
Let but thy wicked men from out thee go,
And all the fools that crowd thee so;
Even thou, who dost thy millions boast,
A Village less than Islington wilt grow;
A Solitude almost.

I shall conclude him with this prayer of his own.

For the few hours of life allotted me,
Give me (great God) but Bread and Liberty;
I'll beg no more; if more thou'rt pleas'd to give,
I'll thankfully that Overplus receive.
If beyond This no more be freely sent,
I'll thank for This, and go away content.

Here ends the wit, the praise, the learning, the city, the court, with Abraham Cowley, that once knew and had them all.

§. XXXII. The late Earl of ROCHESTER was inferior to nobody in wit, and hardly any body ever used it worse, if we believe him against himself, in his Dying Reflections: An account of which I have had from some that visited him in his sickness, besides that larger one made public by the present bishop of Salisbury. It was then that he came to think there was a God, for he felt his lashes on his conscience; and that there was such a thing as Virtue, and a Reward for it. Christianity was no longer a worldly or absurd design: But Christ a Saviour, and a most Merciful One; and his doctrines plain, just, and reasonable, and the true way to felicity here and hereafter: Admiring and adoring that mercy to him, which he had treated with so much infidelity

infidelity and obſtinate contempt: Wiſhing only for more life to confute his paſt one, and in ſome meaſure to repair the injuries he had done to Religion by it: Begging forgiveneſs for CHRIST's ſake, though he thought himſelf the moſt unworthy of it for his Own. Thus died that Witty Lord ROCHESTER; and this retreat he made from the world he had ſo great a name in. May the looſe wits of the times, as he deſired, take WARNING by him, and not leave their Repentance to a Dying-Bed.

§. XXXIII. A noble young man of the family of HOWARD, having too much yielded to the temptations of youth, when upon his ſick-bed, (which proved his Dying-Bed) fell under the power and agony of great convictions, mightily bewailing himſelf in the remembrance of his former extravagancies; crying ſtrongly to God to forgive him, abhorring his former courſe, and promiſing amendment, if God renewed life to him. However, he was willing to die, having taſted of the love and forgiveneſs of God; warning his acquaintance and kindred that came to ſee him, to fear God, and forſake the pleaſures and vanity of this world: And ſo willingly yielded his ſoul from the troubles of time, and frailties of mortality.

§. XXXIV. The late princeſs ELIZABETH of the Rhine, of right claimeth a memorial in this diſcourſe; her virtue giving greater luſtre to her name than her quality, which yet was of the greateſt in the German empire. She choſe a ſingle life, as freeſt of care, and beſt ſuited to the ſtudy and meditation ſhe was always inclined to; and the chiefeſt diverſion ſhe took, next the air, was in ſome ſuch plain and houſewifely entertainment, as knitting, &c. She had a ſmall territory, which ſhe governed ſo well, that ſhe ſhewed herſelf fit for a greater. She would conſtantly, every Laſt-day in the week, ſit in judgment, and hear and determine cauſes herſelf; where her patience, juſtice, and mercy were admirable; frequently remitting her forfeitures, where the party was poor, or otherwiſe meritorious. And, which was excellent, though unuſual, ſhe would tem-

per her discourses with Religion, and strangely draw concerned parties to submission and agreement; exercising not so much the rigour of her power, as the power of her persuasion. Her meekness and humility appeared to me extraordinary. She never considered the quality, but the merit of the people she entertained. Did she hear of 'a retired man, hid from the 'world, and seeking after the knowledge of a better,' she was sure to set him down in the catalogue of her charity, if he wanted it: I have casually seen, I believe, Fifty Tokens sealed and superscribed to the several poor subjects of her bounty, whose distances would not suffer them to know one another, though they knew her, whom yet some of them had never seen. Thus, though she kept 'no sumptuous table in her own Court, she 'spread the tables of the Poor in their solitary Cells; 'breaking bread to virtuous pilgrims, according to 'their want, and her ability. Abstemious in herself, 'and in apparel void of all vain ornaments.'

I must needs say, her mind had a noble prospect: Her eye was to a better and more lasting inheritance than can be found below; which made her often to despise the Greatness of courts, and learning of the schools, of which she was an extraordinary judge. Being once at Hamburgh, a religious person, whom she went to see for religion's sake, telling her, 'It was too great 'an honour for him, that he should have a visitant of 'her quality come under his roof, that was allied to so 'many great kings and princes of this world:' She humbly answered, 'If they were godly, as well as great, 'it would be an honour indeed; but if you knew what 'that greatness was, as well as I, you would value less 'that honour.' Being in some agony of spirit, after a religious meeting we had in her own chamber, she said, 'It is an hard thing to be faithful to what one 'knows: Oh, the way is strait! I am afraid I am not 'weighty enough in my spirit to walk in it.' After another meeting, she uttered these words; 'I have re-'cords in my library, that the Gospel was first brought 'out of England hither into Germany by the English,

'and

'and now it is come again.' She once withdrew, on purpose to give her servants the liberty of discoursing us, that they might the more freely put what questions of conscience they desired to be satisfied in; for they were religious: Suffering both them, and the poorest of her town, to sit by her, in her own bed-chamber, where we had two meetings. I cannot forget her Last Words, when I took my leave of her: "Let me desire "you to remember me, though I live at this distance, "and that you should never see me more. I thank "you for this good time; and know and be assured, "though my condition subjects me to divers tempta-"tions, yet my soul hath strong desires after the best "things." She lived her single life till about sixty years of age, and then departed at her own house in Herwerden, which was about * two years since; as much lamented, as she had lived beloved of the people: To whose Real Worth, I do, with Religious Gratitude for her kind reception, dedicate this memorial.

§. XXXV. BULSTRODE WHITLOCK has left his own character in his "Memorials of English affairs;" a book that shows both his employments and greater abilities. He was almost ever a commissioner and companion with those great men, that the lords and commons of England, at several times, appointed to treat with king Charles I. for a peace. He was commissioner of the great seal, ambassador to the crown of Swedeland, and sometimes president of the council: A scholar, a lawyer, a statesman; in short, he was one of the most accomplished men of the age. Being with him sometimes at his own house in Berkshire, where he gave me that account I have related of chancellor Oxcistern, amongst many serious things he spoke, this was very observable. 'I ever have thought,' said he, 'there has been One True Religion in the World; 'and that is, the work of the Spirit of God in the

* She died in 1680. And this passage was inserted in a second tion of this treatise, an. 1682.

'hearts and souls of men. There have been indeed 'divers forms and shapes of things, through the many 'dispensations of God to men, answerable to his own 'wise ends, in reference to the low and uncertain state 'of man in the world; but the Old World had the 'Spirit of God, for it strove with them; and the New 'World has had the Spirit of God, both Jew and 'Gentile; and it strives with all; and they that have 'been led by it, have been the good people in every 'dispensation of God to the world. And I myself 'must say, I have felt it from a child to convince me 'of my evil and vanity; and it has often given me a 'true measure of this poor world, and some taste of 'divine things; and it is my grief I did not more 'early apply my soul to it. For I can say, since my 'retirement from the greatness and hurries of the 'world, I have felt something of the work and com-'fort of it, and that it is both ready and able to in-'struct, and lead, and preserve those that will humbly 'and sincerely hearken to it. So that my religion is 'the Good Spirit of God in my Heart; I mean, what 'that has wrought in me and for me.' After a meeting at his house, to which he gave an entire liberty for all that pleased to come, he was so deeply affected with the testimony of the Light, Spirit, and Grace of Christ in Man, as the Gospel Dispensation, that after the meeting closed in prayer, he rose up, and pulled off his hat, and said, 'This is the Everlasting Gospel I have 'heard this day; and I humbly bless the name of God, 'that he has let me live to see this day, in which the 'Ancient Gospel is again preached to them that dwell 'upon the earth.'

§. XXXVI. A sister of the family of PENN, of Penn, in Buckinghamshire, a young woman delighting in the finery and pleasures of the world, was seized with a violent illness, that proved mortal to her. In the time of her sickness she fell into great distress of soul, bitterly bewailing the want of that inward peace which makes a death-bed easy to the righteous. After several days languishing, a little consolation appeared after this

this manner. She was ſome hours in a kind of a Trance; ſhe apprehended ſhe was brought into a place where Chriſt was; to whom could ſhe but deliver her petition, ſhe hoped to be relieved. But her endeavours increaſed her pain; for as ſhe preſſed to deliver it, 'He turned 'his back upon her,' and would not ſo much as look towards her. But that which added to her ſorrow, was, 'That ſhe beheld others admitted.' However, ſhe gave not over importuning him: And when almoſt ready to faint, and her hope to ſink, 'he turned one 'ſide of his face towards her, and reached forth his 'hand, and received her requeſt: At which her trou-'bled ſoul found immediate conſolation.' Turning to thoſe about her, ſhe repeats what had befallen her; adding, 'Bring me my new clothes; take off the lace 'and finery.' And charged her relations, 'Not to 'deck and adorn themſelves after the manner of the 'world; for that the Lord Jeſus, whom ſhe had ſeen, 'appeared to her in the likeneſs of a PLAIN COUNTRY 'MAN, without any trimming or ornament whatever; 'and that his ſervants ought to be like him.'

§. XXXVII. My own FATHER, after thirty years employment, with good ſucceſs, in divers places of eminent truſt and honour in his own country; upon a ſerious reflection not long before his death, ſpoke to me in this manner, 'Son William, I am weary of the 'world; I would not live over my days again, if I 'could command them with a wiſh; for the ſnares of 'life are greater than the fears of death. This troubles 'me, that I have offended a gracious God, that has 'followed me to this day. O have a care of ſin! 'That is the ſting both of life and death. Three 'things I commend to you:' Firſt, "Let nothing in this "world tempt you to wrong your CONSCIENCE;" 'I 'charge you, do nothing againſt your conſcience; ſo 'will you keep peace at home, which will be a feaſt 'to you in a day of trouble. Secondly, Whatever 'you deſign to do,' "lay it juſtly, and time it ſeaſon-"ably;" 'for that gives ſecurity and diſpatch. Laſtly, "Be not troubled at diſappointments;" 'for if they

'may be recovered, do it; if they cannot, trouble is 'vain. If you could not have helped it, be content; 'there is often peace and profit in submitting to 'Providence: for afflictions make wise. If you could 'have helped it, let not your trouble exceed instruc-'tion for another time: These rules will carry you 'with firmness and comfort through this inconstant 'world.' At another time he inveighed against the profaneness and impiety of the age; often crying out, with an earnestness of spirit, 'Wo to thee, O England! 'God will judge thee, O England! Plagues are at thy 'door, O England!' He much bewailed, That divers 'men in power, and many of the nobility and gentry of the kingdom, were grown so dissolute and profane; often saying, 'God has forsaken us; we are infatuated; 'we will shut our eyes; we will not see our true inter-'ests and happiness; we shall be destroyed!' Apprehending the consequences of the growing looseness of the age to be our ruin; and that the methods most fit to serve the kingdom with true credit at home and abroad, were too much neglected; the trouble of which did not a little help to feed his distemper, which drew him daily nearer to his end: and as he believed it, so less concerned or disordered I never saw him at any time; of which I took good notice. Wearied to live, as well as near to die, he took his leave of us; and of me, with this expression, and a most composed countenance: 'Son William, if you and your Friends 'keep to your plain Way of Preaching, and keep to 'your plain Way of Living, you will make an end of 'the priests to the end of the world. Bury me by my 'mother: live all in love: shun all manner of evil: 'And I pray God to bless you all; and he will bless 'you.'

§. XXXVIII. ANTHONY LOWTHER of Mask; a person of good sense, of a sweet temper, a just mind, and of a sober education; when of age to be under his own government, was drawn by the men of pleasure of the town into the usual freedoms of it, and was as much a judge as any body of the satisfaction that way of living

living could yield; but some time before his sickness, with a free and strong judgment, he would frequently upbraid himself, and contemn the world, for those unseasonable as well as unchristian liberties, that so much abound in it; which apprehension increased by the instruction of a long and sharp sickness: He would often despise their folly, and abhor their guilt; breathing, with some impatience, after the knowledge of the best things, and the best company; losing as little time as he could, that he might redeem the time he had lost; testifying often, with a lively relish, to the truth of religion, from the sense he had of it in his own breast: Frequently professing, 'he knew no joy 'comparable to that of being assured of the Love and 'Mercy of God.' Which as he often implored with strong convictions, and a deep humility and reverence, so he had frequently tastes thereof before his last period; pressing his relations and friends, in a most serious and affectionate manner, to 'love God and one 'another More, and this vile world less.' And of this he was so full, it was almost ever the conclusion of his most inward discourses with his family; though he sometimes said, 'he could have been willing to have 'lived, if God had pleased, to see his younger children 'nearer a settlement in the world; yet he felt no de-'sire to live longer in the world, but on the terms of 'living better in it:' For that he did not only think virtue the safest, but the Happiest way of living: Commending and Commanding it to his children upon his last blessing.

I shall conclude this chapter of Retired, Aged, and Dying Persons, with some collections I have made out of the life of a person of great piety and quality of the French nation.

§. XXXIX. Du Renty, a young nobleman of France, of admirable parts, as well as great birth, touched with a sense of the vanity of the world, and the sweetness of a retired and religious life, notwithstanding the honours and employments that waited for him, abandons the pride and pomp of the world, to enjoy a life of more commu-

communion with God: Do but hear him: 'I avow '(ſaith he) that I have no guſt in any thing, where 'I find not Jeſus Chriſt. And for a ſoul that ſpeaks 'not of him, or in which we cannot taſte any effect of 'Grace flowing from his Spirit (which is the Principle 'of Operations, both inward and outward, that are 'ſolidly Chriſtian) ſpeak not to me at all of ſuch an 'one. Could I (as I may ſay) behold both miracles 'and wonders there, and yet not Jeſus Chriſt, nor 'hear any talk of Him, I count all but amuſement of 'ſpirit, loſs of time, and a very dangerous precipice. 'Let us encourage ourſelves to lead this life unknown 'and wholly hid from men, but moſt known to, and 'intimate with God; diveſting ourſelves, and chaſing 'out of our minds all thoſe many ſuperfluities, and 'thoſe many amuſements, which bring with them ſo 'great a damage, that they take up our minds, inſtead 'of God. So that when I conſider that which thwarts 'and cuts into ſo many pieces this holy, this ſweet and 'amiable Union, which we ſhould have continually 'with God, it appears, that it is only a monſieur, a 'madame, a compliment, and chatting, indeed a 'mere foolery; which, notwithſtanding, doth raviſh 'and wreſt from us the time that is ſo precious, and 'the fellowſhip that is ſo holy and ſo deſirable. Let 'us quit this, I pray you, and learn to court it with 'our own Maſter. Let us well underſtand our part, 'our own world (as we here phraſe it); not that world, 'I mean, which we do renounce, but that wherein the 'children of God do their duties to their Father. There 'is nothing in this world ſo ſeparate from the world, 'as God; and the greater the ſaints are, the greater is 'their retirement INTO HIM. This our Saviour taught 'us, whilſt he lived on earth, being in all his viſible 'employments united to God, and retired into the 'boſom of his Father. Since the time that I gave up 'my liberty to God, as I told you, I was given to un-'derſtand, to what a ſtate of Annihilation the ſoul 'muſt be brought, to render it capable of Union with 'him: I ſaw my ſoul reduced into a ſmall point, con-

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‘ tracted and ſhrunk up to Nothing: And at the ſame
‘ time I beheld myſelf, as if encompaſſed with what-
‘ ſoever the world loves and poſſeſſeth; and, as it were,
‘ a hand removing all this far from me, throwing it
‘ into the ocean of annihilation. In the firſt place, I
‘ ſaw removed all Exterior Things, Kingdoms, Great
‘ Offices, Stately Buildings, Rich Houſhold-ſtuff, Gold
‘ and Silver, Recreations, Pleaſures; all which are
‘ great Incumbrances to the ſoul's paſſing on to God;
‘ of which therefore his pleaſure is, that ſhe be ſtripped,
‘ that ſhe may arrive at the point of nakedneſs and
‘ death, which will bring her into poſſeſſion of ſolid
‘ riches, and real life. Aſſure yourſelf, there is no
‘ ſecurity in any eſtate, but this of Dying and Anni-
‘ hilation; which is, to be “ baptized into Chriſt's
“ death,” ‘ that we live the life of mortification. Our
‘ beſt way is therefore, to diveſt ourſelves of All,
‘ that the Holy Child Jeſus may govern all. All that
‘ can be imagined in this lower world, is of ſmall
‘ concernment, though it were the loſing of all our
‘ goods, and the death of all the men in it; this poor
‘ ant-hill is not worthy of a ſerious thought. Had
‘ we but a little Faith, and a little Love, how happy
‘ ſhould we eſteem ourſelves, in giving away all, to
‘ attend no more, ſave on God alone; and to ſay, *Deus*
‘ *meus, & omnia!* My God, and my All!—Being (ſaith
‘ he) in a chapel richly wainſcotted, and adorned with
‘ very excellent ſculpture, and with imagery, I beheld
‘ it with ſome attention, having had ſome ſkill in
‘ theſe things, and ſaw the bundle of flowers-de-luces,
‘ and of flowers in form of borders, and of very
‘ curious workmanſhip; it was on a ſudden put into
‘ my mind, “ The Original of what thou ſeeſt, would
“ not detain thee at all in ſeeing it.” ‘ And I per-
‘ ceived, that indeed all theſe, and thoſe flowers them-
‘ ſelves (not in Pictures) would not have taken me up;
‘ and all the ornaments which architecture and art
‘ invent, are but things moſt mean and low, running
‘ in a manner only upon Flowers, Fruits, Branches,
‘ Harpies,

'Harpies, and Chimera's; part whereof are, in their 'very being, but things common and low, and part 'of them merely imaginary; and yet man (who crouch-'eth to every thing) renders himself amorous and a 'slave of them; no otherwise than as if a Good work-'man should stand to copy out, and counterfeit, some 'trifles and fopperies. I considered by this sight how 'poor man was to be cheated, amused, and diverted 'from his Sovereign Good. And since that time, I 'could make no more stand to consider any of these 'things: And if I did it, I should reproach myself for 'it; as no sooner seeing them in churches, or else-'where, but this is presently put upon my spirit, "The Original is Nothing, the Copy and the Image is "yet less: Each thing is Vain, except the Employ-"ment of ourselves about God alone." An absolute 'Abnegation will be necessary to all things, to follow 'in Simplicity, without Reserve or Reflection, what 'our Saviour shall work in us, or appoint for us, let 'it be this or that. This way was shewed me, in which 'I ought to walk towards him; and hence it is, that 'all things to me ordinarily are without any gust or 'delight. I assure you, it is a great shame to a Christian 'to pass his days in this world more at ease than Jesus 'Christ here passed his. Ah! Had we but a little 'faith, what repose could we take out of the Cross!'

I will conclude his sayings with his dying blessing to his surviving children.

'I pray God bless you; and may it please him to bless 'you, and to preserve you by his Grace from the evil 'of the world, that you may have no part therein: 'and above all, my children, that you may live in the 'fear and love of God, and yield due obedience to 'your mother.'

Expressions of that weight and moment to the immortal good of men, that they abundantly prove, to all sensible readers, that the author was a man of an enlightened mind, and of a soul mortified to the world, and quickened to some tastes of a supernatural life.

Let

Let his youth, let his quality, adorned with ſo much zeal and piety, ſo much ſelf-denial and conſtancy, become exemplary to thoſe of worldly quality, who may be the readers of this book. Some, perhaps, will hear that truth from the ſeveral authors I have reported, whoſe names, death and time have recovered from the envy of men, that would hardly endure it from me, if at all from the living. Be it as it will, I ſhall abundantly rejoice, if God ſhall pleaſe to make any part of this diſcourſe effectual to perſuade any into the love of holineſs, 'without which,' certain it is, 'no man ſhall 'ſee the Lord: But the pure in heart ſhall behold 'him for ever.'

To conclude; I cannot paſs this reflection upon what is obſerved of the ſayings of Dying Men, and which to me ſeems to have great inſtruction in it; viz. All men agree, when they come to die, it is beſt to be Religious; to live an Holy, Humble, Strict, and ſelf-denying Life; Retired, Solitary, Temperate, and Diſincumbered of the World. Then loving God ABOVE ALL, and our neighbours as ourſelves, forgiving our enemies, and praying for them, are ſolid things, and the eſſential part of religion, as the true ground of man's happineſs. Then all ſin is 'exceeding ſinful,' and yields no more pleaſure: But every inordinate deſire is burthenſome, and ſeverely reproved. Then the world, with all the lawful comforts in it, weighs light againſt that ſenſe and judgment, which ſuch men have between the temporal and the eternal. And ſince it is thus with dying men, what inſtruction is it to the living, whoſe pretence, for the moſt part, is a perpetual contradiction? O! that men would learn to "Number their days, that they might apply their "hearts to wiſdom;" of which "the fear of the Lord "is the true and only beginning." And "Bleſſed "are they that fear always, for their feet ſhall be pre-"ſerved from the ſnare of death."

CHAP.

CHAP. XXII.

§. 1. Of the way of living amongst the first Christians. §. 2. An Exhortation to all professing Christianity, to embrace the foregoing Reasons and Examples. §. 3. Plain dealing with such as reject them. §. 4. Their Recompences. §. 5. The Author is better persuaded and assured of some: An Exhortation to them. §. 6. Encouragement to the Children of Light to persevere, from a consideration of the Excellency of their Reward; the End and Triumph of the Christian Conqueror. The whole concluded with a brief Supplication to Almighty God.

The CONCLUSION.

§. I. HAVING finished so many Testimonies, as my time would give me leave, in favour of this subject, No Cross, No Crown; No Temperance, No Happiness; No Virtue, No Reward; No Mortification, No Glorification: I shall conclude with a short description of the life and worship of the Christians, within the first century, or hundred years after Christ: What simplicity, what spirituality, what holy love and communion did in that blessed age abound among them! It is delivered originally by Philo Judæus, and cited by Eusebius Pamphilius, in his Ecclesiastical History; 'That those Christians renounced their substance, and 'severed themselves from all the cares of this life; 'and forsaking the cities, they lived solitary in fields 'and gardens. They accounted their company, who 'followed the contrary life of cares and bustles, as 'unprofitable and hurtful to them; to the end that 'with earnest and fervent desires, they might imitate 'them which led this prophetical and heavenly life. 'In many places, says he, this people liveth (for it 'behoveth as well the Grecians as the Barbarians, to 'be partakers of this absolute goodness); but in

'Egypt,

'Egypt, in every province they abound; and especially 'about Alexandria. From all parts the better sort 'withdrew themselves into the soil and place of these 'worshippers, (as they were called) as a most com-'modious place, adjoining to the Lake of Mary, in a 'valley very fit, both for its security and the temper-'ance of the air. They are farther reported to have 'meeting-houses, where the most part of the day was 'employed in Worshipping God: That they were 'great Allegorizers of the scriptures, making them all 'figurative: That the external shew of words (or the 'letter) resembleth the superficies of the body; and 'the hidden sense or understanding of the words seem 'in place of the soul; which they contemplate by their 'beholding names, as it were in a glass*:' That is, their religion consisted not chiefly in reading the letter, disputing about it, accepting things in Literal Constructions, but in the Things declared of, the substance itself; bringing things nearer to the mind, soul, and spirit, and pressing into a more hidden and heavenly sense; making religion to consist in the Temperance and Sanctity of the Mind, and not in the Formal Bodily Worship, so much now-a-days in repute, fitter to please Comedians than Christians. Such was the practice of those times: But now the case is altered; people will be Christians, and have their worldly-mindedness too: But though God's kingdom suffer violence by such, yet shall they never enter: The Life of Christ and his followers hath in all ages been another thing; and there is but One Way, One Guide, One Rest; all which are pure and holy.

§. II. But if any (notwithstanding our many sober reasons, and numerous testimonies from scripture, or the example or experience of religious, worldly and profane, living and dying men, at home and abroad, of the greatest note, fame, and learning, in the whole world) shall yet remain lovers and imitators of the

* Philo Judæus of the worship of Egypt and Alexand. Euseb. Pam. Eccl. Hist. l. 2. c. 17.

folly and the vanity condemned; if the cries and groans, sighs, and tears, and complaints, and mournful wishes of so many reputed great, nay, some sober men.—" O that I had more time!—O that I might " live a year longer, I would live a stricter life!—O " that I were a poor Jean Urick!—All is vanity in this " world:—O my poor soul, whither wilt thou go?—O " that I had the time spent in vain recreations!—A " serious life is above all;" and such-like; if, I say, this by no means can prevail, but if yet they shall proceed to folly, and follow the vain world, what greater evidence can they give of their heady resolution to go on impiously; to despise God; to disobey his precepts; to deny Christ; to scorn; not to bear his cross; to forsake the examples of his servants; to give the lie to the dying serious sayings and consent of all ages; to harden themselves against the checks of conscience; to befool and sport away their precious time, and poor immortal souls to wo and misery? In short, it is plainly to discover you neither have Reason to justify yourselves, nor yet enough of Modesty to blush at your own folly; but, as those that have lost the sense of one and the other, go on to " eat and drink, and rise up to play." In vain therefore is it for you to pretend to fear the God of heaven, whose minds serve the god of the pleasure of this world: In vain it is to say, you believe in Christ, who receive not his self-denying doctrine: And to no better purpose will all you do, avail. If he that had loved "God and his neighbour, and kept the command- " ments from his youth," was excluded from being a disciple, " because he sold not all, and followed " Jesus;" with what confidence can you call yourselves Christians, who have neither kept the commandments, nor yet forsaken any thing to be so? And if it was a bar betwixt him and the eternal life he sought, that (notwithstanding all his other virtues) love to Money, and his external possessions, " could not be parted with[a];"

[a] Exod. xxxii. 6. Amos vi. 3 to 6. Eph. iv. 17, 24. 2 Tim. ii. 19. Mat. xix. 16 to 22.

what

what shall be your end, who cannot deny yourselves many less things, but are daily multiplying your inventions, to please your fleshly appetites? Certainly, much more impossible is it to forsake the Greater. Christ tried his love, in bidding him forsake All, because he knew, for all his brags, that his mind was rivetted therein; not that if he had enjoyed his possessions with Christian Indifferency, they might not have been continued: But what then is their doom, whose hearts are so fixed in the vanities of the world, that they will rather make them Christian, than not to be Christians in the use of them? But such a Christian this Young Man might have been, who had more to say for himself than the strictest Pharisee living dare pretend to; yet "he went away sorrowful from Jesus[b]." Should I ask you, if Nicodemus did well to come by night, and be ashamed of the great Messiah of the world? And if he was not Ignorant when Christ spake to him of the New Birth? I know you would answer me, 'He did 'very ill, and was very ignorant.' But, stay a while, the beam is in your own eyes; you are ready doubtless to condemn Him, and the Young Man for not doing what you not only refuse to do yourselves, but laugh at Others for doing. Nay, had such passages not been writ, and were it not for the reverence some pretend for the Scriptures, they would both be as stupid as Nicodemus in their answers to such heavenly matters, and ready to call it Canting to speak so; as it is frequent for you, when we speak to the same effect, though not the same words: just as the Jews, at what time they called God their Father, they despised his Son; and when he spake of sublime and heavenly mysteries, some cried, "He has a devil;" others, "He is mad:" and most of them, "These are hard "sayings, who can bear them?"

§. III. And to you all, that sport yourselves after the manners of the World, let me say, that you are those, "who profess you know God, but in works deny him[c];"

[b] John iii. 1 to 5. [c] Titus i. 16.

living in those pleasures which slay the Just in yourselves. For though you talk of Believing, it is no more than taking it for granted that there is a God, a Christ, Scriptures, &c. without farther concerning yourselves to prove the verity thereof, to yourselves or others, by a strict and holy conversation: Which slight way of Believing is but a light and careless way of ridding yourselves of farther examination; and rather throwing them off with an inconsiderate granting of them to be so, than giving yourselves the trouble of making better inquiry (leaving that to your priests, oft-times more ignorant, and not less vain and idle, than yourselves) which is so far from a Gospel Faith, that it is the least respect you can shew to God, Scriptures, &c. and next to which kind of Believing is nothing, under a Denial of All.

But if you have hitherto laid aside all temptations to Reason and Shame, at least be intreated to resume them now in a matter of this importance, and whereon no less concernment rests, than your temporal and eternal happiness. 'Oh! retire, retire; observe the 'reproofs of instruction in your own minds: that which 'begets sadness in the midst of mirth, which cannot 'solace itself, nor be contented below immortality; 'which calls often to an account at nights, mornings, 'and other seasons; which lets you see the vanity, the 'folly, the end, and misery of these things; this is the 'Just Principle and Holy Spirit of the Almighty 'within you: hear him, obey him, converse with them 'who are led by him; and let the glories of another 'world be eyed, and the heavenly recompence of re-'ward kept in sight.' Admit not the thoughts of former follies to revive; but be steady, and continually exercised by his Grace, 'to deny ungodliness and 'worldly lusts, and to live soberly, righteously and 'godly in this present world [d].' For this is the true and heavenly nature of Christianity, 'To be so awaken-'ed and guided by the Spirit and Grace of God, as

[d] Tit. ii. 11, 12, 13, 14.

'to

'to leave the sins and vanities of the world, and to have the affections regenerated, the mind reformed, 'and the whole man baptized into purity and faithful-'ness towards God and man, as to act with reverence, 'justice, and mercy. To care for very few things; to 'be content with what you have; to use all as if you 'used them not; and to be so disintangled from the 'lusts, pleasures, profits, and honours of the world, 'as to have the mind raised to things above, the heart 'and affections fixed there: that in all things you may 'glorify God, and be as lights set on a hill, whose 'shining examples may be conducing to the happiness 'of others, who beholding such good works, may be 'converted, and glorify God the Father of lights, in 'whom you all would be eternally blessed.'

§. IV. But if the impenitence of any is so great, their pursuit of folly as earnest, and, notwithstanding what has been thus seriously offered to reclaim them, they are resolved to take their course, and not to be at leisure for more divine things, I have this farther to leave with them from the Almighty, who first called me to this work; 'That tribulation, anguish, and 'sorrow shall make their dying beds; indignation and 'wrath shall wind up their days; and trouble and 'vexation of mind and spirit shall be the miserable 'fruits which they shall reap, as the reward of all 'their wretched folly and rebellion[e]!' Be not deceived, God will not be mocked: It is so irreversibly decreed; 'Whatsoever is sown here, shall be reaped hereafter.' And just is the Almighty, to make good his determinations upon such, who instead of employing the time given them, to 'work out their salvation with fear and 'trembling[f],' have spent it in the pleasures of the flesh, which perisheth; as if their heaven were here. Nor can it seem unreasonable, since he hath thus long waited with REMISSION of Sins and ETERNAL LIFE in his hand, to distribute to them that REPENT; that if such will not, to recompence so great obstinacy, and

[e] Rom. ii. 4, 5, 6, 9. [f] Gal. vi. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8.

love of this perishing world, with everlasting tribulation[g].

§. V. But I am otherwise persuaded of many; yes, I am assured the mercies of the everlasting God have been so extended to many, that this will prove an effectual call to bring them out of the ways and customs of this corrupted and corrupting world; and a means for establishing such, who hitherto have been unfaithful to what they have been already convinced of. And you, my friends, whose minds have received the Alarm, 'whose hearts have truly heard the voice of one crying in the Wilderness, where you have been straying from the Lord, Repent, Repent!' to you, in the name of the Great and Living God, I speak, I cry, 'Come away, come away; ah! what do you do there? Why are you yet behind? That is not your rest: it is polluted with the sins and vanities of a perishing world: Gird up your loins; eye your Light (One in All) Christ Jesus, the same yesterday, to-day, and forever; who hath enlightened every one: Follow him; he will lead you to the city of God, that has foundations, into which the wicked cannot enter[h].'

§. VI. Mind not the difficulties of your march; great and good things were never enterprized and accomplished without difficulty; which does but render their enjoyment more pleasant and glorious in the end. Let the holy men and women of old be your examples; remember good old Abraham, the excellency of whose faith is set out by his obedience to the voice of God, in forsaking his father's house, kindred, country, &c. And Moses, that might in probability have been made a king, by faith in God, leaves Egypt's glory, and Pharaoh's favours, and chuses rather to sojourn and pilgrimage with the despised, afflicted, tormented Israelites in the wilderness, than to enjoy the pleasures of that great court for a season; esteeming Christ's reproaches greater riches than Egypt's treasures. But, above all, how great was the reproach, how many the

[g] Rev. iii. 20. and xxi. 27. and xxii. 13, 14, 15. [h] John i. 9.

suffer-

ſufferings, how bitter the mockings, which Jeſus ſuffered at the hands of his enemies? Yet with what patience, meekneſs, forgiveneſs, and conſtancy, did he in all his actions demean himſelf towards his bloody perſecutors, "deſpiſing the ſhame, enduring the croſs, "for the joy that was ſet before him? And hath left "us this glorious example, that we ſhould follow his "ſteps[1];" which hath in almoſt every age been imitated by ſome. The apoſtles ſealed their teſtimonies with their blood, and multitudes after the example of their conſtancy; eſteeming it the greateſt honour, as it was always attended with the ſignalleſt demonſtrations of the Divine Preſence. How memorable was that of Origen? 'If my father were weeping upon his 'knees before me, and my mother hanging about my 'neck behind me, and all my brethren, ſiſters, and 'kinsfolk lamenting on every ſide, to retain me in the 'life and practice of the world, I would fling my mother to the ground, run over my father, deſpiſe all my 'kindred, and tread them under my feet, that I might 'run to Chriſt.' Yet it is not unknown, how dutiful and tender he was in thoſe relations. Not much unlike to this, was that noble and known inſtance of latter times, in Galeacius Caracciolus, marquis of Vico, who abandoned his friends, eſtate, and country, reſolutely ſaying with Moſes, 'That he would rather ſuffer af'flictions with the firſt reformers and proteſtants, than 'enjoy his former plenty, favours and pleaſures with 'his old religion.' Nor is it poſſible for any now to quit the world, and live a ſerious godly life in Chriſt, without the like ſuffering and perſecution. There are among us alſo ſome, who have ſuffered the diſpleaſure of their moſt dear and intimate relations and friends; and all thoſe troubles, diſgraces, and reproaches, which are accuſtomed to attend ſuch, as decline the 'honours, 'pleaſures, ambition, and preferments of the world, 'and that chuſe to live an humble, ſerious, and ſelf-

[1] Gen. xii. 1, 2. Heb. xi. 24 to 27. Iſa. liv. 3. Heb. xii. 1, 2. 1 Pet. ii. 21, 22, 23.

