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Portrait of William Penn, by Inman.
Courtesy of Independence Hall Collection, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania



William Penn's bookplate, a coat-of-arms, from his own copy of the Holy Bible. Original in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.





"Pennsbury Manor," Bucks County, Pennsylvania; built, 1683; restored by the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1938.

A
COLLECTION
OF THE
WORKS
OF
WILLIAM PENN.

In Two VOLUMES.

To Which is PREFIXED
A Journal of His LIFE.
WITH MANY
Original LETTERS *and* PAPERS
Not Before PUBLISHED.

VOLUME the FIRST.

*Ecclesiastes xii. 11. The Words of the Wise are as Goats, and as Nails fastened
by the Masters of Assemblies, which are given from One Shepherd.*

L O N D O N:
Printed and Sold by the ASSIGNS of J. SOWLE, at the
Bible in George-Yard, Lombard-Street. 1726.

T O T H E
R E A D E R.

OU R Worthy Friend, WILLIAM PENN, was known to be a Man of great Abilities, of an Excellent Sweetness of Disposition, quick of Thought, and of a ready Utterance, full of the Qualification of True Discipleship, Even Love without Dissimulation; as extensive in Charity, as comprehensive in Knowledge: Malice or Ingratitude were utter Strangers to him, being so ready to forgive Enemies, that the Ungrateful were not excepted; so that he may justly be rank'd among the Learned, Good and Great: His Abilities are sufficiently manifested throughout his Elaborate Writings, which are so many lasting MONUMENTS of his Christian QUALIFICATIONS. His MEMORIAL will be Valued by the Wise, and Blessed with the Just.

In fine, he was Learn'd without Vanity, Apt without Forwardness, Facetious in Conversation, yet weighty and Serious; of an Extraordinary Greatness of Mind, yet void of the Stain of Ambition.

The General Design of this Author's Works, to promote that of Christianity, the Glory of God and Practice of Piety, has long since recommended his Writings to the Sincere and Truly Religious of different Perswasions.

Their kind Reception with such, having given Sale to several Impressions of some of them, and others being now out of Print: A timely Collection was thought necessary, to preserve the Usefulness of them to Posterity; and withal, to publish such Posthumous Pieces of his, as have lately come to our Hands.

To the READER.

TWO VOLUMES contain the Whole, which may be considered under Five General Heads, Viz. 1. EPISTOLARY. 2. DOCTRINAL. 3. POLEMICAL: 4. HISTORICAL: 5. POLITICAL.

1. EPISTOLARY. His Letters on several Occasions, some of them to Persons of Note and Distinction, are either in the *Annals of His Life*, which begin the *First Volume*, or, in an *Appendix* refer'd to by correspondent Numbers. Most of them are now first published from Copies himself deliver'd to a particular Friend.

2. DOCTRINAL, OR DECLARATIVE; In which he either bears his Testimony in General, against all those Religions, Creeds and Worships, that have been formed and followed in the Darknes of Apostacy, as in his Book called *Truth Exalted*, &c: Or, particularly testifies against certain Doctrines of the Church of *Rome*, as in his *Seasonable Caveat against Popery*: Or, zealously presses the Practical Duties of Religion, excites to the Exercise of *Justice, Temperance, Meekness, Patience, Humility, Charity, Self-Denial* and other *Christian Virtues*: Exposes their opposite *Vices*: Laments the Degeneracy of *Christendom*: Shews how inconsistent the Customs, many indulge themselves in, are to the Meek and Holy Life of Jesus, as in his Treatise entituled, *No Cross, no Crown: An Address to Protestants*, &c. Or, publishes the Principles of those of his own *Perswasion*, for the Information of others; as in his *Christian Quaker*, where their *Fundamental Principle* of the *Divinity, Universality* and *Sufficiency* of the *Light within*, is proved by Scripture, Reason and Authorities. His *Rise and Progress* of the People called *Quakers*, wherein their *Doctrine, Worship, Ministry* and *Discipline* are declared: His *Treatise of Oaths*, in which the *Doctrine* of not *Swearing* at all, is confirmed by the Concurrent Testimonies of a Cloud of Witnesses, *Gentiles, Jews* and *Christians*: His *KEY*, opening the Way to discern the Difference between the Religion professed by the People called *Quakers*, and the Misrepresentations of their Adversaries, wherein several Doctrines of that People are set in a clear Light: A Book that has past twelve Impressions; and is here placed in the *Second Volume*. The other Writings applicable to this Head, are chiefly contain'd in the *First Volume*; which is clos'd with a Posthumous Piece, of the *Author's Advice to his Children*:

To the READER

3. **POLEMICAL, or CONTROVERSIAL,** In Defence of the Principles and Writings of himself and his Friends: His first Work of this Kind, call'd the *Guide Mistaken*, written in the Year 1668, begins the *Second Volume* of this Collection: which is followed with variety of Defensive Pieces, under their proper Titles. In answering his Opponents, he both solves their Objections, and vindicates his own Principles by the *Holy Scriptures* and other *Authorities*: And tho' he labours rather to convince than confute his Adversaries, and to rectify their Mistakes, than expose their Ignorance; yet he is not sparing to use Severe Reproofs and Censure, where he thinks them either Malicious or Insincere. He had also some Controversy with Persons, who, upon Dislike of the Order and Discipline us'd among the People call'd *Quakers*, had separated from their Society, and written against them. His Replies to such, with several other Controversial Pieces, are also placed in the *Second Volume*, according to the Series of Time they were written in. We may likewise place under this Head, some Letters written to *Richard Baxter*, inserted in the *Appendix*, No. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15.

4. **HISTORICAL,** As the Journal of his Travails in *Holland* and *Germany*, inserted in his Life; and his Description of the Province of *Pensylvania*, placed in the *Second Volume*.

5. **POLITICAL,** In which he endeavours to promote the Safety, Peace and Prosperity of the Government, the Rights and Priviledges of the Subject, and the General Good of Civil Society. He thought an Universal Liberty of Conscience conducive to those Purposes, and therefore pleaded for an Abrogation of all *Penal Laws* about Religion: On this Subject he writ several Treatises, viz. *England's present Interest considered. A Perswasive to Moderation. Good Advice to the Church of England, Roman Catholick and Protestant Dissenter, &c.* His Plea for Religious Liberty not excluding the *Papists*; An Occasion was thence taken by his Adversaries to traduce him as an Abettor of them. Some Papers also having been spread abroad, with the initial Letters of his Name subscribed, they stuck not to report him a *Papist*, a *Jesuit*, and what not. Conscious of his own Innocence, and esteeming the manifest Opposition his known Principles

To the READER.

Principles bore to *Poper*y, a sufficient Justification against those Calumnies, he passed them with Silence, until the Importunities of his Friends drew from him a Paper call'd *Fiction found out*; Several Letters to Dr. *Tillotson*; and a long Epistle to *William Popple*, Secretary to the Plantation-Office; which are inserted in *His Life*, from Page 125 to 140.

The placing of the Books that compose each Volume in due Order of Time, has prevented the digesting them under their proper Heads so exactly as might else have been.

The Date of each Book is the Year of it's first Impression: Yet such as have had several Editions, are printed from the last and best of them:

The Whole is submitted to thy Consideration, with these Cautions: Peruse patiently; Judge impartially; Censure charitably; Embrace cheerfully what thou findest evidently True, and if in any Thing thou art yet otherwise minded, wait without Prejudice for farther Illumination.

Farewel.

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* Note. A
Learned De-
fence of this
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chard Claridge,
Sold by the
Printer here-
of.

THE AUTHOR'S LIFE.

VOLUME the First.

WHEN the BLESSED MESSIAH first call'd forth the immediate Followers of His Person, he declared *Self-Denial* essential to *Discipleship*, saying, *Whoever doth not bear his Cross, and come after me, cannot be my Disciple*, Luke xiv. 27. This Path himself trod before them, setting all that should come after, an *Example* of the most perfect Patience and Resignation. The *Faithful* in every Age, have met with Variety of *Exercises*; and many of them by their more than *Humane Constancy*, neither terrified by the roughest Efforts of *Cruelty* and *Malice* on the one Hand, nor enticed by the *Smoothest Allurements* of Pleasure and Vanity on the other, have given convincing Proofs to the World, that the *Grace* which supported them, was *Divine*.

The Introduction.

'Twas this, which gave our *Author* in his early Years, a solid Sense of *Religion*, and a Taste of that *Substantial Peace* which the World can neither give nor take away: This instructed him to see the Emptiness and Vanity of Earthly Enjoyments, and to turn his Back upon the Honour, Profits, and Pleasures of the World, at an Age most inclinable to embrace them; This enabled him to surmount all Opposition in the Search of TRUTH: which having found, he valued as a *Pearl of Price*, and laboured in the Propagation and Defence of it, both by Preaching and Writing, almost incessantly for many Years.

It being now thought meet to publish a *Collection of His WORKS* for a General Service, We judge it not improper to prefix the following *Journal of His LIFE*, chiefly extracted out of his own *Private Memoirs*, in which we doubt not the *Judicious Reader* will find many Passages, both Exemplary and Instructive.

WILLIAM PENN was born in the Parish call'd St. Katharine's, near the Tower of London, on the 14th Day of October, 1644. His Father, of the same Name, was a Man of good Estate and Reputation, and in the Time of the Commonwealth, served in some of the *Highest Maritime Offices*, as those of Rear-Admiral, Vice-Admiral, Admiral of Ireland, Vice-Admiral of England, &c. in all which, he acquitted himself with Honour and Fidelity. After the Restoration, he was Knighted by King Charles the Second, and became a peculiar Favourite of the then Duke of York: His Paternal Care, and a promising Prospect of his Son's Advancement, induc'd him to give him a *Liberal Education*; and the Youth, of an *Excellent Genius*, made such early Improvements in *Literature*, that about the 15th Year of his Age, he was entred a *Student* at *Christ's Church Colledge* in Oxford.

1644.

His Birth, Parentage, and Education.

Now began his ardent Desire after *Pure and Spiritual Religion* (of which he had before received some Taste or Relish, through the Ministry of one Thomas Loe, a Quaker) to shew itself; for he, with certain other *Students* of that *University*, withdrawing from the *National Way of Worship*, held *Private Meetings* for the Exercise of *Religion*, where they both preach'd and pray'd amongst themselves: This gave great Offence to the Heads of the Colledge, and he, being but Sixteen Years of Age, was find for *Noncon-*

1659.

His early Enquiry after Religion.

1660.

formity. Which small Stroke of *Persecution*, not at all abating the Fer-
vour of his *Zeal*, he was at length, for persevering in the like Religious
Practices, expell'd the *Colledge*.

1661.

His Return
Home from
the University.

From thence he returned Home, but still took great *Delight* in the Com-
pany of *Sober and Religious People*, which his Father knowing to be a *Block*
in the Way to *Preferment*, endeavour'd both by Words and Blows to deter
him from ; bur finding those Methods ineffectual, he was at length so in-
censed, that he turn'd him out of *Doors*.

1662.

His going over
to France.

Patience surmounted this *Difficulty*, till his Father's Affection had sub-
du'd his *Anger*, who then sent him to *France*, in Company with some *Per-*
sons of Quality, that were making a Tour thither. He continued there a
considerable Time, till a quite different Conversation had diverted his Mind
from the *Serious Thoughts of Religion* : And upon his Return, his Father
finding him not only a good Proficient in the *French Tongue*, but also per-
fectly accomplished with a *Polite and Courty Behaviour*, joyfully receiv'd
him, hoping his Point was gain'd ; and indeed for some Time after his Re-
turn from *France*, his Carriage was such as justly entitled him to the Cha-
racter of a *Compleat Young Gentleman*.

1664.

His Spiritual
Conflict and
Exercises.

Great, about this Time, was his *Spiritual Conflict* ; His *Blooming Youth*,
His *Natural Inclination*, His *Lively and Active Disposition*, His *Acquired*
Accomplishments, His *Father's Favour*, the *Respect* of his *Friends and Ac-*
quaintance, did strongly press him to embrace the *Glory and Pleasures* of
this World, then as it were *Courting and Caressing* him to accept them.
Such a *Combined Force* might seem almost *Invincible* ; but the earnest *Sup-*
plication of his Soul being to the LORD for *Preservation*, He was pleas'd
to grant him such a Portion of *His Holy Power and Spirit*, as enabled him
in due Time to overcome all *Opposition*, and with an *Holy Resolution* to
follow CHRIST, whatsoever *Reproaches or Persecutions* might attend him.

1666.

His going to
Ireland, and
his Convincement there.

About the Year 1666, and the 22d of his Age, his Father committed to
his Care and Management, a considerable Estate in *Ireland*, which occa-
sion'd his Residence in that Country. Being at *Cork*, he was inform'd by
one of the People called *Quakers*, that *Thomas Loc*, whom we mentioned
before, was to be shortly at a *Meeting in that City* ; he went to hear him,
who began his Declaration with these Words, *There is a Faith that over-*
comes the World, and there is a Faith that is overcome by the World ; upon
which Subject he enlarg'd with much *Clearness and Energy*. By the Li-
ving and powerful *Testimony* of this Man, which had made some Impres-
sion upon his *Spirit* Ten Years before, he was now thoroughly and effectually
Convinced, and afterward constantly attended the *Meetings* of that
People, even through the *Heat of Persecution*.

1667.

His first Im-
prisonment at
Cork.

On the third of the 9th Month, 1667, being again at a *Meeting in Cork*,
he, with many others, were apprehended and carried before the *Mayor*,
who observing that his Dress discover'd not the *Quaker*, would have set
him at Liberty, upon *Bond for His Good Behaviour* ; which he refusing,
was, with about eighteen others, committed to Prison. He had during his
Abode in *Ireland*, contracted an intimate *Acquaintance* with many of the
Nobility and Gentry, and, being now a Prisoner, wrote the following Letter.

His Letter to
the Earl of
Ortery.

To the Earl of ORREY, Lord President of Munster.

THE Occasion may seem as strange as my Cause is Just ; but your
Lordship will no less express your Charity in the one, than your
Justice in the other.

Religion which is at once my Crime, and mine Innocence, makes me a Pri-
soner to a Mayor's Malice, but mine own Freeman ; for being in the Assembly
of the People called *Quakers*, there came several Constables back with Sol-
diers, rudely and arbitrarily requiring every Man's Appearance before the
Mayor, and amongst others, violently haled me with them : Upon my coming
before him, he charged me for being present at a Tumultuous and Riotous
Assembly,

1667.

Assembly, and unless I would give Bond for my good Behaviour, who challenge the World to accuse me justly with the contrary, he would commit me: I asked for his Authority, for I humbly conceive without an Act of Parliament, or an Act of State, it might be justly termed too much *Officiousness*: His answer was, A Proclamation in the Year 166c, and new Instructions to revive that dead and antiquated Order. I leave your Lordship to be Judge, if that Proclamation relates to this Concernment; That only was designed to suppress Fifth-Monarchy Killing Spirits; and since the King's Lord-Lieutenant and your self, being fully persuaded the Intention of these called Quakers by their Meetings, was really the Service of GOD, have therefore manifested a Repeal by a long Continuance of Freedom, I hope your Lordship will not now begin an unusual Severity, by indulging so much Malice in one, whose Affairs savour ill with his nearest Neighbours, but that there may be a speedy Release to all, for attending their Honest Callings, with the Enjoyment of their Families, and not to be longer separated from both.

And, tho' to dissent from a National System, imposed by Authority, renders Men Hereticks, yet I dare believe your Lordship's better read in Reason and Theology, than to subscribe a Maxim so vulgar and untrue, for imagining most Visible Constitutions of Religious Government, suited to the Nature and Genius of a Civil Empire, it cannot be esteemed Heresy, but to scare a Multitude from such Enquiries as may create Divisions, fatal to a Civil Policy, and therefore at worst deserves only the Name of Disturbers.

But I presume, my Lord, the Acquaintance you have had with other Countries, must needs have furnish'd you with this Infallible Observation, that Diversities of Faith and Worship, contribute not to the Disturbance of any Place, where Moral Uniformity is barely requisite to preserve the Peace. It is not long since you were a good Solicitor for the Liberty I now crave, and concluded no Way so effectual to improve, or advantage this Country, as to dispense with Freedom in Things relating to Conscience; and I suppose were it Riotous or Tumultuary, as by some vainly imagined, your Lordship's Inclination, as well as Duty, would entertain a very remote Opinion. My humble Supplication therefore to you is, that so malicious and injurious a Practice to innocent Englishmen, may not receive any Countenance or Encouragement from your Lordship; for as it is contrary to the Practice elsewhere, and a bad Argument to invite English hither, so, with Submission, will it not resemble that Clemency and English Spirit, that hath hitherto made You Honourable.

If in this Case I may have used too great a Liberty, it is my Subject, nor shall I doubt your Pardon, since by your Authority I expect a Favour, which never will be used unworthy an Honest Man, and

Your Lordships Faithful, &c.

W. P.

His Request in the Letter, so far as related to himself, was quickly granted, for the Earl forthwith order'd his Discharge.

His Discharge.

His late Imprisonment was so far from terrifying, that it strengthned him in his Resolution of a closer Union with that People, whose Religious Innocence was the only Crime they suffer'd for.

His Constancy renewed by suffering.

And now his more open joining with the Quakers, brought himself under that reproachful Name; His Companions wonted Complements and Caresses, were chang'd into Scoffs and Derision: He was made a By-word, Scorn and Contempt, both to Professors and Profane; to the latter for being Religious, and to the former, for having A Better than theirs.

His publick joining to the Quakers.

His Father being informed by Letter from a Nobleman of his Acquaintance, what Danger his Son was in, of being proselyted to Quakerism, remanded him Home, and he readily obeyed. Upon his Return, although there was no great Alteration in his Dress, yet his manner of Deportment, and the Solid Concern of Mind he appeared to be under, were manifest Indications of the Truth of the Information his Father had received; who there-

His Return to England.

His Exercise with his Father.

1667.

upon attackt him afresh : And here my Pen is diffident of her *Abilities* to describe that most pathetick and moving *Contest* which was betwixt his Father and him. His Father acted by *Natural Love*, principally aiming at his Son's *Temporal Honour* ; He, guided by a *Divine Impulse*, having chiefly in View his own *Eternal Welfare* : His Father griev'd to see the well-accomplish'd Son of his *Hopes*, now ripe for *Worldly Promotion*, voluntarily turn his Back on it ; He, no less afflicted, to think that a *Compliance* with his *Earthly Father's Pleasure*, was inconsistent with an *Obedience* to his *Heavenly One* : His Father pressing his *Conformity* to the *Customs* and *Fashions* of the *Times* : He, modestly craving Leave to refrain from what would hurt his *Conscience* : His Father earnestly intreating him, and almost on his *Knees* beseeching him to yield to his *Desire* ; He, of a *loving* and *tender Disposition*, in an extream *Agony of Spirit*, to behold his Father's *Concern* and *Trouble* : His Father threatening to *disinherit* him ; He, humbly *submitting* to his Father's *Will* therein. His Father turning his Back on him in *Anger* ; He, lifting up his *Heart* to *God*, for *Strength* to support him in that *Time of Trial*.