'denying life before the Lord:' But they are very unequal to the joy and recompence that follow. For though there be no affliction that is not grievous for the present, yet what says the man of God? "It works "a far more exceeding weight of glory in the end[k]." This has been both the faith and experience of those that in all ages have trusted in God, 'who have not 'fainted by the way; but, enduring, have obtained 'an eternal diadem.'

Wherefore, since we are compassed about with so "great a cloud of witnesses, let us lay aside every "weight and burden, and the sin and vanities that do "so easily beset us; and with a constant, holy patience "run our race, having our eyes fixed upon Jesus, the "author and finisher of our faith, not minding what "is behind;" so shall we be delivered from every snare. No temptations shall gain us, no frowns shall scare us from Christ's Cross, and our blessed self-denial: And honour, glory, immortality, and a crown of eternal life, shall recompence all our sufferings in the end[l].

"O Lord God! Thou lovest holiness, and purity "is thy delight in the earth. Wherefore, I pray "thee, make an end of sin, and finish transgression, "and bring in thy everlasting righteousness to the souls "of men, that thy poor creation may be delivered "from the bondage it groans under, and the earth "enjoy her sabbath again: That thy great name may "be lifted up in all nations, and thy salvation renown-"ed to the ends of the world. For thine is the king-"dom, the power, and the glory for ever. Amen."

[k] 2 Tim. iii. 12. 1 Pet. iv. 1 to 5. [l] Heb. xi. 1. Rom. v. 1 to 4. Phil. iii. 13. Rom. ii. 7.

A TREATISE

A TREATISE OF OATHS:

Containing

SEVERAL WEIGHTY REASONS

Why the People called QUAKERS

REFUSE to SWEAR.

And those confirmed by Numerous Testimonies

OF

Gentiles, Jews, *and* Christians,

BOTH

FATHERS, DOCTORS, and MARTYRS.

Presented to the KING and the Great Council of England in Parliament.

"But I say unto you, Swear not at all. MAT. v. 34.
"Above all things, my Brethren, Swear not. JAM. v. 22.
"Because of Oaths, the Land mourneth. JER. xxxii. 10."

He ought to Swear neither this Thing nor any Thing. Theognis.
It is a great Good for a Man not to Swear at all. Maimonides.
It is not lawful to Swear, neither in a just nor unjust Cause. Chrysostom.

TO THE

KING,

AND

reat Council of ENGLAND,

Aſſembled in PARLIAMENT.

: CASE of the People called QUAKERS, elating to OATHS, farther repreſented, and ecommended to their Conſideration, in order o a ſpeedy and effectual Redreſs.

HE common benefit of the Free People of England being undoubtedly both the firſt and uteſt reaſon for the ancient, juſt, and neceſſary con- ition of Parliaments; and being alſo informed : it is your reſolution to employ this ſeſſion to the eſs of public grievances; and ſince we cannot but ite ourſelves a Member of this Great Body you re- ent, by Birth and Engliſh Deſcent, and are not r involved in the common calamities of the king- , but in particular very cruelly treated in our per- and eſtates, becauſe we cannot, for Pure Conſcience, : any Oath at all (though we have again and again lered our Solemn Yea or Nay, and are moſt ing to ſuſtain the ſame penalty in caſe of Lying, : is uſually inflicted for Perjury); to the end we not be interpreted to decline the cuſtom out of e humour or evaſion (though our frequent and ry ſufferings, by fines and tedious impriſonments, etimes to death itſelf, ſhould ſufficiently vindicate

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us against such uncharitable censure) we do, with all due respect, present you with our reasons for that tenderness, and many testimonies and precedents in their defence; and we intreat you to express that care of a Member of your own Civil Body, which Nature and Christianity excite to. We mean, that it would please you to consider how deeply we have already suffered in person and estate, the inconveniencies we have daily to encounter, and those injurious not only to ourselves, but others we commerce with, in that both they and we, because of our tenderness in this matter, are constantly at the mercy of such as will swear any thing to advantage themselves, where they are sure that a contrary evidence shall be by law esteemed (however true) invalid; under which difficulty several of us at this hour fruitlessly labour: That being sensible of our calamity, you may please to endeavour, as for others, so for this grievance, both a speedy and effectual redress; otherwise, besides ordinary cases, wherein many of us extraordinarily suffer, we may perhaps prove, in this of Oaths, the greatest, if not the only sufferers of the kingdom; a cruelty, we hope, you do not design against us.

God Almighty, we beseech him with all sincerity of heart, incline you to justice, mercy, and truth. Amen.

London, the 25th of the
Third Month, 1675.

Subscribed on the behalf of the rest of our Friends, by

Alexander Parker,	Samuel Newton,
George Whitehead,	Thomas Heart,
Stephen Crisp,	John Osgood,
William Mead,	James Claypool,
Gerrard Roberts,	Thomas Rudyard,
William Welsh,	Richard Richardson,

And William Penn.

Some

Some Inducements offered to anſwer this Requeſt, from a Conſideration of the Cauſe and End of an Oath, and thoſe Reaſons and Teſtimonies given by us againſt the Uſe and Impoſition of it.

The Ground or Reaſon of Swearing.

THIS, we think, all will agree to have been the degeneration of man from Primitive Integrity, at what time Yea and Nay were enough; for when men grew corrupt, they diſtruſted each other, and had recourſe to extraordinary ways to awe one another into truth-ſpeaking, as a remedy againſt falſhood; elſe, what need had there been of an Oath, or any extraordinary way of evidence, when every ſyllable was freighted with truth and integrity? It had been a mere taking of God's holy name in vain: truth then flowed naturally, and wanted no ſuch expedient to extort its evidence.

Thus Polybius, though an Heathen, in his ſtory of the Romans, ſaith, 'Among the ancients, Oaths were 'ſeldom uſed in judicatures themſelves; but when 'Perfidiouſneſs increaſed, Oaths increaſed,' or then the uſe of them firſt came in *.

Baſilius Magnus ſaith, 'Oaths are an effect of Sin †.'

Gregorius Nazianzenus, in his Dialogue againſt Swearing, ſaith, 'An oath is nothing elſe but a certain con-'ſummation of miſchiefs ‡.'

Ambroſius ſaith, 'Swearing is only in condeſcenſion 'to a defect.'

Chryſoſtom ſaith, 'An oath came in when evils in-'creaſed, when men appeared unfaithful, when all 'things became topſy-turvy.' Again,

'To ſwear is of the devil; ſeeing Chriſt ſaith, "What "is more (than yea, &c.) is of evil." Again,

'Swearing took its beginning for want of truth or 'punctuality.'

* He lived before Chriſt two hundred years. H. Grotius on Mat. v. Biſhop Gauden of Oaths, p. 36. † In Pſalm xiv. ‡ Jamb. 20.

Auguſtin

Auguſtin ſaith, 'An oath is not among good but 'evil things, and uſed for the infirmity of others, which 'is evil, from which we pray that we may be daily 'delivered *.'

Chromatius ſaith, 'What need we ſwear, ſeeing it is 'unlawful to lye.' Which ſhews that lying was the occaſion of oaths, and by leaving off lying, oaths vaniſh as unprofitable.

Titelmannus ſaith, that 'An oath belongs not to 'virtue.'

Albertus Magnus ſaith, 'Swearing is by indulgence.'

Ludulphus ſaith, 'An oath was permitted of infir-'mity.'

Burgenſis cites Jerom, ſaying, 'Our Saviour teacheth, 'that an oath ſprung from the vices of men †.'

Biſhop Gauden alſo tells us, 'That the evils of mens 'hearts and manners, the jealouſies and diſtruſts, the 'diſſimulations and frauds of many Chriſtians, their 'uncharitableneſs and inſecurities are ſuch, as by their 'diſeaſes do make ſolemn oaths and judicial ſwearing 'neceſſary; not abſolutely, morally, or preceptively, 'but as a remedy or expedient ‡.'

Jerom, with many of the fathers, Chryſoſtom, Theodoret, and others here omitted, becauſe largely cited hereafter, make this the reaſon why God indulged the Jews in the uſe of ſwearing, 'That they were but in 'the ſtate of infancy, and that they might be kept from 'ſwearing by falſe gods;' which the ſcripture is plain in: "For thou ſhalt fear the Lord thy God, and "ſwear by his name: Ye ſhall not go after other gods, "for God is a jealous God, &c.[a]" Which ſhews, that he diſpenſed with ſwearing by his name, that he might take them off from ſwearing by falſe gods, becauſe they would thereby acknowledge them, and not the true God; ſo that ſwearing is only better than idolatry.

* Comment. on Hebr. c. 6. Hom. 9. on Acts iii. Hom. Pſal. v. Ad Pop. Antioc. On Mat. v. ibid. † On Pſal. xiv. On Mat. v. Vit. Chr. p. 2. c. 12. On Mat. v. ‡ Of Oaths, p. 17, 23. On Mat. v. 36, 37. [a] Deut. vi. 13, 14, 15.

IT will remain, that we give our REASONS why we cannot take this liberty, and swear, as well as other men have done, and yet do.

I. The first is drawn from the Cause and Ground of Oaths, viz. Perfidiousness, Distrust, and Falshood: God's instructions to avoid those hateful crimes: the ability he hath given man to answer his commands; and man's duty to make that use of God's gift. For if swearing came in by perfidiousness, distrust, dissimulation, and falshood, it is a most just consequence that it ought to go out with them; or that as the rise and increasing of those evils were the rise and increasing of oaths, so the decreasing and extirpation of those evils, should be the decreasing and abolishing of oaths; otherwise there would be no truth in the rule of contraries, nor reason in that maxim, *cessante ratione legis, cessat lex*; 'that the ceasing of the Reason of the law, 'is the cessation of the Law.' Expedients are no longer useful than to obtain what they are designed to: means are swallowed up of their ends: Diseased men only want remedies, and lame men crutches: Honesty needs neither whip nor spur; she is security for herself; and men of virtue will speak truth without extortings; for oaths are a sort of racks to the mind, altogether useless where integrity sways.

This, we presume, no man of reason will deny, viz. 'That Swearing came in, and ought to go out, with 'perfidiousness;' and hope it will be as easy to grant, at least it will be very easy to prove, that God hath frequently, both by prophets and apostles, reproved men for such impieties, and strictly required truth and righteousness; as, Isa. lix. 3, 4. Jer. ix. 3, 5. Rom. xii. 19. Gal. v. 19, 20, 21. Col. iii. 8, 9, 10. Josh. xxiv. 14. 1 Sam. xii. 24. 1 Kings ii. 4. Eph. iv. 25. and by abundance of other places in holy scripture. And that God should enjoin man any thing that he hath not impowered him to perform, is unworthy of any man acknowledging a God so much as to conceive. It is true, that the unprofitable servant in the parable is represented to entertain so blasphemous a thought of his Maker,

Maker, that he was so "hard a master, as to reap "where he did not sow;" but the same parable also acquaints us of the dreadful consequence of that presumption. The prophet Micah preached another doctrine, "The Lord hath shewed thee, O man, what is "good: and what doth the Lord require of thee, but "to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with "thy God[b]? For this end hath "the Grace of God "appeared unto all men," as speaks the apostle Paul to Titus, that they should be taught "to deny ungod-"liness and worldly lusts;" which entering, and overrunning the world, made way, among other expedients, for that of oaths; so that to live that life which needs no oath, man is both required and impowered: and as it is only his fault and condemnation, if he doth not; so certainly there can be no obligation upon him, who liveth that life of truth and integrity, to perpetuate that which rose, and therefore ought to fall, with falshood and perfidiousness: the reason of the thing itself excuses him: for he that fears untruth, needs not swear, because he will not lie; to prevent which, men exact swearing: and he that doth not fear telling untruth, what is his oath worth? He that makes no conscience of that law that forbids lying, will he make any conscience of forswearing? Veracity is the best security; and Truth-speaking the noblest tie and firmest testimony that can be given. This we declare to you to be both our judgment and attainment: we speak not boastingly, but with humility, before the great Lord of heaven and earth, to whose alone Power we do unanimously ascribe the honour: he hath taught us to speak the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, as plainly and readily without an oath as with an oath, and to abhor lying as much as perjury; so that for us to swear, were to take his holy name in vain. Nor are we therein singular; for that not only Christian Fathers, Martyrs, and Doctors, but also Jews and

[b] Mich. vi. 8.

Heathens,

Heathens, have had this ſenſe of the riſe of oaths, as will hereafter fully appear.

II. Our ſecond reaſon, why we refuſe to comply with this cuſtom, and our ſuperiors ought not to impoſe it; is this; It would gratify diſtruſts, humour jealouſies, and ſubject truth, and thoſe that love it, to the ſame checks, curbs, and preventions that have been invented againſt fraud; whereby the honour of a noble profeſſion, the power of a veracious example, and the juſt difference that ought to be made betwixt truſtineſs and diffidence, integrity and perfidiouſneſs, are utterly loſt.

How is it poſſible for men to recover that ancient confidence, that good men repoſed in one another, if ſome do not lead the way, and hold forth to the world a principle and converſation beyond the neceſſity of ſuch extraordinary expedients? At preſent, people lie all on a heap; and the greateſt truth finds no more favour than the greateſt fraud: fidelity muſt wear the ſhackles worldly prudence hath made againſt the evil conſequences of cozenage, and ſubject herſelf to the cuſtoms brought up through fraud, or go to gaol. Be pleaſed to conſider, that truſtineſs did not all at once quit the world, nor will it return univerſally in the twinkling of an eye; things muſt be allowed their time for riſe, progreſs, and perfection: and if ever you would ſee the world planted with primitive ſimplicity and faithfulneſs, rather cheriſh than make men ſufferers for refuſing to ſwear, eſpecially if they offer the ſame caution to the law with him that will ſwear. We dare not ſwear becauſe we dare not lie, and that it may appear to the world that we can ſpeak the truth upon eaſier terms than an oath: for us then to be forced to ſwear, is to make us do a needleſs thing, or to ſuſpect our own honeſty. The firſt we dare not, becauſe, as we have ſaid, it is to take God's name in vain; and we have no reaſon to diſtruſt ourſelves, being no ways conſcious of fraudulent purpoſes. Why then ſhould we ſwear? But much rather, why ſhould we be impoſed upon? It is a ſaying aſcribed to Solon, 'That a good man ſhould

'have

'have that repute, as not to need an oath; that it is 'a diminution to his credit to be put to swear*.' It becomes not an evangelical man to swear, was a primitive axiom; but more of that anon. In the mean while please to remember, you have a practice among you to exempt your lords in several cases, placing the value of an oath in their bare avouchment upon their Honour, supposing that men of those titles should have so much worth, as that their Word might be of equal force with a common man's Oath: And if you will please to understand *Honour* in the sense of the most ancient and best philosophers, to wit, *Virtue*, your own custom gives authority to our reason, and makes you to say with us, 'That virtue need not swear, much 'less to have oaths imposed upon her, to tell the truth,' the only use of oaths. It was evangelically spoken of Clemens Alexandrinus, that 'a good life was a firm 'oath;' which was memorably verified by the judges of Athens, who, though Heathens, forbad the tendering of Xenocrates an oath, because of their great opinion of his integrity; which was three hundred years before Christ came in the flesh.

III. Our third reason for non-conformity to your custom is, the fear we have, lest by complying we should be guilty of rebellion against the discoveries God hath made to our souls, of his ancient holy way of truth; and consequently of concealing his goodness to us, and depriving him of that glory, and the world of that advantage, this honest testimony may bring to him and them. He has redeemed us from fraud; it is he only that hath begotten this conscientiousness in us, and we dare not put this light under a bushel; neither can we deny his work, or him to have the honour of it. We intreat you, take this tenderness of ours into Christian consideration.

IV. Oaths have in great measure lost of the reason of their primitive institution, since they have not that awful influence, which was, and only can be, a pretence

* Bishop Gauden of Oaths, p. 41.

for

for using them; on the contrary, they are become the familiar parts of discourse, and help to make up a great share of the a-la-mode conversation; and those who decline their company, or reprove their practice, are to go for a sort of nice and squeamish-conscienced men. These swear without fear or wit, yet would be thought witty in swearing; fearless, they cannot. Some are curious in their impiety; *old* oaths are too dull for men of their invention, who almost shift oaths with their fashions: nay, the most judicial oaths are commonly administered and taken with so little reverence and devotion, (to say nothing of the perjuries, that through ignorance or design are so frequently committed) that we cannot but cry out, O the great depravity that is in the world! How low is man fallen from the primitive rule of life! Well may the prophet's complaint be ours; for if ever land mourned because of oaths, with great sadness we say it, this doth. And what more effectual remedy can any people propose against the notorious abuse and evil consequence of Swearing, than Truth-speaking? For those that dare not Lie, need not Swear; and they that make no conscience of lying, do not much fear an oath, at least their consciences are very crazy in taking it. This only reason, were we destitute of all other allegations, would be a strong dissuasive from swearing; for we hold God's honour, and our profession, greatly concerned to prove to so false an age, that there is a people who are so far from *vain* and *false* swearing, that they dare not swear the *truth*, but whose Yea and Nay shall weigh against other mens Oaths, and that with a free offer of sustaining double punishment in case of a miscarriage. Expedients may last a while, but Truth only shall have the honour of conquering Falshood, and Virtue will, and must, be greater than an Oath.

V. The Omnipresence of God, rightly understood, shews the uselessness of an oath, and is with us a good argument against Swearing: for what need is there of that man's being awed into a true evidence by such sort of attestations and imprecations as make up the common

form of oaths, who knows God to be always *present* to reside and preside in his *soul*, according to that new and everlasting covenant which he hath made, "that his "people should be his Temple, that he would dwell in them, and walk in them[c]." Did the children of men know the power, glory, and majesty of God, whom the apostle preached nigh to the Athenians, and declared to the Ephesians to be "Father of all, and above all, "through all, and in them all[d]," there would be *no Oaths*, and but *few Words*, and those uttered with reverence and truth.

VI. We do not find that oaths answer this part of the end, for which they are imposed, viz. To convince those for whose sake they are taken, of the weight and truth of a man's testimony, by force of God's witness joined therewith: for they do not behold God's concurring witness by such an assistance or avenge of the party, as the truth or falsehood of his testimony deserveth; for the judgments of God are secret, and rarely so publickly seen to men, perhaps once in an age, that he should give any memorable discovery of his good will or displeasure in such a case; but whenever he doth it, it is not at man's appointment: and it is an evident sign that God approveth not of that sort of invocation, because he doth not answer them that invoke him, according to their wish; as neither did he, in the old law and custom of Combating, appear on his side that had the better title or cause, as he promised in the law of Jealousies, that their thigh should rot, and their belly swell, &c.[e]

VII. We look upon it to be no less than a presumptuous tempting of God, to summon him as a witness, not only to our terrene, but trivial businesses; such as we should doubtless account it an high indignity, always to solicit an earthly prince to give his attendance about. What! make God, the great God of heaven and earth, our Caution in worldly controversies, as if we would bind him to obtain our own ends? It is to

[c] Acts xvii. 28. [d] Eph. iv. 6. [e] Numb. v. 21, 22.

make

make too bold with him, and to carry an undue diſtance in our minds towards him that made us: an irreverence we can by no means away with, and upon which Chryſoſtom is moſt ſharp, as will be ſeen anon. Beſides, it is vain and inſolent, to think that a man, when he pleaſeth, can make the great God of heaven a witneſs or judge in any matter, to appear by ſome ſignal approbation or judgment, to help or forſake him, as the truth or falſeneſs of his oath requires, when he ſaith, *So help me God.*

VIII. Beſides what we have hitherto urged in defence of ourſelves againſt the Subſtance of the oath, we juſtly except againſt the Form of it (which farther adds to its unlawfulneſs, and conſequently to our vindication) as by the Contents and Kiſſing of the Book; ſwearing by a Sign, being Heatheniſh or Jewiſh. For the Romans held a ſtone, and ſaid, 'If I deceive wittingly, then 'let Dieſpiter caſt me out of my goods, as I this ſtone:' The Heroes ſwore by lifting up of the Sceptre: Cæſar ſwore by his Head, his Houſe, that is, devoted them to the wrath of God, if he wittingly deceived, &c. The manner of the Jews is from Gen. xiv. 22. "that Abra-"ham lift up his hand to God, אם If, &c. putting "the hand under the thigh; on the head; paſſing be-"twixt beaſts divided*," as God did to Abraham, &c. See more in *Lapid. Sophoc. in antiq. v.* 270. *Scholiaſt. Baptiſt. Hanſen*, of paſſing through fire, ſwearing by the right hand, &c.

The uſe of *So help me God*, we find from the law of the Almains, of king Clotharius: The laying on of the three fingers above the book, is to ſignify the *Trinity*; the thumb and the little finger under the book, are to ſignify the *Damnation to Body and Soul*, if they forſwear, *So help me God* †.

Farther, be pleaſed to conſider that the Engliſh Cuſtom has very much overgone Engliſh Law in this

* Feſt. ad. Lap. Polyb. l. 3. c. 25. Alex. ab. Alex. l. 5. gen. dier. 10. Cic. l. 5. Ep. 1. Ariſt. 3. Pol. 10. Plin. in pan. ad. Trajan. c. 64. † Lindenbro. cap. 3. §. 7.

 buſineſs

buſineſs of Oaths; they were anciently but ſolemn Atteſtations, "As the Lord liveth, &c." which are now improved to Imprecations, *So help me God, and the Contents of this Book*; though it was ſo of old at Combat; but that concerns not our caſe. For the kiſſing of the book, that is alſo novel; indeed after they roſe from ſolemn Atteſtations to Imprecations, the law required a Sight and Touch of the book; the Saxon jurors were *Sacra tenentes*; in the firſt Norman times it was *Sacris tactis*; and in latter writs, *Evangeliis tactis*; nay, the prieſt's hand was on his Breaſt (in Matthew Paris) not upon the Book. However, Jew and Gentile, Superſtition and Ceremony, have made up the preſent Form of Oaths, which the True Chriſtian Man neither wants, nor, we conceive, ought to perform; much leſs impoſe, where tenderneſs by ſober conſciences is pleaded, and equal caution offered to the law, for the integrity of Yea and Nay.

IX. But were we alſo deſtitute of this plea, and the uſual oaths of our country the moſt inoffenſively formed, and beſt penned that ever any were, we have both the Example and Precept of our Lord and Saviour, Jeſus Chriſt, to oppoſe to any ſuch practice; for in all that hiſtory delivered to us by the Four Evangeliſts, we never read him to have uſed any farther aſſeveration, than what in Engliſh amounts to "Verily, Verily, or "Truly, I ſay unto you." Thus by his example, exciting us the more readily to obey his expreſs prohibition of ſwearing, Mat. v. 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, which runs thus: "Again, ye have heard that it has been ſaid by "them of old time, Thou ſhalt not forſwear thyſelf, "but ſhalt perform unto the Lord thine oaths; but I "ſay unto you, *Swear not at all*; neither by Heaven, "for it is God's throne; nor by the Earth, for it is his "footſtool; neither by Jeruſalem, for it is the city of "the Great King; neither ſhalt thou ſwear by thy "Head, becauſe thou canſt not make one hair white "or black; but let your * Word be Yea, Yea; Nay,

* Λόγ⊖.

"Nay;

" Nay; for whatſoever is *more* than theſe cometh of " Evil."

He here prohibits even the *Leſſer Oaths*, as they thought them that reverenced ſwearing by the Name of the Lord, which in old time he ſuffered, by reaſon of the falſeneſs of their hearts, and great proneneſs to idols; even as Moſes permitted them to put away their Wives, which in the precedent verſe alſo is diſallowed by Chriſt, though with the exception of Fornication; but Swearing without any Exception: He doth not ſay, " Swear not, *except* before a magiſtrate (though he ſays, " Put not away thy Wife, except for the cauſe of For- " nication) but, Swear not at all:" Why, becauſe it " is of Evil;" which reaſon reaches the oaths taken before magiſtrates, as well as other oaths; for diſtruſt and unfaithfulneſs are the cauſe of one as well as the other: and there is equal reaſon in that reſpect, that a maſter ſhould ſwear in private to his ſervant at his entrance, that he will pay him his wages, as that the ſervant ſhould ſwear in public to a magiſtrate, that at his departure his maſter would not pay him his wages; both which oaths the certainty of their words, their *Yea* being *Yea*, and their *Nay* being *Nay*, makes vain and ſuperfluous.

Obj. We are not inſenſible of the common objection that is made againſt this allegation of our Maſter's command, 'That he only prohibited Vain oaths in commu- 'nication:' but if the words of the text and context be conſidered, every oath will be proved vain and unlawful; for Chriſt's prohibition was not a mere repetition of what was forbidden under the Law, but what the Law allowed, as * Biſhop Sanderſon well obſerveth; 'It was not needful that Chriſt ſhould forbid what 'was forbidden in itſelf, or was always unlawful; which 'Vain ſwearing was, and is, by the Third Command- 'ment, " Thou ſhalt not take the name of the Lord " thy God in vain;" therefore Chriſt exceeded the 'prohibition of the Law.' And the whole chapter is

* Biſhop R. Sanderſ. de Jur. Oblig. p. 141.

a demonſtration of a more excellent righteouſneſs than that which either needed or uſed oaths; for Chriſt brings Adultery from the Act to the Thought; in lieu of Revenge, he commands Suffering; and extends Charity, not only to Friends, but Enemies; ſo in the place controverted, in the room of ſuch oaths and vows as ought to be performed unto the Lord, he introduces *Yea* and *Nay*, with a moſt abſolute "Swear not at all." This was the advance he made in his excellent ſermon upon the Mount; he wound up things to an higher pitch of ſanctity than under the Law, or the childiſh ſtate of the Jews could receive. "Again," ſaith he, "Ye have "heard of old time, thou ſhalt not forſwear thyſelf, "but ſhalt perform unto the Lord thine oaths; but I "ſay unto you, Swear not at all;" as plain, general, and emphatical a prohibition as can be found in holy ſcripture. However, perſons that uſually advocate for the continuance of oaths under the Goſpel, tell us, it is not a 'General prohibition, but is limited to 'ſwearing by Creatures, either by Heaven, Earth, Je-'ruſalem, or Head, &c.' Which is wholly inconſiſtent with the ſcope of the place, as we ſhall make appear from theſe four conſiderations:

Firſt, The prohibition reaches as well to ſerious as vain oaths, ſuch as men made, if they ſwore at all, and ought to make to God only; for to him alone ſhould they perform them, and are accountable for them: theſe very allowed oaths of old time, are the firſt prohibited by Jeſus Chriſt; "It was ſaid of old, "thou ſhalt not forſwear thyſelf; but I ſay, Swear "not at all." It is true, it is not particularized what oaths they were to keep of old; but in general terms, that they were not to "forſwear themſelves;" and it is clear that God enjoined them that would ſwear, that they ſhould only "ſwear by *his* name." Now what can be hence inferred more evidently, then that men ought not to ſwear thoſe oaths under the Goſpel, which they might ſwear, and ought not to forſwear, but to perform unto the Lord, in the Law.

Secondly, Chriſt himſelf gives the explanation of his own words, chap. xxiii. 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22. where

he

he teacheth us, that "he that ſwears by the Temple, "ſwears by it, and by him that dwells therein; and "he that ſhall ſwear by Heaven, ſwears by the throne "of God, and by him that ſits thereon:" So that he that ſwears by the Head, ſwears by him that made it; and he that ſwears by the Earth, ſwears by him that created it; which leaves no room for the objection: For it is as if Chriſt ſhould have ſaid, "I not only "command you not to *forſwear*, but to *perform*; as "it was ſaid to them of old time; but I charge you, "*Not to ſwear at all.* I mean, not only that you ſhould "not ſwear by God, and thoſe oaths that the Phariſees "account binding; but alſo that you ſhould not ſo "much as ſwear by thoſe leſſer oaths, as they eſteem "them, and which they are wont to ſwear by; for they "are not leſs, nor more allowable, in that they that "ſwear by them, ſwear by him that is the Author and "Maker of them: Wherefore, being of the ſame "nature with the other, I forbid you to ſwear by them, "as well as by thoſe oaths that were of old time made, "and ought not to be broken, but performed unto "the Lord; for this is one of my great commandments, "which they muſt keep that will be my diſciples, that "is to ſay, *Swear not at all.*"

Our third inducement to believe this to have been the intention of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, is the concurrent teſtimony of the apoſtle James, which is not only a repetition of his Maſter's doctrine, but an addition and illuſtration, we hope ſufficient to determine the preſent queſtion with every unprejudiced reader; "But above "all things, my brethren," ſaith he, "ſwear not;" which runs parallel with "Swear not at all." The negative is as general and forcible. He proceeds, "Neither by Heaven, neither by the Earth:" Words of equal import with the latter part of Chriſt's prohibition: and, as if he had foreſeen the cavils of our ſwearing adverſaries, he adds, "Neither by any *other* "oath;" which though as clear as the ſun, if yet, for their laſt ſhift, they ſhould tell us that he only meant any other oath of *that* kind, not that he prohibited

ſwearing by the Name of the Lord, it will not do their buſineſs; for that Chriſt hath already aſſured us, "Whoſoever ſwears by Heaven, ſwears by Him that ſits thereon;" and the very next words ſhew, that it was not his deſign only to prohibit *vain*, but plainly to exclude *all* ſwearing, "But let your Yea be Yea; and your Nay, Nay, leſt ye fall into condemnation;" elſe why had he not ſaid, 'But you may ſwear by the Name of God before magiſtrates?' Why muſt "Neither by any *other* oath," be added after ſuch plain prohibition, as, "My brethren, above all things ſwear not?" And why muſt *Yea* and *Nay* be ſubſtituted in the room of an *Oath*, if it was yet intended by the apoſtle that Chriſtians might riſe higher in their evidence than a bare *Affirming* or *Denying?* That is, though their *Yea* be never ſo truly *Yea*, and their *Nay* never ſo ſincerely *Nay*, or the very Truth of the Matter be ſpoken, which is the import of the words; yet that they ought to *ſwear*. What is this but to contradict the natural tendency of the command of Chriſt and his apoſtles? Which is plainly this; 'If your Yea be Yea, it is enough; if your Nay be Nay, it is ſufficient; for Chriſtians ought not to ſwear; if they do, they fall into condemnation,' in that they break their maſter's command, who hath told them, that "Whatſoever is more than Yea and Nay, cometh of Evil," which is the ground of all oaths; for they ought to mean ſo ſimply and honeſtly in what they ſay, as that they ſhould never need to ſwear, in order to tell the truth.

Our Fourth and laſt conſideration, and that which to us ſeemeth of great moment to clear up our Lord and Saviour's ſenſe, and reſcue the paſſage from the violence of objectors, is this clauſe, "For whatſoever is *more* than Yea, Yea, and Nay, Nay, cometh of Evil." This cannot be intended of more words than Yea, Yea, and Nay, Nay, provided they are not of an higher ſtrain, but of the ſame degree of ſpeech, importing a plain aſſertion or denial of a thing; for it is not the Number, but the Nature of the words ſpoken, that is here prohibited: Nor can it be only underſtood of perjury;

perjury; for every body knows that to be Evil in itself, which is more than that which cometh of, or because of, Evil: therefore it must be understood as well of Swearing, as of Forswearing, which is not Evil itself, yet cometh of, or by reason of, Evil in the world. Nor is there any thing more than Yea and Nay besides Perjury, which can be intended, but an Oath; and therefore that was intended. Christ doth not only prohibit evil itself, but that which is evil by superfluity to evangelical sincerity, and that Swearing is (be it of what sort it will) where-ever Yea is Yea, and Nay is Nay. In short, if what is *more* than Yea and Nay cometh of Evil, then, because *any* Swearing, as well as Forswearing, is *more* than Yea and Nay, it follows, that any Swearing cometh of Evil, and therefore ought to be rejected of Christians.

Nor will our English translation of Λόγος shelter our objectors; for *Communication* doth not exclude those many cases that require evidences among men, no, nor any the least actions of man's life; on the contrary, they have a great place in human Communication, which is comprehensive of the various discourses and transactions of a man's life, as 2 Kings ix. 11. 2 Sam. iii. 17. Eph. iv. 29. Col. iii. 8. 1 Cor. xv. 33. It is a word of the same extent with *Conversation*, which takes in all that can happen between man and man in this world. Thus the Psalmist, "To him that ordereth "his conversation aright," Psalm l. 23. So the apostle, "Let your Conversation be as becomes the Gospel." Phil. i. 27. Besides, Λόγος may be rendered Word, as in John i. 1. and the Italian and French translations have it, "Let your Word be Yea, Yea; Nay, Nay;" as much as if Christ had said, 'As I do not only condemn the Act of Adultery, which the Law did, but 'also the Conception of the Mind, and not only 'Murder, but Revenge likewise; so I do not only 'condemn Forswearing, which is done to my hand in 'the Law of God, but prohibit *Swearing at all*; for I 'make that to be Unlawful, which the Law doth not 'call Unlawful: therefore when your evidence is called

'for,

'for, *Swear not at all*, but let your word be *Yea, Yea*, 'and *Nay, Nay*; that is, Do not ſpeak Untruth; for 'that is Evil: Do not Swear; for that comes of Evil.' To conclude; people ſwear, to the end they may ſpeak Truth; Chriſt would have men ſpeak Truth, to the end they might not ſwear; he would not have his followers upon ſuch baſe reſerves, but their Word to carry the weight of an Oath in it; that as others ought not to be guilty of Perjury, Chriſtians ought not to be guilty of Lying: for ſuch is the advance from Moſes to Chriſt, Jew to Chriſtian, that as the Chriſtian needs not the Jew's curb, ſo his Lie is greater than the Jew's Perjury, becauſe his Yea or Nay ought to be of more value than the other's Oath.

X. And laſtly; beſides theſe prohibitions, ſwearing is forbidden by the very nature of Chriſtianity, and unworthy of him that is the author of it; who came not to implant ſo imperfect a religion, as that which needed oaths, or ſhould leave fraud, the ground of ſwearing, unextirpated; but to promulgate that Goſpel which retrieves ancient ſincerity, builds up waſte places, reſtores thoſe breaches oaths entered at, and leads into the ancient holy paths of integrity they never trod in. He is that powerful Lord, who cureth the diſeaſes of them that come unto him, and the Myſtical Serpent exalted, that relieves all that believingly look up to him: his office is to make an end of Sin, that made way for Swearing, and introduce that everlaſting righteouſneſs which never needs it; the religion he taught, is no leſs than Regeneration and Perfection, ſuch veracity as hath not the leaſt wavering; ſincerity throughout, that it might not only exceed the righteouſneſs of the *Swearing Jews*, but that law which permitted it till the times of Reſtitution, which he brought to the degenerated world, who ſaid, "Swear not at all:" For the 'Law, that *permitted* Oaths, was given by Moſes; 'but Grace and Truth, that *ends* them, came by Jeſus 'Chriſt, who therefore prohibits them.' And not only is this Goſpel of Chriſt, or the Holy Religion he taught, of ſo pure and excellent a nature, but thoſe who

who will be his disciples, are obliged to obey it; insomuch that he himself hath said, "If ye love me, "keep my Commandments; and if ye keep my Com-"mandments, ye shall abide in my Love." Again, "Ye are my Friends, if ye do whatsoever I command "you: If any man will come after me, let him deny "himself, and take up his Cross, and follow me: for "I say unto you, that except your righteousness shall "exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, "ye shall in no case enter the kingdom of heaven: "be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which "is in Heaven is perfect[f]." These are the weighty sayings of our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; and certainly, he who breaks not the least commandment, who can suffer rather than revenge, love enemies, and be perfect as his heavenly Father is perfect, is above the obligation of an Oath unto truth-speaking. His disciples preached not another Gospel than their Master's, who prayed, "that those who believed, "might be sanctified throughout, in body, soul, and "spirit," which is a perfect removal of the ground of swearing: And they were exhorted to "press after the "mark of the prize of this high and holy calling, until "they should all come unto a Perfect Man, unto the mea-"sure of the stature of the fulness of Christ Jesus: for "even hereunto," saith Peter, "were we called; be-"cause Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an ex-"ample," that ye should follow his steps, "who "did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth." And saith John, "As he is, so are we in this world[g]." If no Guile be found in our mouths, then no Oaths; for they came because of guile: and if we ought to resemble him in this world, then must our communication be Yea, Yea, and Nay, Nay; that is, we must live the Life of Truth, and speak the Words of Truth, which ought to be of greater force than Oaths, that come of

[f] John xiv. 15. and xv. 10, 14. Mat. xvi. 24. Mat. v. 20, 48. Mat. v. 19. [g] 1 Thes. v. 23. Phil. iii. 14. Eph. iv. 13. 1 Pet. ii. 21, 22. 1 John iv. 17.

Evil.

Evil. If the righteousness of the Law ought to be fulfilled in us, we ought not to swear, because we ought to be so righteous as not to lie. This is evangelical; for as he that conceives not a foul or revengeful Thought, needs not to purge himself of Adultery and Murder; neither is there any reason that man should purge himself of Lying by Swearing, that doth not so much as countenance an untrue Thought.

The language of the same apostle to the Ephesians farther explains this Evangelical evidence; "But ye "have not so learned Christ, if so be that ye have heard "him, and have been taught by him, as the Truth is "in Jesus; that ye put off, concerning the former "conversation, the Old Man, which is corrupt, ac-"cording to the deceitful lusts; and be renewed in "the spirit of your mind; and that you put on the "New Man, which, after God, is created in righte-"ousness and true holiness: wherefore, putting away "lying, speak every man truth with his neigh-"bour[h]:" beyond which, there can be no assurance given or desired. And if Christians ought never to Lie, it is most certain they need never to Swear; for Swearing is built upon Lying: take away Lying, and there remains no more ground for Swearing; truth-speaking comes in the room thereof. And this not only the Christian doctrine teaches and requires; but Christ, the blessed author of it, is ready to work in the hearts of the children of men, would they but come and learn of him, who is meek, lowly, filled with Grace and Truth. And we must needs say, it is a shameful thing, and very dishonourable to the Christian religion, that those who pretend themselves to be the followers of Christ, (for so true Christians ought to be) should so degenerate from his example and doctrine, as to want and use scaring asseverations, dispensed with in some of the weakest times of knowledge, and such horrible Imprecations (never known to ancient Jews and Christians) to ascertain one another of their Faith and Truth:

[h] Ephes. iv. 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25.

Religion

Religion muſt needs have ſuffered a great ebb, and Chriſtianity a fearful eclipſe, ſince thoſe brighter ages of its profeſſion: for biſhop Gauden himſelf, in his Diſcourſe of Oaths, confeſſes, 'That the ancient Chriſtians 'were ſo ſtrict and exact, that there was no need of an 'Oath among them; yea, they ſo kept up the ſanctity 'and credit of their profeſſion among unbelievers, that 'it was ſecurity enough, in all caſes, to ſay, *Chriſtia-* '*nus ſum*, I am a Chriſtian.'

But to fortify what we have hitherto urged, in defence of our judgment and practice; and to the end it may more fully appear, that our tenderneſs in this great caſe of Oaths, comes not from any ſour, ſullen, or ſuperſtitious humour, or that we would trouble the world with any new-fangled opinion; we ſhall produce the concurrent teſtimonies of ſeveral famous and good men, for above theſe two thouſand years, among Gentiles, Jews, and Chriſtians, enough to make an *Oecumenical Council:* we ſhall cite them out of the beſt editions we have been able to procure, and as truly and punctually as we can render them digeſted in order of time.

MEMO-

MEMORABLE TESTIMONIES AGAINST SWEARING;

Collected out of the Writings of GENTILES, JEWS, and CHRISTIANS: Some of which were delivered to the World several Ages before *Swear not at all* was written by MATTHEW, or spoken by CHRIST. Which makes Swearing, among Christians, so much the more disallowable.

The whole published not only in Favour of our Cause, but for the Instruction of the World, and to their just Honour that said and writ them, as durable Monuments of their Virtue.

I.

The Sayings of the Gentiles or Heathens, in Dislike of Oaths.

OUR two first testimonies shall be the practice of Two Great People, the Persians and Scythians*.

Diodorus Siculus, Lib. 16.

I. 'Among the Persians,' saith Diodorus Siculus, 'giving the right-hand was the token of truth-speaking: he that did it deceitfully, was counted more 'detestable than if he had sworn.' Which plainly implies, that swearing was detested among them, as well as that they needed not to swear, who so much used truth-speaking.

* These nations were many hundred years before Christ.

Quint.

Quint. Curt. in Vit. *Alex.*

II. The Scythians, as it is reported by Q. Curtius, in their conference with Alexander, upon occasion of an unexpected security, told him, 'Think not that the 'Scythians confirm their friendship by Oath: they swear 'by keeping their word.' Which is not only a proof of their disuse of common oaths, but swearing at all, even in matters of greatest importance.

Plutarch, Rom. Quest. 28.

III. 'So religious was Hercules,' saith Plutarch, 'that 'he never swore but once.' If it was religiously done to swear but once in a man's life, it had been more religiously done not to swear at all. How just and severe a censure is this out of an Heathen's mouth, upon the practice of dissolute Christians*?

Hesiod, Theogon. p. 88.

IV. Hesiod, in his Theogonia, places an oath amongst the brood of contention. 'An oath,' saith he, 'greatly 'hurts men.' Again presently, 'An oath goes with 'corrupt judgment;' or an oath flies away together with corrupt judgments; that is, when justice appears among men, oaths vanish; as his scope in that place shews †.

Sociad. in Stob. 28.

V. It was one part of the doctrine of the Seven Sages, so famous in Greece, 'That men ought not to swear ‡.'

Stobæus, Serm. 3.

VI. Solon, the famous law-giver of Athens, and one of those Seven Sages, exhorteth the people 'to observe 'Honesty more strictly than an Oath.' As if he had said, 'Honesty is to be preferred before swearing;' as another saying of his imports, 'A good man should 'have that repute, as not to need an oath; it is a 'diminution to his credit to be put to swear.' Bishop Gaud. of Oaths, p. 41.

* Lived before Christ about 1280 years, being in the days of Gideon, Judg. viii. † Before Christ 800 years, in the days of Hosea, Joel, and Amos. ‡ Before Christ 620 years, in the days of Josiah.

Theognis,

Theognis, ver. 660.

VII. Theognis, the Greek poet, writing of a person swearing, saith, 'Neither ought he to swear this 'or any thing: this thing, (or swearing itself) shall 'not be.' What is this less than swear not at all*?

Valer. Max. lib. 8. cap. 18. *Laert. Hermip.* & *Orig.* contr. *Cels.*

VIII. Pythagoras, a grave and virtuous person, being earnestly intreated of the Crotonian senators for his advice in things relating to the government, did in his oration, among other excellent sentences, with more than ordinary emphasis, lay this down in the nature of a maxim, 'Let no man attest God by an Oath, though 'in courts of Judicature; but use to speak such things, 'as that he may be credited without an oath †.'

H. Grot. on *Mat.* v. 34.

IX. Clineas, a just Greek, and follower of Pythagoras, out of love to truth, and the respect he bore to his master's doctrine, that enjoined him to fear and shun an Oath, 'chose to pay three talents,' which amount to about three hundred pounds, 'rather than take any 'Oath:' whose example Basilius Magnus upbraided the Christians of his time with, that were learning to swear ‡.

Hierocles Comment. in Carm. *Pythag.* p. 28.

X. Hierocles testifies, 'That Pythagoras, in enjoin-'ing them to revere an Oath, not only prohibits 'Forswearing, but requires them also to abstain from 'Swearing.'

And Æschylus makes a sincere Beckon to a matter, a firm Oath ‖.

Stobæus, Serm. 114.

XI. Socrates, that worthy Gentile, and great promoter of virtue among the Athenians, among many excellent sentences delivered this, 'That good men must

* Before Christ 593 years. † Before Christ 590 years. These three persons lived in the time of Jeremiah and Ezekiel. ‡ Before Christ 560 years. ‖ Before Christ 422 years, in the time of Ahasuerus, Ezra iv.

'let

'let the world see, how that their Manners or Dealings 'are more than an Oath.' Which both proves, that he saw a more excellent righteousness than swearing, Truth itself, and believed it attainable; for he manifestly exhorts good men to that integrity, which is a greater caution than an oath. He was put to death for testifying against the Heathen idols, acknowledging One only God *.

Plut. in Lacon. Apoph.

XII. Lysander, the great Spartan captain, thought an oath of so little value, in comparison of truth, that he bestowed this contemptuous saying upon swearing, 'Children are to be deceived with Toys, and Men with 'Oaths.' Implying, that sincerity is a greater security than an oath ‡.

Isocr. ad *Demon.*

XIII. Isocrates, a Greek orator, in his Oration to Demonicus, advises, 'Not to take an Oath for money 'matters.' Also he teaches, 'That good men shew 'themselves more credible than an Oath ‖.'

Plat. de Leg. 12.

XIV. Plato (called divine) forbids swearing in solemn cases, 'That none swear himself; that none re-'quire an Oath of another.' He speaks there how Rhadamanthus brought in swearing by the gods; but that his art therein was not agreeable to that time (it seems he accounted it an art of policy); but that in all actions or causes, laws which are made with understanding, should take away Swearing from both adversaries.. 'For,' saith he, 'it is an horrible thing, 'that when many judgments are done in a city, well 'near half the people are forsworn in them.—Therefore 'let the presidents of judgments not permit any to 'swear in actions, not even for persuasion's sake; but 'that he persevere in that which is just, with a fitting 'speech,' &c. §

* Before Christ 422 years, in the days of Haggai and Zechariah. ‡ Before Christ 400 years. ‖ Before Christ 394 years. These two lived in the days of Malachi. § Before Christ 166 years.

Valer. Max. 10. *Cic.* pro *Corn. Balb. Diog. Laert.* in vit. *Xenocr.*

XV. Xenocrates was so renowned at Athens for his virtuous life and great integrity, that being called to give his evidence by Oath, 'all the judges stood up 'and forbad the tender;' because they would not have it thought that truth depended more upon an Oath, than the Word of an honest man*.

Menander.

XVI. Menander, the Greek poet, saith, 'Flee an 'Oath, though thou shouldest swear justly‡.'

Cherillus in Perseid.

XVII. Cherillus saith, 'Oaths bring not credit to 'the Man, but the Man must bring credit to the Oaths.' What serve they for then? To deceive? It seems by this, that Credit is better than an Oath; for it is the Credit that is the security, not the Oath.

Stobæus in Jur. c. 27.

XVIII. Alexides in Olynth. saith, 'A wise man ought 'always to give credit, not to swearers, but to the 'things themselves.' Then oaths are vain; for it is not the mere oath, but the likelihood of the truth of the evidence, from the consideration and comparing of the circumstances, that turns the scale.

Simocat. Epist. 33. F.

XIX. Simocatus says, 'Perfidiousness appears securer 'than Faithfulness; and an Oath imposed is a fit en-'gine for Deceit.' Strange! that faithful Yea and Nay is stopt, when Perfidiousness with an Oath can pass 'all Guards, Courts, and Offices.' He manifestly links Oaths and Perfidiousness, and gives the praise to Faithfulness.

H. Grot. on *Mat.* v.

XX. Epictetus, a famous and grave Stoick, counselled, 'to refuse an Oath altogether.'

* Before Christ 337 years. ‡ Before Christ 336 years.

Quint.

Quint. l. 8.

XXI. Quintilian ſaith, 'That in time paſt it was a 'kind of infamy for grave and approved men to ſwear; 'as if their Authority ſhould ſuffice for Credit. There-'fore the Prieſts, or *Flamens*, were not compelled to it; 'for then to compel a nobleman to ſwear, were like 'putting him upon the rack.' Which ſhews an oath to be an unnatural and extorting way of evidence, and that they preferred virtue and truth before an oath.

Plutarch, Rom. Queſt. 44.

XXII. Plutarch, in his 44th Rom. Qu. upon the Cuſtom of the Romans, holding it unlawful for the *Flamen Dialis*, or Chief Prieſt, to ſwear, puts the queſtion, 'Why is it not lawful for Jupiter's prieſt to ſwear? Is 'it becauſe an oath miniſtred unto freemen, is as it 'were the rack and torture tendered unto them? For 'certain it is, that the ſoul as well as the body of the 'Prieſts, ought to continue free, and not to be forced 'by any torture whatſoever; or for that it is not meet 'to diſtruſt or diſcredit him in ſmall matters, who is 'believed in great and divine things? or rather, becauſe 'every oath endeth with deteſtation and malediction of 'perjury? and conſidering that all maledictions be 'odious and abominable, therefore it is not thought 'good, that any other Prieſts whatſoever ſhould curſe, 'or pronounce any malediction. And in this reſpect 'was the Prieſteſs of Minerva, in Athens, highly com-'mended, for that ſhe would never curſe Alcibiades, 'notwithſtanding the people commanded her ſo to do: 'for I am, quoth ſhe, ordained a prieſteſs to pray for 'men, and not to curſe them. Or laſt of all, was it 'becauſe the peril of perjury would reach in common 'to the whole common-wealth, if a wicked goddeſs, 'and forſworn perſon, ſhould have the charge and 'ſuperintendence of the prayers, vows, and ſacrifices, 'made in the behalf of the city?' Thus far Plutarch, whoſe morals have the praiſe among all the writings of philoſophers; who is alſo commended himſelf, very highly, for his virtue and wiſdom. See his life.

M. Aur. Ant. in Deſcript. Bon. Vir.

XXIII. M. Aurelius Antoninus, that philoſophical Roman emperor, in his deſcription of a good man, ſays, 'That the integrity of a truly good man is ſuch, that 'there is no need of an Oath for him.' Certainly then, 'he was far from impoſing oaths upon his people, who both by his example and precept, preferred integrity before an oath.

Libanius.

XXIV. Libanius, a Greek Orator, though otherwiſe no admirer of Chriſtians, reckons this amongſt the praiſes of a Chriſtian emperor. 'He is,' ſays he, 'ſo 'far from being blacked with Perjury, that he is 'even afraid to ſwear the Truth.' It ſeems, then, they ſwore not in his time; and that Libanius, an enemy to Chriſtians, preferred and admired this precept, "Swear not at all."

Auſon. Epiſt. 2.

XXV. We ſhall conclude with Auſonius, whoſe ſaying ſeems to be all contracted, or thoſe other teſtimonies digeſted into one axiom, that is, 'to ſwear, or ſpeak 'falſly, is one and the ſame thing.'

Theſe are the reflections upon oaths we receive from Heathens, who, by the Light they had, both diſcerned the ſcope of the evangelical doctrine, "Swear not at "all," preceptively laid down by Chriſt our Lord, Mat. v. 34. and preſſed it earneſtly: And, which is more to their honour, but to the Chriſtian's ſhame, ſeveral of them lived it ſincerely.

II.

Teſtimonies from the Jews, in Diſlike of All Swearing.

H. Grot. Com. on *Mat.* v. 34.

XXVI. Maimonides, out of the moſt ancient of the Jewiſh rabbies, extracts this memorable axiom, 'It is 'beſt for a man not to ſwear at all.'

Raimund.

Raimund. p. 135.

XXVII. Raimundus quotes him thus, Maimonides in Tract. de Juramentis; 'It is a great good for a man 'not to ſwear at all: the ancient and lawful doctrine 'of the ſynagogue *.'

Joſeph. de Bello *Judaico*, l. 2. c. 7.

XXVIII. 'The Eſſeni, or Eſſeans,' ſaith Joſephus, 'keep their promiſe, and account every word they ſpeak, 'of more force than if they had bound it with an Oath; 'and they ſhun Oaths worſe than Perjury; for they 'eſteem him condemned for a liar, who is not believed 'without calling God to witneſs.'

Theſe Eſſeans were the moſt religious of the Jewiſh people, though the Phariſees made the greateſt noiſe amongſt the rabble.

Philo de Decalogo, p. 583.

XXIX. Philo, that excellent Jew, relates thus much concerning the ſame Eſſeans, 'That whatſoever they 'ſaid, was firmer than an Oath; and that to ſwear, 'was counted amongſt them a thing ſuperfluous.

Philo Judæus on Com. 3.

XXX. The ſame Philo himſelf thus taught, in his Treatiſe on the Ten Commandments: Commandment 3. Thou ſhalt not take the Name of God in vain. 'Many 'ways,' ſaith he, 'do men ſin againſt this command-'ment; ſo that it is better not to ſwear at all; but 'ſo well accuſtom thyſelf to ſpeak truth always, that 'thy bare Word ſhall have the force and virtue of an 'Oath. It is become a proverb, That to ſwear well 'and holily, is a ſecond virtue; for he that ſweareth, 'is ſuſpected of lying and perjury. It is,' ſaith he, 'moſt profitable and agreeable to the reaſonable nature, 'to abſtain altogether from ſwearing. Whatſoever a 'godly man ſpeaks, let it go for an Oath.'

The wiſdom and moderation of this worthy perſon, reflect juſt blame upon thoſe that pillage their neigh-

* If it be a great good not to ſwear at all; what is it to impoſe an oath?

bours, because they conscientiously refuse an oath: but that men, who pretend to be the disciples of Jesus Christ, should commit these cruelties, aggravates their evils, and doubtless their guilt. How can they ever hope to look their Lord with comfort in the face, who so severely treat their fellow-servants? Certainly Jews and Heathens will one day rise up in judgment against such Christians, for their unnatural carriage towards their brethren; this is not to love Enemies, but injure Friends. Jews and Heathens are become names of reproach; yet, to the rebuke of Christians, as they call themselves, they not only discerned the Rise and Ground of Oaths, but the Evil of using them, even while they were tolerated; and both avoided them, and exhorted others to that integrity which had no need of them.

These testimonies, though they are of weight with us, and we hope they will have a due impress upon the minds of many of our readers; yet because nothing produced out of Jews and Gentiles may advance our cause with some, or render it ever the more acceptable, we shall next betake ourselves to the more Christian ages of the world, for approbation of our judgment, who, we are sure, will kindly entertain us, their liberality being extraordinary to our cause; and from whom we shall never want votes for "Swear not at all," while their works are in the world: may our superiors join theirs with them, and we have reason to believe, that our deliverance from the yoke of Oaths, will be the happy issue of this necessary address.

III.

Testimonies from CHRISTIANS, both Fathers, Doctors, Confessors, and Martyrs, in Dislike of All Swearing.

Polycarpus.

XXXI. The first testimony recorded against swearing, after the apostles times, was that of Polycarpus, who had lived with the apostles, and was said to have been disciple

disciple to John, not the least of the apostles; for at his death, when the governor bid him 'Swear, defy 'Christ,' &c. he said, 'Fourscore and six years have I 'served him, yet hath he never offended me in any 'thing.' The Proconsul still urged and said, 'Swear 'by the Fortune of Cæsar;' to whom Polycarpus answered, 'If thou requirest this vain-glory, 'That I 'protest the Fortune of Cæsar, as thou sayest, feigning 'thou knowest not who I am, hear freely, I AM A 'CHRISTIAN:' This good man began his fourscore and sixth year, about twenty years after James wrote "Above all things, my brethren, swear not:" and several years before John the apostle deceased, for he is called his disciple *. See his history and commendation in Eusebius.

We know it is objected by some, that he refused to swear only because he could not swear by that oath; which is a guess, and no confutation of what we alledge: but if that had been Polycarpus's reason, why did he not rather say, 'The Law of God forbids swear-'ing by Idols?' It is certain, the first Christians would not swear, but thought Polycarpus's answer security enough to them that demanded their Oath: he refused all oaths as a *Christian*; therefore saying, he was a *Christian*, was reason sufficient why he would not take that oath.

Justin Martyr, Apol. 2. pro *Christianis*, ad *Anton. Pium*, Oper. p. 63.

XXXII. It was some time before his suffering, that Justin Martyr, who is the first we find writing of it, published an Apology for the Christians in the year 150, as himself saith; and a second after that, wherein he tells us, after the doctrine of his master, 'That we 'should not swear at all, but always speak the truth. 'He, (that is Christ,) hath thus commanded, "Swear "not at all; but let your Yea be Yea, and your Nay, "Nay; and what is more than these is of evil."

* Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. 4. cap. 15.

See his praiſe and martyrdom in Euſebius, ſoon after Polycarpus *.

Euſeb. Eccl. Hiſt. lib. 5. c. 1.

XXXIII. 'Under the ſame emperor,' ſays Euſebius, 'ſuffered alſo Ponticus, of fifteen years of age, and 'Blandina, a virgin, with all kind of bitter torments; 'the tormentors now and then urging them to ſwear, 'which they conſtantly refuſed.'

Euſeb. ibid. lib. 6. cap. 4.

XXXIV. And in the next emperor's reign, Baſilides, a ſoldier of authority amongſt the hoſt, being appointed to lead Potamiena to execution, and by her convinced of the Truth in Chriſt, was after a while required to ſwear; but he affirmed plainly, 'It was not lawful for him to 'ſwear; for,' ſaid he, 'I am a CHRISTIAN.' He did not lay the unlawfulneſs upon that oath, but upon *ſwearing at all.* The hiſtory only ſays, His companions would have him ſwear, upon ſome occaſion or other, not mentioning by what: his anſwer was, 'It is unlaw-'ful for me to ſwear;' and why? 'becauſe,' ſaith he, 'I am a *Chriſtian.*' The conſequence is plain, Chriſtians took *no* oaths; therefore not *their* oaths.

Tert. Apol. pro *Chriſtianis* adverſ. Gent. cap. 32.

XXXV. In the ſame emperor's reign lived Tertullian, a ſtrict and learned man, who wrote a very notable Apology for the Chriſtians, wherein he anſwers the objections of the Heathens, who accuſed them of not being well-wiſhers to the emperor, not Cæſar's friends, in that they refuſed to ſacrifice and ſwear by the Genius, Fortune, and Health of the Emperor (we begin with this, becauſe it is urged by ſome againſt us:) Saith he, 'We do ſwear as not by the Genius of the Cæſars, ſo 'by or for their Safety, which is more auguſt than all 'Genius's or Petty Gods; for we reverently look up 'unto the Judgment of God in the Emperors, who 'hath ſet them over the nations; and we know that to 'be in them which God wills; and what God wills,

* Euſeb. lib. 5. cap. 16.

'that

'that we will to be safe (that God save it) *hoc salvum* 'esse volumus, et pro magno id juramento habemus; i. e. And that we account for a great Oath, or that we 'have instead of a great Oath; namely, our Well-'wishing to Cæsar*:' the thing that was desired, the substance of the oath; that oath which the Pythagoreans said was in all reasonable creatures, viz. 'a full 'resolution of mind not to transgress the law of God,' which Tertullian saith here they had respect to; 'That oath which a just man sweareth by his deeds,' as Clemens Alexandrinus speaketh †. In like manner Tertullian says to Scapula, 'We do sacrifice for the 'health of the emperor; but that way that God pleases, 'by pure Prayer: 'So,' says he, 'here we do swear by 'the health of the emperor, by willing his health; 'and I do work for the health of the emperor; for I 'commend him to God ‡.' Otherwise, if we take the words of this doctrine strictly and properly, who in the writing is difficult, as Scultetus notes; and obscure, as Lactantius says; we shall both cross the scope of the place, and accuse him, and the primitive Christians and Martyrs of his time, not only of Swearing, but Sacrificing for the Health of the Emperor; neither of which do we ever read they did, nor so much as offered to do; had they, doubtless we should have heard of some release or favour shewn them on that condescension: besides, we shall also make him to contradict himself (which Scultetus accuses him not of, in this) for in his book *de Idololatriâ*, he speaks without any obscurity; saying, 'I speak not of Perjury, seeing 'it is not lawful *to swear*.' And in chap. 23. he proves, 'That he which signs a Bill of Security con-'taining and confirmed by an Oath, is guilty of 'Swearing, as if he had spoken it, and transgresses 'Christ's command, who hath prescribed not to swear ‖.'

* Tertullian was a lawyer, son to a Centurion of proconsular dignity. See his life. † Rigaltius adds, I will speak plainly, that the emperor is Lord, but after the common manner. ‡ Tertul. ad Scap. c. 1, 2. Apol. c. 33. I do offer sacrifice by prayer, c. 30. ‖ Tertul. de Idololatriâ. cap. 11.

He

He is before ſpeaking of the idolatry Chriſtians are obnoxious to in regard of employments as ſchoolmaſters, by reaſon of Heatheniſh Books and Cuſtoms; and Merchants or Traffickers, of Covetouſneſs and Lying; 'Not to ſpeak of Forſwearing,' ſaith he, 'ſeeing it is NOT LAWFUL ſo much as TO SWEAR; which 'if any ſhould do, he ſhould ſurely be the ſervant of 'Covetouſneſs, in undertaking an unlawful practice 'for gain,' as he ſays Lying was: 'but if he ſhould 'alſo forſwear, ſo adding Swearing to Lying, that 'then he ſhould be a Servant of Servants to Covetouſ-'neſs, which is Idolatry.' Which if Chriſtians had committed indeed, it is unlikely that Tertullian would have made ſuch a ſlight and ſhort preterition with a ſentence of eight words. And farther obſerve, that both Tertullian and the Martyrs make uſe of the moſt univerſal proof, to make their teſtimony for God full and complete. And though their enemies trial of them were ſhort of proving them Chriſtians, and diſtinguiſhing them from Jews; yet, in the wiſdom of God, their anſwer and argument being general and Chriſtian, including the ſpecial and Jewiſh, proves them not only true Jews, who were forbidden by God to forſwear, or to ſwear by idols; but true Chriſtians, 'not to ſwear, becauſe it was unlawful; for Chriſt had 'forbidden it.' And as his argument, in the Apology aforeſaid, was, 'It is unlawful to ſwear, much more to 'forſwear;' ſo here, 'Chriſt,' ſaith he, 'hath preſcribed 'not to ſwear;' then ſure not to ſwear and ſubſcribe Gentile oaths. So Baſilides, 'Becauſe I am a Chriſ-'tian, it is not lawful for me to ſwear;' then not *your* oath: this is the juſt ſenſe and conſequence of it. And ſaid Polycarp, 'I would have thee to know, that I 'am a Chriſtian; and the doctrine thereof, if thou wilt 'appoint a time, I ſhall teach thee, (that is, not to 'ſwear); therefore it is in vain for thee to bid me 'ſwear, and defy Chriſt.' So Blandina and Ponticus were urged to ſwear (by what, it is not ſaid, and it matters not) but in vain; for they were Chriſtians. We do not read that any uſed the Jewiſh argument, the Old

Old Commandment, "Thou ſhalt not ſwear by Idols;" but the Chriſtian argument, the New Commandment, "It is not lawful to ſwear; Chriſt forbad it; I am a "Chriſtian," &c.

And to this purpoſe ſpeaks Le Prieur on this place of Tertullian, in his Annotations (which the Publiſhers deſired becauſe of his obſcurity; ſee their Preface) 'Although,' ſays he, 'the Chriſtians did believe that '* All Swearing was forbidden them, they before all 'oaths were wary of ſwearing by the Genius or For-'tune of the Prince.' Here he confeſſes they were wary of All Swearing, much more that which was never lawful, to wit, ſwearing by Idols. And thereupon he brings the example of Polycarpus: but if All oaths, then of ſwearing by the Health of the emperor; for that was an oath. And this African writer's intricate ſenſe (as the publiſher's terms are) muſt needs be in this, as in the other, all along myſtical: and as he ſays a little before, 'I offer a ſacri-'fice (*oratione*) by Prayer;' ſo going along he ſays, 'We Swear, *juramus*, (i. e. *jure oramus*; for ſo Bruno and Caſſiodorus derive the word, *Jurare dictum eſt, quaſi juſtè orare; hoc eſt, juſtè loqui*†.

Again, Pſal. lxi. 'They ſwear in God, or to God, 'who promiſe an inviolable obedience of mind to him. '*Jurare* to ſwear (ſaith he) 'is *jure orare*, to ſpeak 'equity, that he will not decline to another party, 'from what he hath promiſed.' Again, 'Here ſwear-'ing is firmly in mind to reſolve to fulfil the good 'purpoſe.' And that this muſt be Tertullian's ſenſe, not only the ſcope (for which ſee Scultetus on the place) but his explanation of it, by 'willing what 'God wills, and that to be to them for a great oath;' plainly declares to ſagacious readers; and ſuch Tertullian's African ſpeech requires, as Rigaltius ſays of his

* It is confeſt by Le Prieur, that the Chriſtians did deny *all ſwearing*. † Bruno and Caſſiodorus on Pſalm xiv. and Pſalm lxi. This Caſſiodorus was a Roman ſenator and counſellor of Theodoricus, about the year 490.

writings,

writings, which have been * altered by them that could not comprehend them. But is it likely that a man so severe, who condemned the very subscribing of a Writing wherein an Oath was contained, and for this reason, 'because Christ forbad to swear at all;' and thought it needless to speak of Perjury, 'because it was not 'lawful to swear;' should yet allow it in himself and others to swear even by that which was not God? Besides, Suarez reckons him amongst those fathers who were more especially against swearing ‡.

Thus are the conspirators against this part of the doctrine of Christ, and his apostles, primitive Fathers d Martyrs, forced out of that sanctuary they betook iselves to, in the sentence of this intricate doctor.

Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 7.

XXXVI. Clemens Ale rinus, his cotemporary, famous for learning and strict living, to help him in his mystical meaning of an C , says, 'He who is once 'a Believer, why shall he make himself an ‖ Unbe-'liever, as that he hath also need to Swear, and doth 'not so lead his Life, that the same (to wit, his Life) 'be a firm and definite Oath, and shew the Faithfulness 'of Confession in a constant and stable Speech.—Far 'be it, that he who is approved and discerned in such 'piety, should be propense to Lie or to Swear.—He 'who liveth justly, transgressing in nothing of these 'things that should be done, the same sweareth truly 'and holily by his Deeds and Works (mark how this 'agrees with Tertullian's improper Swearing) the tes-'timony of the tongue is superfluous to him.—It suf-'ficeth to add unto his affirming or denying this, viz. 'I SPEAK TRULY, that he beget faith in them who per-'ceive not the stability of his answer: for it behoveth 'him, as I judge (saith he) to have a life worthy of 'credit (or faith) among those that are without, that 'an Oath be not sought from him.—Neither doth he

* There are about 2000 corrections in Tertullian's works.
‡ Suarez, de Juram, c. 2. ‖ Infidelity keeps company with swearing: and for a Christian to swear, is with Clem. Alex. to turn Infidel again.

'Swear,

Swear, as being one who hath determined to put for his Affirming YEA, for his Denying NAY.

'Where is there any need of an Oath to him that so lives, as one that is attained to the Height of Truth? He therefore that doth not Swear, is far from Forswearing: he that transgresseth in nothing that is covenanted and agreed, HE MAY NEVER SWEAR.

'Seeing he is fully persuaded that God is everywhere, and is ashamed not to speak truth, and professeth that it is a thing unbeseeming, and unworthy for him to speak false; he is content with this, that God and his own conscience know it, and therefore he doth not lie, nor do any thing besides or against what is covenanted and agreed: by that means he neither *sweareth*, if he be asked; nor denies, so as to speak false, though he die upon the rack for it.'

Likewise in his 5th, 7th, and 8th books of Strom. also in his 3d book of his Pædagogue with Gentianus Hervetus's notes on it, 'Where he forbids to set two prices, and commands but one single one, and to speak truth without an oath,' &c.

Origen in *Matth.* Tract. 25.

XXXVII. Origen, his successor, a man of equal fame for learning and piety, succeeds him also in this testimony concerning swearing: 'Because,' saith he, 'the Jews have a custom to swear by Heaven; to the foregoing (prohibition) Christ added this also to reprove them, because they more easily swore by Heaven than by God; because he deals alike unreasonably, who sweareth by HEAVEN, as he that swears by the TEMPLE, or by the ALTAR, in that he who sweareth by Heaven, seemeth to swear by Him that sitteth in that Throne; and doth not escape danger, as he thinks, because he sweareth not by God himself, but by the Throne of God. And these things he speaks to the Jews, forbidding them to give heed to the traditions of the Pharisees; * otherwise, before, he manifestly forbad to swear AT ALL.'

* He makes two prohibitions, as we do: 1. Swear not by God; 2. by no creatures. Ibid. Tract. 35. Mat. xxvi. Numb. v. 19. 1 Kings xxii. 16.

'The

'The chief priest said unto him, "I adjure thee by "the Living God, that thou tell us if thou be the "Christ the Son of God."

'In the Law we find the use of Adjuring; "The "priest shall adjure the woman with the adjurations of "this curse."