A remarkable
Instance of his
Sincerity.

And here we may not omit to give our Reader a particular and observable *Instance* of his *Sincerity*. His Father finding him too fixt to be brought to a *General Compliance* with the *Customary Complements of the Times*, seem'd inclinable to have born with him in other *Respects*, provided he would be uncover'd in the *Presence* of the *King*, the *Duke*, and *Himself* : This being propos'd, he desired *Time* to consider of, which his Father supposing to be with an *Intention* of consulting his *Friends*, the *Quakers*, about it ; he assured him that he would see the *Face* of none of them, but retire to his *Chamber* till he should return him an *Answer*. Accordingly he withdrew, and having humbled himself before *God*, with *Fasting* and *Supplication*, to know his *Heavenly Mind and Will*, he became so strengthened in his *Resolution*, that returning to his Father, he humbly signified, that he could not comply with his *Desire* therein.

He is turn'd
out of his Fa-
ther's House.

When all *Endeavours* prov'd ineffectual to shake his *Constancy*, and his Father saw himself utterly disappointed of his *Hopes*, he could no longer endure him in his *Sight*, but turn'd him out of *Doors* the second *Time*. Thus expos'd to the *Charity* of his *Friends*, having no other *Subsistence*, (except what his Mother privately sent him) he endured the *Cross* with a *Christian Patience* and *Magnanimity*, comforting himself with the *Promise* of *Christ*, *Luke* xviii. 29, 30.

His Father's
Anger mollifi-
ed.

After a considerable *Time*, his steady *Perseverance* evincing his *Integrity*, his Father's *Wrath* became somewhat mollified, so that he winked at his *Return* to, and *Continuance* in his *Family* ; and tho' he did not publicly seem to countenance him, yet when imprison'd for being at *Meetings*, he would privately use his *Interest* to get him releas'd.

1668.

His coming
forth in the
Ministry.

About the Year 1668, being the 24th of his Age, he first came forth in the *Work of the Ministry*, rightly called to, and qualified for that *Office* ; being sent of *God* to *Teach* others what himself had learnt of him : *Commissioned* from on High, to *Preach* to others that *Holy Self-Denial* himself had *practis'd* : To recommend to all that *Serenity* and *Peace of Conscience* himself had felt : Walking in the *Light*, to call others out of *Darkness* : Having drank of the *Water of Life*, to direct others to the same *Fountain* : Having tasted of the *Heavenly Bread*, to invite all Men to partake of the same *Banquet* : Being redeemed by the *Power of CHRIST*, he was sent to call others from under the *Dominion* of *Satan*, into the *Glorious Liberty* of the *Sons of GOD*, that they might receive *Remission* of *Sins*, and an *Inheritance* among them that are *Sanctified*, through *Faith* in *Jesus Christ*. One *Workman* thus qualified, is able to do *His Master's Business* far more effectually, than *Ten Bold Intruders*, who undertake to *Teach a Science* themselves never *Learned*. About this *Time* he writ to a *Young Person* of his *Acquaintance*, by Way of *Caution*, against the *Follies* and *Vanities* of the *World*, the following *Letter*, viz.

Friend,

1668.

Friend,

Navy-Office, 10th of the 5th Month, 1668.

*A Letter to an
Acquaintance,
dissuading
from a vain
Conversation.*

IT was a True Word spoke by JESUS CHRIST, to undeceive all those Careless Wanton Jews, among whom he manifested His Glorious Truth, through That Body prepared of God for that very End, That the Way which leads to Everlasting Life and Rest, was very Strait and Narrow. My Friend, How much it may import the Welfare of thy Immortal Soul, to reflect upon that Course of Life, and Way thou now art walking in, before an Evident Stroke from Heaven call thee hence, and send thy so much indulged Flesh and Blood into the Grave; an Entertainment for no better than Noisome Worms. I beg thee, as ever thou wouldst be saved from that unspeakable Anguish, which is reserved for Worldlings, and from whence there is no Redemption, to keep thy self from those Vanties, Follies, and Pollutions, which unavoidably bring that Miserable State. Alas! How incongruous, or unsuitable is thy Life and Practice, with those Holy Women of Old, whose Time was mostly spent in Heavenly Retirements, out of that Rattle, Noise, and Conversation thou art in: And canst thou imagine that those Holy Men recorded in Scripture, spent their Days, as do the Gallants of these Times: Where is the Self-Denying Life of Jesus, the Cross, the Reproach, the Persecution, and Loss of All, which He and His suffered, and most willingly supported, having their Eyes all fixt upon a More Enduring Substance. Well, my Friend, this know, and by these shalt thou be judged, and in it I am clear, That as without Holiness none can see God, so without Subjection to that Spirit, Light, or Grace in the Heart, which God in Love hath made to appear to all, That teacheth to deny all Ungodliness and Worldly Lusts, and to live Soberly, Righteously, and Godly in this present World; I say, without Subjection hereunto, there is no attaining to that Holiness which will give thee an Entrance into His Presence, in which is Joy and Pleasure for ever. And examine with thy self, how remote thou art from the Guidings and Instructions of this Spirit of Grace, who canst countenance this Age in frequenting their wicked and vain Sports, Plays and Entertainments, conforming thy self to ridiculous Customs, and making One at idle Talking and vain Jestings, where-soever thou comest, not considering thou shalt account with the Dreadful God for every Idle Word. And let all thy Frolick Associates know, their Day is hastening, in which they shall not abide the Presence of him that sits upon the Throne. It shall be a Time of Horror, Amazement and Distress: Then shall they know there is a Righteous Holy Judge of All. As for thee, with Pity is thy Condition often in my Thoughts; and often is it my Desire that thou mayst do well; but whilst I see thee in that Spirit, which savours of this World's Delights, Ease, Plenty and Esteem, neglecting that One Thing necessary, I have but little Hopes. However, I could not let this Plain Admonition pass me, and what Place soever it may have in thy Thoughts, I am sure it's in True Love to that which shall be Happy or Miserable to all Eternity. I have not sought Fine Words, or Chiming Expressions; the Gravity, the Concernment and Nature of my Subject, admits no such Butter-Flies. In short, be advised, my Friend, to be Serious, and to ponder that which belongs to thy Eternal Peace. Retire from the Noise and Clatter of Tempting Visions, to the beholding HIM who is Invisible, that He may reign in thy Soul, GOD over All, Exalted and Blessed for ever: Farewel.

I am thy Well-wishing, Real Friend,

W. P.

This Year was published the first of his printed Works, under the Title of *Truth Exalted*; and soon after that a second, call'd, *The Guide mistaken*, being a Reply to Jonathan Clapham's Book, entituled, *A Guide to the True Religion*.

About this Time, Two of the Auditors of one Thomas Vincent, a Presbyter in the *Spittle-Yard*, came over to the *Quakers*; their Pastor hereat transported

*His first Ap-
pearing in
Print.*

*The Occasion of
publishing his
Sandy Founda-
tion shaken.*

1668.

His Imprisonment in the Tower.

His Answer to the Bishop of London's Threats.

His Works written in the Tower.

* Ap. No. I.

His second going to Ireland, A remarkable Occurrence in his Passage.

ported with *Fiery Zeal*, a Thing fertile of ill Language, railing to his Auditor, accused the *Quakers* of holding most *Erroneous* and *Damnable Doctrines*, and utter'd such other Invectives against them, as his *Raised Choler* did suggest. This coming to our Author's Ears, He, together with *George Whitehead*, demanded of *Vincent* an Opportunity to defend themselves and *Friends*: A Conference was agreed to be held at his own Meeting-House, at which several *Points of Doctrine* were started and debated; but nothing fairly determin'd: From hence our Author took Occasion to write a little Book, entituled, *The Sandy Foundation Shaken*, which gave great Offence to some then at the *Helm of the Church*, who presently took the Old Method of Reforming what they call *Error*, by advancing at once their strongest *Argument*, viz. *An Order for Imprisoning him in the Tower of London*. There was he under close Confinement, and even denied the Visits of his *Friends*; but yet his Enemies attained not their Purpose; for when after some Time, his Servant brought him Word, that the Bishop of London was resolv'd he should either publicly recant, or die a Prisoner, he made this Reply: *All is well: I wish they had told me so before, since the expecting of a Release put a Stop to some Business: Thou mayst tell my Father, who I know will assure thee, these Words: That my Prison shall be my Grave, before I will budge a Foot; for I owe my Conscience to no Mortal Man; I have no need to fear, God will make amends for all: They are mistaken in me; I value not their Threats nor Resolutions; for they shall know I can weary out their Malice and Peevishness; and in me shall they all behold a Resolution above Fear; Conscience above Cruelty; and a Baffle put to all their Designs, by the Spirit of Patience, the Companion of all the Tribulated Flock of the Blessed Jesus, who is the Author and Finisher of the Faith that overcomes the World, yea, Death and Hell too: Neither Great nor Good Things were ever attain'd without Loss and Hardships. He that would reap and not labour, must faint with the Wind, and perish in Disappointments; but an Hair of my Head shall not fall, without the Providence of my Father that is over All.*

A Spirit warm'd with the Love of God, and devoted to His Service, ever pursues its main Purpose: Our Author, restrain'd from *Preaching*, apply'd himself to *Writing*: Several Treatises were the Fruits of his Solitude, particularly that excellent one, entituled, *No Cross, No Crown*: A Book which tending to promote the *General Design of Religion*, was well accepted, and hath pass'd sundry Impressions.

He also writ from the Tower, * *A Letter to the Lord Arlington*, which is insert'd in the *Appendix*: And to clear himself from the Aspersions cast upon him, in Relation to the *Doctrines of the Trinity*, the *Incarnation* and *Satisfaction of CHRIST*, he publish'd a little Book call'd, *Innocency with Her Open Face*, by Way of *Apology*, for the aforesaid *Sandy Foundation Shaken*. In this *Apology* he so successfully vindicated himself, that soon after the Publication of it, he was discharged from his Imprisonment, which had been of about Seven Months Continuance.

On the 15th of the 7th Month this Year, he set out again from London for Ireland, took Shipping at *Bristol* on the 24th of the 8th Month, and on the 26th arriv'd at *Cork*. In his Passage thither, we think the following Occurrence worth relating: At his former coming from Ireland, the Conversation and Society of a Person call'd a *Quaker*, who came over in the same Vessel, was a strengthening and Encouragement to him then *Newly Convinced*. This Man now happened to return thither again in his Company, and observing how effectually the Power of Truth had wrought upon our Author, and the *Great Progress* he through a Sincere Obedience had made in his *Journey Heavenward*, and seeing himself not only overtaken, but left far behind, by one that had set out after him, was led to a *Solid Reflection* upon his own *Negligence* and *Unfaithfulness*, and express'd with many Tears, a renewed Visitation and deep Concern upon his Spirit: So forcible is the Example of the Faithful, to the stirring up an *Holy Zeal* and Emulation in others. Being arrived at *Cork*, he immediately visited his Friends imprison'd there, and the next Day had a Meeting with them, in which

which they were *Spiritually* refreshed and comforted together : Having tarried there some Days, he went from thence to *Dublin*, and on the 5th of the 9th Month, was at the *National Meeting of Friends* there, which was held at his Lodgings. At this *Meeting*, an Account of *His Friend's Sufferings* being drawn up, by Way of Address, he presented the same a few Days after to the Lord-Lieutenant.

1669.

During his Stay in *Ireland*, though his Business in the Care of his Father's Estate, took up a considerable Part of his Time, yet was he frequently present at, and preach'd in *Friends Meetings*, especially at *Dublin* and *Cork*, in one of which Places he usually resided. He also wrote during his Residence there, several Treatises, particularly *A Letter to the Young Convinced*, published in his Works: He very frequently visited his Friends in Prison, and had Meetings with them; nor did he let slip any Opportunity he had with those in *Authority*, to solicit on their Behalf: And in the Beginning of the 4th Month, 1670, through his repeated Applications to the Chancellor, the Lord Arran, and the Lord-Lieutenant, an Order of Council was obtain'd for their Release. Having settled his Father's Concerns to Satisfaction, and done his own Friends many Signal Services, he shortly after returned again into *England*.

His Services
in Ireland.

1670.

In this Year 1670, came forth the *Conventicle-Act*, prohibiting *Dissenter's Meetings*, under severe Penalties: The Edge of this *New Weapon* was presently turn'd upon the *Quakers*, who, not accustomed to flinch in the Cause of Religion, stood most expos'd. Being forcibly kept out of their Meeting-House in *Grace-Church-Street*, they met as near it in the Street as they could, and *William Penn* there Preaching, was apprehended, and by Warrant from Sir *Samuel Starling*, then Lord-Mayor of *London*, dated August the 14th, 1670, committed to *Newgate*, and at the next Sessions at the *Old-Baily*, was, (together with *William Mead*) indicted for being present at, and Preaching to an *Unlawful, Seditious, and Riotous Assembly*. At his Trial he made a *Brave Defence*, discovering at once both the *Free Spirit* of an *Englishman*, and the *Undaunted Magnanimity* of a *Christian*, inasmuch that maugre the most *Partial Frowns* and *Menaces* of the Bench, the Jury acquitted him. The Trial itself, with a Preface and Appendix thereunto, as it was soon after published, is here inserted.

His Trial at
the Old-Baily.

The People's Ancient and Just LIBERTIES Asserted,
in the Trial of *William Penn* and *William Mead*, at the Sessions held
at the *Old-Baily* in *London*, the First, Third, Fourth and Fifth of
September, 1670, against the most Arbitrary Procedure of that
COURT.

To the English READER.

IF ever it were Time to Speak, or Write, 'tis now, so many strange Occurrences requiring both.

How much thou art concerned in this ensuing Trial where (not only the Prisoners, but) the Fundamental Laws of *England* have been most Arbitrarily Arraigned, Read, and thou may'st plainly Judge.

Liberty of Conscience, is counted a Pretence for Rebellion; and Religious Assemblies, Routs and Riots; and the Defenders of both, are by them reputed Factious, and Disaffected.

Magna Charta, is *Magna Far*— with the Recorder of *London*; and to demand Right, an Affront to the Court.

Will and Power are their Great Charter, but to call for *England's*, is a Crime; incurring the Penalty of their Bale-Dock and Nasty Hole; nay, the Menace of a Gag, and Iron Shackles too.

The Jury (though proper Judges of Law and Fact) they would have over-ruled in both, as if their Verdict signified no more, than to Echo back the illegal

1670.

gal Charge of the Bench; and because their Courage and Honesty, did more than hold Pace with the Threat and Abuse of those who sat as Judges (after two Days and two Nights Restraint for a Verdict) in the End were Fined and Imprisoned for giving it.

Oh! What monstrous and illegal Proceedings are these? Who reasonably can call his Coat his own? When Property is made subservient to the Will and Interest of his Judges; or, Who can truly esteem himself a Free Man? When all Pleas for Liberty are esteemed Sedition, and the Laws that give, and maintain them, so many insignificant Pieces of Formality.

And what do they less than plainly tell us so, who at Will and Pleasure, break open our Locks, rob our Houses, raze our Foundations, imprison our Persons, and finally, deny us Justice to our Relief; as if they then acted most like Christian Men, when they were most Barbarous, in Ruining such as are really so; and that no Sacrifice could be so acceptable to GOD, as the Destruction of those that most Fear him.

In short, That the Conscientious should only be Obnoxious, and the just Demand of our Religious Liberty, the Reason why we should be denied our Civil Freedom (as if to be a Christian and an Englishman were inconsistent) and that so much Solicitude and deep Contrivance, should be employed only to Ensnare and Ruin so many Ten Thousand Conscientious Families (so Eminently Industrious, Serviceable and Exemplary; whilst Murders can so easily obtain Pardon, Rapes be remitted, Publick Uncleannefs pass unpunished, and all manner of Levity, Prodigality, Excess, Prophaneness and Atheism, universally connived at, if not in some Respect manifestly encouraged) cannot but be detestably abhorrent to every Serious and Honest Mind.

Yet that this Lamentable State is true, and the present Project in Hand, let London's Recorder, and Canterbury's Chaplain be heard.

The first in his publick Panegyrick upon the Spanish Inquisition, highly admiring the Prudence of the Romish Church, in the Erection of it, as an excellent Way to prevent Schism, which unhappy Expression at once passeth Sentence, both against our Fundamental Laws, and Protestant Reformation.

The second in his Printed Mercenary Discourse against Toleration, asserting for a main Principle, That it would be less injurious to the Government, to dispench with Prophane and Loose Persons, than to allow a Toleration to Religious Dissenters: It were to over-do the Business, to say any more, where there is so much said already.

And therefore to conclude, We cannot chuse but Admonish all, as well Persecutors, to Relinquish their Heady, Partial, and Inhumane Persecutions (as what will certainly issue in Disgrace here, and inevitable condign Punishment hereafter) as those who yet dare express their Moderation (bowever out of Fashion, or made the Brand of Fanaticism) not to be Huffed, or Menaced out of that excellent Temper, to make their Parts and Persons subservient to the base Humors, and sinister Designs of the biggest Mortal upon Earth; but Reverence and Obey the Eternal Just GOD, before whose Great Tribunal all must render their Accounts, and where he will Recompence to every Person according to his Works.

The TRIAL, &c.

AS there can be no Observation, where there is no Action; so its impossible there shall be a Judicious Intelligence without due Observation.

And since there can be nothing more Reasonable than a Right Information, especially of Publick Acts; and well knowing, how industrious some will be, to misrepresent this Trial, to the Disadvantage of the Cause and Prisoners, it was thought requisite, in Defence of both, and for the Satisfaction of the People, to make it more publick; nor can there be any Business wherein the People of England are more concerned, than in that which relates to their Civil and Religious Liberties, questioned in the Persons before named at the Old-Baily, the First, Third, Fourth and Fifth of Sept. 1670.

There

1670.

There being present on the Bench, as Justices,

Sam. Starling, Mayor,
John Howel, Recorder.
Tho. Bludworth, Alderm.
William Peak, Alderm.
Richard Ford, Alderm.

John Robinson, Alderm.
Joseph Shelden, Alderm.
Richard Brown,
John Smith,
James Edwards, } Sheriffs.

The Citizens of London that were summoned for Jurors, appearing, were Impanelled, viz.

Cle. Call over the Jury.

Cry. O yes, *Thomas Veer*, *Ed. Bushel*, *John Hammond*, *Charles Milson*, *Gregory Walklet*, *John Brightman*, *Wil. Plumstead*, *Henry Henley*, *James Damask*, *Henry Michel*, *Wil. Lever*, *John Bailly*.

The Form of the Oath.

You shall well and truly Try, and True Deliverance make betwixt our Sovereign Lord the King, and the Prisoners at the Bar, according to your Evidence : So help you God.

The Indictment.

That *William Penn*, Gent. and *William Mead*, late of London, Linnen-Draper, with divers other Persons, to the Jurors unknown, to the Number of Three Hundred, the 15th Day of *August*, in the 22th Year of the King, about Eleven of the Clock in the Forenoon the same Day, with Force and Arms, &c. in the Parish of *St. Bennet Grace-Church*, in *Bridge-Ward*, London, in the Street called *Grace-Church-Street*, Unlawfully and Tumultuously did Assemble and Congregate themselves together, to the Disturbance of the Peace of the said Lord the King : And the aforesaid *William Penn* and *William Mead*, together with other Persons, to the Jurors aforesaid unknown, then and there so Assembled and Congregated together ; the aforesaid *William Penn*, by Agreement between him and *William Mead*, before made, and by Abetment of the aforesaid *William Mead*, then and there in the open Street, did take upon himself to Preach and Speak, and then, and there, did Preach and Speak unto the aforesaid *William Mead*, and other Persons there, in the Street aforesaid, being Assembled and Congregated together, by Reason whereof a great Concourse and Tumult of People in the Street aforesaid, then and there, a long Time did remain and continue, in Contempt of the said Lord the King, and of his Law ; to the great Disturbance of his Peace, to the great Terror and Disturbance of many of his Liege People and Subjects, to the ill Example of all others in the like Case Offenders, and against the Peace of the said Lord the King, his Crown and Dignity.

What say you *William Penn*, and *William Mead*, are you Guilty, as you stand Indicted, in Manner and Form as aforesaid, or Not Guilty ?

Penn. It is impossible that we should be able to remember the Indictment *Verbatim*, and therefore we desire a Copy of it, as is Customary on the like Occasions.

Rec. You must first plead to the Indictment, before you can have a Copy of it.

Penn. I am unacquainted with the Formality of the Law, and therefore before I shall answer directly, I request Two Things of the Court. *First*, That no Advantage may be taken against me, nor I deprived of any Benefit, which I might otherwise have received. *Secondly*, That you will promise me a fair Hearing, and Liberty of making my Defence.

Court. No Advantage shall be taken against you : You shall have Liberty, you shall be heard.

Penn. Then I plead not Guilty in Manner and Form.

Cle. What say'st thou, *William Mead* : Art thou Guilty in Manner and Form, as thou stand'st Indicted, or Not Guilty ?

Mead. I shall desire the same Liberty as is promised to *William Penn*.

C

Court.

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Court. You shall have it.*Mead.* Then I plead not Guilty in Manner and Form.

The Court adjourned until the Afternoon.

Cry. O Yes, &c.*Cle.* Bring William Penn and William Mead to the Bar.*Obfer.* The faid Prisoners were brought, but were fet afide, and other Bu-
fines prosecuted: Where we cannot choofe but obferve, that it was the
constant and unkind Practice of the Court to the Prisoners, to make them
wait upon the Tryals of Felons and Murderers, thereby defigning in all Pro-
bability, both to affront and tire them.After Five Hours Attendance, the Court broke up, and adjourned to the
Third Instant.

The Third of September, 1670, the Court Sat.

Cry. O Yes, &c.*Mayor.* Sirrah, Who bid you put off their Hats? Put on their Hats again.*Obfer.* Whereupon one of the Officers putting the Prisoners Hats upon
their Heads (pursuant to the Order of the Court) brought them to the Bar.*Record.* Do you know where you are?*Penn.* Yes.*Rec.* Do you know it is the King's Court?*Penn.* I know it to be a Court, and I fuppofe it to be the King's Court.*Rec.* Do you know there is Refpect due to the Court?*Penn.* Yes.*Rec.* Why do you not pay it then?*Penn.* I do fo.*Rec.* Why do you not put off your Hat then?*Penn.* Because I do not believe that to be any Refpect.*Rec.* Well, the Court fets Forty Marks a-piece upon your Heads, as a
Fine, for your Contempt of the Court.*Penn.* I defire it may be obferved, that we came into the Court with
our Hats off, (that is, taken off) and if they have been put on fince, it was
by Order from the Bench; and therefore not we, but the Bench fhould
be Fined.*Mead.* I have a Queftion to ask the Recorder: Am I Fined alfo?*Rec.* Yes.*Mead.* I defire the Jury, and all People to take Notice of this Injuftice
of the Recorder, who fpake not to me to pull off my Hat, and yet hath he
put a Fine upon my Head. O fear the Lord, and dread his Power, and yield
to the Guidance of His Holy Spirit; for He is not far from every one of you.

The Jury Sworn again.

Obfer. *J. Robinson*, Lieutenant of the Tower, difingenuoufly objected a-
gainft *Edw. Bushel*, as if he had not kift the Book, and therefore would have
him Sworn again; though indeed it was on Purpofe, to have made Ufe of
his Tendernefs of Confcience, in avoiding reiterated Oaths, to have put
him by his being a Jurymen, apprehending him to be a Perfon not fit to
answer their Arbitrary Ends.

The Clerk read the Indictment, as aforefaid.

Cle. Cryer, Call *James Cook* into the Court, give him his Oath.*Cle.* *James Cook*, lay your Hand upon the Book, "The Evidence you fhall
"give to the Court, betwixt our Sovereign the King, and the Prisoners at
"the Bar, fhall be the Truth, and the whole Truth, and nothing but the
"Truth: So help you God, &c."*Cook.* I was fent for from the Exchange, to go and difperfe a Meeting
in Gracious-Street, where I faw Mr. Penn fpeaking to the People, but I
could not hear what he faid, becaufe of the Noife; I endeavoured to make
Way to take him, but I could not get to him for the Crowd of People; upon
which Captain Mead came to me, about the Kennel of the Street, and defired
me to let him go on; for when he had done, he would bring Mr. Penn to me.*Court.* What Number do you think might be there?*Cook.* About three or four Hundred People.*Court.*

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Court. Call Richard Read, give him his Oath.

Read being Sworn, was ask'd, *What do you know concerning the Prisoners at the Bar?*

Read. My Lord, I went to Gracious-Street, where I found a great Crowd of People, and I heard Mr. Penn Preach to them, and I saw Captain Mead speaking to Lieutenant Cook, but what he said I could not tell.

Mead. What did William Penn say?

Read. There was such a great Noise, that I could not tell what he said.

Mead. *Fury.* Observe this Evidence, he saith, He heard him Preach, and yet saith, He doth not know what he said.

Fury. Take Notice, he Swears now a clean contrary Thing, to what he Swore before the Mayor, when we were committed: For now he Swears that he saw me in Gracious-Street, and yet Swore before the Mayor, when I was committed, that he did not see me there. I appeal to the Mayor himself if this be not true; but no Answer was given.

Court. What Number do you think might be there?

Read. About four or five Hundred.

Penn. I desire to know of him what Day it was?

Read. The 14th Day of August.

Penn. Did he speak to me, or let me know he was there; for I am very sure I never saw him.

Cle. Cryer, Call ——— into the Court.

Court. Give him his Oath.

—— My Lord, I saw a great Number of People, and Mr. Penn I suppose was Speaking; I saw him make a Motion with his Hands, and heard some Noise, but could not understand what he said; but for Captain Mead, I did not see him there.

Rec. What say you Mr. Mead? Were you there?

Mead. It is a Maxim in your own Law, *Nemo tenetur accusare seipsum*, which if it be not True Latin, I am sure that it is true English, *That no Man is bound to accuse himself*: And why dost thou offer to enflame me with such a Question? Doth not this shew thy Malice? Is this like-unto a Judge, that ought to be Council for the Prisoner at the Bar?

Rec. Sir, hold your Tongue, I did not go about to enflame you.

Penn. I desire we may come more close to the Point, and that Silence be commanded in the Court.

Cry. O Yes, All manner of Persons keep Silence upon Pain of Imprisonment. — Silence in the Court.

Penn. We confess our selves to be so far from recanting, or declining to vindicate the Assembling of our selves, to Preach, Pray, or Worship the Eternal, Holy, Just God, that we declare to all the World, that we do believe it to be our indispensable Duty, to meet incessantly upon so Good an Account; nor shall all the Powers upon Earth be able to divert us from Reverencing and Adoring our God, who made us.

Brown. You are not here for Worshipping God, but for breaking the Law: You do your selves a great deal of Wrong in going on in that Discourse.

Penn. I affirm I have broken no Law, nor am I guilty of the Indictment that is laid to my Charge: And to the End, the Bench, the Jury, and my self, with those that hear us, may have a more direct Understanding of this Procedure, I desire you would let me know by what Law it is you Prosecute me, and upon what Law you ground my Indictment.

Rec. Upon the Common-Law.

Penn. Where is that Common-Law?

Rec. You must not think that I am able to run up so many Years, and over so many adjudged Cases, which we call Common-Law, to answer your Curiosity.

Penn. This Answer I am sure is very short of my Question; for if it be Common, it should not be so hard to produce.

Rec. Sir, Will you plead to your Indictment?

Penn. Shall I plead to an Indictment that hath no Foundation in Law? If it contain that Law you say I have broken, why should you decline to produce

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duce that Law, since it will be impossible for the *Jury* to determine, or agree to bring in their Verdict, who have not the Law produced, by which they should measure the Truth of this Indictment, and the Guilt, or contrary of my Fact.

Rec. You are a savvy Fellow; speak to the Indictment.

Penn. I say, it is my Place to speak to Matter of Law; I am arraigned a Prisoner; my Liberty, which is next to Life itself, is now concerned; you are many Mouths and Ears against me, and if I must not be allowed to make the Best of my Case, it is hard: I say again, unless you shew me, and the People, the Law you ground your Indictment upon, I shall take it for granted, your Proceedings are merely Arbitrary.

Obser. [At this Time several upon the Bench urged hard upon the Prisoner to bear him down.]

Rec. The Question is, Whether you are Guilty of this Indictment?

Penn. The Question is not whether I am Guilty of this Indictment, but whether this Indictment be Legal: It is too general and imperfect an Answer, to say it is the Common-Law, unless we knew both where, and what it is; For where there is no Law, there is no Transgression; and that Law which is not in being, is so far from being Common, that it is no Law at all.

Rec. You are an impertinent Fellow; Will you teach the Court what Law is? It's Lex non scripta, that which many have studied thirty or forty Years to know, and would you have me tell you in a Moment?

Penn. Certainly, if the Common-Law be so hard to be understood, it's far from being very Common; but if the Lord Cook in his *Institutes*, be of any Consideration, he tells us, *That Common-Law is Common-Right; and that Common-Right is the Great Charter Privileges, confirmed 9 Hen. 3. 29. 25 Edw. 1. 1. 2 Edw. 3. 8. Cook Inst. 2. p. 56.*

Rec. Sir, you are a troublesome Fellow, and it is not for the Honour of the Court to suffer you to go on.

Penn. I have asked but one Question, and you have not answered me; though the Rights and Privileges of every *Englishman* be concerned in it.

Rec. If I should suffer you to ask Questions till to Morrow-Morning, you would be never the wiser.

Penn. That's according as the Answers are.

Rec. Sir, we must not stand to hear you talk all Night.

Penn. I design no Affront to the Court, but to be heard in my just Plea; and I must plainly tell you, that if you will deny me the Oyer of that Law, which you suggest I have broken, you do at once deny me an acknowledged Right, and evidence to the whole World your Resolution to sacrifice the Privileges of *Englishmen*, to your Sinister and Arbitrary Designs.

Rec. Take him away: My Lord, if you take not some Course with this pestilent Fellow, to stop his Mouth, we shall not be able to do any thing to Night.

Mayor. Take him away, take him away; turn him into the Bale-Dock.

Penn. These are but so many vain Exclamations: Is this Justice, or True Judgment? Must I therefore be taken away because I plead for the Fundamental Laws of *England*? However, this I leave upon your Consciences, who are of the *Jury*, (and my sole Judges) that if these Ancient Fundamental Laws, which relate to *Liberty and Property*, (and are not limited to particular Perswasions in Matters of Religion) must not be indispensably maintained and observed, *Who can say he hath Right to the Coat upon his Back?* Certainly our Liberties are openly to be invaded; our Wives to be Ravished; our Children Slaved; our Families Ruined; and our Estates led away in Triumph, by every Sturdy Beggar, and Malicious Informer, as their Trophies, but our (pretended) Forfeits for *Conscience-Sake*: The Lord of Heaven and Earth will be Judge between us in this Matter.

Rec. Be Silent there.

Penn. I am not to be Silent in a Case wherein I am so much concerned; and not only myself, but many Ten Thousand Families besides.

Obser. They having rudely haled him into the Bale-Dock, *William Mead* they left in Court, who spake as followeth.

Mead.

Mead. You Men of the *Jury*, here I do now stand to answer to an Indictment against me, which is a Bundle of Stuff full of Lyes, and Falshoods; for therein I am accused that I met *Vi & Armis, Illicite & Tumultuose*: Time was, when I had Freedom to use a Carnal Weapon, and then I thought I feared no Man; but now I fear the Living GOD, and dare not make Use thereof, nor hurt any Man; nor do I know I demeaned myself as a Tumultuous Person. I say, I am a Peaceable Man, therefore it is a very proper Question what *William Penn* demanded in this Case, *AN OTER of the Law*, on which our Indictment is grounded.

Rec. I have made Answer to that already.

Mead. Turning his Face to the *Jury*, said, You Men of the *Jury*, who are my Judges, if the Recorder will not tell you what makes a Riot, a Rout; or an Unlawful Assembly, *Cook*, he that once they called the *Lord Cook*, tells us what makes a Riot, a Rout, and an Unlawful Assembly, — A Riot is when Three, or more, are met together to beat a Man, or to enter forcibly into another Man's Land, to cut down his Grafs, his Wood, or break down his Pales.

Obser. Here the Recorder interrupted him, and said, I thank you Sir, that you will tell me what the Law is, scornfully pulling off his Hat.

Mead. Thou mayst put on thy Hat, I have never a Fee for thee now.

Brown. He talks at Random, one While an Independent, another While some other Religion, and now a Quaker, and next a Papist.

Mead. Turpe est doctori cum culpa redarguit ipsum.

Mayor. You deserve to have your Tongue Cut out.

Rec. If you discourse on this Manner, I shall take Occasion against you.

Mead. Thou didst promise me, I should have fair Liberty to be heard. Why may I not have the Priviledge of an Englishman? I am an Englishman, and you might be ashamed of this Dealing.

Rec. I look upon you to be an Enemy to the Laws of England, which ought to be observed and kept, nor are you worthy of such Priviledges as others have.

Mead. The Lord is Judge between me and thee in this Matter.

Obser. Upon which they took him away into the Bale-Dock, and the Recorder proceeded to give the *Jury* their Charge, as followeth.

Rec. You have heard what the Indictment is; it is for Preaching to the People, and drawing a Tumultuous Company after them; and Mr. Penn was Speaking: If they should not be disturbed, you see they will go on; there are three or four Witnesses that have proved this, that he did Preach there, that Mr. Mead did allow of it; after this, you have heard by Substantial Witnesses what is said against them: Now we are upon the Matter of Fact, which you are to keep to and observe, as what hath been fully Sworn, at your Peril.

Obser. The Prisoners were put out of the Court, into the Bale-Dock, and the Charge given to the *Jury* in their Absence, at which W. P. with a very raised Voice, it being a considerable Distance from the Bench, spake.

Penn. I appeal to the *Jury*, who are my Judges, and this great Assembly, whether the Proceedings of the Court are not most Arbitrary, and void of all Law, in offering to give the *Jury* their Charge in the Absence of the Prisoners: I say, it is directly opposite to, and destructive of the undoubted Right of every English Prisoner, as *Cook* in the 2 Inst. 29. on the Chapter of *Magna Charta* speaks.

Obser. The Recorder being thus unexpectedly lasht for his extra-judicial Procedure, said, with an iraged Smile,

Rec. Why ye are present, you do hear: Do you not?

Penn. No Thanks to the Court, that commanded me into the Bale-Dock; and you of the *Jury* take Notice, that I have not been heard, neither can you Legally depart the Court, before I have been fully heard, having at least Ten or Twelve Material Points to offer, in Order to invalidate their Indictment.

Rec. Pull that Fellow down; pull him down.

Mead. Are these according to the Rights and Priviledges of Englishmen, that we should not be heard, but turned into the Bale-Dock, for making
out

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our Defence, and the Jury to have their Charge given them in our Absence? I say, these are barbarous and unjust Proceedings.

Rec. Take them away into the Hole; to hear them talk all Night, as they would, that I think doth not become the Honour of the Court; and I think you (i. e. the Jury) your selves would be Tired out, and not have Patience to bear them.

Obser. The Jury were commanded up to agree upon their Verdict, the Prisoners remaining in the stinking Hole; after an Hour and Half's Time, Eight came down agreed, but Four remained above; the Court sent an Officer for them, and they accordingly came down: The Bench used many unworthy Threats to the Four that dissented; and the Recorder addressing himself to *Bushel*, said, *Sir, You are the Cause of this Disturbance, and manifestly shew yourself an Abettor of Faction; I shall set a Mark upon you, Sir.*

J. Robinson. Mr. *Bushel*, I have known you near this fourteen Tears; you have thrust your self upon this Fury, because you think there is some Service for you; I tell you, You deserve to be Indicted more than any Man that hath been brought to the Bar this Day.

Bushel. No, *Sir John*, there were Threescore before me, and I would willingly have got off, but could not.

Bludw. I said when I saw Mr. *Bushel*, what I see is come to pass; for I knew he would never yield. Mr. *Bushel*, we know what you are.

Mayor. *Sirrah*, You are an impudent Fellow, I will put a Mark upon you.

Obser. They used much menacing Language, and behaved themselves very imperiously to the Jury, as Persons not more void of Justice, than Sober Education. After this barbarous Usage, they sent them to consider of bringing in their Verdict, and after some considerable Time they returned to the Court. Silence was called for, and the Jury called by their Names.

Cle. Are you agreed upon your Verdict?

Jury. Yes.

Cle. Who shall speak for you?

Jury. Our Foreman.

Cle. Look upon the Prisoners at the Bar: How say you? Is *William Penn* Guilty of the Matter whereof he stands Indicted in Manner and Form, or Not Guilty?