'Also Ahab said unto Micaiah, "I adjure thee that "thou tell me the truth in the Name of the Lord." The king adjured the prophet, not by command of the 'Law, but by his own Will. And now the priest ad-'jures Jesus by the Living God. But I account, that 'a man that will live according to the Gospel, *must* '*not adjure another*: for it is even like that which the 'Lord himself forbids in the gospel, "But I say unto "you, Swear not at all." 'For if it be not lawful to '*swear*, as to the gospel command of Christ, it is also 'true, that it is not lawful to *adjure* another, or *compel* 'him to swear*.'

Huetius, upon him, addeth, that Athanasius, Chrysostom, Epiphanius, Hilary, and many more, were of the same mind with him: and if so, we may without offence add, upon that respect our superiors seem to carry to their names, that it must needs be very remote from the doctrine of the ancient church, to fine, imprison, and bitterly treat those who, for conscience of that gospel-command, do scruple an Oath in this age.

"If thou wilt return, O Israel, saith the Lord, and "put away thy abominations, then shalt thou not re-"move. And thou shalt swear the Lord liveth in "truth, and judgment, and righteousness." Origen here tells us, 'That this is a reproof of them that did 'not swear in judgment, but without judgment: how-'beit, we know,' saith he, 'that the Lord said unto 'his disciples, "But I say unto you, Swear not at all." 'Perhaps formerly it behoved them to swear in truth, 'judgment, and righteousness; that after any had 'given proof of his integrity, he might be thought 'worthy of being believed without any Oath at all,

* Orig. against all swearing with us; and compelling.

'But

'But once having YEA, he needs no witness that it is 'YEA; and having NAY, he needs no other evidence to 'prove that it is NAY *.

Thus doth Origen prefer and extol evangelical verity, wrapt up in solemn *Yea* or *Nay*, above the swearing that was in truth, judgment, and righteousness under the dispensation of the Law.

Socrates Scholast. lib. 4. cap. 22. of his Ecclesiastical History.

XXXVIII. Gregory Thaumaturgus, so called from his working of miracles, on Eccles. lib. 46. cap. 8. saith, 'It is meet to give a diligent heed to the words 'of the king, and to flee an Oath by all means, especially that which is taken in the name of God.' See his great praise, his works, and miracles.

Cyprian, lib. 3. Testim. ad *Quirin.*

XXXIX. Cyprian, a famous father, and faithful martyr (who lived about the middle of the age, in the beginning of which Origen flourished) in his third book of Testimonies to Quirinus saith, 'Who hath desired 'me to draw out of the holy scriptures certain heads, 'belonging to the religious discipline of our sect (for 'so he called his own, the Christian religion).' His 12th head amongst them is, *Not to Swear.*

Again, writing of pastors and teachers, he biddeth them 'remember what the Lord taught, and said, "Let your sayings be Yea, Yea, and Nay, Nay †."

In another place he saith, 'It is unlawful for any 'man to compel another to take an Oath ‡.'

Hitherto the Christians, being under most cruel sufferings, generally kept faithfully to the command of Christ in this point; and we find very little in their writings about it, besides a simple and bare asserting of it, as the doctrine of Christ, "not to swear at all," as well as it was of Moses, "not to swear falsly or "vainly," for more was no way needful, in that it was not contested, but universally so received. But after

* Orig. on Jer. iv. 1, 2. † Cypr. Epist. ad Corn. n. 5.
‡ Cyprian de Mortal.

that

that Christian emperors had engaged themselves in parties, then, it seems, many out of flattery, and to engage them to their sect, took liberty to swear, even by the Health of the Emperor, as is objected against us by some, out of Eusebius: but such he did not account religious; neither that a religious part so to do, much less an August Act; and least of all, a Most August Act of Divine Worship, as some would have it; seeing Stobæus observes from him, 'that whereas many exhorted that they be honest and faithful in an Oath, he, for his part, esteemed it not the part of a religious man, not to avoid even Swearing itself*.' And we believe it will be a hard matter to find any in the Greek Church, especially for the first three hundred years, that would allow swearing so large a place in sacred things; yea, or in latter ages either, even in the Latin Church; nay, of those who have allowed it in some cases, many, or most of them, have denied it any place at all in the worship of God, as of itself; accounting it an Abatement, rather than an Advancement to Christianity; which no part of the true worship of God can be. But some, perhaps, taking Tertullian's Word *augustior*, or more august, (which, he says, the Safety of the Emperor is, in comparison of all the Genius's) to be the highest act of God's worship, they would have us swear by that, after the example of those mentioned in some Christian Emperors times. Tertullian's sense we shall easily grant; for it is so, and we do so, in that we commend our prince and governors to God, to God only, with earnest and sincere desires for his and their safety; above all such genius's as Tertullian calls *Dæmonia*. But we justly deny, upon the score of what we have made appear to the contrary, even from Tertullian himself and others, that he, or the Christians in his time, or for two hundred years before, or an hundred years after, did *swear*, as some would have it; 'least of all, as a most august act of the worship of God, without which all others are un-

* Euseb. apud. Stob. de Jurejur. c. 27.

'accep-

'acceptable;' or that those who did swear afterwards, were the most religious; seeing Eusebius esteems otherwise, and not he only, but also those very devout men that we have already produced, besides many which might and may be mentioned: for all that we have yet met with, in those times, that speak of it, speak against it; and of the following times, men of greatest renown and authority laboured with all earnestness to expel oaths the society of Christians, and cure them of that distemper, by inculcating the doctrine of Integrity, that needs no oath; proving by holy scripture, that it was the plain and absolute law of Christ, that "Christi-"ans ought not to swear at all;" and, by other arguments, that the original of oaths was neither from God, nor good men; but they crept into use through the corruption of times, and mere carelessness of governments; for when they could not trust one another, they called their gods to witness; but God, separating Abraham and his posterity from among them, to himself, the better to draw them from Idols, commanded them to swear by Him only: as much as if he would have said; 'If you will swear, let it be by my 'Name, rather than the Idols, that so you may, though 'it be after a mean manner, acknowledge a real Deity, 'the only Lord of all.' But how long was this condescension to last? Only till the Fulness of Time came; which, with other permissions, removed all Swearing; Christ bringing men to the Truth in the inward parts, as in the Beginning, before Swearing was in being; "for from the beginning it was not so."

But to shew what other Fathers reasons and testimonies against this Heathenish and Jewish Usage, indeed Bondage, were at the coming in of the apostacy, we shall begin with Athanasius, a man that was in great renown in the days of Constantine the Great, and whose Creed is the Faith and Test of Christendom at this day.

Athanasius *on the Passion of* Christ.

XL. 'The evangelical sentence of the Lord is,' "Let your Yea be Yea, and your Nay, Nay." 'Thus 'far we, who are in Christ, may confirm our words 'with Asseverations; and with no farther progress let 'us flee to or approach Oaths, that we alledge not 'God for witness, for corruptible money's sake; es-'pecially since Moses sets down the Law, "Thou "shalt not take the Name of the Lord thy God in a "vain thing." 'For if any is plainly worthy to name 'God, he is also worthy of belief: for, whosoever is 'meet for greater things, he will be much more fit 'for less: on the contrary, if he be not worthy 'Belief, that he may be credited without an Oath, 'surely he is not one that is worthy to name God. 'If he be not faithful in Word, how will God by any 'means be the witness of an Oath for him, who is 'destitute of Faith, to which God hath respect?' Again, "The Lord is nigh to all that call upon him "in truth," 'in which alone the Lord can be called 'upon. Wherefore, why do they swear by God, who 'are not trusted even in small matters? Otherwise an 'oath is a testimony of truth, and not a judge of 'businesses; such men do swear, not that they may 'signify businesses, but that they may confirm the truth, 'and that these may shew, that those things which 'they produce are without lying. If, therefore, he 'that swears hath both Faith and Truth, what use is 'there of an Oath? but if he hath no faith nor truth, 'why do we undertake such an impiety, that for poor 'silly men, and those mortal too, we call to witness 'God, that is above men? For if it be a base part, to 'call to witness an earthly king to the lowest judica-'tures, as one that is greater than both actors and 'judges, why do we cite Him, that is uncreated, to 'created things, and make God to be despised of men? 'Fie! that exceeds all iniquity and audaciousness. 'What then is to be done? No more but that our *Yea* 'be *Yea*, and our *Nay* be *Nay*, and in short that we do

'not

'not *lie*. But if we ſhall ſeem to ſpeak truth, and 'imitate the true God, ſome, perchance may thus 'contradict;

'If an Oath be forbidden to men, and a man imitates 'God in not ſwearing, how is it that God is related in 'the Holy Scripture *to ſwear?* For he ſwore to Abra-'ham, as Moſes witneſſeth: and it is written in the 'Pſalms,' "The Lord ſwore, and will not repent," '&c. For theſe things ſeem to be repugnant to the 'former, and that thereby there is permitted to men a 'liberty of ſwearing.'

'But this is not ſo, nor can any think ſo: for God 'ſweareth by none; for how can he, ſeeing he is Lord 'and Maker of all things? But, if any thing, this 'muſt be ſaid, that his WORD is an Oath, inducing 'the hearers, by a ſure Faithfulneſs, that what he pro-'miſeth and ſpeaketh, ſhall certainly be effected; ſith 'God ſweareth not as Man; but his *Word* to us is as 'an Oath for Verity. And ſpeaking to men, he is 'ſaid to ſwear: and this alſo the ſaints do utter after 'the manner of men; that as they themſelves ſpeaking 'would have credit to be given them, ſo likewiſe they 'themſelves ſhould give credit to God: for, as a man's 'word confirmeth an oath, ſo alſo thoſe things that 'God ſpeaketh, becauſe of the firmneſs and immuta-'bility of his will, are to be reputed Oaths. The 'ſame alſo, that is there written, confirmeth my ſaying,' "for the Lord hath ſworn, and will not repent;" 'as 'a thing not to be retracted by repenting, but cer-'tainly to be effected, according to the Engagement 'of an Oath. This alſo God doth declare in Geneſis, 'ſaying;' "I have ſworn by myſelf:" 'but that is not 'an Oath; for he ſwore not by *another*, which is proper 'for an Oath, but by *Himſelf*, which contains not the 'eſtimation of an oath: but this is done that the 'Sureneſs of his promiſe may appear, and how confi-'dently that ought to be believed, which is ſpoken, 'that ſweet Pſalmiſt will witneſs for me in his Pſalm, 'calling God to mind, when he ſaith,' "Where are

"thy ancient mercies, O Lord, which thou ſwareſt to "David thy ſervant, in (or by) thy Truth?" 'For 'God ſweareth not by his Truth: but becauſe He, who 'is true, ſpeaketh in his Word, that, to Men, is for an 'Oath unto Belief. So God doth not ſwear after the 'Manner of Men; neither muſt we be induced there-'by to take Oaths: but let us ſo ſay, and ſo do, and 'ſo approve ourſelves in ſaying and doing, that we 'need not an Oath for the hearer, and that our Words, 'of themſelves, may have the teſtimony of truth: for 'by that way we ſhall plainly imitate God *.'

Hilary, on *Mat.* v. 34.

XLI. Hilary, a Father, very famous in the days of Conſtantius, ſon to Conſtantine (but an Arian; and, which was worſe, a Perſecutor, ſo that this Hilary was baniſhed) in his commentary on thoſe words in Matthew, "Ye have heard that it was ſaid to them of "old, Thou ſhalt not forſwear thyſelf," &c. thus expreſſeth himſelf, 'The Law ſet a penalty for perjury, 'that the conſcience of religion, or fear of an oath, 'might reſtrain the deceitfulneſs of minds; for the 'rude and inſolent people made frequent mention of 'their God by a familiar courſe of ſwearing: but faith 'doth remove the cuſtom of an oath, making the 'buſineſſes of our life to be determined in truth, and 'laying aſide the affecting to deceive; preſcribing the 'ſimplicity of ſpeaking and hearing, that what *was*, '*was*; what *was not*, *was not*; that the buſineſs of 'deceiving might be apparent between *it is*, and *it is* '*not*; and what is more, is all of evil: for what *is*, it is 'its property always that *ſo* it is; and what *is not*, it is 'its nature that it *is not*: therefore to them that live in 'the ſimplicity of the faith, there is no *need* of the re-'ligion (or ſuperſtition) of an oath; with whom always 'what is, *is*; what is not, *is not*: and by theſe both all 'their words and deeds are in truth.' "Neither by "heaven." 'God not only ſuffers us not to make *Oaths*

* Athanaſius will not have it that God ever ſwore, properly and ſtrictly taken; only in a way of ſpeaking, having the truth, and *immutability* of the trueſt and greateſt oath.

'to God, because all the truth of God is to be held 'in the simplicity of *word* and *deed*; but also condemn-'eth the superstition of old disobedience,' &c.

Suarez, de Juram. l. 1. c. 1, 2.

XLII. The next testimony we shall pitch upon in confirmation of our reasons, and the sense we take our Master's precept in, "Swear not at all," is afforded us out of the Apostolical Institutions ascribed to Clemens Romanus, reported by Suarez, in his book *de Juramentis*. "Our Master,' saith Clemens 'hath commanded, that 'we should *not swear*; no, not by the True God; but 'that our Word should be more credible than an Oath 'itself.' Which is a plain indication of the apostolical doctrine to have been the absolute prohibition of oaths, in that sense wherein they were only reputed *lawful*; for if men ought not to swear, no, not by the True God, then, consequently, by no other oath, as his following words not only imply, but express, viz. 'That the Word of 'a Christian should be more credible than an Oath it-'self.' Again, 'He that in the Law established to 'swear *well*, and forbad *false* swearing, commanded 'also, *not to swear at all* *.'

Orthodoxographia, p. 11.

XLIII. There is a tract called, "The Gospel of "Nicodemus:" We know it is reputed spurious, but that makes nothing against us; that disputes the Author, and not the Matter; for though Nicodemus never wrote such a book, certain it is that such a book was written, which is in favour of Christianity, as then received. In the place cited, Pilate is made to say, "I adjure you by the Health of Cæsar, that these "things that you say," &c. They answered, "We "have a law, *not to swear*, because it is a Sin." Whoever wrote it, this benefit cometh to our argument, that the Christians at that time thought an Oath a Sin: for it is not to be doubted, but that he that

* This, if that Clemens, should have been first, because he lived in Paul's time, but we were not willing to begin our testimonies with a suspicion; howbeit it is an ancient writing, l. 6. c. 23.

gave that answer, knew it to be the doctrine and practice of Christians; for he was therein to represent them.

Basilius Magnus, on Psalm 14.

XLV. Basil, called the Great, another champion of the like fame, and in the same time of Valens, the Persecuting Arian Emperor, by whom he suffered imprisonment and cruel threatnings (see their praises in Socrates Scholasticus) on the 14th Psalm, with us the 15th, "He that sweareth, and deceiveth not his "neighbour:" So Basil hath it, and upon it these words:

'Here he seemeth to allow an oath to a perfect man, 'which in the Gospel is altogether forbidden;' "But "I say unto you, Swear not at all."

'What shall we say then?'

'That every-where the Lord, as well in the Old as 'in the New Law, hath the same consideration of 'commanding: for, desiring to anticipate the effects 'of sins, and prevent them by diligence, and to ex-'tinguish iniquity at the first beginnings, as the old 'Law saith,' "Thou shalt not commit Adultery," 'the 'Lord saith,' "Thou shalt not Lust." 'The old Law 'saith,' "Thou shalt not Kill;" 'the Lord, ordaining 'perfection,' saith, "Thou shalt not be angry." 'So 'also in this place, the prophet indeed seemeth to assent 'to an Oath; but the Lord, to take away all occasion 'of Perjury, and willing to prevent the dangers of 'swearers, takes away swearing *altogether:* for he names 'an Oath, in many places, the immutable and firm 'Constancy of any Thing or Purpose.' "I have "sworn, and have stedfastly purposed, to keep the 'judgments of thy righteousness:" 'Also,' "The "Lord hath sworn, and will not repent." 'Not that 'David brought the Lord for a witness of his sayings, 'and to get belief to his doubting; but that he con-'firmed the grace of his profession by an immutable 'and firm decree: so also he could have said here, 'that is,' "He that sweareth, and deceiveth not his "neighbour*," 'that it may agree with the saying of

* Socrat. Eccl. Hist. lib. 4. cap. 21.

'our

'our Saviour,' "Let your Word be Yea, Yea; Nay, "Nay." 'To things that are, thou mayeſt affirm and 'aſſent; but of things that are not, although all men 'urge thee, yet thou mayeſt never be drawn by any 'means to affirm againſt the nature of the Truth. 'is the thing not done? let there be a Denial: is it 'done? let it be affirmed by Word. And he that ſhall 'not aſſent to him ſo affirming, * Let him look to it, 'and feel the harm of his unbelief. It is a baſe and 'a very fooliſh thing to accuſe one's ſelf, as one un-'worthy of being believed, and to betake and refer 'one's ſelf to the ſecurity of an Oath. Now, there 'are ſome ſpeeches which have the Forms of Oaths, 'and yet are no Oaths at all, but rather Remedies to 'perſuade; as Joſeph, to make the Ægyptians familiar 'with him, ſwore by the Health of Pharaoh (חי פרעה '*live Pharaoh*). And the apoſtle, willing to ſhow his 'love to the Corinthians, ſaid,' "By the glorying of "you, which I have in Chriſt Jeſus, our Lord." 'For 'he did not depart from the doctrine of the Goſpel, 'who, by a thing before all moſt dear unto him, ſimply 'ſought belief to the truth †.'

Baſil refuſed to ſwear at the Council of Chalcedon ‡. Speaking of Clineas, a Pythagorean, who might have avoided a mulct of ‖ three talents, if he would have ſworn, which he rather ſuffered, ſaith, 'In keeping 'theſe things, he ſeems to have heard that command 'concerning an Oath, that is forbidden Us.' And he upbraided the Chriſtians of his time with it that would ſwear.

This Baſil the Great, in his 29th Canon to Amphilochius, writes thus: 'Becauſe an Oath is *altogether for-'bidden*, ſuch an one as is taken to an evil purpoſe is 'much more to be condemned.'—Again, 'If an Oath, 'ſimply as ſuch, be prohibited, of greater reaſon when 'it is to effect ſome miſchievous end.—The cure con-

* Pray mark where Baſil layeth the blame, if a word go not for an oath. † Joſeph ſwore not. Paul ſwore not. ‡ Ad Nepotes. ‖ above 300l.

'sisteth in a twofold admonition; 1. Not to swear. '2. To suppress the Form of Oaths.'

Blastaris Syntagma, Tit. E. c. 32.

XLV. There was an ancient law made to this effect, 'It is forbidden to *all*, from the bishop and clergy-'men to the readers, to take *any oath at all*.'

Blastaris also brings in this objection, 'But since 'those are punished who swear falsely, and those are 'passed by who swear well, some may say, Therefore 'it is *permitted* to swear.' To which he answers, 'But 'where shall we dispose, or how shall we dispense with, 'the evangelical precept in the Gospel, that forbids 'taking any oath *at all?*' adding, 'But I believe that 'the Gospel endeavoured to root out that Wicked Stem '(as I may say) which is in sinful men, and for that 'cause prohibited an *oath*, which is as the door or in-'let to Perjury †.'

Gregor. Nyssenus, on Cant. Orat. 13.

XLVI. Gregory Nyssenus, brother to Basil, spoken of by Socrates Scholasticus in the same place, and in lib. v. cap. 9. his works are famous. In his Explanation on the Canticles, he bestows this testimony upon us: 'He, who by Moses established the beginnings of the 'Law, by himself fulfilled all the law and the prophets, 'as he saith in the evangelists:' "I came not to de-'stroy the Law, but fulfil it;" 'who taking away 'Anger, abolisheth Killing also; and together with 'Lust, took away Adultery. He also casts out of 'mens lives accursed Perjuries, whilst, by the prohi-'bition of an Oath, he has put in his Sith as it were to 'Security. For it cannot be, that any should break 'an oath, when there is *no* oath: therefore, saith he,' "You have heard that it was said to them of old time, "Thou shalt not forswear, but shalt render to the Lord "thy oaths; but I say unto you, Swear not at all, neither "by heaven, &c. but let your Yea be Yea, and your Nay,

† Basil. Mag. can. 29.

"Nay;

"Nay; for whatſoever is more is of the devil." Thus do they moſtly end; which ſhows how they underſtood Chriſt's words.

Greg. Nazianz. in his Dialogue againſt Swearing, Jamb. 20.

XLVII. Gregory Nazianzen, a great man in the church, alſo ſpeaketh to the ſame purpoſe, in his Dialogue againſt Swearing, ſaying,

B. What Oath doſt thou leave to us?

A. I wiſh I might leave none, and that there were never any more. But thou ſayeſt, We have heard that God himſelf ſometimes ſwore: the holy ſcriptures record that: but is there any thing better than God? Surely nothing is found better than he: If therefore nothing be better than he, it ſhould follow that he never ſwears.

B. Why therefore do they record that he ſwore?

A. When God ſaith any thing, that is the Oath of God.

B. And how doth he ſwear by himſelf?

A. How! he ſhould not at all be God, if he ſhould lie.

B. Thou ſpeakeſt ſtrangely.

A. No wonder; that is the nature of God peculiarly, that he cannot lie: there is none that can deny this.

B. But what wilt thou ſay to me of the Old Covenant? Surely, it doth not prohibit an oath, but requires a true one?

A. No wonder: at that time only it was preſcribed in the Law concerning Murder; but now it is not lawful for any cauſe, ſo much as to ſmite or beat: then the end of an evil deed only came into judgment; but now that alſo which moveth to the end. This is my judgment: for now we have made a long progreſs; wherefore a wiſe man will abſtain from oaths.

B. What then? Doſt thou give to ſome, as infants, a kind of firſt food, that they may at length receive a ſucceeding kind of meat?

A. Thou judgeſt right and wiſely.

B. But

B. But Paul alſo ſwore, as they ſay?

A. Who ſaid ſo? O what a vain jangler was he that ſaid it! Quoth he, "God is my witneſs," and "God "knoweth:" thoſe words are not an Oath, but a certain Aſſeveration in ſuch great things, conſtant and inviolable.

B. Wilt thou allow the ſame alſo to me?

A. I wiſh that to thy power thou wouldeſt plainly become a Paul, and ſo thou wouldeſt have a right rule of thine actions.

B. What if I uſe an Oath unwillingly, but to free me from danger?

A. Let another allow thee that ‡.

B. What if an oath be written, and not pronounced with the voice?

A. And what is the meaning of a writing? Surely, amongſt all other obligations, a writing doth more bind and oblige us.

B. What if we be drawn by neceſſity to give an oath?

A. Why didſt thou not rather die? For ſurely, thou ſhouldſt rather die than do that.

‖ B. What if the books of the holy ſcriptures be not uſed?

A. What! is religion placed in a ‖ Leaf? Is God abſent by this means? It is evident that thou feareſt (Paper or) Parchment, and I fear God more: this is a frequent diſeaſe to many, and uſual; neither is it otherwiſe than as if a man beat the Maſter, and diſgrace him, and make his Servant a Free Man, and do him honour, (what a notable reproach that ſhould be?) or as if a man ſhould preſerve the king's Image, and in the mean time deſtroy the King.

B. It is even as thou ſayeſt: but I would have thee ſay, what is more to be ſhewn.

A. Many uſe to ſay, 'I ſwore with my Tongue, but 'my Mind is free from ſwearing.' Any thing may be

‡ See Tertullian before, to whom this agrees. ‖ Mark how Gregory Naz. ſpeaks of the Scripture, in compariſon of God's omnipreſence with the mind and ſenſe, and regard men ought to have of it.

more

more cunningly excuſed than an Oath: let him not ſuffer any Colour to be made for himſelf; for this is an Oath: and much miſchief comes from deceit itſelf? Let us ſee what an Oath is: nothing elſe but the very meaning (or mind) of thoſe things which we ſet down. —Thou wouldeſt have me add what remains: ſurely an Oath is nothing elſe but a certain conſummation, as it were, of miſchiefs: O dangerous flame!

B. But Plato doth ſome ſuch thing: he is religiouſly aware that he ſwore not by any God.

A. Truly I know what thou art about to ſay: there was a certain plane-tree, by which alone he made oath: but he did not ſwear rightly neither by that; for he had an underſtanding in ſomething; but what a juſt and religious oath ſhould be, that he could not underſtand. And what was this, tell me now? A certain ſhadow of an Oath, a declaration without a name; an Oath, no Oath, as the philoſophers ſwore by a ſtrange and unknown God. Laſtly, it is nothing elſe, but to make oath by any thing. Here let our ſpeech be at an end. Thou threateneſt that thou wilt leave me athirſt ſooner than I would.

A. If an oath ſeem a ſmall thing to thee, truly I cannot condemn thee: but if it is in the number of horrible things, I will alſo dare to produce a mighty thing: I do adjure, by a very Oath itſelf, that thou abſtain from, and beware of, Oaths, and thou haſt the victory.

B. I wiſh I had. What fruit gets he that often ſweareth? Laughter. What more? That when he ſpeaks truth, he ſhall not be believed.

In another place he ſaith, that to ſwear by Creatures, is to ſwear with regard to God himſelf ‡: ſo Chriſt himſelf ſaith, Mat. v. 25. and chap. xxiii. 16, 23.

Cæſarius, Num. 43.

XLVIII. Cæſarius, brother to Gregory Nazianzen, in his Spiritual Sentences, hath this ſentence, 'Flee

‡ Greg. Naz. on Cant. Hom. 18.

'all

'all swearing, or every Oath:' how then shall we get belief? as well by speech, as by virtuous actions and carriages, that gain belief to our speech. Perjury is a denying of God: what need of God in this matter? Interpose and put in ure thy Actions.

Epiphan. adv. Heres. lib. 1. Ord. 19. §. 6.

XLIX. Epiphanius, whom Socrates Scholasticus, lib. 6. cap. 9. calls a man of great fame and renown, and a virtuous and godly person, in his first book against Heresies (not accounting denying to swear an heresy, but rather the contrary, as may appear by his words, which are these) 'In the Law, as well as the Gospel, 'it is commanded not to use another name in swear-'ing: but in the Gospel he commandeth not to swear, 'neither by Heaven nor Earth, nor other Oaths; but 'let Yea Yea, and Nay Nay, be *as* an oath, (as Peta-'vius translates it) for what is more than these is of 'Evil. Therefore I suppose that the Lord ordained 'concerning this, because of some mens allegations, 'that would swear by other names; and first, that we 'must *not* swear, no, not by the Lord himself, nor 'by any other Oath; for it is an evil thing to swear 'at all. Therefore he is evil that compels not only 'to swear by God, but by other things,' &c.

Ambros. de Virgin. lib. 3.

L. Ambrose, soon after, being a lay-man, or citizen of Milan, was by the people, against his will, chosen Bishop of that city, for his great worth and godliness, whose writings are of great account; and speaking of the inconveniency occasioned by an Oath, saith, 'Wherefore not without cause doth the Lord in the 'gospel command *not* to swear, that there may be no 'cause of *forswearing*, that there may be no necessity of 'offending.'

'He that sweareth not, certainly he never forswear-'eth; but he that sweareth, sometimes he must needs 'fall into perjury, because all men are subject to lie. 'Do not therefore Swear, lest thou beginnest to For-'swear *.'

* Exhortat. ad Virgin.

'There-

'Therefore the Lord, who came to teach the little 'ones, to * Inspire novices, to confirm the Perfect, 'faith in the gospel,' "Ye must not swear at all;" 'because he spoke to the Weak.'

'Lastly, he spoke not only to the Apostles, but to 'the Multitude; for he would not have thee to 'Swear, lest thou shouldest Forswear.'

'And he added,' "*not* to swear, neither by Heaven, "nor by the Earth," &c. namely, by those things that are not subject to thy Power.

"The Lord sware and shall not repent[a]." 'He *may* 'swear, who cannot *repent* of his Oath. And what did 'the Lord swear?' "That Christ is a priest for ever:" 'Is that uncertain? Is that impossible?' "The Lord "hath *sworn*," Can it any way be *changed?*'

'Do not therefore use the example of an Oath, be-'cause thou hast not power to fulfil an Oath.'

Also, in his Commentary on the Hebrews, he saith, 'Because mankind is incredulous, God so condescend-'eth to us, that he even *sweareth* for us ‡.'

So that he shews that not to be an argument for swearing to be desired, seeing it is only in condescension to a Defect; not to be encouraged from it to swear, or to require it.

Chrysost. on Gen. Hom. 15.

LI. Chrysostom, in those days very famous in the church, and therefore stiled the Golden Doctor, in his 15th Homily on Genesis, saith; 'A CHRISTIAN must flee Oaths by all means, hearing the sentence of 'Christ, which saith,' "It was said to them of old, "You shall not forswear; but I say unto you, swear "not at all." 'Let none say therefore, I swear in a 'just business. It is not lawful to swear; neither in 'a just, nor unjust thing.'

* Ambrose on Mat. v. He was for Inspiration and perfection. [a] Psalm cix. ‡ Ambr. Com. on Heb. c. 6. Oaths founded on defect, not to be encouraged; then not to be imposed.

'To

* 'To swear is of the devil; seeing Christ saith,' "for what is more, is Evil," 'or of the evil one.'

'Swearing took not its beginning from the Will, 'but from Negligence only. Thou hast heard (saith 'he) the wisdom of Christ, saying, That not only to '*forswear*, but also, in *any manner* to *swear*, is devilish, 'and all a device of the evil one.'

'If to Swear is found to be devilish, how are they 'to be punished who Forswear.'

'If to *swear truly* be a crime, and a transgressing of 'the commandment, where shall we place *perjury*.'

Speaking of a *Christian*, (so called; for he that dare do such things, we cannot call a sincere Christian) whom he saw compelling a certain honest, ingenuous, modest, and faithful matron, to go into the *Jews Synagogue*, there to be sworn about some business in controversy betwixt them, she desiring help, and imploring to be freed from this wicked force, &c. 'I '(saith he) kindled with zeal, arose; and not suffering 'her to be farther drawn into this prevarication, res-'cued her; and enquired of him that had drawn her 'to it, whether he were a *Christian* or not? Who con-'fessing he *was*, I severely urged and upbraided him 'with his folly and extreme madness, to go about to 'draw any body, he professing himself to be a wor-'shipper of *Christ*, to the Jews Dens, who had *crucified* 'him. And going on in speaking, I taught him, out 'of the Holy Gospel, that it is not lawful to swear *at* '*all*, nor to *incite* any to swear, after that; not one 'that is a Believer, or initiated; no, nor one that is *not* 'initiated; to be drawn to that extremity. After I had 'spoken much, and a long time of it, I delivered his 'mind from the Error of opinion,' &c.

* Id. Hom. Psal. v. Ad Pop. Antioch. Hom. 19. The reason of oaths. Against the dispraise of solitary life, l. 1. Of compunction of heart, l. 1. Against the Jews, Hom. 34. Agreeing with Eusebius before. Chrys. calls swearing and compelling to swear at all, an error; then we are orthodox. See his great praise in Soc. Scho. l. 6. c. 3. He was of the race of senators. Remember Tertullian's case by this. Homil. 28. Eclog. de Juram. Hom. 5. ad pop. Antioch.

Be

Be pleased to observe how Chrysostom, a zealous and famous man, both for his books, and the persecution that he suffered, being Patriarch, or prime overseer of the church at Constantinople, one of the four of the chiefest in the world, uses no distinction of *private* and *public* oaths, the common talk of our imposers; for here he labours against drawing any to swear *at all*, even in Judicature, because it was not lawful to swear so at all, no not as the Jews swore, much less as the Gentiles.

Again, 'Let none say to me, What if any lay on me 'a Necessity of swearing? and what if he do not '*believe?*'

'Certainly where the Law is violated, one must not 'make any mention of *necessity*: for there is one una-'voidable necessity, not to offend *God*. Moreover, 'this I say, that in the mean time we may cut off super-'fluous oaths, those I mean, which are made rashly, 'and without any necessity, amongst friends and ser-'vants: and if thou take away these, in the other thou 'shalt need me no more: for that mouth which hath 'learned to fear and flee an Oath, if any would com-'pel it ten thousand times, it will never admit of 'falling into that custom,' &c.

'But if thou fear nothing else, at least fear that 'Book, which thou takest in thy hands, bidding an-'other to Swear; and when thou turnest it, and mark-'est what Christ hath there commanded concerning '*Oaths*, † Quake, and Forbear.'

'What doth it say, then, of Oaths?'

'Answer,' "But I say unto you Swear not at all." 'Dost thou make that *Law* an OATH, which *forbids* to 'swear? O injurious, O unjust thing! for thou dost as 'if a man should take for his companion, a Law-giver 'that forbids to KILL, and command him to be made a '*Murderer*. As therefore, when a fight is begun, 'although we are often reviled, yet we endure it well, 'and we say to him that doth it, That patron of thine

† Chrysost. exhorts to be right Quakers, by trembling, and not swearing.

'hath

'hath hurt me, he holds my hands; and this serves us 'for solace. After the same manner, if thou wilt ex-'act an Oath of any, restrain thyself, and withhold; 'and say to him that is about to swear, What shall I 'do to thee, sith God hath commanded neither to '*swear*, nor to *compel* to swear; he now withholdeth 'me? This is enough for the lawgiver's honour, for 'thy security, and his fear who should swear *.'

'Do thus much for me therefore, that they that 'come hither may say, That is not to be seen in any 'city, which is at Antioch; for they that inhabit that 'city, had rather their tongues should be cut out, 'than an Oath should proceed out of their mouth,' &c.

'What is it?' "Thou shalt render unto the Lord "thy oaths:" 'That is, in swearing thou shalt speak 'true:' "But I say unto you, Not to swear at all:" 'And then, to put off the hearers, that they should 'not swear by God, he saith,' "Neither by Heaven, "for it is the Throne of God; nor by the Earth, for "it is his Foot-stool." &c. for he said not, 'Because 'the Heaven is Fair and Great, nor because the Earth 'is Vile; but because That is the Throne of God, and 'This his Foot-stool; by all which he drives them to 'the Fear of God.'

'Obj. What then, if any require an oath, and im-'pose a necessity of swearing?