Foreman. Guilty of Speaking in *Gracious-Street*.

Courts. Is that All?

Foreman. That is All I have in Commission.

Rec. You had as good say Nothing.

Mayor. Was it not an Unlawful Assembly? You mean he was Speaking to a Tumult of People there?

Foreman. My Lord, This was All I had in Commission.

Obser. Here some of the Jury seemed to buckle to the Questions of the Court, upon which *Bushel*, *Hammond*, and some others, opposed themselves, and said, *They allowed of no such Word, as an Unlawful Assembly, in their Verdict; at which the Recorder, Mayor, Robinson, and Bludworth, took great Occasion to vilify them with most opprobrious Language; and this Verdict not serving their Turns, the Recorder expressed himself thus:*

Rec. The Law of England will not allow you to depart, till you have given in your Verdict.

Jury. We have given in our Verdict, and we can give in no other.

Rec. Gentlemen, you have not given in your Verdict, and you had as good say Nothing; therefore go and consider it once more, that we may make an End of this troublesom Business.

Jury. We desire we may have Pen, Ink, and Paper.

Obser. The Court adjourns for Half an Hour; which being expired, the Court returns, and the Jury not long after.

The Prisoners were brought to the Bar, and the Jurors Names called over.

Cle. Are you agreed of your Verdict?

Jury. Yes.

Cle. Who shall speak for you?

Jury.

Jury. Our Foreman.

Cle. What say you? Look upon the Prisoners: Is *William Penn* Guilty in Manner and Form, as he stands Indicted, or not Guilty?

Foreman. Here is our Verdict; holding forth a Piece of Paper to the Clerk of the Peace, which follows:

WE the Jurors, hereafter Named, do find *William Penn* to be Guilty of Speaking or Preaching to an Assembly, met together in *Gracious-Street*, the 14th of *August* last, 1670, and that *William Mead* is not Guilty of the said Indictment.

Foreman, *Thomas Veer*,
Edward *Bushel*,
John *Hammond*,
Henry *Henly*,

Henry *Michel*,
John *Brightman*,
Charles *Milson*,
Gregory *Walklet*,

John *Baily*,
William *Lever*,
James *Damask*,
William *Plumstead*.

Obser. This both *Mayor* and *Recorder* resented at so high a Rate, that they exceeded the Bounds of all Reason and Civility.

Mayor. What will you be led by such a silly Fellow as *Bushel*; an impudent canting Fellow? I warrant you, You shall come no more upon Juries in Haste; you are a Foreman indeed, (addressing himself to the Foreman) I thought you had understood your Place better.

Rec. Gentlemen, you shall not be dismissed, till we have a Verdict that the Court will accept; and you shall be lock'd up, without Meat, Drink, Fire, and Tobacco: You shall not think thus to abuse the Court; we will have a Verdict by the Help of God, or you shall starve for it.

Penn. My Jury, who are my Judges, ought not to be thus menaced; their Verdict should be Free, and not Compell'd; the Bench ought to wait upon them, but not Forestal them: I do desire that Justice may be done me, and that the Arbitrary Resolves of the Bench may not be made the Measure of my Juries Verdict.

Rec. Stop that prating Fellow's Mouth, or put him out of the Court.

Mayor. You have heard that he Preach'd; that he gathered a Company of Tumultuous People; and that they do not only disobey the Martial Power, but the Civil also.

Penn. It is a great Mistake; we did not make the Tumult, but they that interrupted us. The Jury cannot be so ignorant, as to think that we met there with a Design to disturb the Civil Peace, since (1st) we were by Force of Arms kept out of our Lawful House, and met as near it in the Street, as the Soldiers would give us Leave: And (2d) because it was no New Thing, (nor with the Circumstances express in the Indictment, but what was usual and customary with us;) 'tis very well known that we are a Peaceable People, and cannot offer Violence to any Man.

Obser. The Court being ready to break up, and willing to huddle the Prisoners to their Jail, and the Jury to their Chamber, *Penn* spake as follows:

Penn. The Agreement of Twelve Men is a Verdict in Law, and such a one being given by the Jury, I require the Clerk of the Peace to record it, as he will answer it at his Peril: And if the Jury bring in another Verdict contrary to this, I affirm they are perjured Men in Law. (And looking upon the Jury, said) You are Englishmen, mind your Priviledge, give not away your Right.

Bushel, &c. Nor will we ever do it.

Obser. One of the Jury-Men pleaded Indisposition of Body, and therefore desired to be dismissed.

Mayor. You are as strong as any of them; Starve then, and hold your Principles.

Rec. Gentlemen, you must be content with your hard Fate; let your Patience overcome it; for the Court is resolved to have a Verdict, and that before you can be dismissed.

Jury. We are agreed, we are agreed, we are agreed.

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Obfer. The Court Swore several Persons, to keep the Jury all Night; without Meat, Drink, Fire, or any other Accommodation; they had not so much as a Chamber-Pot, though desired.

Cry. O Yes, &c.

Obfer. The Court adjourn'd till Seven of the Clock next Morning, (being the Fourth Instant, vulgarly called *Sunday*) at which Time the Prisoners were brought to the Bar, the Court sat, and the Jury called in, to bring in their Verdict.

Cry. O Yes, &c. — Silence in the Court upon Pain of Imprisonment.

The Juries Names called over.

Cle. Are you agreed upon your Verdict?

Jury. Yes.

Cle. Who shall speak for you.

Jury. Our Foreman.

Cle. What say you? Look upon the Prisoners at the Bar: Is *William Penn* Guilty of the Matter whereof he stands Indicted, in Manner and Form as aforesaid, or Not Guilty?

Foreman. *William Penn* is Guilty of Speaking in *Gracious-Street*.

Mayor. To an Unlawful Assembly.

Busbel. No, my Lord, we give no other Verdict, than what we gave last Night; we have no other Verdict to give.

Mayor. You are a seditious Fellow; I'll take a Course with you.

Bludw. I knew Mr. Busbel would not yield.

Busbel. Sir Thomas, I have done according to my Conscience.

Mayor. That Conscience of yours would Cut my Throat.

Busbel. No, my Lord, it never shall.

Mayor. But I will cut yours so soon as I can.

Rec. He has inspired the Jury; he has the Spirit of Divination; methinks I feel him; I will have a positive Verdict, or you shall Starve for it.

Penn. I desire to ask the Recorder one Question: Do you allow of the Verdict given of *William Mead*?

Rec. It cannot be a Verdict, because you are Indicted for a Conspiracy; and one being found not Guilty, and not the other, it could not be a Verdict.

Penn. If not Guilty be not a Verdict, then you make of the Jury, and *Magna Charta*, but a meer Nose of Wax.

Mead. How! Is Not Guilty no Verdict?

Rec. No, 'tis no Verdict.

Penn. I affirm, That the Consent of a Jury is a Verdict in Law; and if *William Mead* be not Guilty, it consequently follows, that I am clear, since you have Indicted us of a Conspiracy, and I could not possibly Conspire alone.

Obfer. There were many Passages that could not be taken, which past between the Jury and the Court. The Jury went up again, having received a fresh Charge from the Bench, if possible to extort an unjust Verdict.

Cry. O Yes, &c. — Silence in the Court.

Court. Call over the Jury — Which was done.

Cle. What say you? Is *William Penn* Guilty of the Matter whereof he stands Indicted, in Manner and Form aforesaid, or Not Guilty?

Foreman. Guilty of Speaking in *Gracious-Street*.

Rec. What is this to the Purpose? I say I will have a Verdict. And speaking to E. Busbel, said, You are a Seditious Fellow; I will set a Mark upon you; and whilst I have any Thing to do in the City, I will have an Eye upon you.

Mayor. Have you no more Wit than to be led by such a pitiful Fellow? I will Cut his Nose.

Penn. It is intolerable that my Jury should be thus menaced; is this according to the Fundamental Law? Are not they my proper Judges by the Great Charter of England? What Hope is there of ever having Justice done, when Juries are threatened, and their Verdicts rejected? I am concerned to speak, and grieved to see such Arbitrary Proceedings. Did not the Lieutenant of the Tower render one of them worse than a Felon? And do
you

you not plainly seem to condemn such for Factious Fellows, who answer not your Ends? Unhappy are those Juries, who are threatened to be Fined, and Starved, and Ruined, if they give not in their Verdicts contrary to their Consciences.

Rec. My Lord, you must take a Course with that same Fellow.

Mayor. Stop his Mouth; Failer, bring Fetters, and Stake him to the Ground.

Penn. Do your Pleasure, I matter not your Fetters.

Rec. Till now I never understood the Reason of the Policy and Prudence of the Spaniards, in suffering the Inquisition among them: And certainly it will never be well with us, till something like the Spanish Inquisition be in England.

Obser. The Jury being required to go together, to find another Verdict, and stedfastly refusing it (saying they could give no other Verdict than what was already given) the Recorder in great Passion was running off the Bench, with these Words in his Mouth, *I protest I will sit here no longer to bear these Things.* At which the Mayor calling, Stay, Stay, he returned, and directed himself unto the Jury, and spake as followeth.

Rec. Gentlemen, we shall not be at this pass always with you; you will find the next Sessions of Parliament, there will be a Law made, that those that will not conform, shall not have the Protection of the Law. Mr. Lee, draw up another Verdict, that they may bring it in special.

Lee. I cannot tell how to do it.

Fury. We ought not to be returned, having all agreed, and set our Hands to the Verdict.

Rec. Your Verdict is nothing, you play upon the Court; I say, you shall go together, and bring in another Verdict, or you shall Starve; and I will have you carted about the City, as in Edward the Third's Time.

Foreman. We have given in our Verdict, and all agreed to it, and if we give in another, it will be a Force upon us to save our Lives.

Mayor. Take them up.

Officer. My Lord they will not go up.

Obser. The Mayor spoke to the Sherif, and he came off his Seat, and said:

Sher. Come Gentlemen, you must go up; you see I am commanded to make you go.

Obser. Upon which the Jury went up; and several sworn to keep them without any Accommodation, as aforesaid, till they brought in their Verdict.

Cry. O Yes, &c. The Court adjourns till to Morrow-morning at Seven of the Clock.

Obser. The Prisoners were remanded to Newgate, where they remained till next Morning, and then were brought into the Court, which being sat, they proceeded as followeth.

Cry. O yes, &c.—Silence in the Court upon Pain of Imprisonment.

Clerk. Set William Penn and William Mead to the Bar. Gentlemen of the Jury, answer to your Names, Thomas Veer, Edward Bushel, John Hammond, Henry Henley, Henry Michel, John Brightman, Charles Milson, Gregory Walklet, John Bailey, William Lever, James Damask, William Plumshead, are you all agreed of your Verdict?

Fury. Yes.

Clerk. Who shall speak for you?

Fury. Our Foreman.

Clerk. Look upon the Prisoners. What say you; is William Penn guilty of the Matter whereof he stands indicted, in Manner and Form, &c. or not guilty?

Foreman. You have there read in Writing already our Verdict, and our Hands subscribed.

Obser. The Clerk had the Paper, but was stop'd by the Recorder from Reading of it; and he commanded to ask for a positive Verdict.

Foreman. If you will not accept of it; I desire to have it back again.

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Court. That Paper was no Verdict, and there shall be no Advantage taken against you by it.

Clerk. How say you? Is *William Penn* Guilty, &c. or not Guilty?

Foreman. Not Guilty.

Clerk. How say you? Is *William Mead* Guilty, &c. or not Guilty?

Foreman. Not Guilty.

Clerk. Then hearken to your Verdict, you say, that *William Penn* is not Guilty in Manner and Form, as he stands indicted; you say, that *William Mead* is not Guilty in Manner and Form, as he stands indicted, and so you say all.

Jury. Yes, we do so.

Obser. The Bench being unsatisfied with the Verdict, commanded that every Person should distinctly answer to their Names, and give in their Verdict, which they unanimously did, in saying, *Not Guilty*, to the great Satisfaction of the Assembly.

Record. I am sorry, Gentlemen, you have followed your own Judgments and Opinions, rather than the good and wholesom Advice, which was given you; God keep my Life out of your Hands; but for this the Court fines you Forty Marks a Man, and Imprisonment till paid: At which *Penn* stept up towards the Bench, and said,

Penn. I demand my Liberty, being freed by the Jury.

Mayor. No, you are in for your Fines.

Penn. Fines, for what?

Mayor. For Contempt of the Court.

Penn. I ask if it be according to the Fundamental Laws of *England*, that any Englishman should be fined, or amerced, but by the Judgment of his Peers, or Jury? Since it expressly contradicts the Fourteenth and Twenty Ninth Chapter of the *Great Charter of England*, which says, No Freeman ought to be amerced, but by the Oath of good and lawful Men of the Vicinage.

Rec. Take him away, take him away, take him out of the Court.

Penn. I can never urge the Fundamental Laws of *England*, but you cry, Take him away, take him away; but 'tis no Wonder, since the Spanish Inquisition hath so great a Place in the Recorder's Heart; God Almighty who is Just, will judge you all for these Things.

Obser. They haled the Prisoners to the *Bale-dock*, and from thence sent them to *Newgate*, for Non-payment of their Fines; and so were their Jury.

An APPENDIX, by Way of Defence for the Prisoners, or what might have been offered against the Indictment, and Illegal Proceedings of the Court thereon, had they not violently over-ruled and stop'd them.

UPON a sober Disquisition into several Parts of the Indictment, we find it so wretchedly Defective, as if it were nothing else but a meer Composition of Error, rather calculated to the malicious Designs of the Judges, than to the least Verity of Fact committed by the Prisoners.

To prove this, what we say, will be a main Help to discover the Arbitrary Proceedings of the Bench, in their frequent Menaces to the Jury; as if it were not so much their Business to try, as to condemn the Prisoners; and that not so much for any Fact they had committed, as what the Court would have suggested to the Jury to have been their Fact.

Sett. 1. It is the constant Common-Law of *England*, That no Man should be Taken, Imprisoned, Amerced, Disseized of his Freehold, of his Liberties, or free Customs, but by the Judgment of his Peers, which are vulgarly called a Jury, from Jurare, because they are Sworn to do Right.

Sett. 2.

Self. 2. The only assistance that is given the Jury, in order to a Verdict is: *First*, The Evidence given of the Fact committed, by the Person indicted. *Secondly*, The Knowledge of that Law, Act, or Statute, the Indictment is grounded upon, and which the Prisoners are said to have Transgressed.

Self. 3. We shall neglect to mention here, how much they were deprived of that Just Advantage, the Antient, Equal Laws of *England* do allow; designing it for a Conclusion of the Whole, and shall only speak here, to matter of Fact and Law.

Self. 4. The Evidence, you have read in the Trial, the utmost Import of which, is no more than this, That *William Penn* was Speaking in *Gracious-Street*, to an Assembly of People, but they knew not what he said; which is so great a Contradiction, as he that runs may read it; for no Man can say, another Man Preaches, and yet understand not what he saith; he may conjecture it, but that is a lame Evidence in Law; it might as well have been Sworn, That he was speaking of Law, Physick, Trade, or any other Matter of Civil Government. Besides, there is no Law against Preaching what is Truth, whether it be in the Street, or in any other Place; nor is it possible, that any Man can truly Swear, That he Preach'd Sedition, Heresie, &c. unless he so heard him, that he could tell what he said.

Self. 5. The Evidence further saith, That *W. Mead* was there, *but still being in Gracious-Street be a Fault, and bearing a Man speak, the Witness knows not what, be contrary to Law*, the whole Evidence is useless, and impertinent; but what they want of that, they endeavour to supply with Indictment; whose Parts we proceed to consider.

Exceptions against the Indictment.

Self. 6. It saith, That the Prisoners [*were met upon the 15th Day of August, 1670.*] whereas their own Evidence affirms it to be upon the 14th Day of *August, 1670.*

Self. 7. [*That they met with Force and Arms*] which is so great a Lie, that the Court had no better Cover for it, than to tell the Jury, it was only a Piece of Form; urging, that the Man tried for Clipping of Money this present Sessions, had the same Words used in his Indictment.

But that this Answer is too scanty, as well as it was too weak to prevail with the Jury; we desire it may be considered, that the same Words may be used more of Course, and out of Form at one Time, than at another: And though we grant they can have little Force with any Jury in a Clipper's Case, for meer Clipping; yet they are Words that give so just a Ground of Jealousie, nay, that carry so clear an Evidence of Illegality, where they are truly proved and affirmed of any Meeting, as that they are the Proper Roots from whence do spring those Branches which render an Indictment terrible, and an Assembly truly the Terror of the People.

Self. 8. [*Unlawful, and Tumultuously to disturb the Peace*] Which is as true, as what is said before (that is as false) this will evidently appear to all that consider how Lawful it is to Assemble, with no other design than to Worship God. And their calling a Lawful Assembly an Unlawful one, no more makes it so, than to say Light is Darkness, Black is White, concludes so impudent a Falsity true.

In short, because to Worship God can never be a Crime, no Meeting, or Assembly, designing to Worship God, can be Unlawful. Such as go about to prove an Unlawful Assembly, must prove these Assemblers Intent not to Worship God; but that no Man can do, because no Man can know another Man's Intentions, and therefore it is impossible that any should prove such an Assembly Unlawful. That is properly an Unlawful Assembly, according to the Definition of the Law, when several Persons are met together, with design to use Violence, and to do Mischief; but that Dissenters meet with no such Intention, is manifest to the whole World, therefore their Assemblies are not Unlawful; he that hath only Right to be Worshipped, who is God, hath only Right to Institute how He will be Worshipped; and such as Worship Him in that Way they apprehend Him to have Instituted,

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tuted, are so far from being unlawful Assemblers, that therein they do but express their Duty they owe to God.

[*Tumultuously*] Imports, as much as Disorderly, or an Assembly full of Noise, Bustle, and Confusion, using Force and Violence, to the Injury of Persons, Houses, or Grounds. But whether Religious Dissenters, in their Peaceable Meetings, therein desiring, and seeking nothing more than to express that Duty they owe to God Almighty, be guilty of a Tumultuous Action, or Meeting in the Sense express'd (and which is the very Definition of the Law) will be the Question. Certainly, such as call these Meetings Tumultuous, as to break the Peace, offer the greatest Violence to common Words, that can be well imagined; for they may as rightly say, such Persons meet Adulterously, Thievishly, &c. as to affirm they meet Tumultuously, because they are as truly applicable; in short, such Particulars, as are required to prove them such Meetings in Law, are wholly wanting.

Self. 9. [To the Disturbance of the Peace.]

If the Disturbance of the Peace be but Matter of Form with the Rest, as is usually pleaded; leave out this Matter of Form, and then see what great Matter will be left.