'Ans. Let the fear of the Lord be more forcible to 'thee than all Necessity or Compulsion: for if thou 'wilt always object such-like occasions, thou wilt keep 'none of those things which are commanded: for thou 'mightest also say it concerning thy Wife; What if she 'be a Scold? What if she be Nice and Curious? And 'of thy Right Eye; What if I have a Delight in it, 'and be inflamed with the Love of it, &c.? and so 'thou wilt trample upon all things that are command-

* He differs much from those that punish us for not swearing. On Mat. Homil. 17.

'ed.

'ed. But in the laws which men command, thou 'dareſt alledge no ſuch thing; as, What if this or 'that, &c.? and if thou wilt keep the law of Chriſt, 'thou wilt not ſuffer any compulſion to hinder thee 'from the obſervation thereof; for he that heard the 'bleſſedneſs that is before, in the ſame ſermon, and 'ſhews himſelf ſuch an one as Chriſt commandeth, he 'ſhall ſuffer no ſuch compulſion from any, ſeeing he is 'venerable and admirable with all men.'

'Obj. What then ſhall we ſay is beyond Yea and 'Nay?'

'Anſw. Without doubt an *Oath*, not Perjury; ſith 'this is altogether manifeſt, and none needs be 'taught that it is of Evil; and not ſo much ſuperflu-'ous, as altogether contrary. Now, that is ſuperfluous 'which is added needleſly, and too much; which 'ſurely is an Oath.'

'Obj. Why then ſhall this be ſaid to be of Evil? 'And if it was of Evil, how was it commanded in 'the Law?'

'Anſw. Thou wilt ſay that alſo concerning thy Wife; 'how is it now *adultery*, which was ſometime ſuffered? 'What then ſhall we ſay to theſe things; but that 'many of thoſe things which were then ſpoken, the 'Weakneſs of them that received the Law required: 'for it is a thing very unmeet for God to be worſhipped 'with the Smell of Sacrifices, even as it is not con-'gruent for a Philoſopher to ſtutter and babble: there-'fore ſuch a Divorce is now called Adultery; and an 'Oath now comes of Evil, when the Increaſings of 'Virtues are come to their Perfection. But if theſe 'things had been the laws of the devil from the 'beginning, they had never come to ſuch proficiency; 'for unleſs thoſe things had gone before, thoſe other 'had never been ſo eaſily received. Do not therefore 'deſire the virtue of thoſe things, whoſe uſe is now 'paſt. They were available indeed then, when the 'time required, yea, if thou pleaſeſt, now alſo; for 'now their virtue is ſhewn in that ſame thing alſo,

'wherein we moſt accuſe: for that they now appear 'ſuch, is their great praiſe: for, unleſs they had nurſed 'us up well and profitably, and had made us fit for 'the receiving of greater things, they would not now 'ſeem to us to be ſuch. For as the nurſe's teat, when 'it hath done all its office, and brought the child to 'the meaſure of the ſtronger age, ſeems to be un-'profitable; and the parents, who formerly judged 'the teat to be neceſſary for their child, do afterwards 'purſue it with very many ſcorns, and uſually do not 'only make it uncomely in words, but alſo beſmear 'it with certain bitter juices of herbs, that when they 'cannot bridle the eager unſeaſonable deſire of the 'child about it, they may quench it at leaſt with thoſe 'things: ſo alſo Chriſt ſaid,' "It was of Evil," 'not 'that he might ſhew the old Law to be of the devil, 'but that he might recall them more vehemently 'from the old Vileneſs: and theſe things he ſaid unto 'his Diſciples; but unto the ſtupid Jews, and them 'that perſiſt in the ſame impiety, as with a certain 'bitterneſs, he ſo compaſſed their city, they being 'captivated with fear, as that he made it inacceſſible: 'and becauſe he could not hereby reſtrain them, but 'that they again deſired to ſee it, as children running 'back to the teat, he took it quite away; deſtroying 'it, and ſcattering them, moſt of them, far away 'from it; as men uſually ſhut up calves from their 'dams, that they may gain them to be weaned from 'their accuſtomed food of milk *.'

'But if the old Teſtament were of the devil, he 'would not have forbidden Images to be worſhipped; 'but on the contrary, have brought in and commanded 'ſuch a worſhip as this; for the devil would have 'ſuch a thing to be done. But now we ſee that the 'Law did the contrary: and for that cauſe alſo the

* This is true Chriſtiau doctrine. With Chriſtians it ought to be ſo. What evil is it then to hale men back again upon penalties?

'way

'way of Swearing was in times paſt permitted *, leſt 'men ſhould worſhip images, and ſwear by them;' "Swear," 'ſaith he,' "by the true God." 'So the 'Law brought not a mean good to men, but a very 'great one, if it ſought to bring them to ſolid meat.'

'Obj. What evil therefore hath Swearing?'

'Anſw. Much evil, without queſtion: but *now*, at '*this* time, after ſo great Manifeſtations of Power; 'not *then*, by any means ‡.'

'Obj. Thou wilt ſay; How can it be, that the ſame 'is ſometimes good, ſometimes not?'

'Anſw. I will alſo produce againſt thee, How is it 'that the ſame thing is ſometimes good, ſometimes 'not good? Doth not all that is in the world proclaim 'the ſame; as, Educations, Arts, Fruits, and all other 'things?'

'Therefore firſt weigh that in our own nature: for 'to be carried in one's arms, is a good part in the firſt 'age; afterwards a very pitiful thing. To uſe chewed 'meats in the beginning of one's life is good; after-'wards very full of indecency and loathſomeneſs: to 'be fed with milk, and to flee to the nouriſhment of 'the teats, at the firſt is profitable and wholeſome; 'but afterwards hurtful and noiſome. Thou ſeeſt how 'the ſame things are ſometimes good, according to 'the times, and ſometimes appear to be of another 'nature: for it is a comely thing for a Child to wear 'a Child's Veſture, but ſhameful for a Man. Would-'eſt thou alſo learn, on the contrary, how thoſe things 'are not fit for a Child, which are for a Man? Give a 'Man's veſture to a Child, and great laughter will 'follow thereupon, and greater danger in going, 'making him to reel this way and that way: commit 'unto him the care of civil buſineſſes and affairs, either 'to traffick, or ſow or reap, and again it will be very

* The reaſon why God admitted oaths. No ordinance of God or man originally, but corruption inſenſibly brought it; and God only ſuffered it by a true Deity till the times of reformation. ‡ His reaſon, our reaſon.

'ridiculous. But what do I ſpeak of theſe? Even 'Man-ſlaughter itſelf, which Chriſt calls evidently a 'work of the devil, ſometimes in due ſeaſon done, 'hath been praiſed; as Phineas killed a man, and it 'was reputed to him for righteouſneſs; Abraham alſo 'was not only an Homicide, but a Parricide; and 'Peter ſlew two, but it was a ſpiritual work: ſo we 'muſt not only conſider the Actions, but the Time, 'Cauſe, Will, and Difference of Perſons, and all 'other Circumſtances.'

Again, in his *Imperfect* * *Work*, cap. 5.

'It hath been ſaid,' ["Thou ſhalt not forſwear, but "ſhalt perform to the Lord thy Oaths: but I ſay unto "you, Swear not at all," &c.] 'Behold the Fourth 'Command, which covetous men account the leaſt, 'becauſe they do not account it a ſin to ſwear; with-'out which, the command of the Law cannot ſtand; 'for unleſs ſwearing itſelf be forbidden, Falſe Oaths 'cannot be taken away, becauſe out of Swearing 'ſprings up Forſwearing; for whoſoever ſwears often, 'at one time or other ſwears falſly: for this reaſon 'Solomon gives that admonition,' "Accuſtom not thy "mouth to ſwearing; for there is much danger there-"in." 'For as he that accuſtoms himſelf to talk 'much, muſt needs at one time or other utter un-'ſeaſonable words; and he that uſeth frequently to 'ſtrike with his hand, cannot but ſometimes ſtrike 'unjuſtly; ſo he that accuſtoms himſelf to ſwear in 'things convenient, oftentimes forſwears himſelf, 'even againſt his will (cuſtom prevailing in him) in 'things ſuperfluous: for we can accuſtom ourſelves to 'any thing when we will; but we cannot turn off 'that cuſtom when we will. And what the judgment 'of God is againſt them that ſwear, Solomon teach-'eth:' "A man," 'ſaith he,' "that ſwears much, a

* Much regarded and obſerved by venerable antiquity, ſaid James on the Fathers, part 2. page 36. Act. Mon. v. 1. p. 701.

"wound

"wound ſhall not depart from his houſe." 'If then a 'wound depart not from them that ſwear, how ſhall it 'at length depart from them that forſwear? Tell me, 'my friend, what doſt thou get by ſwearing? for if 'thy adverſary did believe that thou wouldeſt ſwear 'well, he would never force thee to ſwear at all; but 'becauſe he thinks thou wilt ſwear falſely, therefore it 'is that he compels thee to ſwear; and when thou haſt 'ſworn, he doth not ſit down as ſatisfied in the truth 'of thine oath, but goes away full of revenge, as it 'were in condemnation of thy perjury *.'

'An Oath never has a good end; for ſome will 'judge thou haſt ſworn for Covetouſneſs; and ſome 'too, that thou haſt Forſworn: but they that are 'willing to ſuppoſe well of thee, although they do not 'believe thou haſt ſworn Falſely, yet they are not 'able to affirm thou haſt ſworn in Truth: but no man 'can maintain thou haſt done Religiouſly. By ſwear-'ing therefore thou comeſt into reproach with thy 'enemies, and into ſuſpicion with thy friends. But 'thou wilt ſay perhaps,

'Obj. What ſhall I do? he neither doth nor will 'believe me, unleſs I ſwear.

'Anſw. Be content rather to loſe thy Money than thy 'Salvation; ſet more by thy Soul than by thy Eſtate: 'if thou ſhouldeſt looſe any part of thy eſtate, thou 'mayſt live notwithſtanding; but if thou loſeſt God, 'whereon wilt thou live? Doſt thou not know, that 'what thou parteſt ſelf-denyingly with for the fear of 'God, thou receiveſt a greater reward for it, than if 'thou hadſt given alms; becauſe, the more we bear 'the croſs, the more worthily are we crowned for it? 'Behold, my friend, I adviſe thee not to *force* any 'man to ſwear: if thou thinkeſt he will ſwear well, 'avoid it; or if thou thinkeſt he will ſwear amiſs, 'avoid it ſo much the rather: for although he ſwear 'well, yet thou, as far as relates to thy conſcience, art 'become the cauſe of his perjury, becauſe thou 'compelleſt him to take an oath with this intention,

'not barely that he ſhould ſwear, but that he ſhould 'forſwear; for if thou hadſt thought he would have 'ſworn honeſtly, thou wouldeſt not have forced him 'to ſwear at all. Oh fooliſh man, that compelleſt 'another to ſwear! thou knoweſt not what thou doſt: 'he, although he forſwear himſelf, yet does it with 'advantage; but thou, without any advantage, art 'found a partaker of his perjury. He that does not 'ſtick at lying, does not fear ſwearing; for he that 'tells a lie, goes beyond the Truth in his heart; and 'he that ſwears falſely, paſſes over God in his Words: 'What then is the difference between paſſing over 'God, and going beyond the truth, ſeeing God is 'Truth itſelf?'

'This is the only difference, That when we lie, we 'paſs over the Truth in our Heart; but when we For-'ſwear, we paſs over God in Words; for, to men we 'give ſatisfaction by Words; to God, by Conſcience. 'God himſelf, who forbad Forſwearing, even he 'afterwards commanded Not to Swear, he therefore 'that is not afraid to ſet light by the commands of 'God in Swearing, will not be afraid to do the like in 'Forſwearing. But what wouldſt thou have? Doth 'he fear God, or doth he not fear him §? If he be 'one that fears God, he will not lie, though he be not 'ſworn; but if he be one that does not fear God, he 'cannot ſpeak truth, though he be ſworn. Hear, ye 'Clergymen, who bring the Holy Goſpels for men to 'ſwear upon; how can ye be ſecure from that Oath, 'who ſow the ſeed of perjury? He that brings the 'fire by which an houſe is burnt, is he a ſtranger to 'the burning? Or who reaches a ſword, whereby a 'man is ſlain, is not he an acceſſary to the ſlaughter? 'So he that gives the opportunity of forſwearing, is a 'partaker of the perjury: if it were well done to ſwear, 'ye ſaid rightly, that we gave them the Goſpel to 'Swear, not to Forſwear; but now ye know, that it 'is a ſin even to ſwear well, how can ye be acquitted 'that give the occaſion of ſinning againſt God? Let

'the

'the fire ceaſe, and there is no burning; take away 'the ſword, and the man is not ſlain; ſo take away 'Swearing, and there is no Forſwearing. Be theſe 'things ſpoken of them that ſwear by God. But as 'for them that ſwear by the Elements, their iniquity 'is more deteſtable; for Heaven and Earth, and the 'reſt of the Elements God made for his own ſervice; 'not for men to ſwear by: for, behold, in the Law it 'is commanded, that they ſhould ſwear by none but 'God: he therefore that ſwears by Heaven, or by the 'Earth, or whatſoever it is he ſwears by, makes a 'God of it; therefore every one commits Idolatry, 'who ſwears by any thing beſides God, if it were at 'all lawful to ſwear, becauſe he does not perform his 'oaths to the Lord his God, but to the Elements: and 'ſo he commits a double ſin; firſt, in that he Swears; 'and ſecondly, in making a God of that by which he 'ſwears,' &c.

Again, in chap. 23. Homil. 43. on theſe words, "Wo "unto you, blind guides, who ſay, Whoſoever ſhall "ſwear by the Temple, it is nothing; but whoſoever "ſhall ſwear by the Gold of the temple, he is a debtor." 'Many Chriſtians,' ſaith he, 'now-a-days do ſo un-'wiſely underſtand many things; for lo, if there ſhall 'be any cauſe, he ſeems to do a ſmall matter who 'ſwears by God; but he that ſwears by the Goſpel, 'ſeems to have done ſome greater thing. To whom 'it may be ſaid, Fools! The Holy Scriptures are for 'God, not God for the Scriptures; for God is *greater*, 'which ſanctifieth the Goſpel, than the Goſpel, which is 'ſanctified of God.'

Again, *Hom.* 9. *on Acts of the Apoſtles*, chap. 3.

'To this conduces not a little, *not to ſwear*, and *not 'to be angry*; for in not being Angry, we ſhall not have 'an Enemy; and caſt off a man's Oath, and withal 'thou ſhalt caſt off thoſe things that concern wrath, 'and ſhalt extinguiſh all anger. For Wrath and an 'Oath are like the Wind. We ſet forth ſail; but

'there is no benefit of the ſail, if there be no wind: ſo 'if we do not cry out, nor ſwear, we cut the ſinews 'of wrath. Come, tell me for what cauſe an Oath 'was introduced, and why it was allowed? Let us tell its 'Original, and whence it ſprung up again, and how, and 'by whom; and by our declaration we ſhall gratify your 'attention: for he that doth juſtly, muſt neceſſarily be 'alſo ſtudious of Wiſdom; and he that is not yet ſuch, 'is not worthy to hear a diſcourſe: for Abraham made 'covenants, and ſacrificed ſacrifices, and offered offer-'ings; and as yet there was not an Oath. Whence then 'came in an Oath; When evils increaſed, when all things 'became topſy-turvy, when they inclined to Idolatry; 'then verily, when they appeared unfaithful, they called 'God to witneſs, as giving a Surety for Security of their 'words; for an Oath is a Suretiſhip, where their beha-'viours have no truſt or credit. Whereupon, firſt, he that 'ſwears is taxed, if he have no credit without an Oath, 'and the greateſt ſecurity: and becauſe men ſo little 'truſt one another, they ſeek God for a ſurety, not Man. 'Secondly, He is in the ſame crime who receives an 'oath, if he draw God to be a ſurety for contracts, 'and ſay,' "That he will not truſt except he have "*him*." 'O monſtrous thing! O ſhameful diſgrace! 'thou! a worm, duſt, and aſhes, and a vapour; dareſt 'thou ſnatch thy Lord, who art ſuch an one, for a 'Surety, and compelleſt to accept him? Tell me if a 'fellow-ſervant ſhould ſay to your children, ſtriving 'among themſelves, and not truſting one another,' "Unleſs the common Maſter become a Surety, there is "no truſting;" 'would not many ſtripes be inflicted, 'that he might learn that he ſhould make uſe of him 'as a Lord in other things, not in theſe? What do I 'ſpeak of a Fellow-ſervant? For if one would have a 'more venerable Man, would not the caſe have diſ-'grace in it?' "But I ſhall," 'ſaith he,' "therefore "neither compel him, becauſe this is alſo amongſt "Men." 'He may ſay thus,' "Sometimes thou may-"eſt not receive a ſurety to thine." 'What then?'

"And

"And I ſhall loſe," 'ſaith he, "what is given." 'I 'would not ſay this; but do not thou endure that God 'be reproached. Therefore he who *compels*, hath a 'more unavoidable puniſhment than he who *ſwears*. 'Likewiſe he alſo who ſwears when none requires; this 'alſo is harder, that one ſwears for an half-penny, for 'a little commodity, for unrighteouſneſs. And theſe 'things are ſo dangerous, when there are no perjuries; 'but if perjuries are committed, then all things are 'confounded, and both he that ſwears, and he that 'receives an oath, are the cauſe.'

'Obj. But there are ſome things that are not known, 'ſay they.'

'Anſw. But foreſeeing theſe things, thou muſt do 'nothing raſhly; but if thou ſhalt do any thing neg-'ligently, take the penalty of the inconvenience in thy 'own hand: better to ſuffer Loſs than otherwiſe. For, 'tell me, thou haleſt a man to an oath; what doſt thou 'ſeek? Wouldeſt thou have him to forſwear? But 'this is extreme folly; for the loſs will turn upon thy 'own head: it were better to loſe thy Means, than that 'He ſhould be loſt: wherefore thou doſt this to thy 'own damage, and to God's diſhonour: ſuch is the 'ſoul of a beaſt and of a wicked man!'

'Obj. But I expect that he may not Forſwear.'

'Anſw. Therefore believe him without an Oath alſo.'

'Obj. But there are many,' ſay they, 'who *without* 'an oath dare defraud, who *with* an oath do not do it.'

'Anſw. Thou deceiveſt thyſelf, O man! A man 'who hath learned to ſteal and to wrong a man, will 'alſo trample upon an Oath often: but if he hath a 'reverence in ſwearing, much more in doing unjuſtly.

'Obj. But thou wilt ſay,' "He ſuffers this unwillingly."

'Anſw. Therefore he is worthy of excuſe. But what 'ſhall I ſay of Oaths of the Courts that are left? For 'there thou canſt ſay no ſuch thing; for there for Six 'Pence both Oaths and Perjuries are made: for be-'cauſe a thunder-bolt doth not come down from above, 'and all things are not overturned, thou ſtandeſt, and

'wilt

'wilt *bind God:* why? That thou mayeſt get Herbs 'and Shoes for a ſmall price, thou calleſt Him to wit-'neſs. Do we therefore think we do not ſin, be-'cauſe they are not puniſhed? This is the Lord's 'mercy, not our deſert. Swear by thy own child; 'ſwear by thyſelf; ſay,' "So let the officer keep from "my ſides:" 'but thou art afraid of thy Sides: is 'God more vile, more contemptible, than thy Head? 'Say,' "So may I not be blind?" 'But Chriſt ſo ſpareth 'us, that he forbids us to ſwear even by our own 'Head. But we do ſo deſpiſe the glory of God, that 'He is drawn every where. Ye know not what God 'is, and with what a mouth he ought to be invocated: 'Moreover, when we ſpeak of any virtuous man, 'we ſay,' "Waſh thy mouth, that ſo thou mayeſt be "heedful." 'But now we vainly diſtract that honour-'able name, which is a Name above every name, which 'is wonderful in all the earth, which the Devils hear-'ing do tremble at! O moſt contemptible cuſtom 'which hath done that! Laſtly, if thou ſhalt impoſe 'upon any a neceſſity of ſwearing in the holy houſe, 'how horrible an oath doſt thou enjoin, if thou 'doſt ſo? Ought not one even to dread when God is 'named? But even among the Jews this Name was 'ſo reverend, that it was written on the Plate of the 'Mitre; and none might bear thoſe Letters of the 'Name of God, but only the High Prieſt: and now 'alſo we ſo bear his name tenderly. If it was not 'lawful for all ſimply to *name* God, how great auda-'cioufneſs is it to call him to *witneſs?* Tell me now, 'how great madneſs is it? Behold, I ſay and teſtify to 'you, amend thoſe Court Oaths, and ſhew me all thoſe 'that do not obey. Behold, even in your preſence, 'I will command them that are ſet apart for the mi-'niſtry, the houſe of prayer, and admoniſh and ſhew, 'that it is not lawful for any to ſwear. Let him there-'fore be brought to me, whoſoever he be, becauſe 'theſe things alſo ought to be done before us, becauſe

'ye

'ye are children. O ſhame! for it is confuſion that 'ye have need to be inſtructed in ſome things. Dareſt 'not thou that art initiated, touch the Holy Table? 'But, what is yet worſe, thou, which art initiated, dareſt 'thou touch the Holy Table, and that which it is not 'lawful for all the prieſts to touch, *and ſo ſwear?* But, 'being gone out, thou wouldeſt not touch the head of 'thy Child; but toucheſt thou the Table, and doſt 'not dread nor fear? Bring ſuch to me, I will inflict 'a juſt puniſhment; and with joy will ſend both 'away with this commandment,' "Do as you liſt; "‡ I impoſe this law, Not to ſwear at all. What hope "is there of ſalvation, when you ſo contemn and deſpiſe "all things?" 'Haſt thou therefore received letters and 'badges that thou ſhouldſt loſe thy Soul? What ſo 'great thing haſt thou gained, as that which thou haſt 'loſt? Hath he forſworn? Thou haſt loſt both thyſelf 'and him. But hath he not forſworn? even *thou* haſt 'loſt, who haſt driven him to tranſgreſs the command-'ment. Let us expel this diſeaſe from the Soul: let 'us drive it now from the Court, and from all Mer-'chants, and Tradeſmens ſhops. It was a greater 'labour to us, do not you think, that worldly things 'are corrected by the tranſgreſſings of divine laws.' "But he doth not believe," 'ſaith he; for I have alſo 'heard this of ſome,' "Unleſs I ſwear many oaths "they will not believe me:" 'Thou art the cauſe of 'theſe things, who ſweareſt ſo promptly and eaſily. 'But if this were not, but it were manifeſt to all that 'thou wouldeſt not ſwear, believe me, more credit 'would be given to thy very Beck, than thoſe who 'ſwear abundance of Oaths. Whom therefore do you 'more believe, me that do *not* ſwear, or them that *do* 'ſwear?'

‡ Men never could plead Conſcience for not being believed without an oath; many have, to be credited without one. This was Chryſoſtom's exhortation. Now it is ſaid, How can we trade without an oath?

'Obj.

'Obj. But,' says he, 'Thou art a Prince and a 'Bishop.'

'Answ. What then, if I shall shew thee that it is 'not this only? Answer me in truth now: if I had 'sworn always, and at every season, what privilege 'would my Principality have? No; thou seest that it 'is not for this. What gainest thou then? tell me now. 'Paul hungred; and do thou chuse rather to hunger 'than to transgress any of God's commandments. 'Why art thou so unbelieving? Shalt thou chuse to do 'and to suffer all things, that thou mayest not Swear, 'and shall not he reward thee? But he feeds daily For-'swearers and great Swearers, and will he give Thee 'up to famish, because thou hearkenest to him? Let 'all men know, That none may swear that are of this 'congregation; and hereby we may be assured, and 'by this sign be distinguished from the Greeks, and 'from all men, and not only by the Faith (or Christian 'Profession.) Let us have this mark from heavenly 'things, that we may shine with it every where, as the 'King's Flock, we are now known by the Mouth and 'the Tongue, as the Barbarians, and they that know 'to speak Greek; for we are discerned from the Bar-'barians by the Tongue. Tell me now, how are Par-'rots known? Is it not that they speak like Men? 'And we also may be known, if we speak like the 'Apostles, and speak as the Angels. For if any one 'say,' "Swear," 'let him hear, that Christ hath com-'manded,' "even not to swear." 'This sufficeth to 'bring in all Virtue. It is a certain gate of godliness, 'a way bringing on unto the Love of Wisdom (or 'Philosophy.) It is a certain exercise (or mastery.) 'Let us keep these things, that we may attain both 'present and future good things, by the Grace of our 'Lord Jesus Christ; with whom, to the Father, with 'the Holy Spirit, be glory, dominion, and honour, 'now, and for ever and ever. Amen.'

'These precepts were because of the Jewish Depra-'vation: but those Perfect ones, to despise and relin-

'quish

'quiſh riches, ſtand manfully, lay down thy life for 'preaching; deſpiſe all earthly things, have nothing 'to do with this preſent life; do good to them that 'unjuſtly afflict thee; if thou be defrauded, bleſs 'thou; if any ſlander thee, honour thou him; be 'over all things: it was fit to hear theſe, and ſuch like 'things; but now we diſcourſe concerning an Oath. 'And it is even as if when a man ſhould come to Phi-'loſophy, he ſhould draw him away from thoſe his 'teachers, and make him ſpell with Letters and Syl-'lables.

'Conſider now, what a confuſion it would be for a 'Man, that hath a weighty ſcrip, and a ſtaff, and a 'gown, to go to the Grammar School with Boys, and 'to learn the ſame things that they do! Would it not 'be a matter of much laughter? But more from You: 'for there is not ſo great a difference betwixt Philoſo-'phy and the Elements of Speech, as between the 'Jewiſh matters, and Ours; even as much as is be-'tween Angels and Men. Tell me now, if any ſhould 'call down an Angel from heaven, and tell him, that 'he muſt ſtand and hear our ſermons, as if he muſt be 'thereby inſtructed, would it not be a ridiculous and 'confuſed thing? And if it were a ridiculous thing to 'be yet inſtructed by theſe, tell me now how great 'condemnation, and how great confuſion were it, not 'to give attention to thoſe former? And how then is it 'not confuſion, that a Chriſtian muſt be inſtructed 'that he muſt not ſwear? But let us repreſs our affec-'tions, that we be not more laughed at. Let us now 'diſcourſe concerning the Jewiſh Law to-day: What 'is that? will he ſay.' "Do not uſe thy mouth to "*ſwear*, nor be familiar with the Holy Name." 'Why?' "For as a ſervant, if he be continually "ſcourged, ſhall not be clear from marks, ſo neither "he that ſweareth." 'Conſider the Wiſdom of that 'Wiſe Man: he ſaid not, Do not uſe thy Mind, but 'thy Mouth; becauſe he knew it to be all of the 'Mouth, and which is eaſily amended, &c. The pu-

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'nishment here that is opposed to it, tells us, that it is 'not Perjury, but Swearing, that is here to be removed;' "Therefore to swear is a sin." 'Verily 'the soul is full of such wounds and scars. But if 'thou swear because he doth not believe; say thou, 'Believe; or if thou wilt not, swear by thyself; and 'I do not say, that thou art contrary to the law-giver: 'far be it; for, saith he,' "Let your Word be Yea, "Yea, and Nay, Nay," 'that herein I may condescend 'to you, and bring you to this, that I may free you 'from this tyrannical custom. Will you learn why they 'allowed them of old to Swear, not to Forswear? It was 'because they swore by Idols. You must not be confounded in these laws, in which they that were weak 'were conversant. For if I now take a Greek, I do 'not forthwith enjoin him this; but now I admonish 'him, that Christ must be known: but a Believer, and 'one who hath learned him, and heard, if he should 'use the same indulgence and liberty as the Greek, 'what profit and advantage would there be?'

'Christ hath made a law, that *None Swear*. Tell 'me now what is done about this law; lest perchance, 'coming again, as the apostle saith,' "I do not "spare*."

We hope none will dispute whether Chrysostom was against *All Swearing*, or that he understood Christ's doctrine as we do: yet nobody can promise for them that endeavour to squeeze swearing out of Christ's *Swear not at all*. We have been the larger in this authority, partly because he excellently disputes it, and partly because our case needs it; and lastly, to show Christians their apostacy, that they may reform.

Jerom. Libr. Epistol. Part 3. Tract. 2. *Of Obedience, Knowledge, and Revenge.*

LII. 'Thou saidst, if I mistake not, That on this 'account thou mayest justly render evil for evil, and

* Hom. 10. p. 101.

'oughtest

oughteſt to ſwear with them that ſwear, becauſe the Lord ſometimes ſwore, and rendered evil for evil.'

'Firſt, I know that all things are not fit for us, that are Servants, which are agreeable to the Maſter, &c. I know the Lord oftentimes ſwore, who hath forbidden *us* to ſwear. Nor muſt we raſhly ſpeak evil of, or blaſpheme in this, that he forbad another what he did himſelf; becauſe it may be ſaid, The Lord ſwore as *Lord*, whom none *forbad* to ſwear. It is not lawful for us as Servants to ſwear; becauſe we are forbidden by the law of our Lord to ſwear. But, leſt we ſhould ſuffer an offence by his example, ſince the time he forbad *us* to ſwear, neither did *he himſelf* ever ſwear,' &c.

Upon Zachary, Book 2. Chap. 8.

"And love ye not a falſe oath."]—'As to the Lord's commanding in the Goſpel,' "But I ſay unto you, "ſwear not at all; but let your word be Yea, Yea; "Nay, Nay;" 'he that ſhall never *ſwear*, can never *forſwear*: but he that ſweareth, let him hear that which is written,' "Thou ſhall not take the name of "the Lord thy God in a vain thing; for all theſe "things I hate, ſaith the Lord," 'according to the words of Malachi, ſaying,' "And ye did all that I "hate." In precepts which belong to life, and are clear, we ought not to ſeek an allegory, leſt we ſeek a knot in a ruſh, as ſays the Comick.

On *Jeremy* 4. Book 1. Chap. 3.

"And thou ſhalt ſwear the Lord liveth in truth and "righteouſneſs, and judgment," &c. 'And how doth the Goſpel forbid us to ſwear? But here it is ſaid, for a Confeſſion, thou ſhalt Swear, and for the condemnation of Idols, by which Iſrael ſwore. Laſtly, Offences are taken away, and he ſweareth by the Lord; and what is ſaid in the old teſtament,' "The "Lord liveth," 'is an oath to the condemning of all the Dead, by whom all Idolatry ſweareth. And it is

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'also to be minded, that an Oath hath these companions, truth, judgment, and righteousness: if these be wanting, it is not Swearing, but Forswearing.'

Also on *Matt.* Book 1. Chap. 5.

"But I say unto you, Swear not at all, neither by "Heaven," &c.

'The Jews had always this custom of swearing by 'the Elements, as the prophet's speech often reproves 'them. He that sweareth, either reverenceth or 'loveth him by whom he sweareth. In the law it is 'commanded, that we must not swear but by the 'Lord our God.'

'The Jews, swearing by the Angels, and the City 'Jerusalem, and the Temple, and the Elements, did 'worship the carnal Creatures with the honour and 'observance of God. * Lastly, consider, that here the 'Saviour forbad not to swear by God, but by Heaven, '&c. * And this was allowed by the Law, as to little 'ones, that as they offered Sacrifices to God, lest they 'should sacrifice to Idols, so also they were suffered to 'Swear by God: not that they did this *rightly*, but 'that it was better to yield that to God than to devils. 'But the Truth of the Gospel doth not receive an Oath, 'since every Faithful Word is for an Oath.'

Those of after-times, that in some respect allow of an Oath, ground most upon the authority of Augustin; as he from the larger acceptation of the words *swear* and *oath*, which he extends to that which Nazianzen (as before) calls but a firm Faithfulness joined to his Words; which yet he will not admit of, but to a 'Paul, a Planter of Churches, speaking, by the Spirit 'of God, to them he hath begotten in the Gospel, in 'danger to be seduced by false apostles, and to slight 'him, and seek a proof of Christ speaking in him;

** This between the two stars seems a self-contradiction; but doubtless he intends it of the second prohibition, as a farther reason why oaths were permitted.

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'compelled by them to seem a Fool in glorying, and 'so driven, and no otherwise, to seem a Swearer too,' yea, even to an Augustin, and so to compel him (even Augustin) to say, 'It is a hard question; I have al-'ways avoided it.' But though he durst not condemn it altogether, out of reverence to the apostle, which he thought used it, because of the Form of Speech; yet to shew that he did little encourage men to practise it, as any Act at all of the Worship of God, much less an *august* act, he saith, 'That False Swearing is Deadly; 'True Swearing, Dangerous; No Swearing, Safe: God 'only swears safely, who cannot be deceived.'

Augustin de Sermone Domini, Serm. 28.

LIII. And Augustin himself confesseth, 'that it was 'usual to alledge Christianity for not swearing;' bring-'ing in one saying, 'It is not lawful for a Christian to 'swear when an Oath is required of him: I am a 'Christian; it is not lawful to swear.' And on Psalm lxxxviii. as allowing the unlawfulness, he saith, 'It is 'well that God hath *forbidden* men to swear, lest by 'custom of it (inasmuch as we are apt to mistake) 'we commit Perjury. There is none but God can * safely 'swear,' &c.

And in that very book, which is alledged for it, he saith, 'I say unto you, Swear not at all, lest by Swear-'ing ye come to a Facility of swearing; from a facility 'to a Custom; and from a custom, ye fall into Perjury.' But if any think that book makes most for them, let them consider the author hath retracted it; for what cause, let himself speak in the end of his book of "Retractions:" for sure, that which we have here cited out of it, agreeth with his other works, which contain much more to this purpose.

'Where,' says he, 'wouldest thou chuse to walk? 'Upon the brink of a precipice, or far from it? I think

* If men cannot swear safely, then it is more dangerous to swear than not to swear; and it is better for people, nay, they are bound to refuse it. De mendac. It is obscure and intricate.

'far from it. So he which swears, walks in the border, 'and walketh with unsure feet, because human: if 'thou stumblest, down thou goest; if thou fallest, 'down thou goest*.'

We would fain know, if a most August Act of God's Worship be nighest the pit's brink, or fartherest from it? For there all ought to chuse to walk; in whose way they that walk, walk safely; their place is sure, and their foot-steps shall not slide; but the wicked's feet are "in slippery places," where, Augustin says, 'Swear-'ers walk.'

Consider what he saith on those words of Christ in Matt. v. 'It is the righteousness of the Pharisees, not 'to Forswear: this he confirmeth, who forbiddeth to '*swear* ‡, which belongeth to the righteousness of the 'kingdom of heaven: for, as he which doth not speak, 'cannot speak a lie, so he cannot forswear, which doth 'not *swear*.' He goes on to excuse Paul, and says, 'That an oath is not among *good* things, but among '‖ *evil* things, and used for the Infirmity of others, 'which is Evil, from which we pray, that we may be 'daily delivered.'

But there is this to be said for Augustin, and some others after him, that he and they write not clearer in a point so constantly maintained: his horizon was then overcasting apace. Apostacy, as a mighty torrent, did not only swell and beat against the simplicity of the Christian doctrine and discipline; but, like an unruly and impetuous sea, broke down the banks of primitive society, and made way for all sorts of superstition, worldly interest, and fraud; that, to say no more than he did, was to incur, perhaps, the censure of the Grandees of his age, who had joined earthly Policy

* De Verb. Jacobi, Ante omnia nolite jurare, serm. 21. ‡ If it belongs to the righteousness of the kingdom of heaven, Not to swear, then what will become of those that not only break that commandment of, *Swear not at all*, but teach men so to do; nay, punish men for not obeying such anti-evangelical doctrine? ‖ Then certainly they are to be rejected of true Christians.

to

to Christian religion; and cast off the blessed yoke of their self-denying Lord, to swim in the delicious liberty of the world: a time full of such circumstances as seemed to conspire the return of Oaths, that were not dead, but retired only: for as men grew false and distrustful, Truth became burdensome, and Yea and Nay no security with them; and therefore they disclaimed, or rather exiled them their government; old Judaism or Gentilism pleased them better. It was harder living that watchful life that was sufficient to credit a Yea or a Nay, than to take an Oath, that dependeth upon the saying of so many words only: this was considerable, and made swearing then, and continues it grateful to our very times. But sad it is, that Oaths rode thus in state, while Integrity went barefoot, and evangelical Yea and Nay were turned off for non-sufficient, and that too not without fines, prisons, and a great deal of reproach. However, we must acknowledge, that the gravity and Christian care of this person, and other his contemporaries, appeared in not only dissuading, but deterring those ages from the Brink (for so he calls "Swearing at all,") and turning their faces after the Woman, now on her flight into the Wilderness: during all which time, the witnesses, though fewest in number, and mystically clothed in sack-cloth, forbore not to *prophesy*, even in this particular.

And we hope, having no certain knowledge to the contrary, that most of them were at least men fearing God, and serving him according to what they knew, and in that manner they were persuaded was most acceptable to him. And as Irenæus said of the Poets and Philosophers, 'These men, every one seeing that 'which was connatural, from part of the Divine-sown 'Reason, spoke excellently, and were right and con-'sistent with themselves; they are ours.' Iren. lib. 5. cap. 18. So we sincerely declare of men differing from us, that as we desire the *good of all*, so we can own the *good in all*, and the *truth* in all, and receive it from them,

 though

though in other respects our adversaries; and would have all to do the like with us and each other: and howbeit our adversaries may have hard thoughts of some of the persons our matter leads us to instance, as men interested in the doctrine and practices of those darker times they lived in, and of us for making use of such for authorities; yet we hope they would also judge it an hard and very cruel thing to repute them utter cast-aways. And though we know that men differ within themselves, and all of them more or less from the Truth, yet since there may be some Truth and Sincerity, we cannot but acknowledge and embrace it: and we hope, the reasons and authorities of others they bring, and the concessions and confessions of others they make, may, and indeed ought to be, of weight in that point, at least to shew that it is no new, strange, or unreasonable thing for us to refuse Oaths. And though some might, with a mixture of Superstition and Will-worship, undertake and maintain that strictness and preciseness, which some of the holy ancients by the Spirit of Truth were led to practise (the ancient histories of whom, from eye-witnesses, as the word signifies, of some of them, we in a great part believe); and some later more enlightened and zealous men, taking offence thereat, but especially at the hypocrisy and abomination palliated by such fair pretences, have strained much in opposition to that evangelical doctrine; yet is the doctrine nevertheless a truth in itself*. Nor can we believe that all that were accounted Hereticks, were out of the Catholick or Universal Church; for the word CATHOLICK signifies UNIVERSAL, containing all that are in the Church (that is, in God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ) in all times; and those were not all of the same mind in all things, as may be read in the Holy Scriptures, and also in Eusebius, and other ecclesiastical Histories, where men are commended for holiness and virtue, yet at much difference in some

* Euseb. Pam. Socr. Schol. Evagr. &c.

things.

things. Synesius, though he believed not the Resurrection, was chosen to minister, and afterward was made a Bishop; the Charity of Christians was so great in that age. And some, accounted Hereticks, suffered martyrdom, that are commended or excused by Eusebius; one in particular that died with Polycarpus, and another called Asclepius, both Marcionites*. See also the beginning of his eighth book concerning the divisions among them that afterward suffered for the testimony of the Universal or Catholic Truth: nor can we receive their judgment, that branded those with the name of Hereticks, Pelagians, &c. who denied Swearing in those declining ages, and suppressed their works under that name and aspersion only; not allowing them to speak for themselves to us of latter times ‡.

We see how unjustly we ourselves are aspersed in almost every doctrine we hold, and that under pretence of serving God; particularly, with seeking to work our salvation by our own Power; and when they have made us this belief, they bestow Pelagianism upon it, (for fathers have right to name their own children); whereas, of all other people, we especially disclaim our own Ability, and wait to be renewed and guided by the Spirit of Christ, and to be found in his righteousness; and therefore, on the other hand, reputed Fanaticks, Enthusiasts, &c. and mocked for being *moved by the spirit*, following *the light*, &c. But let their example or anthority be as it will, or however they were in other respects, the doctrine of the ancient Primitive Fathers, and Practice of that Church, as also the doctrine of famous men among themselves, neither of which sort dare they condemn for Hereticks, do sufficiently defend them from the aspersion of Heresy in that particular; and so we shall come to our remaining testimonies, it being not our business to maintain every

* 1 Thes. i. 1. Phil. iii. 15. Soc. l. 6. 13. Evagr. l. 1. c. 11. Euseb. Eccl. Hist. l. 8. c. 28. l. 4. c. 15. ‡ Pelagius, a Britain, Anno 400, wrote notable books, saith Gennadius, who lived soon after him.

one of their principles we cite, but to prove this doctrine of "Swear not at all," to have had the voice of several ages to confirm it.

The ancient Waldenses, reputed to have continued uncorrupted with the grossness of the apostacy, ever since the Apostles times, (see their history in P. Perin, S. Moreland, and Bp. Usher de Succes.) we have good cause to say, denied the taking of any oath in what sense the Primitive Christians and Fathers refused, and that was *altogether*. Sure it is, their enemies charged them with it for above three hundred years, and we cannot find they then denied the charge: we suppose none will attempt to prove they did; though one of our adversaries joins with theirs, traducing them for Perjurers, and with them abuses that worthy and learned man Bp. Usher, who defends them from that improbable and contradictory aspersion, of Lying and Forswearing, and yet of Denying to *swear*; who says, 'that they were as far from Lying and Forswearing, as 'their enemies were from modesty and truth, which 'did appear, in that they were charged by them, *not* '*to swear at all**:' Peruse that part of his book *de Successione*, where he treats of them; and where also you may read of their succession, how that the Syrians and Armenians came out of the east into Thracia, thence in process of time into Bulgaria and Sclavonia, thence into Italy and Lombardy, and were called by several names, of several people, or at several times, as Manichees, Waldenses, Albigenses, Cathari or Puritans, Patrins, Publicans, Humiliati, &c. who were charged with denying *swearing*; and how that several of the better sort of the Clergy, and of the nobler Laity (who refused the present use of the Baptism and the Lord's Supper) were burnt, under the name of Manichees. Suarez also reckons up the Catharists, Alba, Bagnald, and others, which Prateolus and Castro relates, the Waldenses, the Anabaptists, &c. And

* See Baronius, Ann. 1310.

which

which Jansenius also, out of Augustin, Epist. 89. the Pelagians out of Hilary Syracusanus, Epist. 88. Bernard, Homil. 69, on Cant. 'The Fathers,' says he, 'seem to favour this opinion, especially Basil, Hom. 'in Psalm xiv. Chrysostom, Hom. 19, 78. ad popul. 'and xvii. on Mat. And Theophylact on Mat. v. 'Origen Tract. 35. Mat. Tertullian de Idololat. Clem. 'Rom. l. 6. Constitut. Apost.' Maldonat, on Mat. v. 34. saith, 'The Anabaptists, the Wickliffites, some 'Syracusans, a kind of Pelagians, denied Swearing; 'and that Origen was not far off that opinion*.' Here the Hereticks, as accounted, and the Fathers, are reckoned up together, as holding the same opinions: sure in this they were not Hereticks; for then the Fathers should be condemned with them, and called Hereticks too, as well as they; or else these men are partial and contradictory.

Augustin, on Jam. v. of the words of the apostle, thus, Serm. 30. 'Perhaps it is meet for the Lord *alone* 'to swear, who cannot forswear.' And so he goes on 'to shew how hard it is for men to avoid Perjury.

In serm. 3. *ad competentes*: 'Let them not only abstain from Perjury, but from Swearing; because he 'doth not lie who saith,' "A man swearing much, "shall not depart from iniquity, and the plague shall "not depart from his house." Eccles. xxiii.

But if it were an August Act of the Worship of God, he would, on the contrary, have exhorted at least, if not commanded them, to *swear*; which we never read any Command for, but in opposition to Idols, even in the time of the Old Testament Writings, as the testimonies before alledged declare; and in the time of the New, no Command at all; but, on the contrary, a Prohibition by the Lord himself, and another by his apostle; nor any Example; for that of Paul's was but

* John Walden against John Wickliff and the Waldenses. Reiner, Rub. Capitan. W. Widford, Gui. Carmel. Voss. histor. Pelag. l. 5. p. 2. Bp. Usher, de Succeff. De Juramentis, l. 1. c. 1, 2.

an Asseveration, as by the testimonies already produced, and to be alledged, appears: for besides those of the Fathers and other Doctors, of late Bp. Ro. Sanderson, in his "Oxford Lectures," shows, this is sometimes used in the Form of an Oath, which is *no* Oath; and so he defendeth Joseph from breaking God's command, that is, not to have sworn *so*; and therefore not to have sinned, but to have used an Asseveration; as if he had said, "As sure as Pharaoh liveth, ye are spies:" so may Paul be defended against the breaking Christ's command; as if he had said, "As sure as ye," or, as some Greek Copies have it, "We, rejoice in Christ "Jesus:" for νὴ, which they translate, *I protest by*, hath sometimes the same signification that ναὶ, *yea*, hath, as may be seen in Scapula; for he says, νὴ (translated, *I protest by*) is a particle, sometimes of *granting* and *affirming*; sometimes it is put for *verily*, *indeed*; and he interprets ναὶ by the same word, which is translated *yea*, which Scapula saith is also sometimes used in swearing, and cites Aristophanes and Xenophon for it: and that νὴ is used also in composition for *affirming*, as in νήχυτος, *profusus*, lavishing; which cannot signify swearing.

And how easily might the transcriber, through that common use, alter a letter, being of the same signification; seeing in that very verse, in some copies, there is not only in another word an alteration of a letter, ἡμέτερον & ὑμέτερον, *our* and *your*, but in another word *five* letters, ἀποθνήσκω & ἀποθνήσκουσι, referring to the verse before; yea, a whole word of seven letters added, ἀδελφοὶ. And of about thirty Greek copies there are not two of them that agree, but they interfere, some in one place, some in another; insomuch that there are thousands of various readings, which many of the ancient Fathers diversly follow, some one, some another. See the (various lections) *variæ lectiones græc. nov. test.* in Bp. Walton's Polyglot, vol. 6. also the Preface, and Beza's Epistle therein: and consider how hard a thing it is to construe, limit, and lay the interpretation of the sayings of Christ and his apostles, and

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now the Commandment of Christ for the abolishing of swearing; no more than his shaving his head at Cenchrea, because he had a vow; or his purifying himself in the temple, and offering with the Four Jews that had a vow; or his circumcising of Timothy, because of the Jews; can warrant us to the observation of those legal rites and ceremonies, which so long since are not only dead, but deadly, as the Fathers and Bp. Sanderson distinguish about them. And those that would therefore bring in Swearing and Vows, might, under the same colour, bring in Sacrificing and Circumcising too.

LIV. Isidorus Pelusiota, who, as Evagrius Schol. writes, lived at the same time with Cyril, and that the fame of his sayings and doings were spread far and near, and rife in every man's mouth, that he led on earth the life of an Angel, and wrote many notable works, amongst which are his Epistles, in one whereof he writes against Swearing thus; 'If thou art of the 'flock, and art ordered under a good Shepherd, deny 'the nature of wild beasts, and obey his voice, that 'forbiddeth to swear *at all*. Moreover, not to swear, 'is not to require an Oath of *another*. Now; if thou 'wilt not swear, neither require thou an oath of another, for two causes; either because he who is asked 'loves truth, or on the contrary, to lie: if the man 'speaks truth usually, he will *always* speak truth without an *Oath*; but if he is a liar, he will lie, though he 'swear: therefore, for both these causes, one ought 'not to require an Oath *.'

LV. Chromatius, bishop of Aquileia, about or not long after that time, upon these words, "But I say "unto you, swear not at all †," paraphraseth thus; 'The 'Law (saith he) given by Moses, received a growth, 'proficiency, or perfection, by the grace of the doctrine of the Gospel. In the Law it was commanded, 'not to *forswear*; but in the Gospel not to *swear*;

* L. 1. c. 15. Ep. lib. 1. Epist. 155. Not to require an oath by any means of another man. † On Mat. v.

'which

'which very thing heretofore the Holy Ghost did premeditate that Solomon should command or teach, saying,' "Let not thy mouth use to swear." And again, "As a servant beaten continually, is not lessened "from the paleness of his stripes, so every one that "sweareth, shall not be purged from sin." 'Wherefore it is not meet for us to swear *at all:* for what need is there for any of us to swear, seeing that it is not at all lawful for us to lie; whose words ought always to be so true, so very faithful, that they may be accounted for Oaths. And therefore the Lord not only forbids us to forswear, but even to *swear*; that we may not seem to speak truth *only* when we swear; that we may not think that those whom he hath appointed to be true in all their speech, may have liberty to lie without an Oath: for this is the cause of an oath, because that every one who sweareth, doth not swear to this end, that he will speak that which is true, and therefore the Lord would have no difference to be between their Oath and their Word: because as in an Oath there ought to be no Perfidiousness, so in our Words there ought to be no Lie, in that both perjury and lying are condemned by the punishment of the judgment of God, seeing the scripture saith,' "The mouth which lieth, killeth the soul:" 'Therefore whosoever speaketh Truth, sweareth; because it is written,' "A faithful witness doth not lie." 'And therefore holy scripture (not without cause) often relates, that God hath sworn, because whatsoever is *spoken* of God, who is true, and cannot lie, is counted for an Oath, because all which he speaks is true. Now we find God sometimes swearing; but it is for the perfidiousness of the Jewish infidelity, who think that all truth consists in the credit of an Oath; therefore also God would swear, that they who would not trust God *speaking*, might trust him when he *swore:* therefore our Lord saith,' "Ye have heard it "said of old, Thou shalt not forswear: but I say unto "you, Swear not at all," &c.

LVI. Theo-

LVI. Theodoret, on Deut. vi. p. 57, 'Why doth the Law command, that they ſhould ſwear by God? Leſt they ſhould ſwear by *falſe* gods: for he ſaid the ſame by the prophet, "If thou takeſt the names of "Baalim out of thy mouth, and ſhalt ſwear, The "Lord liveth with Truth:" 'And here when he had ſaid,' "Thou ſhalt fear the Lord thy God, and him only "ſhalt thou ſerve, and ſhalt cleave to him, and ſhalt "ſwear by his Name," he ſubjoined, "Ye ſhall not "walk after other, or ſtrange gods, which are of the "gods of the nations, which are round about you*." Lyra ſaith the ſame.

LVII. Ordinary Gloſs on Mat. v. 37. hath this ſentence, 'A faithful Speech ought to be accounted for an 'Oath †.'

LVIII. Johannes Damaſcenus, Parallel. lib. 3. cap. 16. bringeth a teſtimony of one Nilus againſt ſwearing. There was one named Nilus in Egypt, a martyr, mentioned by Euſebius: another, biſhop of Conſtantinople, ſpoken of by Socrates, both very famous. The words are theſe: 'It is not profitable to ſwear, but 'very pernicious, and execrable, and abominable: 'wherefore hereafter make an end of ſwearing; nor 'commit ſuch a thing, as that thy tongue uſe Oaths.' In the ſame place he alledgeth teſtimonies out of J. Chryſoſtom, Hom. 13. ad populum Antiochenum.

LIX. Cyril, whom Evagrius Scholaſt. ſtiles Renowned, in his Commentary on Jeremy the ivth, "And "ſhall ſwear, the Lord liveth, in truth, and in judg-'ment, and in righteouſneſs," ſaith, 'Let us look, who 'ſwear, how we do not ſwear in judgment, but with-'out judgment; ſo that our oaths are by cuſtom, 'rather than judgment: we are laſhed, therefore; and 'the Word, reproving that ſame thing, ſaith, "And "if he ſhall ſwear, the Lord liveth, in truth, in "righteouſneſs, and judgment:" 'for we know it is 'ſaid in the Goſpel by the Lord unto his diſciples,'

* On Deut. vi. a ſmart and true anſwer. † Rubanus.

"But

"But I ſay unto you, that you ſwear not at all." 'But 'let us conſider alſo this ſaying; and, if God grant, 'both ſhall be rewarded. For, perhaps, it firſt be-'hoveth to ſwear in Truth, in Judgment, and in 'Righteouſneſs; and after one hath made proficiency, 'he may be made worthy not to ſwear *at all*, but may 'have Yea, not needing witneſſes that it *is* ſo; and 'may have Nay, not needing witneſſes that it is verily '*not* ſo*.'

And ſays Cyril farther, 'Let none, becauſe he hears 'that God ſwore to Abraham, uſe to ſwear: for as that 'which is called *Wrath* in God, is not *wrath*, nor doth 'it ſignify a Paſſion, but a Puniſhing Power, or ſome ſuch-like motion; ſo neither is Swearing, *ſwearing:* 'for God doth *not* ſwear; but ſhews the Certainty, that 'what he ſaith ſhall come to paſs, certainly: for the 'Oath of God is his own Word, filling the hearers, and 'making every one believe, that what he hath pro-'miſed and ſaid, ſhall ſurely come to paſs †.'

LX. Caſſiodorus on Pſalm xciv. ſaith, 'Hence it is, 'that men are forbidden to ſwear, becauſe by their '*own power* they cannot perform their *promiſes* ‡.' This Caſſiodorus was famous about the year five hundred.

LXI. Olympiodorus was alſo famous about the ſame time, who on Eccleſ. viii. ſaith thus, "Keep the mouth "of the King, and do not ſtudy concerning the Word "of the Oath of God, but go far from the face of it," viz. 'of an Oath; that is, Refrain and depart from it, 'and do not at all endure to take an Oath into thy 'mouth ‖.'

LXII. Iſidorus Hiſpalenſis was famous about that time, and lived with him they called St. Gregory, who diſliked the bringing in the title of Univerſal Biſhop, and alſo the uſe of Swearing: his words are theſe, 'Many are ſlow to believe, which are moved at the 'belief of the Word: but they do grievouſly offend, 'who compel them to ſwear that ſpeak to them §.'

* On Jer. iv. on Luke i. p. 23.
‖ On Eccleſ. viii.
† Cyril. See Catena 65. Græc. Patr.
‡ On Pſalm xciv. agreeth with Auguſtin.
§ Chap. xxxi.

LXIII. An-

LXIII. Antiochus, ſaid to be a man famous for holineſs and learning, living in Paleſtine about the time of Heraclius the emperor, which was about the year ſix hundred and fourteen, in his Pandects of Scripture, Hom. 62, concerning Swearing, ſaith thus in the Greek (which ſee; for the Latin Tranſlation is in ſome things imperfect) 'The old Law, as giving laws to 'Children, which for their age were not capable of 'more holy doctrine, not unſeaſonably commands, to 'ſwear nothing to their neighbour in deceit: but us 'our Lord and Saviour commandeth not to ſwear *at* '*all*, neither out of ſeaſon, nor in ſeaſon; for he ſaith 'unto us,' "Let your Yea be Yea, and your Nay, "Nay; for whatſoever is more, is of Evil."

'And ſaith he to the firſt people of a ſtiff neck,' "I "commanded, thou ſhalt not forſwear, but ſhalt perform "thy vows unto the Lord, as to them that were hard-"hearted and diſobedient to me: but to you that be-"lieve in me, to whom I have given power to become "the ſons of God, that are born again of the Holy "Spirit, I command, *not to ſwear at all*, neither little "nor great oaths; that a difference may plainly "appear, who are baſtards, and who true ſons." 'Let us therefore, dear friends, fear him, who hath 'vouchſafed us ſo much honour, even the Lord and 'Father, with all fear; as ſincere ingenuous ſer-'vants let us keep his commandments, not to ſwear '*at all*, leſt he ſay,' as in Iſa. i. "I have nouriſhed and "brought up children, and they have rebelled againſt "me:" 'Let us not be ſlighters and deſpiſers of this 'commandment of the Lord; for thoſe things that are 'ſaid and done without an Oath, are more credited by 'men, and more pleaſing to God."

LXIV. In the next century, Beda, an Engliſhman, the moſt famous of thoſe days, and ſtiled Venerable, in his expoſition upon theſe words, "Before all things, "my brethren, ſwear not," &c. ſaith, 'Becauſe he de-'ſires entirely to draw out the deadly poiſon of the 'tongue in his hearers, he, who forbad to grieve in 'adverſities, forbad to detract or ſlander any man, or

'to

'to judge his neighbour, which are open sins; he 'adds this also (seeming light to some) that he may 'take away the Custom of Swearing. For that this 'also is not to be esteemed a light matter, plainly ap-'pears to them that carefully consider that sentence of 'the Lord, where he saith,' "Of every idle word that "men shall speak, they shall give account in the day "of judgment."

["That ye fall not into condemnation."] 'There-'fore,' saith he, 'I restrain you from the fault of swear-'ing, lest by swearing frequently true things, ye fall 'sometimes also into forswearing; but stand so far from 'the vice of forswearing, that you will not *swear* nei-'ther, but by the greatest necessity. But he also falls 'under the judgment of guilt, who, although he 'never forswear, yet sweareth true oftener than there is 'need; namely, he offends in the very idleness of 'superfluous speech; and he offendeth the Judge, which 'forbad both every unprofitable word and oath.'

From this chief man among the English of that time, it is manifest that this was the doctrine they then held, as farther appears from H. Spelman, that learned English knight, in his book of British Councils, Canons, &c. in the Exceptions, or Select Collections of Egbert, archbishop of York, article 19. 'That no 'priest whatsoever may swear an Oath; but let him 'speak all things simply, in purity and truth †.' And in the same Author and Council, article 18, the chief of monasteries, priests, and deacons, should say (without Swearing) when they were to purge and clear themselves, only thus, "I speak the truth in Christ, I lie "not."

And in p. 259, in England, at the Council of Berghamsted, about the year seven hundred and fifty, Article 17, 'that a Bishop's or a King's Word or Affir-'mation, without an Oath, is irrefragable.'

This agrees with Blastaris's Canons afore-mentioned: and at this day, in some countries, as in Germany, the

* Beda in Ep. Jam. c. 5. † Spelm. Brit. Council, p. 260.

Electoral

Electoral Archbishops of Cologn, Mentz, and Triers, and many noblemen in their station, speak without an Oath, upon their Honour, &c.

Certainly, then, it is much below the nobility of true Christians, in their spiritual station, to swear; as Chrysostom and the ancients have well observed.

LXV. Haimo lived about eight hundred and forty, who on the Revelations saith, 'That it is lawful only for 'God and Angels to swear; but to men it is forbidden.'

LXVI. Ambrosius Ansbertus, Gallus Presbyter: 'Seeing the Lord prohibits the faithful from every 'Oath, saying,' "Swear not at all, neither by Heaven, "&c. but let your Yea, be Yea, and your Nay, Nay;" 'what abounds more than them is from the Evil one. 'Men are often deceived by an oath; but He, who is 'the Truth, never is deceived; for he would not have 'prohibited men from an oath, if he had not known sin 'to be in it.'

LXVII. Theophylact, Archbishop of the Bulgarians, whom some place in the ninth century, others after; to be sure very famous, being as it were their Apostle; in his Comment on Mat. v. saith, 'To swear, or adjure 'more to Yea or Nay, is of the Devil. Moreover,' says he 'if thou shouldst say, That the Law also given to 'Moses was evil, because it commandeth to Swear; 'Learn, that *then* it was *not* evil to swear; but *after* '*Christ*, it *is* evil; as also to be circumcised; and, in 'brief, whatsoever is * Jewish: for it is convenient for 'a Child to suck, but not at all for a Man.'

LXVIII. Bernard: 'The truth needs not an Oath.' *De modo bene vivendi*, Ser. 32. *De Perjurio:* 'A faithful 'Word holds the place of an Oath: as he cannot lie 'who doth not speak, so he cannot forswear who doth 'not undertake to swear:' grounded on Mat. the vth.

LXIX. Paschatius Ratbertus, on Mat. v. "Ye have "heard," &c. 'In this place, as also every where in 'those things, the perfection in righteousness is re-

* He makes oaths Jewish, at least in opposition to evangelical; because imperfect, and permitted to the Jews, in condescension.

'newed;

'newed; for what every one ſwears by, he either 'worſhips, loveth, or fears it: therefore, by the Law, 'it was lawful for the carnal people to ſwear by God; 'and this was allowed as to little ones, that as they 'offered Sacrifices to God, leſt they ſhould offer them 'to Idols, ſo alſo it was permitted them to Swear by 'God: not that they did this well, but becauſe it was 'better to give it to God than to Devils.'

LXX. Otho Brunfelſius on Mat. v. "But let your word be Yea," &c. 'That it is the Duty of a Chriſtian 'man to be ſure in his Words; that, being unſworn, he 'ſurpaſs any Jew or Heathen ſwearing by all his holy 'things; namely in theſe bare words only *Yea, Yea*; '*Nay, Nay*. Such faithfulneſs and conſtancy is com-'mended in good men by profane authors. Read 'Seneca, Cicero, Valerius Maximus.

'But thou wilt ſay,' "I ſhall not be truſted, unleſs I "ſwear:" 'even ſo it is permitted by the Popes, to 'ſwear good words in a good cauſe. But ſuch diſtruſt 'ought not to reign in the faithful: but if we truſt not 'Words, what ſhould an Oath do? It is a proverb,' "None is leſs truſted than he which ſhall often Swear." 'Moreover, who gave power to Popes to break the 'command of God?'

LXXI. Druthmarus on Mat. v. 'Leſt the Jews 'ſhould ſwear by Idols names, the Lord ſuffered them 'to ſwear by his *own* name.'

'The Lord taught us Perfection, that ſuch truſt is to 'be among Chriſtians, that there ſhould be no need to 'interpoſe the Name of God for witneſs.'

LXXII. Janſenius on Mat. v. 'If all Chriſtians were 'ſuch as they ought to be, it would certainly be need-'leſs both to require and take an Oath.——I think this 'more Chriſtian; and not to ſwear *at all*, nor *compel* to 'ſwear, more Spiritual.——Yea and Amen are the ſame, '2 Cor. i. not Swearing, but Affirming: So Chriſt 'ſwore not.'

See Bernard, Hom. 69. in Cant. *de more bene vivendi*, Serm. 32.

LXXIII. Albertus Magnus on Mat. v. 'Swearing is 'by Indulgence.'

Thomas Aquinas cites Rabanus on Mat. v.

LXXIV. Alex. de Ales citeth Hug. Cardinal, saying, 'The Lord forbad swearing, lest any should desire to 'swear as a good thing; also that none might fall into 'Perjury.'

LXXV. Remigius on Rom. i. 'Who never Swears, 'never Forswears.'

LXXVI. Ruffinus on Psalm xiv. "Not to swear at "all, is of perfect men." See also Smaragdus on Mat. v. Titelmannus on Psalm xiv. Brugensis on Mat. v. Ludolphus Carthusianus, Vita Christi, part 2. cap. 12. Rupertus, de Operibus Spiritus Sancti, Fol. 453. Baptista Folengius, on Psalm xv. Nic. Lyra, and Ordinary Gloss on Mat. v.

LXXVII. Euthymius Zigabenus, on Mat. v. p. 43. saith thus, "Again, ye have heard, that it hath been "said to them of old time, Thou shalt not forswear, "&c. But I say unto you, Swear not at all, &c."] 'Now the old law saith,' "Thou shalt not forswear, "but shalt offer to the Lord thine oaths;" 'which he 'added, that he might put fear into the swearer, that he 'shall not forswear, knowing that God, which knows all 'things, undertakes the oath.' ["But I say unto you, "swear not at all."] 'For he that easily sweareth, 'sometimes perchance may forswear, by the custom of 'swearing; but he that swears by no means, will 'never forswear. Besides, thou that swearest, so be 'thou do not forswear, thou observest the worship of 'God; but swearing, by no means, thou dost promote 'it: and the other is the part of mean and imperfect 'philosophy; but this of that which is the highest and 'perfect. The other,' "Thou shalt not forswear," is 'written in the book of Exodus; but this,' "Thou "shalt restore to the Lord thine oaths," 'in the book of 'Deuteronomy; but in other words. Now he com-'manded this, lest they should swear by gods of a 'false name.' Again,

'Not

'Not to ſwear, and not to require an oath, come to 'the ſame thing. For, how canſt thou induce thy 'brother unto that which thou avoideſt thyſelf, if ſo 'be that thou art a lover of thy brother, and not rather 'of money?'

"Nor by Heaven, for it is the Throne of God," &c.

'Leſt they ſhould think, that he forbad to ſwear by 'God only, in ſaying, by God, he adds alſo other kind 'of oaths, by which the Jews did then ſwear; for he 'that ſweareth by theſe things, ſweareth again by God, 'who fills theſe things, and rules them; for they have 'theſe things in honour for Him, and not for them-'ſelves: for he ſaith by the prophet,' "Heaven is my "Throne, and Earth is my Foot-ſtool;" 'the prophet 'manifeſting by this, that God filleth all things:' "Do "not I fill Heaven and Earth?" 'David alſo ſaith,' "The City of the Great King."

"Neither by thy Head."

'Therefore thou ſhouldſt not ſwear the *meaneſt* oath; 'I ſay even by thy own Head, leſt thou proceed to 'greater, or by any other manner; for the Creature is 'alſo the poſſeſſion of God.' And again, 'The Oath 'is made by God, who hath it (the Creature) in his 'Power: for although it (the Head) be made thine, 'yet it is not thy Work; which is manifeſt from this, 'that thou canſt not make one hair white or black.'

"But let your words be Yea Yea, and Nay Nay," &c.

'Let your ſpeech be, when ye affirm, *Yea*, and when 'you deny, *Nay*; and uſe only theſe for, or inſtead of, 'Oaths to confirmation, and no other than Yea and 'Nay. What are adjoined beſides theſe, he calleth 'an Oath *.'

Queſt. 'But if an oath be of the Devil, how did 'the old Law permit it?'

Anſw. 'Becauſe the ſacrifices of living creatures 'were alſo of evil, and by the deceit of Idols, yet the 'Law permitted them, becauſe of the *infirmity* of the

* See Bibliotheca veter. patrum.

'Hebrews. For whereas they were gluttons, and 'ſmell-feaſts, they loved the ſacrifices of Idols; and 'whereas alſo they were unbelieving, they alſo loved 'an Oath: and that they ſhould not afterwards either 'ſacrifice to Idols, or ſwear by Idols, the Law per-'mitted them to ſacrifice and to ſwear, and if there 'were any thing elſe of that kind, they transferred all 'unto God. Now it was come to paſs, that in proceſs 'of time he would cut off theſe things alſo, by a more 'ſublime law, to be brought in; becauſe it is good for 'Infants to be ſuckled; but for Men it is very unfit: 'there we allow this to them that live after the manner 'of Infants; but we withdraw or prohibit them that 'are Manly from it*.'

Queſt. 'What then is to be done, if any require an 'Oath; yea, *compel* to ſwear?'

Anſw. "Let the Fear of God be more forcible than 'this compulſion or neceſſity; and chuſe rather to 'ſuffer all things, than to tranſgreſs the Command, 'ſith in every precept, force, and violent danger will 'often meet with thee: and unleſs thou eſteemeſt the 'command of God every-where more forcible, all 'things will depart from thee void and unperformed. 'In the following paſſages, the Lord ſaith,' "The "kingdom of heaven ſuffereth violence, and the vio-"lent take it by force."

LXXVIII. Oecumenius, a famous Greek writer, about Ann. one thouſand and ſeventy, writes on Jam. v. 12. thus, 'But ſome will ſay,' "If any be *forced* to "ſwear, what is to be done?" 'We ſay, that the fear 'of God ſhall be ſtronger than the force of him that 'compels. But ſome may doubt, how it comes to paſs, 'that Grace doth not command this, as did the old 'Law, affording praiſe to him that did ſwear by the 'Name of the Lord? We ſay, The old Law, leading 'the Jews not to ſwear by Devils, appointed to ſwear

* They all agree in the reaſon of ſuffering Oaths under the Law, viz. the Jews Weakneſs.

'by

'by God, as it commanded them to ſacrifice, drawing 'them from the ſacrifice of Idols, or Devils. But when 'it had ſufficiently taught them to have a religious 'reſpect to God, then it rejected Sacrifices, as unpro-'fitable; ſeeking not a ſacrifice by Beaſts, but a broken 'Spirit; that is, a ſweet whole Burnt-ſacrifice, inflamed 'by the Fire of Love.'

"That ye fall not into Hypocriſy," (ſo ſome Copies have it; for the words in Greek are ſometimes alike). 'Hypocriſy,' he ſaith, 'or Condemnation, which fol-'lows them that ſwear without ſparing; and, through 'the cuſtoms of oaths, are carried out to forſwear. 'The word Hypocriſy ſignifies thus much,' "That "which being one thing, appears another." 'How 'then falleth he into hypocriſy that ſweareth? *Anſwer.* 'When he that is believed for the Oath's ſake to be 'true, and yet tranſgreſſion following, is declared to 'be a Liar, inſtead of a true man, not producing Yea 'in certainty. He forbids to ſwear by God, becauſe 'of Perjury; but by Heaven, and other oaths, that 'men ſhould not bring theſe things into the Honour 'of God; for all that ſwear, do ſwear by the Greater.'