Certainly such Assemblies, as are not to the Breach and Disturbance of the Peace, are far from being Unlawful, or Tumultuary: But if the Peace be broken by them, how comes it the Evidence was so short? We cannot believe it was in Favour of the Prisoners. This may shew to all the reasonable World, how forward some are, to brand Innocency with hateful Names, to bring a Suspicion, where there was none deserved.

Self. 10. [That the said Penn and Mead, met by Agreement before hand made.]

But if Persons that never saw each other, nor conversed together, neither had Correspondency by any other Hand, cannot be said to be agreed, to any Action before it be done; then the Prisoners were far from an Agreement; for they had never Seen, Convers'd, nor Corresponded, directly, nor indirectly, before the Officers came to disturb the Assembly: We well know how far they would have stretch'd the Word, *Agreement*, or *Conspiracy*; but God, who brings to nought all the Counsels of the Wicked, prevented their Cruel Designs.

Self. 11. [That William Mead did abet the said William Penn in Preaching.]

No Man can be said to abet another, whilst they are both unknown to each other, especially in this Case, where Abetting follows Agreeing, and Agreeing supposes Fore-knowledge: Nay, the Word *Abet* in Law, signifies to *Command*, *Procure*, or *Counsel* a Person, which *W. Mead* could not be said to do, in Reference to *W. Penn*, they being so great Strangers one to another, and at so great a Distance; for the Evidence Proves, that he was with Lieutenant *Cook*, and Lieutenant *Cook* Swears, he could not make his Way to *W. Penn* for the Crowd.

Self. 12. [That W. Penn's Preaching and Speaking, caused a great Course and Tumult of People, to remain and continue a long Time in the Street.]

But this is so improbable to believe, that the very Nature of a Tumult admits of no such Thing as Preaching; but implies a disorderly Multitude, where all may be said to Speak, rather than any to Hear.

Self. 1. [In Contempt of the King and His Laws.]

They are so far from Contemning the King and His Laws, that they are obliged and constrained by their own Principles, to obey every Ordinance of Man for the Lord's Sake; but not against the Lord for Man's Sake, which is the Question in Hand. Besides, their continuance there, was not in Contempt, but by the Permission of the Chief Officer present, that came there by the King's Authority; nor is it for the Honour of the King that such Persons should be said to Act in Contempt of His Laws, as only meet to Honour God and His Laws.

Self. 2. [And to the great Disturbance of the King's Peace.]

It

It is far from Disturbing, or Breaking the King's Peace, for Men Peaceably to meet to worship God; for it is then properly broken and invaded, when Force and Violence are used, to the Hurt and Prejudice of Persons and Estates; or when any Thing is done that tends to the stirring up of Sedition, and begetting in People a Dislike of the Civil Government: But that such Things are not practised by us in our Assemblies, either to offer Violence to Mens Persons and Estates, or to stir up People to Sedition, or Dislike to the Civil Government, is obvious to all that visit our Assemblies.

Sett. 3. [To the great Terror and Disturbance of the King's Liege People and Subjects, and to the Evil Example of all others, in the like Case offending, against the King's Peace, His Crown and Dignity.]

Were these black Criminations, as True as they are wretchedly False, we should give as just an Occasion to lose our Liberties, as our Cruel Adversaries are ready to take any to deprive us unjustly of them. O! How Notorious is it to all sober People, that our Manner of Life is far from Terrifying any; and how absurd to think, that Naked Men (in the Generality of their Conversation, known to be Harmless and Quiet) should prove a Terror, or Disturbance to the People; certainly, if any such Thing should be in the Time of our Meetings, it is brought with the Cruelty and barbarous Actions of your own Soldiers; they never learned by our Example to Beat, Hale before Magistrates, Fine and Imprison for Matters relating to God's Worship; neither can they say, we are their Presidents, for all those *Adulterous, Prodigal, Lascivious, Drunken, Swearing, and Profane Acts, they daily commit, and esteem rather Occasion of Brag and Boast, than Sorrows and Repentance*: No, they need not go so far, they have too many (God Almighty knows) of their own Superiors for their Example.

Sett. 4. But we can never pass over with Silence, nor enough observe the detestable Juggle of such Indictments, which we require all *English* and *Conscientious Men* to mind, as they value themselves on the like Occasions. How little a Grain of Fact was proved, yet how spacious an Indictment was made? Had it related to the Evidence, the Bulk had been excusable; but when it only swelled with malicious scaring Phrases, to suggest to the People, that they were the meekest Villains, the most dangerous Persons, and designing mutually the Subversion of the Law, and Breach of the Peace, to the Terrifying of the People, &c.

Who can choose but tell them of their *Romance-Indictment*, that is so Forged, as it truly merits another against it self. This they childishly call *Form*; but had an *Italian*, or other Stranger, been in Court, he would have Judged it Matter of Fact, as thinking it unworthy of a King's Court, to Accuse Men in Terms, not Legally, Truly, or Probably due to the Fact, they really had committed; as well as that no Court would practise it, but that which loved to deprive Men of their Liberties, and Lives, rather than to save them, *Nolens, Volens*.

Sett. 5. Had their Cruelty and Juggle ended here it self; they would have spared us the Pains of any further Observation. But that which we have to add, on the Prisoners Behalf, renders their Actions so abominable, in the Sight of Justice, that all Honest and Ingenious Hearts, must needs abhor their base Snares.

They tell the Jury, *That being but Judges of Fact only, they were to bring the Prisoners in Guilty* (that is, of the Fact) *at their Peril; and it was the Part of the Bench to judge what was Law*: So that if the Jury had brought them in *Guilty*, without further additional Explanation (though intentionally they meant only of the Fact proved by Evidence) yet the Bench would have extended it to every Part of the Indictment; and by this impious Delusion, have Perjured a Well-meaning Jury, and have had their barbarous Ends upon the innocent Prisoners. But the Jury better understanding themselves, brought in *William Penn* Guilty of the Fact proved, namely, *That he was Speaking to some People met in Grace-Church-Street, but not to an Unlawful Assembly, so Circumstantiated* (the Mention of which stabbed their Design of moulding the General Answer of *Guilty*, to their own Ends, to the Heart)

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Heart) nor indeed could they do otherwise; for as well the Jury as Prisoners, were denied to have any Law produced, by which they might measure the Truth of the Indictment, and Guilt of the Fact. But because the Recorder would or could not (perhaps 'tis so long since he read Law, that he may have forgotten it) we shall perform his Part, in shewing what is that *Common Law of the Land*, which in general he said, they were Indicted for the Breach of, and which indeed, it rightly understood, is the undoubted Birth-right of every *Englishman*; yes, the Inheritance of Inheritances, *Major Hereditas venit, unicuique nostrum à Jure, & Legibus, quam à Parentibus*. Cook Instit. 2. 56.

Self. 6. All the various Kinds or Models of Government that are in the World, stand either upon *Will and Power*, or *Condition and Contract*; the first Rule by Men; the second, by Laws: It is our Happiness to be Born under such a Constitution, as is most abhorrent in itself, of all Arbitrary Government, and which is, and ever has been, most choice and careful of her Laws, by which all Right is preserved.

Self. 7. All Laws are either Fundamental, and so Immutable; or Superficial, and so Alterable. By the first, we understand such Laws as enjoin Men to be Just, Honest, Vertuous; to do no Wrong, to Kill, Rob, Deceive, Prejudice none; but to do as one would be done unto; to Cherish Good, and to Terrify Wicked Men; in short, Universal Reason, which are not subject to any Revolution, because no Emergency, Time, or Occasion, can ever justify a Suspension of their Execution, much less their utter Abrogation.

Self. 8. By Superficial Laws, we understand such Acts, Laws, or Statutes as are suited to present Occurrences; and which may as well be abrogated for the Good of the Kingdom, as they were first made for it. For Instance, those Statutes that relate to Victuals, Cloaths, and Places of Trade, &c. which have ever stood whilst the Reason of them was in Force, but when that Benefit, which once redounded, fell by cross Occurrences, they ended, according to that old Maxim, *Cessante ratione Legis, cessat Lex*, but this cannot be said of Fundamental Laws, *Till Houses stand without their Foundations, and English Mankind wholly cease to be*, which brings close upon the Point.

Self. 9. There is not any Country that has more constantly express her Care and deep Solicitude, for the Preservation of Her Fundamental Laws, than the *English Nation*; and though the Evil of some particular Times and Persons have endeavoured an utter Abolition of those excellent Fundamentals, which we have before defined and defended from any just Reason of Revolution, yet God Almighty, who is always concerned to avenge the Cause of Justice, and those excellent Good Laws, by which it is upheld, has by his Providence befooled their Contrivances, and baffled their Attempts, by bringing their Designs to nought, and their Persons frequently to condign Punishment and Disgrace; their Age no Antiquary living can assure us, unless they say, *As Old as Reason itself*; but our own Authors are not lacking to inform us, that the Liberties, Properties, and Privileges of the *English Nation*, are very Ancient.

Self. 10. For *Hern* in his *Mirror of Justice* (writ in Edward the First's Time) Fol. 1. tells us, *That after God had abated the Nobility of the Britains, he did deliver the Realm to Men more Humble and Simple, of the Counties adjoining, to wit, the Saxons, which came from the Parts of Almain to Conquer this Land, of which Men there were Forty Sovereigns, which did Rule as Companions; and those Princes did call this Realm England, which before was named the Greater Britain. Those, after great Wars, Tribulation and Pains, by long Time suffered, did choose a King to Reign over them, to Govern the People of God, and to maintain and defend their Persons, and their Goods in Quiet, by the Rules of Right; and at the Beginning they did cause him to Swear to maintain the Holy Christian Faith, and to guide his People by Right, with all his Power, without Respect of Persons, and to observe the Laws. And after, when the Kingdom was turned into an Heritage, King*

Alfred,

Alfred, that Governed this Kingdom about an Hundred and Seventy One Years before the Conquest, did cause the Great Men of the Kingdom to Assemble at London, and there did Ordain for a perpetual Usage, That twice in the Year, or oftner, if Need should be, in Time of Peace, they should Assemble at London in Parliament, for the Government of God's People, that Men might live in Quiet, and receive Right by certain Usages and Holy Judgments.

In which Parliament (said our Author) the Rights and Prerogatives of the Kings and Subjects are distinguished and set apart : And particularly by him expressed, too tedious here to insert ; amongst which Ordinances we find, That no Man should be Imprisoned, but for a Capital Offence. And if a Man should detain another in Prison by Colour of Right (where there was none) till the Party Imprisoned died, he that kept him in Prison should be held Guilty of Murder, as you may read p. 33, and 36. He is declared Guilty of Homicide, by whom a Man shall die in Prison, whether it be the Judges, that shall too long delay to do a Man Right, or by Cruelty of Jailers, or suffering him to die by Famine ; or when a Man is adjudged to do Penance, and shall be surcharged by his Jailer with Irons, or other Pain, whereof he is deprived of his Life. And p. 149. That by the Ancient Law of England, it was Felony to detain a Man in Prison, after sufficient Bail offered, where the Party was Appealed of Treason, Murder, Robbery, or Burglary. Page 35. None ought to be put in common Prisons, but only such as were ATTAINED, or Principally APPEALED, or INDICTED, of false or wrongful Imprisonment ; so tender have the Ancient Laws and Constitutions of this Realm been, of the Liberty of their Subjects Persons, that no Man ought to be Imprisoned but for a Capital Offence, as Treason, Murder, Robbery, or Burglary.

SECT. 11. Nor is Lambard short, in his excellent Translation of the Saxon Laws, from King Ina's Time, 712. to Hen. 3. 1100. in describing to us the great Obligation, and strong Condition the People were wont to put upon their Kings, To observe the Ancient Fundamental Laws, and Free Customs of this Land, which were handed down from one Age to another. And in the 17th Chap. of King Edward the Confessor's Laws, the Mention there made of a King's Duty, is very remarkable, That if he brake his Oath, or performed not his Obligation, (*Nec nomen Regis in eo constabit.*) The same Lambard further tells us, That however any may affirm William of Normandy to be a Conqueror, He was received by the People as Edward's Successor, and by Solemn Oath taken, to maintain unto them the same Laws that his Kinsman Edward the Confessor did : This Doctrine remained in the General Unquestioned, to the Reign of King John, who imperiously thought, that *Voluntas Regis*, and not *Salus Populi*, was *Suprema Lex*, or the King's Will was the Supreme Law, and not the Peoples Preservation ; till the incensed Barons of that Time, betook themselves to a Vigorous Defence of their Ancient Rights and Liberties, and learn'd him to keep those Laws by a due Restraint and timely Compulsion, which his former Invasion of them evidenced to the World, he would never have done willingly.

SECT. 12. The Proposals and Articles of Agreement, with the Pledges given to the Barons, on the Behalf of the People, by the King, were confirm'd in Henry the Third's Time, his Son and Successor ; when the abused, slighted, and disregarded Law by his Father, was thought fit to be reduced to Record, that the People of England might not for ever after be to seek for a Written Recorded Law, to their Defence and Security ; for *Misera servitus est ubi jus est vagum aut incognitum* ; and so we enter upon the Grand Charter of Liberty and Privilege in the Cause, Reason, and End of it.

SECT. 13. We shall first rehearse it, so far as we are concerned, (with the Formalities of Grant and Curse) and shall then say something as to the Cause, Reason, and End of it.

A Rehearsal of the Material Parts of the Great Charter of England.

HENRY, by the Grace of God, King of England, &c. To all Archbishops, or Earls, Barons, Sheriffs, Provosts, Officers, and to all Bailiffs, and our Faithful Subjects who shall see this present Charter, Greeting.
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Know ye, That we unto the Honour of Almighty GOD, and for the Salvation of the Souls of our Progenitors, and our Successors, Kings of England, to the Advancement of Holy Church, and Amendment of our Realm, of our meer and free Will, have given, and granted, *To all Archbishops, &c. And to all Freemen of this our Realm,* those Liberties under-written, to be holden and kept in this our Realm of England, for evermore.

We have granted, and given to all Freemen of our Realm, for us and our Heirs for evermore, those Liberties under-written, to have and to hold to them, and to their Heirs, of us and our Heirs fore-nam'd.

A Freeman shall not be Amerced for a small Fault, *but after the Quantity of the Fault* : And for a great Fault, *after the Manner thereof*, saving to him his Contentments or Freehold. And a Merchant likewise shall be Amerced, *saving to him his Merchandize* ; and none of the said Amercements shall be assailed, *But by the Oath of Good and Honest Men of the Vicinage.*

No Freeman shall be taken, or imprisoned, nor be Disseized of his Freehold, or Liberties, or Free Customs, or be Out-lawed or Exiled, or any other Ways destroyed ; nor we shall not Pass upon him, nor Condemn him, *But by Lawful Judgment of his Peers*, or by the Law of the Land : *We shall sell to no Man ; we shall deny nor defer to no Man, either Justice or Right.*

And all these Customs and Liberties aforesaid, which we have granted to be holden within this our Realm, as much as appertaineth to Us, and our Heirs, we shall observe ; and all Men of this our Realm, as well Spiritual as Temporal (as much as in them is) shall observe the same against all Persons in likewise. And for this our Gift, and Grant of those Liberties, and for other contained in our Charter of Liberties of our Forest : The Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Earls, Barons, Knights, Freeholders, and others our Subjects, have given unto us the fifteenth Part of their Moveables : *And we have Granted unto them on the other Part, that neither We, nor our Heirs, shall procure or do any Thing whereby the Liberties in this Charter contained, shall be infringed or broken* ; and if any Thing be procured by any Person contrary to the Premises, *it shall be held of no Force or Effect.* These being Witnesses, Boniface Archbishop of Canterbury, &c. We ratifying and approving those Gifts and Grants aforesaid, Confirm and make Strong all the same, *for us and our Heirs Perpetually*, and by the Tenor of these Presents do renew the same willingly ; and Granting for Us and our Heirs, that this Charter, in all, and singular his Articles for evermore, shall be stedfastly, firmly, and inviolably observed. *And if any Article in the same Charter contained, yet hitherto peradventure hath not been observed, nor kept, we Will, and by our Authority Royal, Command, henceforth firmly they be observed.* Witness, &c.

The Sentence of the Curse given by the Bishops, with the King's Consent, against the Breakers of the Great Charter.

IN the Year of our Lord, 1253, the Third Day of May, in the Great Hall of the King at Westminster, in the Presence, and by the Consent of the Lord Henry, by the Grace of God, King of England, and the Lord Richard, Earl of Cornwall, his Brother ; Roger Bigot, Earl of Norfolk, Marshal of England ; Humphry, Earl of Hereford ; Henry, Earl of Oxford ; John, Earl Warren ; and other Estates of the Realm of England : We Boniface, by the Mercy of God, Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of England ; F. of London ; H. of Ely ; S. of Worcester ; E. of Lincoln ; W. of Norwich ; P. of Hereford ; W. of Salisbury ; W. of Durham ; R. of Excester ; M. of Carlile ; W. of Bath ; E. of Rochester ; T. of St. Davids, Bishops, apparelled in Pontificals, with Taper burning, against the Breakers of the Churches Liberties, and of the Liberties and other Customs of this Realm of England ; and namely, those that are contained in the Charter of the Common Liberties of England, and Charter of the Forest, have denounced Sentence of Excommunication in this Form : By the Authority of Almighty God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, &c. of the Blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, and

and of all Apostles, and of all Martyrs, of Blessed Edward, King of England, and of all the Saints of Heaven, We Excommunicate and Accurse, and from the Benefit of our Holy Mother the Church, we sequester all those that hereafter willingly and maliciously deprive, or spoil the Church of her Right; and all those that by any Craft, or Willingness, do Violate, Break, Diminish, or Change the Churches Liberties, and Free Customs contained in the Charter of the Common Liberties, and of the Forest, granted by our Lord the King to Archbishops, Bishops, and other Prelates of England, and likewise to the Earls, Barons; Knights, and other Freeholders of the Realm; and all that secretly and openly, by Deed, Word or Counsel, do make Statutes, or observe them being made, and that bring in Customs, or keep them, when they be brought in, against the said Liberties, or any of them; and all those that shall presume to Judge against them; and all and every such Person, before-mentioned, that wittingly shall commit any Thing of the Premises, let them well know that they incur the aforesaid Sentence, ipso facto.

A Confirmation of the Charters and Liberties of England, and of the Forest, made the Twenty Fifth Year of Edward the First.