LXXIX. Anſelmus, biſhop of Canterbury, about Ann. one thouſand and ninety, on that place of Mat. v. thus, p. 38. "Thou ſhalt not forſwear," &c.] 'Moſes, 'ſeeing that he could not take away Swearing, takes 'away Perjury.' And again, 'Becauſe men have in 'great reverence thoſe things by which they ſwear, leſt 'they ſhould make the Creatures gods themſelves, he 'commands them to render their oaths to *God*, and not 'to ſwear by *Creatures*. But the Lord removes them 'more perfectly from Perjury, when he forbids them 'to *ſwear at all.*'

LXXX. The ancient Waldenſes, we have good cauſe to ſay, denied the taking of *any* oath, in what ſenſe the primitive Chriſtians and Fathers refuſed, and that was *altogether:* to be ſure their enemies charged them with it, for above three hundred years; and we cannot find that they then denied the charge; we ſuppoſe none

will attempt to prove that they did; for they were well known in the world as to this particular *.

LXXXI. And Bp. Usher pleads for them, against the Papists, who were Swearers †.

LXXXII. Likewise a people of Albi, in France, Ann. one thousand one hundred and seventy-six, held it was *unlawful* to swear.

LXXXIII. The "Plowman's Complaint," containing, as abundance of mournful applications to God, so many notable and serious reprehensions of the lapsed, erroneous, and cruel nature of men: among others, it hath this notable passage to our purpose, 'Lord, thou givest 'us a command of truth, in bidding us, Yea Yea, 'and swear for nothing; but, Lord, he (Pope) that 'calls himself thy Vicar on Earth, hath broken the 'Commandment, *so* makes a law to compel men to 'swear ‡.' Who was the author of this, is not certainly known; but to be sure it was embraced of the Wickliffians, as worthy of their patronage; and remembred and recorded by John Fox, as not unworthy to keep company with Protestant Martyrs ||.

LXXXIV. John Wickliff, our countryman, and, in his time, Divinity Professor of Oxford, (famous for his learning and godly courage, in oppugning the doctrines and practices of Rome, in the time of Edward the Third, and Richard the Second, about the year one thousand three hundred and seventy) was accused, among other things, 'for maintaining, that all Oaths, 'which be made for any Contract or civil Bargain, be-'twixt man and man, are unlawful §.'

LXXXV. We will bring in here a passage out of the "Plowman's Tale," as it lies in Geoffry Chaucer's Works, not impertinent to our purpose, whose learning, honour, and wit, were great in the time he lived, which

* Vide Baron. Anno 1310. John Walden adv. Wickliff and Waldens. Reiner Rub. Capitan. † W. Woodford. De Success. l. 6. Bar. Anno 1310. n. 3. ‡ J. Fox Mart. v. 1. p. 527. || Men honoured by Protestants. § J. Fox Mart. v. 1. p. 554 to 558. Geff. Chauc. works, fol. 86.

was

was about one thousand three hundred and sixty, John Wickliff's contemporary.

These wollen make men to swear,
against Christ's commandment;
And Christ's members all to tear,
on rood as he was new yrent;
Such laws they make by common assent,
each one it throweth as a ball;
Thus the poor be full shent;
but ever falshood foul it befal.

He hath expressions not less disliking Oaths, in his "Parson's Tale," where he makes the parson to say, 'After those then cometh Swearing, expresly against 'the Commandment of God, and our Lord Jesus 'Christ, who saith, by St. Matthew's words,' "Ye "shall not swear in all manner," 'or on no account.'

LXXXVI. William Swinderby, Priest, and a zealous follower of John Wickliff, also lived in the time of Richard the Second, as appears by his Appeal to that king from the unjust sentence of the bishop of Hereford, in which, to this part of the charge exhibited, "That no man ought to *swear* for any thing; but "simply, without an Oath, to affirm or deny," he answers thus, 'Whereas Christ's law *forbids* swearing, 'the Pope's law *justifieth* swearing, and *compels* men 'thereunto. Methinks,' saith he, 'there is no need 'to comfort or encourage the people in swearing*.'

LXXXVII. Walter Brute, also an early Dissenter from the Roman Church, and intimate of William Swinderby, being charged, among other things, with saying, 'that it is not lawful for Christians, for any 'cause, to swear by the Creator, neither by the Crea-'ture;' thus answered for himself, and indeed it comprehends much of our belief in this matter: 'As con-'cerning Oaths, I believe and obey the doctrine of 'Almighty God, and my master Jesus Christ; which

[* J. Fox, Mart. v. 1. p. 614, 618.

'teacheth, that Christian-men, in affirmation of a 'truth, should pass the righteousness of the Scribes 'and Pharisees, the Old Testament, or else he excludes 'them from the kingdom of God: for Christ says,' "Unless your righteousness exceed the righteousness of "the Scribes and Pharisees, ye cannot enter into the "kingdom of Heaven;" 'and as concerning Oaths, 'Christ saith,' "It hath been said by them of old "time, thou shalt not forswear thyself, but shalt per-"form unto the Lord those things that thou knowest: "but I say unto you, thou shalt not swear at all, nei-"ther by heaven, nor yet by the earth, &c. but let "your communication be Yea, Yea; and Nay, Nay: "for whatsoever shall be more than this, proceedeth of "evil:" 'therefore as the perfection of the ancient 'men of the Old Testament was, not to *forswear* them-'selves, so the perfection of Christian-men is, not to '*swear at all*, because we are so commanded of Christ, 'whose commandment must in no case be broken.' Thus much of W. Brute *.

LXXXVIII. John Purrey, John Edward, John Becket, John Clements, Richard Herbert, and Emmot Willie, with many more in the time of Henry the Fourth, through fears and hopes deserted their profession, and revolted, as John Fox tells us, from their faith, which was the religion then professed of those called Wickliffians or Lollards, the true, poor, persecuted Christians of that time: and of the fifteen articles by them abjured, this was one; 'Item, That neither the † Pope, 'nor the Prelate, neither any Ordinary, can compel 'any man to swear by any Creature of God, or by the 'Bible Book.'

LXXXIX. William Thorp, whom John Fox calls, 'the constant and blessed servant of God, and good 'man and servant of Christ,' &c. refused to swear upon a Bible, when the Archbishop tendered the oath to him; 'plainly, blaming them greatly, that bring out a Book

* J. Fox. Mart. v. 1 p. 623, 359. † J. Fox. Mart. v. 1. p. 587. If they could not, it was then held none could; so that then it was denying all tenders. Ibid. p. 701, 702.

for

for he thought it not lawful to take or give an oath thereon. 'A book is nothing elſe,' ſays he, 'but 'divers Creatures, of which it is made; and ſuch 'ſwearing is ever unlawful, as witneſſeth Chryſoſtom 'plainly, blaming them greatly, that bring out a Book 'to ſwear upon; charging clerks, that in no wiſe they 'conſtrain any body to ſwear well, when that thing is 'ſooth (or true) that they ſwear for. And alſo full 'many men and women now ſay, That it is well done 'to ſwear by God, and by our Lady, and by other 'Saints, to have them in mind: Others ſay, That 'they may not ſwear, when they may otherwiſe be be-'lieved: but ſince all theſe ſayings are excuſes, and 'ſin, methinks, Sir,' ſaith he, 'that this ſenſe of Chry-'ſoſtom may be alledged well againſt all ſuch Swearers.'

XC. Elizabeth Young, who was brought to examination in the Marian days, before the 'Catholick Inqui-'ſitors of Heretical Pravity,' as they then called themſelves, and commanded to ſwear, this language was uſed to her.

Dr. Martin. 'Thou ſhalt be racked inch-meal, thou 'traitorly whore and heretick, but thou ſhalt ſwear 'before a judge, before thou go *.'

Eliz. Young, 'Sir, I underſtand not what an Oath is, 'and therefore I will take no ſuch thing upon me.'

Dr. Martin. 'She refuſeth to ſwear upon the Four 'Evangeliſts, before a judge: for I myſelf, and Mr. 'Huſſey, have had her before us four times, but we 'cannot bring her to ſwear.'

Then ſaid the Biſhop, 'Wilt thou not ſwear before 'a judge?' &c.

Eliz. Young. 'My lord, I will not ſwear that this hand is mine.'

'No,' ſaid the Biſhop! 'And why?'

Eliz. Young. 'Chriſt ſaith, That whatſoever is more 'than Yea, Yea; or Nay, Nay, cometh of Evil.'

Then Dr. Cook brought her to a Book, commanding her to lay her hand thereon.

* J. Fox Mart. v. 3. p. 190, 911.

Eliz.

Eliz. Young. 'No, my lord, I will not ſwear.' And ſo ſhe perſiſted, till God delivered her out of their hands.

John Huſs, Jerom of Prague, Walter Brute, William Swinderby, William Sawtry, William White, William Thorpe, &c. are recorded by thoſe of other nations, both High and Low Dutch, 'to have refuſed *all* ſwearing, as well by God, as by Creatures, in any caſe, private or public.' Though ſuch as admit of oaths in ſome caſes, labour, as John Fox in England, and the Calviniſts abroad, to eclipſe and mutilate their teſtimony; as if they were one while only againſt Book-Swearing, as being a Creature; another while only againſt ſwearing in Private Caſes; another while, as J. Fox relates in John Burrell, 'That it is not lawful to ſwear, but in caſe of life and Death,' &c. But moſt evident it is, that they were againſt *all ſwearing*, or *ſwearing at all*; elſe why ſhould they ſo frequently alledge Chryſoſtom? Who though he accounted ſwearing by Creatures a more execrable ſin than to ſwear by God, yet conſtantly counted ſwearing *at all* a ſin in Chriſtians, as cleaving to that which Chriſt had abrogated, being only permitted to the Jews for the hardneſs and blindneſs of their hearts, their unbelief, and propenſity to follow the courſe of the Heathens, and ſwear by their gods. Let it not be forgotten, that Chryſoſtom not only inveighs againſt them that bring forth the Book to ſwear by, becauſe it is a Creature, but that he alſo upbraided them with impudence and audaciouſneſs, that dare to make uſe of that Law to adminiſter an Oath by, that ſo ſtrictly *forbids* an Oath.

Ridiculous it is, to make them deny Swearing only in *private* caſes, and to be ready to ſwear in caſe of life and death: for where is there any ſhadow of ſuch a Law? And how ſhould thoſe honeſt men invent one? Chriſt's law we read, Mat. v. The doctors Chryſoſtom and Jerom's judgment, whom they had moſtly in their mouths, we have repeated here at large, in which is not the leaſt reſtriction. Theſe good men then muſt needs be underſtood to take the law of Chriſt either to have forbid-

forbidden swearing in *any* case, and then not to swear in case of *life*; or not to forbid swearing *at all*, and then they not only might swear to save their Lives, but Liberties and Estates, and ought so to do. But we hope there can be no room left for this objection.

XCI. The Lollards of Kille, in Scotland, were against *all swearing*, as both Spotswood, in his Chronicle doth relate*, and the book called, 'The History of the 'Reformation of the Kirk of Scotland.'

XCII. Michael Sadler (an eminent man, called a lord) was cruelly tortured and put to death by some Papists, under the Emperor of Germany: his brethren were also executed with the sword, and his wife and sisters drowned, Ann. 1527. One article alledged against him was, that he had said, 'That men should 'not swear to, or before, a Magistrate †.'

XCIII. The Christian Protestants in the valley of Piedmont, who were cruelly tortured to death by the Papists, about Ann. 1655. One article alledged against them was, 'That they believed it was not lawful to 'swear any thing, be it true or false ‡.'

XCIV. Gerard Sagareld, of Parma, and his followers, 'denied all oaths and vows.' So did several in Germany, mentioned by bishop Usher, in his book *de Successione*: in Germany, swearing is well nigh excluded, and need not much to be required ‖.

XCV. Erasmus. 'Now ye shall hear another thing: 'Commandment was given unto your elders, none 'otherwise, but if they had made an oath, they should 'perform it, and not be forsworn; for now they are 'bound to God, and not to Man only §: wherefore 'among the Jews, only Perjury is punishable; but he 'that deceives his neighbour without any Oath made, 'he goes unpunished; but yet the Law of the Gospel 'condemneth him; the which, that ye may be the more 'remote from perjury, doth utterly condemn all man-

* Spotf. Hist. pag. 61.
† W. C. Albrid. p. 193, 194, 195.
‡ Marl. Hist. p. 217, 218.
‖ J. Fox Mart. v. 2. p. 420.
§ Comm. on Mat. v.

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'ner of Oaths; that it is not lawful to *swear*, neither 'by God, nor by those things which seem to the com-'mon sort to be things of less religion, that is, "neither by Heaven, because it is the Seat of God; "nor by the Earth, because it is his Footstool; nor by "Jerusalem, because it is the City of the Great King;" 'that is to say, "of him that hath made all things." 'Neither as the Heathen swear, by the Head of an-'other man, whereof thou hast no authority; but it 'is consecrated to God, that hath made all things as he 'would; for thou canst not make one hair black, nor 'the contrary: and because all things are consecrated 'to God, the Maker, thou oughtest to be fearful to 'swear by any thing. And what needeth any oath 'among Them, where no man, because of their Sim-'plicity, can distrust; nor no man can desire to de-'ceive, though they might do it? Such is their since-'rity and perfectness, specially in those things of the 'which they declare themselves to be despisers. 'Therefore among you, Plain and Simple Speech 'ought to be more Holy and more Sure, than the De-'vout and Solemn Oath among the Jews: for among 'you, whose hearts and mouths ought to agree, there 'is no other use of speech, but to express your minds 'each to other. In your bargains, ye need no Oath, 'ye need no Execration, or Cursing, or such like, to 'bind the promiser, or to assure him to whom the pro-'mise is made: two words be sufficient, *Nay* and *Yea*, 'whereby thou denieſt that which thou dost not pro-'mise, and whereby thou dost perform that which 'thou didst promise, by plain Word, that thou wouldst 'do: for there is no man less bound by his simple and 'bare Word, than the Jew Swearing by all Holy 'Things; and he whom thou makest thy promise unto, 'dost trust thee as much as if thou hadst made a solemn 'Oath. If there be any more besides these, it must 'needs come of Evil and Sin: for he that sweareth, 'either he thinketh evil of him to whom he sweareth; 'or else, he that requireth the oath, doth distrust: but 'none of these ought to be in you, whom I would have

'perfect

'perfect in all points. Therefore when I utterly forbid Swearing, I do not abolish the Law which doth utterly prohibit Perjury; but I make the Law more full, and I withdraw men farther from that, which the Law doth punish.'

'Let your mind be pure and plain, and let your heart and your mouth go both together.' "Let no man with feigned words deceive his neighbour*: but especially, my brethren, Swear Not, lest by little and little you accustom yourselves to Forswear. Among Jews and Heathens, for fidelity's sake, there is an Oath put; but among Christians, which ought neither to distrust any man, nor to deceive, it is a vain thing to swear. Whosoever is accustomed to swear, is cousin-german to the peril of forswearing. Be you afraid not only to swear by God in human affairs, and light matters, but also abstain from All Kind of swearing, that you swear neither by Heaven, neither by Earth, or any other thing, that the common people esteem for † Holy and Religious. Whosoever dare be bold to lie without swearing, he dare do the same also when he sweareth, if he list. To be brief: he that is a Good man, will believe a man without Swearing; and he that is Naught, will not trust a man though he Swear: but among you that are furnished with evangelical plainness, there is neither place to distrust, nor to imagine deceit: but let your plain communication be regarded for no less true and stedfast, than any manner of Oath of the Jews or Pagans, how holy soever it be. As often as you confirm any thing, confirm it with all your heart; and perform indeed the thing that you speak: as often as you deny any thing, deny it with your whole heart; neither let any thing else be in your heart than your mouth speaketh, that there be no counterfeiting in you, seeing you are disciples of the Truth.'

* Comm. on Jam. v. † Then not by God; for the common people esteemed Him Sacred.

Thus

Thus far, we hope, is put altogether out of question, Whether many Learned and Christian men have not flatly denied the use of Oaths to True Christians: and though we need not the contribution that is afforded us by several School and other Roman Doctors, yet to evidence a kind of succession, and universality of testimony to this doctrine, we think it not improper to mention some of them.

The judgment of school-men, and others, in this point.

XCVI. T. Aquinas, *Non jurare omnino*, &c. " *Not to* " *swear at all*," &c. ' The Lord had taught before, ' Wrong is not to be done to our neighbour, as in ' forbidding anger, with murder, lust, adultery, put- ' ting away of one's wife; and now he teacheth con- ' sequently, that we must abstain from the wronging ' of God, when he doth not forbid only Forswearing as ' evil, but also an Oath, as the Occasion of evil; from ' whence he saith, " Hear thou again, for it was said " of old time, Thou shalt not Forswear thyself*:" and ' lest that they might make to themselves the Creatures ' gods, he commandeth, to render the oaths to God, ' and not to swear by the Creatures: from whence it ' follows,' " Render to God," &c. ' that is,' " If one " shall happen to swear by the Creator, not by the " Creature;" ' whence he saith in Deuteronomy,' " Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God, and by his name " shalt swear;" ' and this was allowed by the Law, as ' to children, that as they did offer sacrifice to Idols, ' they should *not* offer them to Idols; so they were ' permitted to swear by God, not that they might do ' this rightly, but that it might be better to give this ' to God, than to Devils. Chrysostom upon Matthew: ' for no man sweareth frequently, that sometimes may ' not forswear; as he that makes it a custom to speak ' many things, sometimes he speaks unfit things.' Augustine against Faustus: ' The Lord was more will-

* Gloss. on Mat. v. p. 22.

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'ing that we *not* ſwearing might come ſhort of the 'Truth, than ſwearing the Truth, to come nearer to 'Perjury: whence it follows,' "I ſay unto you, Swear "not at-all." Auguſtin on the words of the Lord in the mountain, in which he confirms the righteouſneſs of the Phariſees, which is, "*not to Forſwear*;" 'for he 'cannot Forſwear, that doth not Swear.'

XCVII. Cajetan: "Again ye have heard."] 'He 'perfects another precept of the old law concerning 'Perjury (becauſe it was ſaid to them of old time,' "Thou ſhalt not forſwear*.") Exod. xx. "Thou ſhalt "not take the name of thy God in vain:" and Levit. xix. "Thou ſhalt not forſwear in the name of the "Lord; but ſhalt render to the Lord thy oaths." The firſt part of this precept (namely, "Thou ſhalt not "forſwear") 'is negative, forbidding evil in its 'kind; for Perjury is evil of itſelf, therefore by no 'means can it be excuſed. But the ſecond part '(namely,' "Thou ſhalt render to the Lord thy oaths") 'is affirmative, and doth not ſignify to fulfil the oaths 'which thou haſt promiſed, as it appears, and there-'upon nothing follows of fulfilling of promiſes), but 'it ſignifies that the oaths to God are to be rendered; 'that is, that ſwearing muſt be by the LORD, not by 'the Creatures: for theſe Words are not in the law, 'but the Senſe of them is,' Deut. vi. "Thou ſhalt "ſwear by the name of the Lord thy God:" 'Where 'ſwearing is not commanded, but is but regulated, 'that it ſhould be by the name of God, and not by the 'name of the Creatures: for the Law commandeth, 'That this act of religion, which is to ſwear, ſhould be 'exhibited to God, and to no Creatures or Idols what-'ſoever.' "But I ſay unto you]. 'He perfecteth both 'the precepts, adjoining two precepts; the one nega-'tive, the other affirmative' ("not to ſwear at all") 'lo a negative precept, wherein two things are con-'tained, that is, *not to ſwear*, and *not at all*; he for-'bids us to *ſwear at all*, by all means, as well in ex-

* On Mat. v. fol. 18.

'preſſing

'pressing God, as not in expressing God; suppose by 'Heaven and Earth, and by the rest of the Creatures: 'and in this he perfects the precept concerning 'not swearing, not only by taking away an Oath, but 'the Occasion of forswearing; for it is impossible to 'incur forswearing without an Oath: and also the pre-'cept of performing the oath to God, by taking away 'the care of performing; for where nothing is sworn, 'there is no need of any care of performing the oath 'to God.'

XCVIII. Alphonsus de Avendano. 'It is to be noted 'out of Cajetan, that in this the Lord perfected the 'command of not swearing, by taking away not only 'Forswearing but the Occasion of forswearing; because, 'without an Oath, it is impossible to incur Perjury*. 'An Oath was not necessary by the first intention of 'nature; for if men had continued in the Truth, they 'had not lied; and because Christ came, that he might 'bring back men to this first innocency, an Oath was 'not necessary, supposing that men ought to return unto 'it: then to men that live according to the simplicity 'of the Gospel, an Oath is not necessary, and there-'fore not good.'

Reasons for avoiding Oaths, from the same Author.

First, 'Lest by swearing they fall into Perjury; for 'which cause swearing is of an ill report amongst the 'saints, as in Ambrose, Psalm xviii.'

Secondly, 'For reverence of the name of God.'

Thirdly, 'For the mutual confidence which one 'Christian should have of another; which ought to be 'so great, that every one should be sure, and not pos-'sible to be deceived in the least thing, although he 'should speak in a single assertion; and for the autho-'rity of the saints, which do seem to forbid all oaths 'to Christians, and that the truth of the Gospel receives 'no Oath, as good and desirable of itself, seeing every 'one is of Evil.'

* Comment. on Mar. v.

Lastly,

Lastly, out of Cajetan. 'The Lord perfecteth this 'precept of not Forswearing, by taking away not only 'Perjury, but the Occasion of it, and taking away 'the care: for where there is no Swearing, there is no 'need of care of Rendering.'

'O! how sincere and true would the Lord make his 'Christians, that all Affirmations should be included in 'Three Letters only; all Denials in other Three, that 'the Truth should be so familiar to us, as to be in-'cluded in the compendium of Three Letters.'

XCIX. Franciscus de Mendoca, Olysiponensis, Dr. Theol. in Eburens. Academia, Sacr. lit. Interpres, in 4 lib. Reg. Tom. 3. '*Speak*,' saith he, 'of me,' &c. 'in the Hebrew it is עֵדֶן i. e. *testify*, from the verb 'עוד which not only signifieth to *speak*, but also to '*bear testimony*, as it is to be seen Exod. xx. n. 14. 'Deut. xix. n. 15. Job xvi. n. 9. *et passim alibi*, and 'many other places; as if there were no difference 'with the Hebrews of *speaking* and *testifying*, nor 'without cause; for there ought to be so much vera-'city of good men, that their simple speech may be 'accounted sworn, and their private conference be 'accounted a public testimony; which was to be ac-'counted the fidelity of Cato, who was believed in a 'court case even *Unsworn*; which also S. Jerom, in his 'Epistle to Celantia, inculcates;' "Let there be," 'saith he,' "so much love of truth in thee, that "whatsoever thou sayest, thou mayest think to be "sworn." 'The same Jerom to that of Mat. v. '*Swear not*, &c.' "The Gospel Truth," 'saith he,' "doth not receive an Oath, sith every Faithful Speech "is for an Oath." 'To which opinion is agreeable the 'doctrine of Philo Alex. in his book of the Decalogue,' "It will be most profitable," 'saith he,' "and most "agreeable to the rational nature, to abstain Alto-"gether from Swearing; and be so accustomed to "Truth, that one's single Word may have the force "of an Oath." 'The like relateth Josephus, in the 'second book of the Jewish War, chap. 7. *De his Essenis*, 'most sincere worshippers of truth (*vericultoribus*):

'the Hebrew Elders alſo, when they would make their 'innocency appear about the man killed by an un-'known perſon, teſtified with an Oath, as the Rabbins, 'Solomon, and Moſes, *in Lyran*, affirm, Deut. xxi. 'Nevertheleſs, they are brought in by the ſcriptures, 'aſſeverating it only with ſimple Speech;' "And they "ſhall ſay," 'ſaith he,' "Our hands have not ſhed "this blood, nor our eyes ſeen it." 'Becauſe the ſimple 'and naked Speech of a wiſe man, is equivalent to an 'oath; which St. Bernard vehemently commended in '*Comite Theobaldo*, in Epiſt. 38. to the ſame,' "And "indeed," 'ſaith he,' "in other princes, if at any time "we take a word of lightneſs or falſeneſs, we account "it neither new nor wonderful: but with Count The-"obald, we do not impatiently hear Yea and Nay, to "whom, as it is ſaid, ſimply to *ſpeak* is to *ſwear*; and "a light lie is accounted an heavy Perjury; for among 'very many enſigns of virtue, which do very much "ennoble your dignity, and make your name renown-'ed and famous throughout the world, the conſtancy of "truth is eſpecially praiſed in you." '3. Certainly 'God himſelf hath (*tantundem*) ſo much, to ſpeak 'nakedly, and to ſwear by himſelf holily: for that he 'promiſed with an Oath an offspring to David, which 'ſhould ſit on his throne, is read no where in the ſcripture: 'and yet Abner, 2 Kings iii. n. 9. acknowledges an 'offspring ſworn to David,' "The Lord do ſo to "Abner," 'ſaith he,' "and add theſe things to him, "unleſs as the Lord hath ſworn to David, ſo I do with "him." 'And in Pſalm lxxxviii. God himſelf ſaith,' "Once have I ſworn in my holineſs, if I lie to David," &c. 'Alſo the land of Canaan is no-where found in 'the holy ſcriptures promiſed to the ancient fathers 'with an Oath; but God promiſed it ſimply to Abra-'ham, Gen. xii. 13 and 17. to Iſaac, Gen. xxvi. to 'Jacob, Gen. xxviii. Yet Moſes, in Deut. i.' "Poſſeſs," 'ſaith he,' "the Land, for which the Lord ſware to "your fathers." 'Philo Alex. in the book of Abra-'ham, at the end looſes the knot notably;' "That "therefore the ſimple Promiſe of God in thoſe places

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"is called an Oath, becauſe it hath the Force of an "Oath."

C. Jacobus Faber; 'It is the part of a ſpiritual man, 'not only not to ſwear in a Vain thing, but alſo not in 'any Serious thing; for you which are ſuch, are true: 'unto true men it is ſufficient that a true man gain 'belief, if he ſay, that the Lord hath commanded 'Yea, Yea, in affirming; Nay, Nay, in Denying*: but 'if with incredulous and evil men a ſpeech alſo he had 'concerning a ſerious and neceſſary matter, why ſhall 'one ſwear for their badneſs, that he may gain belief 'with them? Who ever ſpake more ſeriouſly than our 'Saviour? Who more neceſſary things? Yet he never 'uſed other ſpeech than that,' "Verily, Verily, I ſay "unto you," or ſome other ſuch-like, which was a true 'form or manner to them, that ſwore not. Therefore, 'that now ſome ſwear, to gain belief concerning ſome 'profitable and neceſſary things, which they think is 'to be given rather to the Oath than to the Perſon; 'perhaps alſo there is a danger when an oath is re-'quired in judgment, leſt he that exacteth it, ſin: for 'if it be manifeſt, that he that is called into judg-'ment be verily good and true, it is enough to hear of 'him Yea, or Nay; but if that be not evident, or that 'it be evident that he is bad, perhaps that is required 'of him which ought not to be required. What then? 'It is lawful to Adjure: for the Lord made anſwer to an 'Adjuration, but he did not Swear; and Adjurations 'are found in the New Law: but if any one, being ad-'jured of another, ſpeak the truth, by anſwering Yea, 'or Nay, or by declaring the thing required, neither 'the one nor the other offendeth; but if he ſpeak a 'falſity, he offends, and incurs the offence of a falſe 'teſtimony; but perchance he ſinneth leſs, than if by 'Swearing he had alſo fallen into the guilt of Perjury: 'for, as he that (being adjured) anſwereth in Truth, 'doth not Swear; ſo he that anſwereth in Falſeneſs, 'doth not Forſwear, but he is a Falſe Witneſs: but

* On Mat. v. p. 23, 24.

'he alſo who hath adjured, is altogether guiltleſs; for 'there is no doubt but he hath required that which 'was lawful to require. And although it is not my 'purpoſe to contradict the ordinances of judgment, 'yet I may think this to be more chriſtian, both *not to* '*ſwear at all*, neither to *compel to ſwear*, to be more 'ſpiritual: but yet, if the badneſs of men would 'permit it, although you would have this ſentence of 'the Lord concerning not ſwearing, to be applied to 'the believers common and daily cuſtom of ſpeaking '(for he ſpeaks to his diſciples) which is very true, 'eſpecially if the Old Law, which the Lord declares,' "Thou ſhalt not forſwear, but ſhalt render to the "Lord thine oaths," 'was given concerning common 'and daily ſpeech; but afterwards the Lord amendeth 'another thing, which was written in the Old Law, 'that the Law might be perfect, and that he might 'ſhew he hath fulfilled it; and it may be fulfilled of 'others, as Matthew ſhews.'

CI. Suarez. He affirmeth, 'Chriſt did not ſwear; 'becauſe that which he could not lawfully do, he 'could not ſimply do: but he could not lawfully 'ſwear, therefore he could not at all: but that he 'never ſwore, is proved, becauſe that he himſelf com-'manded or counſelled,' "Not to ſwear at all; but "ſimply to ſpeak, Yea, *it is*; Nay, *it is not*," &c. 'therefore ought to go before for an example. It is 'ſpoken of him only ſometimes that he ſaid *Amen*, or '*Truly*, or *Verily*, which we have before ſhewed to be 'no particle of ſwearing*.'

'It is not only commanded in the New, but alſo in 'the Old Teſtament,' "not to ſwear," as Hoſ. iv. Zach. v. quoted by Tertullian, lib. *de Idololat.* cap. 11. ſaying, "I am ſilent about Perjury, ſeeing that indeed "it is not lawful to ſwear."

'And thoſe very words of Chriſt,' "Swear not at all," 'ſignify this; ſeeing he ſubjoins,' "Neither by hea-"ven," &c.: 'As if he had ſaid, Not only greater

* De quæſt. jur. Chriſt. p. 306.

'oaths,

'oaths, but also these, which seem less, you are to take 'heed of: and it is apparent from the reason which he 'adjoins, saying,' "Neither by heaven." 'If there-'fore Christ forbiddeth to swear by Heaven, because 'God dwells therein, much more he forbiddeth to 'swear by God, &c *. Now he forbiddeth all manner 'of swearing by the Creatures, and every oath by 'God himself, as Greg. Nyssen rightly argues, and 'Christ himself hath plainly so declared, Mat. xxiii.'

'Lastly, The following words of Christ are apposite,' "Let your word be Yea and Nay;" 'for by them he 'declareth, that he before forbad the addition of any 'Oath. 2dly, Jerom answers,' "Swearing was per-"mitted to the Jews, as to Children; but evangelical "verity receives not Swearing, seeing every faithful "Word is for an Oath." 'The same doctrine and ex-'position doth Chrysostom follow. Theophylact, after 'Christ,' "It is an evil to Swear, as to be Circumcised, "*and in brief, whatsoever is Jewish.*" 'Beda, also Castro 'and Druthmarus confess, and Bernard himself denies 'not, that it is the counsel of Christ,' "not to swear:" 'and precepts are not contrary to counsels.'

Libr. 1. cap. 14. 282. '*Whether an Oath be an ex-'plicit Act of Religious Virtue?*'

'There may be a reason of doubting, because every 'act of religion is principally intended for the worship 'of God: but an *oath* is not made primarily, and of 'itself (*per se*) for the worship of God; but for con-'firming, &c. as Heb. vi. from whence it seems 'plainly to follow, that an oath is not an act of re-'ligion.'

'It may be declared by reason, because,

'First, It is impossible that man can bring God for 'a witness, although he would never so fain: therefore 'the name of God is taken in vain, as often as it is 'taken to swear: therefore it is evil in itself (*per se.*)'

'Secondly, Grant this were possible, to bring God 'for a witness; it seems disorderly to bring the per-

* Hom. 18. in Cant.

'ſon of God to confirm mens buſineſſes, covenants, or 'words; becauſe it is diſorderly to order things of an 'higher order to thoſe that are inferior: much more is 'it diſorderly, to mix the ſacred authority of God to 'the profane (or common) words, and buſineſſes of 'men.'

'Thirdly, Though in ſome caſe an oath might be 'uſed without inconvenience, yet it is ſo expoſed to 'dangers, that it can ſcarce be done without crime: 'but in the law of Grace, becauſe of the perfection of 'it, not only ſins are to be forbid, but alſo thoſe things 'which do morally and neareſt entangle into ſin: for he 'that loveth danger, ſhall periſh in it.' He quotes Clemens Romanus, lib. 6. Conſtitut. Apoſt. as before; 'Our Maſter commanded, that we ſhould not Swear, 'no, not by the true God; that our Word ſhould be 'counted more firm and credible than an Oath itſelf*. 'He quotes alſo Greg. Nazianzen, as before, upon theſe 'words, "But I ſay unto you," &c.] 'He forbiddeth 'all manner of ſwearing by the Creatures, even with 'reſpect to God: hence it follows the more forcibly, 'as I ſaid, that he forbad all ſwearing by God himſelf, 'as Gregory Nazianzen rightly argues, as before, on 'Cant. Homil. 18. And Chriſt himſelf plainly ſo de-'clared, Mat. xxiii.' "He that ſweareth by heaven, "ſweareth by the throne of God," &c.'

'Laſtly, The words withſtand, which Chriſt ſubjoins,' "Let your words be," &c.] 'For, by them he declares, 'that he had before forbidden the adding of any Oath: 'therefore Jerome anſwered, that oaths, &c. were per-'mitted to the Jews, as to Children.'

He uſes many other arguments, and quotes many authors, as may be ſeen at large in his book concerning Swearing.

CII. Jo. Major Hadingtoniani, on Mat. v. *not to ſwear at all:* 'That precept was given to the Diſciples '(the baſis) of the firſt church.'

* Conſt. 6 and 11.

CIII. Joac.

CIII. Joac. Camer. and P. Loſeler Villerius's marginal note upon Mat. v. 37. 'Whatſoever you vouch, 'vouch it *barely*; and whatſoever you deny, deny it '*barely*, without any more words.'

CIV. BIBLE, imprinted Ann. 1559. in quarto, *What is more is of evil.*] Marginal note, 'From an evil Con-'ſcience, or from the Devil.'