EDward, by the Grace of God, King of England, Lord of Ireland, Duke of Guyan, To all those that these present Letters shall hear or see, Greeting. Know ye, That we to the Honour of GOD, and to the Profit of our Realm, have Granted for us, and our Heirs, that the Charter of Liberties, and the Charter of the Forest, which were made by common Assent of all the Realm, in the Time of King Henry our Father, shall be kept in every Point, without Breach: And we will that the same Charter shall be sent under our Seal, as well to our Justices of the Forest, as to others, and to all Sheriffs of Shires, and to all our other Officers, and to all our Cities throughout the Realm, together with our Writs, in the which it shall be contained, that they cause the aforesaid Charters to be Published, and to declare to the People, that we have confirmed them in all Points; and that our Justices, Sheriffs, Mayors, and other Ministers, which under us have the Laws of our Land to guide, shall allow the same Charters pleaded before them in Judgment, in all their Points; that is, to wit, the Great Charter, as the Common Law, and the Charter of our Forest, for the *Wealth* of our Realm.

And we will, that if any Judgment be given from henceforth contrary to the Points of the Charter aforesaid, by the Justices, or by any other of our Ministers, that hold Plea before them, against the Points of the Charter, it shall be undone, and holden for Nought.

And we will that the same Charters shall be sent under our Seal, to Cathedral Churches throughout our Realm, there to remain, and shall be read before the People two Times by the Year.

And that all Archbishops and Bishops shall pronounce the Sentence of Excommunication against all those that by Word, Deed, or Counsel, do contrary to the aforesaid Charters, or that in any Point do break or undo them: And that the said Curfes be twice a Year denounced, and published by the Prelates aforesaid; and if the same Prelates, or any of them, be remiss in the Denunciation of the said Sentences, the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, for the Time being, shall compel and distrain them to the Execution of their Duties in Form aforesaid.

The Sentence of the C L E R G Y, against the Breakers of the Articles above-mentioned.

IN the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, Amen. Whereas our Sovereign Lord the King, to the Honour of GOD, and of Holy Church, and for the common Profit of the Realm, hath granted for him, and his Heirs for ever, these Articles above-written. Robert, Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, admonished all his Province once, twice and thrice, because that Shortness will not suffer so much Delay, as to give

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Knowledge to all the People of England of these Presents in Writing: We therefore enjoyn all Persons, of what Estate soever they be, that they, and every of them, as much as in them is, shall uphold and maintain these Articles, granted by our Sovereign Lord the King, in all Points: And all those that in any Point do resist or break, or in any Manner hereafter procure, Counsel, or in any wise Assent to resist or break those Ordinances, or go about it, by Word or Deed, openly or privily, by any Manner of Pretence or Colour; we, the aforesaid Archbishop, by our Authority in this Writing expressed, do Excommunicate and Accurse, and from the Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, and from all the Company of Heaven, and from all the Sacraments of Holy Church, do sequester and exclude.

We may here see, that in the obscurest Times of sottish Popery, they were not left without a Sense of Justice, and the Necessity of *Liberty and Property*, to be inviolably enjoy'd, which brings us to the Cause of it.

First, The Cause of this famous Charter was, as we have already said, the Incroachments that were made by several Ministers of precedent Kings, that almost became Customary, and which had near extinguisht the Free Customs due to *Englishmen*: How great Care it cost our Ancestors, it unbecomes us to ignore, or by our Silence to neglect; it was that *Tuke and Muzzle* which failed not to disabie many raging Bears, from entering *The Pleasant Vineyard of English Freedoms*, that otherwise would not have left a fruitful Vine in being. Anon we may give the Reader an Account of some, with their Wages as well as Works.

Secondly, The Reason of it is so great, that it seems to be its own. It is the very *Image and Expression of Justice, Liberty and Property*, Points of such eminent Importance, as without which no Government can be said to be Reasonable, but Arbitrary and Tyrannical. It allows every Man that Liberty God and Nature have given him, and the secure Possession of his Property; 'from the Inroad or Invasion of his Neighbour, or any else of that Constitution. It justifies no Man in a Fault, only it provides equal and just Ways to have the Offender Tried, considering the Malice of many Persecutors, and the great Value of Liberty and Life.

Thirdly, The End of it was the most Noble of any Earthly Projection; to wit, *The refixing of those shaken Laws*, held for many Hundred Years, by constant Claim, that they Living might be re-inflated in their Primitive Liberty, and their Posterity secured in the Possession of so great Happiness.

Amongst those many Rich Advantages that accrew to the Free People of England, from this Great Charter, and those many Confirmatory Statutes of the same, we shall present the Reader with the Sight of some few, that may most properly fall under the Consideration and Enquiry of these present Times, as found in our common Law-Books.

First, [*That every Englishman is Born Free.*]

Secondly, [*That no such Freeman shall be taken, attached, assessed, or imprisoned, by any Petition or Suggestion to the King or his Council, unless by the Indictment and Presentment of Good and Lawful Men, where such right as needs be done.*] 5 Ed. 3. ch. 9. 25 Ed. 3. ch. 4. 17 Ri. 2. ch. 6. Rot. Parl. 42 Ed. 3. Cook 2. Inst. 43.

Thirdly, [*That no such Freeman shall be disseized of his Freehold, or Liberties, or Free Customs, &c.*] Hereby is intended saith Cook, That Lands, Tenements, Goods and Chattels, shall not be seized into the King's Hands, contrary to this Great Charter, &c. 43 Ass. pag. 12. 43 Ed. 3. Cook 2. Inst. 32. Neither shall any such Freeman be put from his Livelihood without Answer, Cook 2. Inst. 47.

Fourthly, [*That no Freeman shall be Out-lawed*] unless he shroud, and hide himself voluntarily from the Justice of the Law, 2 & 3 Phil. & Mar. Diar. 114, 145.

Fifthly, [*No Freeman shall be exiled*] Cook said, there are but two Grounds upon which any Man may be exiled; one by Act of Parliament (supposing it not contrary to the Great Charter) — the other in Case of Abjuration, for Felony by the Common Law, &c. Cook, Inst. 2, 47.

Sixthly [No Freeman shall be destroyed; that is, he shall not be Forejudged of Life, Limb, Disherited, or put to Torture, or Death.] Every Oppression against Law, by Colour of any usurped Authority, is a Kind of Destruction, and it is the worst Oppression that is done by Colour of Justice. Cook, Inst. 2. 48.

Seventhly, [That no Freeman shall be thus taken, or imprisoned, disseized, out-lawed, exiled, or be destroyed of his Liberties, Freeholds, and Free Customs, but by the Lawful Judgment of his Peers] (vulgarly called Jury.) So that the Judgment of any Fact or Person, is, by this Fundamental Law, referred to the Breasts and Consciences of the Jury: It's rendred in Latin, PER LEGALE JUDICIUM, that is, Lawful Judgment: From whence it is to be observed, that the Judgment must have Law in it, and be according to Law; which cannot be, where they are not Judges, how far the Fact is Legal, or the contrary; *Judicium quasi Juris dictum* [The Voice of Law and Right.] And therefore is their Verdict not to be rejected, because it is supposed to be the Truth, according to their Consciences: For Verdict, from *verè dictum Veritatis*, [or a true Saying or Judgment] 9 Hen. 2. 26. Cook's Inst. 1. 32. Inst. 4. 207. Cook says, That by the Word LEGALE, three Things are implied.

(1st) That this was by Law, before the Statute, and therefore this Statute but declaratory of the ancient Law.

(2d) That their Verdict must be Legally given; wherein is to be observed, (1st) The Jury ought to hear no Evidence, but in the Hearing and Presence of the Prisoner. (2d.) That they cannot send to ask any Question in Law of the Judges, but in the Presence of the Prisoner, for, *De Facto Jus Oritur*.

(3d) The Evidence produced by the King's Council being given, the Judges cannot collect the Evidence, nor urge it by Way of Charge to the Jury, nor yet confer with the Jury about the Evidence, but in the Presence of the Prisoner, Cook's Inst. 2. 49.

Eighthly, [Or by the Law of the Land] it is a Synonymous Expression, importing no more than by the Tryal of Peers, or a Jury; for it is sometimes rendred not (or) disjunctively, but (and) which is connectively; however, it can never signify any Thing contrary to the old Way of Trying by Peers; for then it would be connected to a Contradiction.

Besides, Cook well observes, that in the 4th chap. of the 25th Ed. 3. *Per Legem Terræ*, imports no more than a Trial by due Process, and Writ Original at Common Law, which cannot be without a Jury; therefore *Per Judicium parum, & per Legem Terræ*, signify the same Priviledge unto the People, Cook Inst. 2. p. 5c.

Thus have we presented you with some of those Maxims of Law, dearer to our Ancestors than Life, *Because they are the Defence of the Lives and Liberties of the People of England*; it is from this 29th Chap. of the Great Charter; Great, not for its Bulk, but the Priviledges in it; as from a spacious Root, that so many Fruitful Branches of the Law of England spring, if Cook may be credited. But how Sacred soever they have been esteemed, and still are by Noble and Just Minds, yet so degenerate are some, in their Proceedings, that, Conscious to themselves of their Baseness, they will not dare stand the Touch of this Great Charter, and those Just Laws Grounded upon it: Of which Number, we may truly rank the Mayor and Recorder of London, with the rest of their *Wise Companions*, in their late Sessions at the Old-Baily, upon the Occasion of the Prisoners.

First, The Prisoners were taken, and imprisoned, without Presentment of Good and Lawful Men of the Vicinage, or the Neighbourhood, *But after a Military and Tumultuous Manner, contrary to the Grand Charter*.

Secondly, They refused to produce the Law upon which they proceeded; leaving thereby the Prisoners, Jury, and the whole Assembly in the Dark.

Thirdly, They refused the Prisoners to plead, and directly withstood that Great Priviledge, mentioned in the first Chap. 25 Edw. 1. *Where all Justices, Mayors, Sheriffs, and other Ministers, that have the Laws of the Land to guide them, are required to allow the said Charter to be pleaded in all its*

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Points, and in all Cases that shall come before them in Judgment: For no sooner did William Penn, or his Fellow-Prisoner, urge upon them the Great Charter, and other Good Laws, but the Recorder cried, Take him away; take him away, and put him into the Bale-Dock, or Hole; from which Refusal the Recorder can never deliver himself, unless it be by avowing, The Laws are not his Guide, and therefore does not suffer them to be pleaded before him in Judgment.

Fourthly, They gave the Jury their Charge in the Prisoners Absence, endeavouring highly to incense the Jury against them.

Fifthly, The Verdict being given (which is in Law Dictum Veritatis) (The Voice of Truth herself) being not suitable to their Humour) They did five Times reject it, with many abusive, imperious, and menacing Expressions to the Jury, (such as no President can afford us) as if they were not the only constituted Judges by the Fundamental Laws of the Land, but meer Ciphers, only to signify something behind their Figures.

Sixthly, Though the Prisoners were cleared by their Jury, yet were they detained for the Non-Payment of their Fines, laid upon them for not pulling off their Hats; in which the Law is notoriously broken.

(1st) In that no Man shall be Amerced, but according to the Offence, and they have Fined each Forty Marks.

(2d) They were not Amerced by any Jury, but at the Will of an incensed Bench.

Besides, there is no Law against the Hat, and where there is no Law, there can be no Transgression, and consequently no Legal Amercement, or Fine, 9 Hen. 3. chap. 14. But how the Prisoners were trepan'd into it, is most ridiculous on the Side of the Contrivers, that finding their Hats off, would have them put on again by their Officers, to fool the Prisoners with a Trial of putting them off again, which Childish Conceit not being gratified, they Fined them Forty Marks a Piece.

Seventhly, Instead of accepting their Verdict as Good in Law, and for the True Decision of the Matter, according to the Great Charter, (that constitutes them proper Judges, and which bears them out, with many other good Laws, in what they agreed to as a Verdict) the Court did most Illegally and Tyrannically Fine and Imprison them, as in the Trial was express. And that notwithstanding the late just Resentment of the House of Commons, in Judge Keeling's Case, where they Resolved, That the Presidents and Practice of Fining and Imprisoning of Juries, for their Verdicts, were Illegal. And here we must needs observe Two Things.

First, That the Fundamental Laws of England cannot be more slighted, and contradicted in any Thing (next Englishmen's being quite destroyed) than in not suffering them to have that equal Medium, or just Way of Trial, that the same Law has provided, Which is by a Jury.

Secondly, That the late Proceeding of the Court, at the Old-Baily, is an evident Demonstration, that Juries are now but Meer Formality, and that the Partial Charge of the Bench, must be the Verdict of the Jury: For if ever a Rape were attempted on the Conscience of any Jury, it was there. And indeed, the Ignorance of Jurors, of their Authority by Law, is the only Reason of their unhappy cringing to the Court, and being scared into an Anti-Conscience Verdict, by their Lawless Threats.

But we have lived to an Age, so debilitated from all Humanity and Reason, as well as Faith and Religion, *That some sicken not to turn Butchers to their own Privileges, and Conspirators against their own Liberties.* For however *Magna Charta* had once the Reputation of a Sacred, Unalterable Law, and few were hardened enough to incur and bear the long Curse that attends the Violators of it, yet it is frequently objected now; that the Benefits there designed are but *Temporary*, and therefore liable to Alteration, as other Statutes are. *What Game such Persons play at, may be lively read in the Attempts of Dionysius, Phalaris, &c. which would have Will and Power be the People's Law.*

But that the Privileges due to *Englishmen*, by the Great Charter of *England*, have their Foundation in Reason and Law; and that those new *Cassandrian*

Sanctarian Ways, to introduce *Will* and *Power*, deserve to be detested by all Persons professing Sense and Honesty, and the least Allegiance to our *English* Government, we shall make appear from a Sober Consideration of the Nature of those Privileges contained in that Charter.

(1) The Ground of Alteration of any Law in Government (where there is no Invasion) should arise from the *Universal Discommodity* of its Continuance, but there can be no Disprofit in the Continuance of Liberty and Property, therefore there can be no just Ground of Alteration.

(2) No one *Englishman* is born a Slave to another, neither has the one a Right to inherit the Sweat and Benefit of the others Labour (without Consent) therefore the Liberty and Property of an Englishman, cannot Reasonably be at the Will and Beck of another, let his Quality and Rank be never so Great.

(3) There can be nothing more Unreasonable than that which is Partial; but to take away the LIBERTY and PROPERTY of any (which are Natural Rights) without breaking the Law of Nature (and not of Will and Power) is manifestly Partial, and therefore Unreasonable.

(4) If it be just and Reasonable for Men to do as they would be done by, then no Sort of Men should invade the Liberties and Properties of other Men, because they would not be served so themselves.

(5) Where Liberty and Property are destroyed, there must always be a State of Force and War, which however pleasing it may be unto the Invaders, it will seem intolerable by the Invaded, who will no longer remain subject, (in all Humane Probability) than while they want as much Power to free themselves, as their Adversaries had to enslave them: The Troubles, Hazards, ill Consequences, and Illegality of such Attempts, as they have been declined by the most Prudent in all Ages, so have they proved most unease to the most Savage of all Nations, who first or last have by a mighty Torrent freed themselves, to the due Punishment and great Infamy of their Oppressors: Such being the Advantage, such the Disadvantage which necessarily do attend the Fixation, and Removal of Liberty and Property.

We shall proceed to make it appear, that *Magna Charta* (as recited by us) imports nothing less than their Preservation.

No Freeman shall be Taken, or Imprisoned, or be Disseised of his Freeholds, or Liberties, or Free Customs, or be Outlawed, or Exiled, or any other Ways Destroyed; nor will we upon him Pass, nor Condemn him, but by the Lawful Judgment of his Peers, &c.

A Freeman shall be Amerced for a small Fault, but after the Manner of the Fault; and for a Great Fault, after the Greatness thereof; and none of the said Amercement shall be assessed, but by the Oath of Good and Lawful Men of the Vicinage.

First, It asserts *Englishmen* to be Free; *That's Liberty*.

Secondly, That they have Freeholds; *That's Property*.

Thirdly, That Amercement, or Penalties, should be proportioned to the Faults committed, *Which is Equity*.

Fourthly, That they shall lose neither, but when they are adjudged to have forfeited them in the Judgment of their Honest Neighbours, according to the Law of the Land, *Which is Lawful Judgment*.

It is easie to discern to what Pass the Enemies of the *Great Charter* would bring the People of *England*.

First, They are now Freemen; *But they would have them Slaves*.

Secondly, They have now Right unto their Wives, Children, and Estates, as their undoubted Property; *But such would Rob and Spoil them of all*.

Thirdly, Now no Man is to be Amerced, or Punished, but suitable to the Fault; *Whilst they would make it suitable to their Revengeful Minds, and Unlimited Wills*.

Fourthly, Whereas the Power of Judgment lies in the Breasts and Consciences of Twelve Honest Neighbours; *They would have it at the Discretion of Mercenary Judges*. To which we cannot choose but add, That such Discourses manifestly strike at this present Constitution of Government; for it being founded upon the *Great Charter* (which is the Ancient Common Law of the Land) as upon its best Foundation, none can design the

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concealing the *Charter*, but they must necessarily intend the Extirpation of the *English Government*; for where the Cause is taken away, the Effect must consequently cease: And as the Restoration of our Ancient *English Laws* by the *Great Charter*, was the Sovereign Balm which Cured our former Breaches, so doubtless will the Continuation of it prove an excellent Prevention to any future Disturbances.

But some are ready to object, *That the Great Charter consisting as well of Religious as Civil Rights, the former having received an Alteration, there is the same Reason why the latter may have the like.*

To which we answer, That the Reason of Alteration cannot be the same, therefore the Consequence is false. The one being Matter of Opinion, about Faith and Religious Worship, which is as various, as the unconstant Apprehensions of Men; but the other is Matter of so immutable Right, and Justice, that all Generations (however differing in their *Religious Opinions*) have concentered and agreed to the Certainty, Equity, and indispensable Necessity of preserving these Fundamental Laws; so that *Magna Charta* hath not risen and fallen with the differing Religious Opinions that have been in this Land, but hath ever remained as the Stable Right of every individual *Englishman*, purely as an *Englishman*. Otherwise, if the Civil Privileges of the People, had fallen with the pretended Religious Privileges of the *Papish Tyranny*, at the first Reformation (as must needs be suggested by this Objection) our Case had ended here, That we had obtained a Spiritual Freedom, at the Cost of a Civil Bondage; which certainly was far from the Intention of the first Reformers, and probably, an unseen Consequence by the Objectors to their idle Opinion.

In short, there is no Time, in which any Man may plead the Necessity of such an Action, as is unjust in its own Nature, which he must unavoidably be Guilty of, *That doth deface or cancel that Law by which the Justice of Liberty and Property is confirmed and maintained to the People.* And consequently, no Person may Legally attempt the Subversion, or Extenuation of the Force of the *Great Charter*. We shall proceed to prove them Instances, out of both.

First, *Any Judgment given contrary to the said Charter, is to be undone and holden for Nought*, 25 Edw. 1. chap. 2.