CV. Marlorat, on Mat. v. ſaith, 'Some men, not '*bad*, hold againſt Swearing.'

Maldonat, on Mat. v. reckons up ſeveral againſt Swearing.

CVI. Peter Charron, doctor of Law in Paris, in his Book of Wiſdom, chap. 37. 'An Oath, what is it but a 'ſymptom and ſhameful mark of diſtruſt, infidelity, ig-'norance, human infirmity, both in him that requires 'it, that gives it, that ordains it?' And alluding to Chriſt's words, he ſaith, '*Quod amplius eſt à malo?* 'What is more, is from the Devil.'

CVII. Beza, on James v. 12. 'That which you 'have to ſay or affirm, ſpeak or affirm it ſimply, and 'without an Oath; and that you have to deny, deny 'it ſimply and flatly.'

CVIII. Folio BIBLE, printed Ann. 1578. Marginal note on Mat. v. 34. '*Swear not at all*, Let ſimplicity 'and truth be your words, and then you ſhall not be ſo 'light, and ready to ſwear.'

CIX. Lodovicus Soto Major; 'In the Goſpel, this 'particle *(Amen)* is often uſed by Chriſt our Lord, 'confirming his words by it, as Hierom alſo noteth †: 'yet it is not to be thought (that none be deceived) 'that Chriſt our Lord ſwore, or would have to ſwear, 'as often as he uſeth this word or form of confirming; 'but rather ſo to have been willing more to confirm, 'and perſuade, and commend thoſe things which he 'taught, and eſpecially by reiterating or repeating this 'word, as he often uſeth: for neither is this doubling 'of the word for nought, that Chriſt our Lord ſome-'times uſeth it in the Goſpel, but rather it hath a

† Comm. on 1 Tim. i. p. 210.

'great Emphasis and Increase, that is, great moment 'and weight to persuade and gain belief, as Augustin 'rightly teacheth and explaineth in his 41st Tract upon 'the Gospel of John, expounding those words of 'Christ, saying,' "Amen," 'or' "Verily, Verily, I say "to you, he that doth sin, is the servant of sin:" 'Although therefore that it be not a swearing, yet it 'is a certain greater confirmation and asseveration of 'those things which are spoken; yet nevertheless it is 'not swearing; for otherwise, is it likely that Christ 'the Lord, who himself dehorts others from *swearing at* '*all*, for danger of *forswearing*, should himself swear 'so often? For he not only forbad his to swear, Mat. v. 'but also at the same time, and that very wholsomely, 'commanded that they should use in their speech a 'simple Affirmation and Denial, without any oath, 'saying,' "*Swear not at all*," &c. for this much more 'becomes the simplicity, sincerity, piety, and modesty 'of Christians; for nothing is more simple, brief, and 'effectual to persuade (the badness and naughtiness of 'men being removed) than a single Affirmation or 'Denial, although there were no danger of Perjury.'

In this sense, in a manner, do almost all the graver authors interpret that place of the gospel, or command of Christ, of "not swearing at all:" but especially Augustin, lib. 4. of the Lord's words in the mount, cap. xxx. and xxxi. and in his book *De Mendacio*, cap. xv. and Epist. 154. to Publicola, and often elsewhere; for which interpretation, or understanding, votes also Philo Judæus, in his Book of the Decalogue, Tom. 2. p. 129. where treating of an oath, he thus congruently writeth; 'Men sin in this respect many and 'divers ways; therefore it will be most profitable, and 'most agreeable to the reasonable nature, to abstain 'altogether from Swearing, and so to accustom to 'truth, that simple Speech may have the force of an 'oath,' &c. which things Philo in the same place pursues to the same sense, very congruently in the gospel, that which also he confirms in his Book of Special Laws. Tom. 2. page 137. And afterwards, 'If there-

'fore,

'fore, as I said before, Christ the Lord, for the danger 'of Perjury, and also for the reverence or religion of 'an oath, commands his not to swear at all, though 'otherwise it be true which they affirm; if, I say, there 'be so much reverence of an Oath, how great is the 'perfection? It is not likely, nor agreeable to reason, 'that the Lord Christ, the pattern of true and solid 'virtue, every action of whom is our instruction, did 'swear so often; that is, should swear as often as he 'used this form,' "Verily, Verily, I say unto you," '&c. For how can every moral action of his, or in his 'conversation, be our instruction or example, if he so 'frequently and every where seems to do that, which 'he so vehemently and earnestly commanded his, even 'his chosen disciples, that is, his apostles, that they 'should not do at all? Yet Augustin, in his book of the 'Apostle's Words, Ser. 30. seems by his authority to 'create some scruple and ado for us, inasmuch as he 'seems to censure, and say, That it is a kind of Per-'jury when any wittingly and willingly (that is, with 'certain reason and will, or of set purpose) useth 'this word VERILY, to confirm any thing: yet if we 'diligently mark and weigh the words of St. Augustin 'there, he intends no other than what we intend, 'acknowledge, and confess, and is necessarily to be 'confessed; namely, that he who, from a false opi-'nion and persuasion, and an erroneous conscience, as 'divines call it, thinketh and believeth that he swear-'eth in very deed in using this word, as if this word 'were an adverb of swearing, that sometimes he hap-'pens in a manner to *forswear*, if that which he affirms 'in this manner be false; yet this is accidental and 'adventitious, namely, by the intention of him that 'sweareth of his own will, or rather error or igno-'rance, and not by the force and propriety of the 'word *Amen*, or *Verily*; seeing, as we have said even 'now, that it is not a word or note of swearing, but 'rather of confirming, as we confess: and the same 'St. Augustin teacheth elsewhere, but especially in 'Tract 41. on the Gospel of John, on those words of

'Christ

'Christ the Lord,' "Verily, Verily," &c. 'where moderating his words, he saith thus,' "*Verily, Verily*, is, "if we may so say, in a certain manner, a Swearing of "Christ." 'Now these words of Augustin are to be 'weighed; he declareth (not simply, but with an 'Additament and Caution) *Verily, Verily*, to be (if it 'be lawful to say it) after a *Manner*, a Swearing of 'Christ; for so he declares plain enough, that *Verily*, '*Verily*, is not properly Swearing, or a Note of swearing, 'but only *improperly*, and after a certain manner, viz. 'so far forth as Christ the Lord doth familiarly use this 'word as swearing; although in very deed, and properly, it be not an adverb of swearing, but rather of 'affirming and asserting simply, and in good faith, to 'gain a better persuasion of the matter or doctrine; for 'Christ never seems to have sworn, if we will speak 'truly and properly of swearing, but always used a 'simple Speech; though sometimes, *per amplificationem*, 'he hath used this, even repeated, for the greater persuasion of his heavenly doctrine, that by this means he 'might give his an example of *Not Swearing rashly*, and 'every where, as we have already said, to whom he plainly 'commanded, saying, "Swear not at all, &c. but," '&c. so great is the religion of swearing, and the danger 'of forswearing.'

The Approbation and Commendation of the Doctors of Paris.

'We have carefully read these Commentaries on the 'Epistles of St. Paul, and Timothy, and Titus, wherein 'the most learned author, according to the great learning wherein he excels, largely and elegantly opens 'the more hidden senses of the apostle; and we have 'thought them worthy to be printed for public profit.' Act. Par. 16. Feb. 1610. F. Coeff. F. J. Tourn, &c.

CX. Lodovicus Pius, Emperor, who in his Prologue saith, 'That from his youth, by Christ's Inspiration, he 'had the desire of the worship of God.' Capitul. Addit. 4. Tit. 96. Of not Swearing: 'That every one 'beware

'beware of Swearing; becauſe Forſwearers, as alſo 'Adulterers, ſhall not inherit the Kingdom of God*.'

CXI. King Luitprandus; The Law of the Lombards; Tit. 28. Law 2. 'If he that enquires concerning theft, 'believe not the witneſſes, the witneſſes may confirm it 'with an oath; except they be ſuch perſons as the 'King, or Judge, may truſt *without* an oath†.'

CXII. The Emperor Lotharius, Of the Law of the Lombards, Tit. 3. Law 10. 'Of thoſe that enforce 'payment of Tithes, we will not have them to be con-'ſtrained with an Oath, for fear of forſwearing‡.

CXIII. Of the Law of the Viſigoths, L. 2. Tit. 1. Law 23. which was ancient: 'Let none come eaſily to 'an Oath: for the true ſearch of juſtice rather com-'mendeth this, that the ſcriptures in all things may 'intercur, and the neceſſity of Swearing may alto-'gether ſuſpend itſelf‖.'

Thus much againſt Swearing, from ſeveral Roman Doctors and others.

We ſhall in the next place produce the judgment of thoſe men, who run not ſo high in their cenſures of Oaths, as the perſons that we have hitherto cited, but that believe it is not unlawful in any caſe to take an oath; and from them we doubt not to make appear, that it is beſt not to ſwear at all; ſo far are they from pleading for Swearing, or puniſhing thoſe that conſcientiouſly refuſe it.

CXIV. William Tindall ſaith, 'Our dealing ought 'to be ſo ſubſtantial, that our words might be believed 'without an Oath: our words are the ſigns of the 'truth of our hearts, in which there ought to be pure 'and ſingle love toward thy brother.' Again he ſays, 'Swearing can only be allowed in Charity, where Yea 'and Nay have loſt Credence; however, that no judge 'or other ought in any caſe to compel any man to 'ſwear againſt his will.'

Peter Martyr, who deſerves well of the Engliſh Pro-'teſtants, confeſſeth, 'That Chriſtians ought to live ſo

* Lindenbrog. Cod. leg. antiquar. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid. ‖ Ibid.

'charitably

'charitably and uprightly, as not to need an Oath; 'and that they may not be called upon to ſwear.' Again, 'Let us ſo live, that there may be no need for 'us to ſwear, either by God, or any other thing at all: 'and this, (ſays he) is that ſame AT ALL, which Chriſt 'ſpoke of.'

N. Zegerus upon Mat. v. 34. tells us, 'That the 'moſt ancient writers from thence concluded all Oaths 'forbidden, and that the bare Word of Chriſtians ought 'to be more ſacred and firm, than the moſt religious 'oaths of the Jews,'

CXV. H. Grotius, a great and learned man, 'excludes all Oaths, not only ſuch as are uſed in common 'Converſation, but ſuch as relate to Trade or Pecuniary Matters; allowing ſome others, for avoiding 'Infamy, for preſerving a Friend, and for a great ſervice to their Country, as not morally neceſſary, and 'by precept, but only by conſequence and remedy;' concluding, 'that it is beſt to live ſo, as not to need 'an oath*:' and ſo both many of thoſe oaths impoſed upon us, are laid aſide by him; and he alſo gives many cautions, ſhewing that it is beſt not to ſwear at all, if it may poſſibly be avoided: but in anſwer to his latter interpretation; all oaths are forbid that are performable to the Lord. Now unleſs the vain *inconſiderate* oaths, ſuch as are uſed in common Traffick, are only thoſe that are to be performed to the Lord, *Solemn* Oaths, ſuch as the law allowed, are alſo prohibited. Beſides, the Yea and Nay of a true Chriſtian, is as capable of all thoſe good ſervices as an Oath, if the ſanctity of his faith and profeſſion be allowed: and if any prejudices come to a man's friend, country, or ſelf, becauſe his Yea and Nay is rejected, it will never lie at his door, who offers all Chriſt permits him, and his conſcience will diſpenſe with; but on the Diſtruſter's ſide, eſpecially, when he that in conſcience cannot ſwear, offers as large caution as he that ſwears, and is willing to undergo equal puniſhment, in caſe of

* On Mat. v. & De Jur. Bell. ac Pac. p. 2. c. 26 and 47.

Untruth,

Untruth, that the other by law sustains for Perjury. And those that will have it to relate to *rash*, and not *judicial* oaths, quite cross the text; for Christ prohibits not only *vain* and *superfluous* oaths, as now called, such as were always *unlawful*, even under the Law; but such as were *allowed* in the times of the Law, rendering them also, by Evangelical Verity, under the Gospel, *vain*, *superfluous*, and *unlawful:* for well said Bp. Sanderson, 'No need to forbid, by a new command, 'things that of themselves were always unlawful.' Otherwise we must read Christ's words thus, "Ye "have heard by them of old time, thou shalt not for-"swear thyself, but shalt perform unto the Lord thine "oaths; but I say unto you, swear not at all, except "before a *Judge**;" as if swearing before a judge under the law, were not an oath performable to the Lord; and such itself the place most expresly forbids; Or thus, "Of old it was said, thou shalt not forswear "thyself, but let your Yea be Yea, and your Nay, "Nay; that is, perform to God thy oaths in truth "and righteousness: but I (who say *more* than what "was said of old) say unto you, swear not at all, but "perform thine oaths to God in truth and righteous-"ness:" the incoherence of which must needs be obvious to every considerate person; yet it is the only reading that can be left upon those interpretations. We say, that what God *dispensed* with under the Law, he resolved to *remove* under the Gospel, and to wind up things to an higher pitch of Truth and Righteousness; from Adultery in the *Act*, to Adultery in the *Thought*; from *Revenge* to *Sufferance*; from *True* Swearing, to *No* Swearing *at all*; whereby all Abuse of Oaths, and Perjury, come to be removed with the Oaths themselves, by working out of man's heart that fraud and falshood that brought them in, and implanting Evangelical Verity in the room thereof, which speaketh the Truth, the whole Truth, and nothing but the Truth to his neighbour, and makes a like matter of conscience

* De Juram. Prælect. 5.

to tell a lie, as to *Forswear*. And it is known to Almighty God, and we most heartily desire it may be known and believed by you, that we have no other end nor inducement to this so general refusal we are found in, throughout the nation.

CXVI. Bp. Usher is so tender in this point, that, set aside his Vindication of the Waldenses, in his Sum of Christian Religion, he makes it necessary to the taking of an Oath, that it be considered, First, 'If the party 'we deal with, (really) doubt of the thing we affirm 'or deny:' thereby making Distrust the cause of Swearing; and implying, that not Custom, but real Diffidence, should only continue Swearing; consequently not to continue where Distrust is done away.

Secondly, 'It is to be weighed if the party's Doubt, 'whereof we speak, be weighty, and worthy of an 'Oath:' which, we fear, is seldom thought upon; Custom prevailing even to Trifles, as well as most excessive vain Swearing in Common Conversation.

Thirdly, 'If the question be weighty, Whether,' said the Bishop, 'the doubt may be ended with Truly 'or Verily; or, doubting it, Verily, Verily, as Christ 'did for you, by his example we ought to forbear an 'Oath?' Mat. v. 37. Wherefore should it not, especially among Christians?

Fourthly, 'Whether there be not yet any other fit 'means to try out the matter before we come to an 'Oath.'

This is our case; and we make it our sober request, that it would please you to consider this particular; for doubtless, an Expedient may very easily be found, without bringing us under the bondage of an Oath.

CXVII. Jer. Taylor, Chaplain in Ordinary to K. Charles I. and late Bishop of Down and Connor, In his book called ΕΝΙΑΥΤΟΣ. *A Course of Sermons*, London, printed 1673. Serm. of Christian Simplicity, fol. 228. Thus, 'Our blessed Lord would not have his Disciples '*to swear at all*, (not in publick Judicature) if the ne-'cessity of the world would permit him to be obeyed. 'If Christians will live according to their Religion, the

'Word

'Word of a Christian were a sufficient instrument to 'give testimony, and to make promises, and to secure 'a faith; and upon that supposition, Oaths were use-'less, and therefore *forbidden*; because there would 'be no necessity to invoke *God's Name* in Promises or 'Affirmations, if men were indeed Christians, and 'therefore in that case would be a taking it in vain: 'but because many are not, and they that are in * *Name*, 'oftentimes are in nothing else, it became necessary 'that men should Swear in *Judgment*, and in publick '*Courts*. But consider who it was that invented and 'made the necessity of Oaths, of Bonds, of Securities, 'and all the Artifices of Human Diffidence and Disho-'nesty: these things were indeed found out by Men; 'but the Necessity of these, was from him that is the 'Father of all Lies, from him that hath made many 'fair Promises, but never kept any; or if he did, it 'was to do a bigger Mischief, to flatter the more; for 'so does the *Devil*.'

'See Jews Antiquity, Chap. 12. Page 52. Concern-'ing the Pythagoreans, the Esseni, and concerning the 'Just Man at Athens, which they would not have to '*swear*; and what the Scholiast on Aristophanes, Lib. 12. 'p. 286. saith of Radamanthus.'

CXVIII. Lastly, Bp. Gauden, in his Discourse for Solemn Swearing, says thus much against it.

1. 'That Dissimulations, Frauds, Jealousies, &c. 'gave rise to Oaths.'

2. 'That the Ancient Christians and Fathers, that 'they might not be short of the Esseni, who would 'not take an Oath, refused to swear, saying to the 'Heathens,' "*Christianus sum*, I am a Christian;" 'to

* *Viz.* All their *Reverend Fathers in God*, *Arch-Bishops*, *Bishops*, *Deans*, and the Judges of the Land, Justices of the *Peace*, and all other Officers termed *Ecclesiastical*, or *Civil*, Judges, Priests, and People, (no *Christians*, else would they suffer *Christ*'s Doctrine to be obeyed) who not only enforce *Oaths* on *Strangers*, but, having the like *Diffidence*, one *Father in God* of another, one Judge and Justice of another, impose them on their *Brethren* and *Fathers* with *Equal Distrust*.

'each

'each other, Yea, Yea, Nay, Nay; thereby keeping 'up the sanctity and credit of their profession:'

3. 'That as Christians, truly such, we should possibly need no Swearing; for an Oath is not,' says he, '*Moral* or *Preceptive*, but an *Expedient* or *Remedy* only 'against Falseness.'

Lastly, 'That neither a true Christian, and good 'man, need be compelled to swear, in order to the 'awing him in true-telling.—Nor is ill mens Swearing 'of much credit;' with more to that purpose: what need then is there of either's Swearing?

The substance of all which is this: Oaths rose with Fraud; men growing false and jealous, swearing, or awing by Oaths into true evidence, became an expedient; and during this imbecil and imperfect state of mankind, Almighty God, that hath been ever wont to stoop to man's weakness, condescended to yield the Jews that custom, provided that they refrained from Common and Idolatrous oaths; and when they were called to swear, they did it by the Name of the *True* God, thereby manifesting their acknowledgment of him: but Christ, who is the restorer of breaches, the builder of waste places, the bringer-back of the captivity of his people (where oaths were first wanted, and learned) and the setter-up of the kingdom of God (which stands in righteousness) redeems into True-speaking, which fulfils the Law, by taking away the Occasion of an oath; and such as are the true, humble, and faithful followers of this worthy Leader, need no oath to compel them into Truth, to whom Truth is natural, being freed by it, John viii. 32. from Fraud and Falseness, and consequently from Swearing, which took occasion by it to enter the world. Now we profess ourselves, in the fear of Almighty God, to be such as have thus learned Christ Jesus; and for the Reverence and Holy Love we bear to his righteous commandment, we cannot take an Oath in any case.

Obj. It is true, and you say well, Oaths only serve till True-speaking comes; and you say, it is come to you: but how shall we know that?

Answ.

Anſw. We intreat you to try us: no man can be juſtly condemned before he be guilty; nor reputed guilty in the ſight of men till diſcovered. You will have as eaſy a way to catch us at *Lying*, as others at *Forſwearing*; and if you find us ſuch, inflict the *ſame* puniſhment for *our Lie*, which was enacted for *their Perjury*.

Be pleaſed to conſider,

1. The Riſe of Oaths.
2. The Prohibition of Chriſt.
3. The Judgment of ſo many good Heathens.
4. The Belief and Practice of ſo many Primitive Chriſtians, Celebrated Fathers, Godly Martyrs, and Learned Proteſtants.
5. The Caution they uſe, who in any ſenſe allow of an Oath.
6. That it is Matter of Faith; and what is not of Faith, is Sin: and that we cannot alter our minds without Conviction, unleſs we ſhould turn Hypocrites; and what ſecurity can or will you have from our Oaths, who muſt firſt make us to break the tie of our own Conſcience before we can take them? It cannot be thought we ſhould keep with You, when you make us break with Ourſelves.
7. Conſider what expreſs Scripture we have for it, and that in the judgment and martyrdom of many good and famous perſons.
8. Be pleaſed to weigh the great Perjury that is now in our world, and daily numerous Oaths belched forth by ſome, to ſhow they dare be bold with Sacred Things; by others, to vent Paſſion; by too many (as they impiouſly think) to grace their Matter; whilſt others have ſo great doubt of their own Credit, that they ſwear, to drive what they ſay home; and not a few uſe it merely to fill up vacant places, being barren of better matter. We think, that inſtead of taking advantage againſt us for *Not* ſwearing, in ſo forſwearing an age, we ſhould rather receive encouragement for ſpeaking that truth *without* an oath, which others are compelled to *by* oath, if yet they ſpeak it. Falſe

Speaking neceſſitated to the uſe of oaths, ſay many. But oaths now proving not the Remedy, but the Diſeaſe, what better expedient can be uſed, than to come back to Truth-ſpeaking, which endeth Oaths in their firſt Cauſe, or Occaſion at leaſt: however, that ſuch as e not Sick ſhould be obliged to take the Potions of ne ſick, only to keep them company, ſeems unreaſonable.

9. Be pleaſed to conſider the periſhing difficulties we meet withal in our Commerce in the world, particularly as Creditors, Executors, Merchants, Shipaſters, Apprentic[illegible] c. [illegible]en making us pay, beuſe of our Tender[illegible] [illegible]is matter. O the op--eſſion that is exercited in [illegible]etty Courts and Seſſions [illegible]n many hundreds [illegible]s, who know not which way [illegible] right ourſelves, an [illegible]ll being required in the [illegible]ſe; the Refuſal of w[illegible] [illegible]or Conſcience ſake, exſes us to great L[illegible] [illegible] both of Eſtate, Liberty, and [illegible]netimes Life, by te[illegible] us [illegible]d cruel impriſonments!

10. But the loſs and troub[illegible] is not always our own: Our Neighbours frequently become Sufferers againſt our wills: firſt, In that we can perform no Office in common with them, however otherwiſe able to diſcharge it. Secondly, Nor can we ſerve them in the capacity of Witneſſes, which qualification goes a great way towards the Maintenance of Juſtice; and all becauſe our ſolemn *word* will not be received inſtead of an Oath: relieving us here is a double Benefit, for our Neighbours ſhare with us in it; and it manifeſtly tends to the preſervation of Society. And whatever any may pleaſe to think of us, we are as willing and ready to contribute all Honeſt Aſſiſtance to the Maintenance of Juſtice, and anſwering the ends of Government, according to our ability and conſcience, as any ſort of men that live under it.

11. And laſtly, We intreat you farther to conſider, that our Caution is as large as the man that ſwears: for though you make a difference between him that tells an Untruth, and him that Forſwears, in favour of the former; yet we chearfully ſubmit ourſelves to the

puniſh-

punishment of the *perjured*, if we break our *Word*; do you but please to take us into *equal* privilege with the *swearers*: if there be any Damage, we conceive it is done to Us, who sustain the same punishment for an *Untruth*, which is the only due of *Perjury*; and if you condescend to yield us the Kindness of the one, we offer our persons to answer the just Severity of the other.

We will add here, out of "Hooft's History of the "Netherlands," a precedent not impertinent to our purpose, fol. 464, 465, translated out of Latin as follows:

CXIX. 'In this assembly of the states,' saith Hooft, 'there was something attempted towards the oppression of the Menists, as appears by a certain letter, 'written from Dort, the last of March, by the 'Lord St. Aldegonde, to the minister Caspanus Heidanus; which was thus worded.'

"The cause of the Menists hath, since the receipt of "your and Taffin's letters yesterday, been treated of "with the most illustrious Prince: and verily, I find "it more difficult than I had hoped [for ever may and "will such cursed hopes meet with such wise repulses "from prudent rulers]: for he had at Middleburgh "given me great hopes, that we should seclude from "the freedom of Burgesses, or at least not so solemnly "receive, those that refused an *oath*. Now he alleg-"eth, that such a thing cannot be concluded without "a new convulsion in the churches; because the "States will never suffer that such a law be made as "they judge no ways conducing to the common good "of the republic. Yea, he avers, That this was the "only cause formerly which brought their Consistories "so far into the displeasure of the States; that it "differed very little, but they had been all at once "voted down, and laid aside by the council. That they "[the Clergy] were now again about the same thing, "and that in such a season, that no doubt many would "pour in cold water out of the Popish Hodgepodge. "That his settled judgment was, that this would turn

to great disadvantage, and breaking down of their churches.

'And when I [saith Aldegonde] fervently urged, t we could easily reject those that broke the band of all human society, upon pretence of civil and political order; and when I added," saith he, how much Danger and Peril Church and State were treatened with by such a conclusion of the council, itself ungodly, He answered me sharply enough, hat those mens YEA must pass for an Oath; and at we must not u hing any farther, or we must confess, that s had reason to force us o a ion that ft our consciences; and that th rth-Holla ould not at all allow of it. rt," saith h rce see any thing we can done in this p ich verily [ye may believe him upon his pro ion] is the greater smart to me, the more hat the minds of many nest men, by the ling of I know not what nseasonable stuml cks, will be thereby im-
" bittered, yea, I could almost say, wounded, to see
" them less affected to those, that to their uttermost
" seek to advance the cause of the Church.

" The Prince," saith he, " partly in the name of the
" State, and partly of himself, chid me, as if we were
" about to set up in our clergy a Dominion over the
" Conscience; and as if they endeavoured, by their
" laws and constitutions, to subject all others to them:
" and he praised the saying of a Monk that was lately
" here, who answered to the objection [of the perse-
" cuting Spirit of the Romish Church,] That our pot
" had not gone so long to the fire as theirs, whom we
" did so much revile upon that account.—And that
" he clearly saw, that before two ages passed, the
" Church-Dominion would upon both sides stand on
" even ground."

To which Hooft adds, 'By this we may observe, of
' what consequence the Prince and States then held
' Liberty of Conscience to be.'

And

And that what we have hitherto ſaid may not be thought a thing impracticable, we ſhall preſent you with the Judgment and Edicts of Foreign Governments.

Here follow Two Letters, of the Grave of Naſſau, and Prince of Orange, to the Magiſtrates of the City of Middleburgh, in behalf of the Meniſts there.

CXX. A Copy of the Firſt Letter.

'FOraſmuch as a Supplication hath been preſented 'unto his Excellency in behalf of certain inhabitants of this city of Middleburgh, complaining 'thereby, That the magiſtrates of the ſaid city hath 'lately cauſed their Shops to be ſhut, and conſequently 'prohibited their Trade, which is yet the only Means 'they have to maintain their families; the ſaid prohibition proceeding from their not having yet taken 'the uſual OATH, as others: the ſaid inhabitants farther remonſtrating, how that they now, for a certain 'long term of years, have, without taking the ſaid 'Oath, freely borne all civil burthens, contributions, 'and taxes, equally with other burgeſſes and inhabitants of the ſaid city, without ever having been in 'any default; and therefore ought at preſent ſtill to 'remain unmoleſted, ſeeing they do therein not deſire any thing elſe, than to live in the Liberty of 'their Conſciences, upon which account this preſent 'war againſt the King of Spain hath been by his ſubjects taken up, and all ceremonies contrary thereunto reſiſted; in which ſuch advance is, through 'the help of God, made, that the aforeſaid Liberty 'of Conſcience is preſerved; and therefore it would 'be an unequal thing to deprive the Supplicants thereof, who have helped to acquire the ſame, by bearing 'taxes, contributions, and other burdens, not without great peril of their bodies and lives; conſonant 'to which they have preſented a requeſt to the aforeſaid magiſtrates, but got for anſwer, That they muſt 'regulate themſelves according to the policy and order 'of the aforeſaid city: whereby (ſaith the Petition)

'the

'the aforesaid magistrates seem to endeavour by the 'Oath, not only totally to ruin and expel out of these 'lands the petitioners, with their wives and children, 'residing in Middleburgh; but consequently innume-'rable others, in Holland and Zealand, who have, '(according to his Excellency's proclamation,) placed 'themselves under his Excellency's protection; by 'which no man can be any ways benefited,—but all 'these lands receive great and considerable damage, 'because thereby the traffic thereof would be every 'where greatly diminished: intreating therefore, and 'humbly begging his Excellency, that looking upon 'their case with compassion, he would take due course 'about it; especially seeing that the aforesaid petition-'ers do proffer, that their YEA passing for an oath, the 'transgressors thereof should be punished as Oath-'breakers.

'Therefore, his Excellency having considered the 'premises, and having maturely deliberated upon the 'same, hath, with the previous advice of the Governor 'and Council of Zealand, ordered and appointed, 'ordereth and appointeth hereby, That the aforesaid 'petitioners YEA shall be received by the magistrates of 'the aforesaid city instead of an Oath, provided that 'the transgressors thereof shall be punished as Oath-'breakers and perjured persons. His Excellency 'charging and commanding the magistrates of Mid-'dleburgh, and all others whom this may concern, no 'farther to oppress the petitioners contrary to their 'consciences, concerning the OATH; but suffer them 'to open their shops, and enjoy their trades, as they 'formerly have done: all by provision; and until such 'time as there shall be, in more tranquillity of affairs, 'with ripe deliberation, regard being had thereunto, 'ordained therein as shall be found convenient.

'This done under his Excellency's name and seal, in the city of Middleburgh, upon the 26 Jan. 1577.

'Guilliaume de Nassau,

'By my Gracious Lord, the Prince, Subscribed,

'De Baudemont.'

CXXI. A Copy of the Second Letter.

The Prince of Orange, Grave of Naſſau, Lord and Baron of Bueda, Dieſt, &c.

Honourable, Honeſt, Worſhipful, Wiſe, Diſcreet, Dear and Singular.

'FOraſmuch as certain Houſe-keepers there inhabiting, being, as they ſay, Meniſts, have, by way of complaint, divers times ſignified to us, how that you are daily moleſting them, and depriving them of the means of gaining in reſt and quietneſs their livings for them and their families; forbidding them to open their ſhops, under the pretence that they ſhould refuſe to take an Oath in the ſame form as other burgeſſes; upon which we have taken ripe deliberation: and foraſmuch as the aforeſaid people do proffer to bear equally all burdens with other citizens, and even in the caſe of arms (which moſtly moves them to contribute) do you ſuch performances at their charges, as yourſelves, or they that ſhall have the orders, ſhall find in all reaſon and equity fit to be done, and they will bear it.

'We therefore conceive that ye do very ill, not to permit them to live in peace and quietneſs, according to the mind of their conſcience, according to the Act which we, with the advice of the Governor and Council, formerly afforded them, which, they ſay, they have exhibited to you: and yet, notwithſtanding, we find that you have hitherto refuſed to give heed unto it, and to our precedent letters, and ſo we are conſtrained for this laſt time to write this, by which we plainly declare unto you, That it concerns not you to trouble yourſelves in particular with any man's *Conſcience*, ſo long as nothing is treated or done that might extend to any man's ſcandal; in which caſe we will neither reſpect nor bear any man.

'And

'And therefore we charge and order you expresly, 'to desist all farther molestation or hindrance of the 'said Menists in their merchandize or handicrafts to 'gain their livelihood for their wives and children; 'suffering them to open their shops, and work as they 'have in times past done; until such time as there 'shall be otherwise ordered by the generality (who 'are thereunto qualified:) and therefore take heed 'that ye do nothing against this, and the Act to them 'granted, or to further any fines from them upon that 'account; provided nothing be by them attempted, 'which might tend to the scandal of any man: and 'they shall bear all civil and equal burdens, as other 'men. Herewith, &c.

'Subscribed by Copy,

'De Baudemont.'

CXXII. Also by the Treaties of Peace, between the States General of the United Provinces, and the Kings of England, Spain, &c. Ann. 1674. there is a special article therein contained, 'That all their Ship-masters 'of Merchant-ships shall carry along with them a Sea-'brief, according to the form thereby prescribed:' In which it is expresly declared, 'That such master shall 'come before the magistrates, and by his solemn Oath 'testify, that such ship, whereof he is master, doth 'properly belong unto the subjects of the said States 'General; unto which Sea-brief, under the seal of 'the city, intire faith and credit is given.'

And although by the said Treaties, the master was to give his Oath, yet the magistrates in Holland do take the Solemn Affirmation of such as cannot swear, instead of an Oath, and insert it so accordingly in their Sea-briefs; and then it runs thus, 'These are to cer-'tify, &c. That A. B. hath before us solemnly affirm-'ed and declared, that the Ship C. D. whereof he is 'master, doth properly belong and appertain to the 'subjects

'subjects of the States General of the United Pro-
'vinces,' &c.

Which can be sufficiently evidenced, if required.

This was the Care, this the Condescension, of other governments, for the relief of persons under our circumstances: and we take liberty to affirm, That the Trade and Wealth of the United Provinces, are owing more to the ingenuity and industry of those indulgent Dissenters, than to them of the National Religion, who would have slugged and tyrannized all into poverty and vassalage.

Have regard to our Suffering Condition, we beseech you; and shew yourselves both natural to a Member (be we reputed the meanest) of your own Civil Body, and so far lovers of Him who said, "Swear not at all," as not to continue us sufferers for not acting against his Command, at least, our Sense of it, and therein of our own Consciences: but make some Provision for us, as well as other countries have done before you, as in your wisdom you shall think meet; that all those, who are of the Society of the People called Quakers, and know of themselves to be so, shall not be molested for the future upon the account of Swearing, but their solemn YEA or NAY shall be taken in lieu thereof, and their Untruth, or Breach of Word, punishable as Perjury.

God, we know, who delights in mercy, and in all acts of tenderness to the sons of men, will favour so natural, so generous, and so Christian an enterprize; and the proposers, promoters, and effecters of this happy deliverance from the heavy clog of Swearing, under which we and our families have so long groaned, will not, we dare believe, go without their rewards at the hands of the Almighty; whom, in what manner soever he shall deal with us, we do, from the bottom of our souls, humbly and heartily implore, that it would please him so to dispose your hearts, as you may best discharge that high trust reposed in you, to the honour of his great name, and the prosperity of

is famous kingdom, the moſt certain foundation of true felicity to yourſelves; and which will give, as a good example to others, ſo the cleareſt reputation to you and your poſterity.

This performed in the name, and for the ſervice, of the People called Quakers, by

WILLIAM PENN,

RICHARD RICHARDSON.

END OF VOL. II.

Penn

Select Works