Secondly, *Any by Word, Deed, or Counsel, that go contrary to the said Charter, are to be Excommunicated by the Bishops: And the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, are bound to compel the other Bishops to denounce Sentence accordingly, in Case of their Remissness, or Neglect; which certainly hath Relation to the State, rather than the Church; since there was never any Necessity of compelling the Bishops to denounce Sentence in their own Case, though frequently in the People's,* 25 Edw. 1. chap. 4.

Thirdly, *That the Great Charter, and Charter of the Forest, be holden and kept in all Points; and if any Statute be made to the contrary, that it shall be holden for Nought*, 43 Edw. 3. 1. Upon which Cook, that Famous English Lawyer, said, *That albeit, Judgments in the King's Courts are of high Regard in Law, and Judicia are accounted as Juris dicta; yet it is provided by the Act of Parliament, That if any Judgment be given contrary to any of the Points of the Great Charter, it shall be holden for Nought.*

He further saith, upon the Statute of 25 Edw. 1. chap. 1. *That this Great Charter, and the Charter of Forest, are properly the Common Law of the Land, or the Law Common to all the People thereof.*

Fourthly, Another Statute runs thus: *If any Force come to disturb the Execution of the Common Law, ye shall cause their Bodies to be Arrested, and put in Prison: Ye shall deny no Man Right by the King's Letters, nor Counsel the King any Thing that may turn to his Damage or Disberison*, 18 Edw. 3. chap. 7. *Neither to deny Right by any Command under the Great or Little Seal. This is the Judges Charge and Oath*, 2 Edw. 3. ch. 8. 14 Ed. 3. 14. 11 Rich. 2. chap. 10.

Fifthly, Such Care hath been taken for the Preservation of this *Great Charter*, that in the 25th of Edw. 1. it was Enacted, *That Commissioners should*

should issue forth, that there should be chosen in every Shire-Court, by the Commonalty of the same Shire, Three substantial Men, Knights, or other Lawful, Wise, and Well-disposed Persons, to be Justices, which shall be assigned by the King's Letters Patents, under the Great Seal, to hear and determine (without any other Writ but only their Commission) such Plaints as shall be made upon all those that commit, or offend against any Point contained in the aforesaid Charters, 21 Edw. 1. ch. 1.

Sixthly, The Necessity of preserving these Charters, hath appeared in nothing more, than in the Care they have taken to confirm them; which, as Cook observes, have been by Thirty Two Parliaments Confirmed, Established, and Commanded to be put in Execution, with the condign Punishment they had inflicted upon the Offenders. Cook's Proem. to the second Book of his Institutes.

Seventhly, That in the Notable Petition of Right, many of these Great Privileges, and Free Customs, contained in the aforesaid Charters, and other Good Laws, are Recited and Confirmed, 3 Car. 1.

Eighthly, The late King, in his Declaration at New-Market, 1641, acknowledged the Law to be the Rule of His Power: By which he doubtless intended Fundamental Laws; since it may be the great Advantage of Countries, sometimes to suspend the Execution of Temporary Laws.

Having so manifestly evidenced that Venerable Esteem our Ancestors had of that Golden RULE, (the GREAT CHARTER,) with their deep Solitude, to preserve it from the defacing of Usurpation and Faction; We shall proceed to give an Account of their Just Resentment, and earnest Prosecution against some of those, who in any Age have adventured to undermine that Ancient Foundation, by introducing an Arbitrary Way of Government.

First, As Judicious Lambard reports, in his Saxon Translation, That the Kings in those Days, were by their Coronation Oaths obliged to keep the Ancient Fundamental Laws and Customs of this Land (of which this Great Charter is but Declaratory) so did King Alfred (reputed the most famous Compiler of Laws amongst them) give this Discovery of his Indignation against his own Judges, for acting contrary to those Fundamental Laws, that he commanded the Execution of Forty of them; which may be a Seasonable Caveat to the Judges of our Times.

Secondly, Hubert de Burgo, once Chief Justice of England, having advised Edward the First, in the Eleventh Year of his Reign (in his Council holden at Oxford) to Cancel this Great Charter, and that of the Forest, was justly Sentenced according to Law, by his Peers, in open Parliament, when the Statute, called CONFIRMATIONIS CHARTARUM, was made; in the first Chapter thereof, Magna Charta is peculiarly called the Common Law, 25 Edw. 1. chap. 2.

Thirdly, The Spencers, (both Father and Son) for their Arbitrary Domination, and Rash, and Evil Counsel to Edward the Second, (by which he was seduced to break the Great Charter) were banished for their Pains, as Cook relates.

Fourthly, The same Fate attended Tresilian and Belknap, for their illegal Proceedings.

Fifthly, The Breach of this Great Charter, was the Ground of that Exemplary Justice done upon Empson and Dudley, whose Case is very memorable in this Point; For though they gratified Henry the Seventh in what they did, and had an Act of Parliament for their Warrant, made the Eleventh of his Reign, yet met with their due Reward from the Hands of Justice, that Act being against Equity and common Reason, and so no justifiable Ground, or Apology, for those frequent Abuses, and the Oppressions of the People, they were found Guilty of. Hear what the Lord Cook further saith concerning the Matter, 'There was an Act of Parliament, made in the Eleventh Year of King Henry the Seventh, which had a fair flattering Preamble, 'pretending to avoid divers Mischiefs, which were (1st) The High Displeasure of Almighty G O D. (2dly) The Great Let of the Common Law. And (3dly),

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(3dly) *The Great Let of the Wealth of this Land.* And the Purview of that Act tended in the Execution contrary, EX-DIAMETRO, viz. To the High Displeasure of Almighty G O D, and the Great Let, nay, the utter Subversion of the Common Law, and the Great Let of the Wealth of this Land, as hereafter shall appear; the Substance of which Act follows in these Words:

That from henceforth, as well Justices of Assize, as Justices of the Peace, in every County, upon Information for the King, before them made, without any Finding or Presentment by Twelve Men, shall have full Power and Authority, by their Discretion, to hear and determine all Offences, as Riots, Unlawful Assemblies, &c. committed and done against any Act or Statute made, and not Repeal'd, &c. (a Case that very much resembles this of our own Times.)

By Pretext of this Law, *Empson and Dudley* did commit upon the Subjects, unsufferable Pressure and Oppression; and therefore this Statute was justly, soon after the Decease of *Henry the Seventh*, at the next Parliament, after his Decease, by the Statute of the 1 Hen. 8. Ch. 6.

A good Caveat to Parliaments, to leave all Causes to be measured by the Golden and Straight Metewand of the Law, and not by the uncertain and crooked Cord of Discretion.

It is almost incredible to fore-see, when any Maxim or Fundamental Law of this Realm is altered (as elsewhere hath been observed) what dangerous Inconveniences do follow; which most expressly appeareth by this most unjust and strange Act of the Eleventh of *Henry the Seventh*: For hereby not only *Empson and Dudley* themselves, but such Justices of the Peace (Corrupt Men) as they caused to be Authorized, committed most grievous, and heavy Oppressions and Exactions, grinding the Faces of the poor Subjects by Penal Laws (be they never so absolute or unfit for the Time) by Information only, without any Presentment, or Trial by Jury, being the Ancient Birth-right of the Subject; but to hear and determine the same by their Discretions, inflicting such Penalty, as the Statute not Repealed, imposed. These, and other like Oppressions and Exactions by, or by the Means of *Empson and Dudley*, and their Instruments, brought infinite Treasure to the King's Coffers, whereof the King himself, at the End, with great Grief and Compunction, repented; as in another Place we have observed.

This Statute of the 11th of *Henry the Seventh*, we have recited, and shewed the just Inconveniences thereof; to the End, that the like should never hereafter be attempted in any Court of Parliament; and that others might avoid the Fearful End of those two Time-Servers, *Empson and Dudley*, *Qui eorum vestigiis insistant, eorum exitus perhorrescant.*

See the Statute of 8 Edw. 4. chap. 2. A Statute of Liveries, an Information, &c. by the Discretion of the Judges, to stand as an Original, &c. This Act is deservedly Repealed, Vide 12 R. 2. chap. 13. Punishment by Discretion, &c. Vide 5th of H. 4. chap. 6, 8. See the Commission of Sewers; Discretion ought to be thus described, *Discretio est discernere per Legem quid sit justum*: From whence three Things seem most remarkable.

First, The great Equity and Justice of the Great Charter, with the High Value our Ancestors have most deservedly set upon it.

Secondly, The Dreadful Malediction, or Curse, they have denounced upon the Breakers of it, with those Exemplary Punishments they have not spared to inflict upon such Notorious Offenders.

Thirdly, So Heinous a Thing was it esteemed of Old, to endeavour an Enervation, or Subversion of these Ancient Rights and Privileges, that Acts of Parliament themselves (otherwise the most Sacred with the People) have not been of Force enough to secure or defend such Persons from Condemn Punishment, who in Pursuance of them, have acted inconsistent with our Great Charter. Therefore it is That, that Great Lawyer, the Lord Cook, doth more than once aggravate the Example of *Empson and Dudley*, (with Persons of the same Rank) into a just Caution, as well to Parliaments as Judges,

Judges, Justices, and inferior Magistrates, to decline making, or executing any Act, that may in the least seem to infringe upon, or confine this so often avowed and confirmed *Great Charter* of the Liberties of *England*, since Parliaments are said to Err, when they cross it; the Obeysers of their Acts punished, as Time-serving Transgressors; and that Kings themselves (tho' enriched by those Courses) have met with great Compunction and Repentance, and left among their Dying Words their Recantations.

Therefore most Notable and True it was, with which we shall conclude this present Subject, what the King pleased to observe in a Speech to the Parliament, about 1662, (*viz.*) *The Good Old Rules of Law are our best Security.*

The Manner of the Court's Behaviour towards the Prisoners, and the Jury, with their many extravagant Expressions, must not altogether slip our Observation.

(1) Their Carriage to the Jury out-does all Presidents; they entertained them more like a Pack of Felons, than a *Jury of Honest Men*, as being fitter to be Try'd themselves, than to Acquit others. In short, no Jury, for many Ages, received so many Instances of Displeasure and Affront, *Because they preferred not the Humour of the Court, before the Quiet of their own Consciences, even to be esteemed as Perjured, though they had really been so, had they not done what they did.*

(2) Their Treatment of the Prisoners was not more *Unchristian* than *Inhumane*. History can scarce tell us of one *Heathen Roman*, that ever was so ignoble to his Captive: What! *To Accuse, and not Hear them; to threaten to Bore their Tongues, Gag and Stop their Mouths, Fetter their Legs, meerly for defending themselves, and that by the Ancient Fundamental Laws of England too?* O Barbarous! Had they been *Turks and Infidels*, that Carriage would have ill become a Christian Court, *such Actions proving much stronger Disswades, than Arguments to Convince them, how much the Christian Religion inclines Men to Justice and Moderation, above their dark Idolatry.* It is truly Lamentable, that such Occasion should be given, *for Intelligence to Foreign Parts, where England hath had the Reputation of a Christian Country, by their ill treating of its Sober and Religious Inhabitants, for their Conscientious Meetings to Worship God.* But above all, *Dissenters* had little Reason to have expected this Boarish Fierceness from the Mayor of *London*, when they consider his eager Prosecution of the King's Party, under Cromwell's Government, as thinking he could never give too great a Testimony of his Loyalty to that New Instrument; which makes the Old Saying True, *That One Renegade is worse than Three Turks.*

Alderman *Bludworth*, being Conscious to himself of his Partial Kindness to the *Popish Fryars*, hopes to make an Amends, by his Zealous Prosecution of the *Poor Dissenters*; for at the same Sessions he moved to have an Evidence (of no small Quality) against *Harrison*, the Mendicant Fryar, sent to Bridewel and whipp'd: He was earnest to have the Jury Fined and Imprisoned, *because they brought not the Prisoners in Guilty, when no Crime was proved against them, but Peaceably Worshipping their God: Whence it may be easie to observe, That Popish Fryars, and Prelatical Persecutors, are meer Confederates.*

But what others have only adventured to stammer at, the Recorder of *London* has been so ingenious as to speak most plainly; or else, What mean those Two Fatal Expressions, *which are become the Talk and Terror of both City and Country?*

First, In assuring the Jury, *That there would be a Law next Sessions of Parliament, that no Man should have the Protection of the Law, but such as Conformed to the Church:* Which, should it be True, as we hope it is False, (and a dishonourable Prophecy of that Great Assembly) the *Popists* may live to see their *Marian Days* outdone by *Protest* Protestants.

But surely no *Englishman* can be so sottish, as to conceive that this Right to Liberty and Property, came in with his Profession of the *Protestant Religion*; or that his *Natural and Humane Rights are Dependent on certain Re-*

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ligious Apprehensions; and consequently he must esteem it a Cruelty in the Abstract, that Persons should be denied the Benefit of those Laws which relate to Civil Concerns, who by their Deportment in Civil Affairs, have no Ways Transgressed them, but merely upon an Opinion of Faith, and Matter of Conscience.

It is well known that *Liberty and Property, Trade and Commerce*, were in the World long before the Points in Difference betwixt *Protestants and Dissenters*, as the Common Privileges of Mankind; and therefore not to be measured out by a Conformity to this, or the other Religious Persuasion, but purely as *Englishmen*.

Secondly, But we should rather choose to esteem this an Expression of Heat in the Recorder, than that we could believe a *London's Recorder* should say an *English Parliament* should impose so much *Slavery* on the present Age, and entail it upon their own Posterity (who, for ought they know, may be reckoned among the Dissenters of the next Age) did he not encourage us to believe, it was both his *Desire* and his *Judgment*, from that deliberate *Elogy* he made on the *Spanish Inquisition*, expressing himself much to this Purpose, *viz. 'Till now I never understood the Reason of the Policy and Prudence of the Spaniards, in suffering the Inquisition amongst them: And certainly it will never be well with us, till something like unto the Spanish Inquisition be in England.* The gross Malignity of which Saying is almost inexpressible: *What does this but justify that Hellish Design of the Papiests, to have prevented the First Reformation? If this be Good Doctrine, then Hoggestrant, the Grand Inquisitor, was a more Venerable Person than Luther the Reformer.* It was an Expression that had better become *Cajetan, the Pope's Legate*, than *Howel, a Protestant City's Recorder*. This is so far from helping to Convert the *Spaniard*, that it is the Way to barden him in his Idolatry; when his Abominable Cruelty shall be esteemed Prudence, and his most Barbarous and Exquisite Torturing of TRUTH, an excellent Way to prevent Faction.

If the Recorder has spoke for no more than himself, it is well; but certainly, He little deserves to be thought a *Protestant*, and a *Lawyer*, that puts both Reformation and Law into the Inquisition. And doubtless the Supreme Governors of the Land, are highly obliged in Honour and Conscience, (in Discharge of their Trust to GOD and the People) to take these Things into their Serious Consideration, as what is expected from them, by those who earnestly wish theirs, and the Kingdom's Safety and Prosperity.

P O S T S C R I P T.

The Copy of Judge Keeling's CASE, taken out of the Parliament Journal.

Die Mercurij, 11th Decembris, 1667.

THE House resumed the Hearing of the rest of the Report, touching the Matter of Restraints upon Juries; and that upon the Examination of divers Witnesses, in several Clauses of Restraints put upon Juries, by the Lord Chief Justice Keeling: Whereupon the Committee made their Resolutions, which are as followeth.

First, That the Proceedings of the Lord Chief Justice, in the Cases now reported, are Innovations, in the Trial of Men for their Lives and Liberties, and that he hath used an Arbitrary and Illegal Power, which is of dangerous Consequence to the Lives and Liberties of the People of England, and tends to the introducing of an Arbitrary Government.

Secondly, That in the Place of Judicature, the Lord Chief Justice hath undervalued, vilified, and condemned Magna Charta, the Great Preserver of our Lives, Freedom, and Property.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, That he be brought to Trial, in order to Condamn Punishment, in such Manner as the House shall judge most fit and requisite.

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Die Veneris, 13th Decembris, 1667.

Resolved, &c. That the Presidents and Pradlice of Fining or Imprisoning Jurors for Verdicts, is illegal.

Now whether the Justices of this Court, in their Proceedings (both towards the Prisoners, and Jury) have acted according to Law, and to their Oaths and Duty, to do Justice without Partiality, whereby Right might be Preserved, the Peace of the Land Secured, and our Ancient Laws Establish'd : Or whether such Actions tend not to deprive us of our Lives and Liberties, to rob us of (our Birth-right) the Fundamental Laws of England ? And finally, to bring in an Arbitrary and Illegal Power, to usurp the Benches of all our Courts of Justice, we leave the *English Reader* to judge.

Certainly, there can be no higher Affront offered to King and Parliament, than the bringing their Reputations into Suspicion with their People, by the irregular Actions of subordinate Judges : And no Age can parallel the Carriage of this Recorder, Mayor, &c. Nor can we think so ignobly of the Parliament, as that they should do less than call these Persons to Account, who fail'd not to do it to one less Guilty, and of more Repute, (to wit) Judge Keeling : For if his Behaviour gave just Ground of Jealousie, that he intended an Innovation, and the introducing an Arbitrary Government, this Recorder's much more. Did Chief Justice Keeling say, *Magna Charta* was *Magna Farta* ; so did this Recorder too : And did Justice Keeling Fine and Imprison Juries, contrary to all Law, so did this Recorder also. In short, there is no Difference, unless it be, that the one was questioned, and the other deserves it : But we desire in this they may be said to differ, That though the former escap'd Punishment, the latter may not, who having a President before, did notwithstanding Notoriously Transgress.

To Conclude : The Law supposes the King can't Err, because it is willing to suppose, he always Acts by Law, (and *Voluntas Legis, est Voluntas Regis* ; Or, the King's Will is regulated by the Law) but it says no such Thing of the Judges. And since they are obliged by Oath to disregard the King's Letters (though under the Broad and Privy Seal) if they any wise oppugn, or contradict the Law of the Land ; and considering that every single Action of an inferior Minister, has an ugly Reference to the Supream Magistrate, where not Rebuked ; we can't but conclude, that both Judges are answerable for their Irregularities, especially where they had not a Limitation of a King's Letter, or Command ; and that the Supream Magistrate is oblig'd, as in Honour and Safety to himself, *Alfred* like, to bring such to Condamn Punishment, lest every Sessions produce the like Tragical Scenes of Usurpation over the Consciences of Juries, to the vilifying and condemning of Justice, and great Detriment and Prejudice of the Good and Honest Men of this Famous and Free City.

FIAT JUSTITIA.

Not long after this Trial, and his Discharge from *Newgate*, his Father died, perfectly reconciled to his Son, and left him both his *Paternal Blessing*, and a *Plentiful Estate*. His * Death-Bed Expressions being very *Instructive* and *Pathetick*, deserve a double Reading : He was buried in *Redcliff Steeple-house* in the City of *Bristol* ; and over or near his Sepulchre, is erected a fair Monument with the following Inscription.

His Father's
Death.
* See the Book
call'd,
No Cross,
No Crown,

To the Just Memory of Sir William Penn, Knight, and sometimes General, Born at *Bristol*, Anno 1621. Son of Captain *Giles Penn*, several Years Consul for the *English* in the *Mediterranean* ; of the *Penns of Pennslove* in the County of *Wilts*, and those *Penns of Penn* in the County of *Bucks*, and by

Inscription on
his Father's
Tomb.

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his Mother from the *Gilberts*, in the County of *Somerset*, Originally from *Yorkshire*, addiſted from his Youth to Maritime Affairs: He was made Captain at the Years of Twenty One, Rear-Admiral of *Ireland* at Twenty Three, Vice-Admiral of *Ireland* at Twenty Five, Admiral to the Streights at Twenty Nine, Vice-Admiral of *England* at Thirty One, and General in the first *Dutch War* at Thirty Two. Whence returning *Anno 1655*, He was a Parliament-Man for the Town of *Weymouth*; 1660, made Commissioner of the Admiralty and Navy, Governor of the Town and Fort of *Kingſail*; Vice-Admiral of *Munſter*, and a Member of that Provincial Council, and *Anno 1664*, was choſen Great Captain Commander under His Royal Highneſs, in that Signal and moſt evidently Succeſſful Fight againſt the *Dutch Fleet*.

Thus He took Leave of the Sea, his old Element, but continued ſtill his other Employ, till 1669, at what Time, through Bodily Infirmities, contracted by the Care and Fatigue of Publick Affairs, he withdrew, prepared, and made for his End; and with a gentle and even Gale in much Peace arrived, and anchored in his laſt and beſt Port at *Wanſlead*, in the County of *Effex*, the 16th of *September*, 1670, being then but Forty Nine and Four Months Old.

To His Name and Memory, His Surviving Lady hath Erected this Remembrance.

A Diſpute between him and Jeremy Ives a Baptiſt.

About this Time a Publick Diſpute was held at *West-Wiccomb* in *Buckinghamſhire*, between him and one *Jeremy Ives*, a Celebrated Baptiſt. The Subject was, the *Univerſality of the Divine Light*, which *Ives* had undertaken to diſprove, and came furniſh'd with a Stock of *Sylogiſms* ready framed for his Purpoſe. 'Twas his Place, as Opponent, to ſpeak firſt, which as ſoon as he had done, being ſenſible that his Arguments ſtood in their *Greateſt Force*, while unanſwered, he ſtept down from his Seat, and with an Intention of breaking up the Aſſembly, departed. Some of his own Party followed him, but the Generality of the People tarrying, *W. Penn* had an Opportunity of anſwering, which he did to the great Satisfaction of the Auditory.

He writes to the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford.

* Ap. No. II.

In the Ninth Month this Year being at *Oxford*, and obſerving the cruel Uſage and Perſecution his *Innocent Friends* underwent there, from the Hands of the *Junior Scholars*, too much by the Connivance of their *Superiors*, he writ * a Letter to the *Vice-Chancellor* on that Subject.

This Winter having his Reſidence at *Penn* in *Buckinghamſhire*, he publiſhed a Book entituled, *A Seaſonable Caveat againſt Popery*; wherein he both expoſes and confutes many *Erroneous Doctrines of the Church of Rome*, and Eſtabliſhes the *Oppoſite Truths* by Sound Arguments: A Work alone ſufficient on the one Hand, to wipe off the Calumny caſt upon him, of being *A Favourer of the Romiſh Religion*; and on the other, to ſhew that his Principle being for an *Univerſal Liberty of Conſcience*, he would have had it extended even to the *Papiſts* themſelves, under a *Security* of their not-perſecuting others. The Book itſelf being a better Vindication of iſs Author in thoſe Points, than any Thing we can here ſay, is recommended to our Reader's Serious Peruſal.

His Apprehenſion at a Meeting in *Wheeler Street*.

On the 5th of the 12th Month this Year, he being at a Meeting in *Wheeler-Street*, a Sergeant with Soldiers, came and planted themſelves at the Door, where they waited till he ſtood up and preach'd, and then the Sergeant pull'd him down, and led him into the Street, where a Conſtable and his Aſſiſtants ſtanding ready to joyn them, they carried him away to the *Tower*, by Order from the Lieutenant. A Guard was there clapt upon him, and a Meſſenger diſpatch'd to the Lieutenant then at *Whitehall*, to inform him of the Succeſs. After about three Hours Time, it being Evening, he came Home, and *W. Penn* was ſent for from the Guard by an Officer, with a File of Muſqueteers. There were ſeveral in Company with Sir *John Robinſon*, the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, namely, Sir *Samuel Starling*, Sir *John Shelſden*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Ricraft*, and others. Orders being given that no Perſon

son should be admitted up unconcern'd in the Business, they proceeded to his Examination, of which we find the following Account given by an Eye and Ear Witness, viz.

Sir John Robinson. *What is this Person's Name?*

Note, The Mittimus was already made, and his Name put in.

Const. Mr. Penn, Sir.

J. R. *Is your Name Penn?*

W. P. Dost thou not know me? Hast thou forgot me?

J. R. *I don't know you: I don't desire to know such as you are.*

W. P. If not, Why didst thou send for me hither.

J. R. *Is that your Name, Sir?*

W. P. Yes, Yes, my Name is Penn, thou know'st it is; I am not ashamed of my Name.

J. R. *Constable, Where did you find him?*

Const. *At Wheeler-Street at a Meeting, Speaking to the People.*

J. R. *You mean he was speaking to an Unlawful Assembly?*

Const. *I don't know indeed, Sir, he was there, and he was Speaking.*

J. R. *Give them their Oaths.*

W. P. Hold, don't Swear the Men, there's no need of it; I freely acknowledge I was at *Wheeler-Street*, and that I spake to an Assembly of People there.

J. R. and several others. *He confesses it.*

W. P. I do so, I am not ashamed of my Testimony.

J. R. *No matter; give them their Oaths.*

Note, They were Sworn to answer such Questions as should be askt, upon which they gave the Evidence before given by the Constable.

J. R. *Mr. Penn, You know the Law better than I can tell you; and you know these Things are contrary to the Law.*

W. P. If thou believest me to be better known in the Law than thy self, hear me; for I know no Law I have transgressed. All Laws are to be considered *Strictly* and *Literally*, or more *Explanatorily* and *Lenitively*. In the first Sense the Execution of many Laws, may be *Extrema Injuria*, the *Greatest Wrong*: In the latter *Wisdom* and *Moderation*, I would have thee make that Part thy Choice.

Now whereas I am probably to be Try'd by the *Late Act against Conventions*, I conceive it doth not reach me.

J. R. *No Sir, I shall not proceed upon that Law.*

W. P. What Law then? I am sure that was intended for the Standard on these Occasions.

J. R. *The Oxford-Act of Six Months.*

W. P. That, of all Laws, can't concern me, for first I was never in *Orders*, neither *Episcopally* nor *Classically*, and one of them is intended by the *Preamble* of the *Act*.

J. R. *No, No, any that speak in Unlawful Assemblies, and you spoke in an Unlawful Assembly.*

W. P. Two Things are to be considered, *First*, That the Words, such as Speak in any *Unlawful Assemblies*, alter the Case much; for such is Relative of the *Preamble*, and cannot concern Persons in any other *Qualification*, than under some *Ordination* or *Mark of Priesthood*. I am perswaded thou know'st I am no such Person, I was never Ordain'd, nor have I any particular *Charge* or *Stipend*, that may intitle me to such a *Function*; and therefore I am wholly unconcern'd in the Word such.

Secondly, An *Unlawful Assembly* is too general a Word, the *Act* doth not define to us what is meant by an *Unlawful Assembly*.

J. R. *But other Acts do.*

W. P. That is not to the Purpose; for that may be an *Unlawful Assembly* in one *Act*, that may by Circumstances not be so adjudg'd in another; and it's hard that you will not stick to some one *Act* or Law, but to accomplish your Ends, borrow a Piece out of one *Act*, to supply the Defects of another, and of a different Nature from it.

J. R. *Will*

His Examination before the Lieutenant of the Tower.

1670.

J. R. *Will you Swear ? Will you take the Oath that the Act requires of you ?*

W. P. This is not to the Purpose.

J. R. Read him the Oath.

• The O A T H.

I W. P. *do Swear that it is not Lawful upon any Pretence whatsoever, to take Arms against the King, and that I do abhor that Traiterous Position of taking Arms by His Authority, against his Person, or against those that are Commissionated by him, in Pursuance of such Commissions, and that I will not at any Time endeavour any Alteration of Government, either in Church or State.*

J. R. *Will you take it, or no ?*

W. P. What need I take an Oath not to do that, it is my Faith not to do, so far as concerns the King.

Lieut. Price. *Then Swear it.*

W. P. The Oath in that Respect is already answered to all Intents and Purposes ; for if I can't Fight against any Man, (much less against the King) what need I take an Oath not to do it ; Should I Swear not to do what is already against my Conscience to do ?

J. R. *You won't take the Oath then.*

W. P. What if I refuse the Oath ? Not because of the Matter contained in it (which only can Criminate in the Sense of the Act) but of scrupling any Oath, Shall I therefore be committed to Prison ? This is most unequal. 'Twas about Fighting the Oath and Act were design'd, and not taking of Oaths : Therefore the denying to Swear, when there is a Denial to Fight or Plot, is no *Equitable Ground* for Commitment.

J. R. *Do you refuse to Swear ?*

W. P. Yes, and that upon better Grounds than those for which thou wouldst have me Swear, if thou wilt please to hear me.

J. R. *I am sorry you should put me upon this Severity ; it is no pleasant Work to me.*

W. P. These are but Words, it is manifest that this is a *Prepense Malice* ; thou hast several Times laid the Meetings for me, and this Day particularly.

J. R. *No, I profess I could not tell you would be there.*

W. P. Thine own *Corporal* told me, that you had intelligence at the Tower that I would be at *Wheeler-Street* to Day, almost as soon as I knew it myself : It is disingenuous and partial, I never gave thee Occasion for such Unkindness.

J. R. *I knew no such Thing, but if I had, I confess I should have sent for you.*

W. P. That might have been spar'd, I do heartily believe it.

J. R. I vow, Mr. Penn, I am sorry for you ; you are an ingenious Gentleman, all the World must allow you, and do allow you that ; and you have a plentiful Estate ; Why should you render your self unhappy, by associating with such a Simple People ?

W. P. I confess, I have made it my Choice to relinquish the Company of those that are *Ingeniously Wicked*, to converse with those that are *More Honestly Simple*.

J. R. *I wish you Wiser.*

W. P. And I wish thee Better.

J. R. *You have been as Bad as other Folks.*

W. P. When, and where ? I charge thee to tell the Company to my Face.

J. R. *Abroad, and at Home too.*

Sir John Shelden, (as is suppos'd) *No, No, Sir John, that's too much ; or Words to that Purpose.*

W. P. I make this bold Challenge to all Men, Women, and Children upon Earth, justly to accuse me with ever having seen me *Drunk*, heard me *Swear*, utter a *Curse*, or speak one *Obscene Word*, (much less that I ever made it my Practice.) I speak this to *God's Glory*, that has ever preserv'd me

me from the Power of those Pollutions, and that from a Child begot an Hatred in me towards them. But there is nothing more common, than when Men are of a more severe Life than ordinary, for *Loose Persons* to comfort themselves with the Conceit, *That they were once as they are*; and as if there were no Collateral, or Oblique Line of the Compass, or Globe, Men may be said to come from to the *Arctic Pole*, but directly and immediately from the *Antarctick*. Thy Words shall be thy Burden, and I trample thy Slander as Dirt under my Feet.

J. R. Well, Mr. Penn, I have no ill Will towards you; your Father was my Friend, and I have a great Deal of Kindness for you.

W. P. But thou hast an ill Way of expressing it. You are grown too high to consider the Plea of those you call your *Forefathers*, for *Liberty of Conscience* against the *Papists*, *Cranmer*, *Latimer*, *Ridley*, *Bradford*, &c. 'Twas then Plea good enough; My Conscience won't let me go to *Mass*, and My Conscience wills that I should have an *English Testament*.

But that single Plea for *Separation* then *Reasonable*, is now by you that pretend to succeed them, adjudg'd *Unreasonable* and *Passions*.

I say, since the only just Cause of the first Revolt from *Rome*, was a *Dissatisfaction in Point of Conscience*, you cannot reasonably persecute others who have Right to the same Plea, and allow that to be Warrantable.

J. R. But you do nothing but stir up the People to Sedition, and there was one of your Friends that told me, you preach'd Sedition, and medled with the Government.

W. P. We have the Unhappiness to be misrepresented, and I am not the least concern'd therein: Bring me the Man that will dare to justify this *Accusation* to my Face; and if I am not able to make it appear that it is both my Practice, and all my Friends, to instill Principles of *Peace* and *Moderation*, (and only to War against *Spiritual Wickedness*, that all Men may be brought to *Fear God* and work *Righteousness*.) I shall contentedly undergo the severest Punishment all your Laws can expose me to.

And, as for the King, I make this Offer, that if any Living can make appear, directly or indirectly, from the Time I have been called a *Quaker*, (since from thence you date me *Seditious*) I have contriv'd or acted any Thing injurious to His Person, or the *English Government*, I shall submit my Person to your utmost Cruelties, and esteem them all but a due Recompence. 'Tis hard, that I being Innocent, should be reputed Guilty; but the Will of God be done: I accept of Bad Report as well as Good.

J. R. Well, I must send you to Newgate for Six Months, and, when they are expir'd, you will come out.

W. P. Is that all? Thou well know'st a larger Imprisonment has not daunted me: I accept it at the Hand of the Lord, and am contented to suffer His Will. Alas, you mistake your Interest; you'll miss your Aim; this is not the Way to compass your Ends.

J. R. You bring your self into Trouble: You will be Heading of Parties, and drawing People after you.

W. P. Thou mistakest, there is no such Way as this to render Men Remarkable: You are angry that I am *Considerable*, and yet you take the very Way to make me so, by making this Bustle and Stir about one *Peaceable Person*.

J. R. I wish your adhering to these Things, do not convert you to something at last.

W. P. I would have thee and all Men to know, that I scorn that Religion which is not worth suffering for, and able to sustain those that are afflicted for it: Mine is, and whatever may be my Lot for my constant Profession of it, I am no ways careful, but resigned to answer the Will of God, by the Loss of Goods, Liberty, and Life itself. When you have all, you can have no more, and then perhaps you will be contented, and by that you will be better inform'd of our Innocency. Thy Religion persecutes, and Mine forgives: And I desire my God to forgive you all, that are concern'd in my

Com-

1670.

Commitment, and I leave you all in Perfect Charity, wishing your Everlasting Salvation.

J. R. Send a Corporal, with a File of Musqueteers along with him.

W. P. No, No, send thy Lacquey, I know the Way to Newgate.

*A Copy of the
Mittimus.*

A C O P Y of the *Mittimus.*

Middlesex. To the Keeper of His Majesty's Jail of *Newgate*, for the said County, or his Deputy there.

Locus Sigilli.

*J. Robinson.
Lieut. Tower.*

*Locus Sigilli.
Josi. Ricroft.*

W *Hereas William Penn, Esq, stands duly Convicted before us, whose Names are subscribed, Two of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the said County, upon the Oaths of Four Credible Witnesses, for assuming and taking upon him to Preach in a certain Unlawful Assembly, Conventicle or Meeting, holden upon this Day, being the Fifth Day of this Instant Month of February, under Colour or Pretence of Exercise of Religion, contrary to the Laws and Statutes of this Kingdom, within the Parish of Stepney, in the County of Middlesex; which Parish is within Five Miles, and less, of the City of London: And thereupon we tendred unto him the said William Penn, the Oath prescribed in and by an Act of this present Parliament, made in the Seventeenth Year of His Majesty's Reign, entituled, An Act for restraining Non-Conformists from inhabiting in Corporations: Which Oath he hath refused to take and subscribe.*

These are therefore in His Majesty's Name, to will and require you forthwith, upon Sight hereof, to receive into your Custody the Body of the said William Penn, (whom we send you herewith) and him there safely to keep, without Bail or Mainprize, for the Space of Six Months; for which this shall be your Warrant. Given under our Hands and Seals the Fifth Day of February, Anno Domini, 1670.

*Vera Copia, per Robert Warner,
Clerk of Newgate.*

His Employment in Prison.

Being in Prison, he shortned the *Hours of Confinement*, which Inactivity would think tedious, by a *Continual Employment*, and writ several Treatises, particularly,

1. *The Great Case of Liberty of Conscience*, once more briefly debated and defended.

2. *Truth rescued from Imposture*, or a brief Reply to a meer Rhapsody of Lies, Folly and Slander, but a pretended Answer to the Trial of *W. Penn* and *W. Mead*.

3. *A Cautionary Postscript* to his Book call'd *Truth Exalted*.

4. *A Serious Apology* for the Principles and Practices of the People called Quakers, against the Malicious Aspersions, Erroneous Doctrines, and Horrid Blasphemies of *Thomas Jenner*, and *Timothy Taylor*, Two Presbyterian or Independent Preachers, in their Book entituled *Quakerism Anatomiz'd*.

This *Jenner* hoping to make a Market of his Book, went up and down to the Houses of many Gentlemen to present them; and, as *W. P.* relates it, 'Some gave him a Crown, some Two, some a Piece: Among others, he had the Confidence and Avarice to go to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland to present one: His Secretary carried it to him, who turning it over, observed many Black Charges of foul and most Pernicious Errors to Religion and Civil Government, (as laid down.) The Parson still waiting (for an Alms) the Secretary thought he had sufficiently favoured him in delivering his Book, but not understanding the Priest's Aim, that is *Lucre* (the Old Priest's Sin) was prest to tell his Lord, that he waited for His Excellencies Benevolence: The Secretary was so civil to answer his Desire, but when the Lord-Lieutenant understood his Drift, he return'd the Book to

the

Thomas Jenner's Covetous Practices in spreading his Books.

the Parson, with this Answer, *That he was sorry to hear that the Quakers held such ill Principles (if what he writ of them was True) but the Tares and the Wheat must grow together, till the Time of the Harvest, or Day of Judgment.* So the Parson was corrected for his Baseness, and disappointed of the Great Bone he crept thither for. Invalid of *J. Faldo's* Vindication, pag. 172.

The Answer our Author gave to these Men, met with a General Acceptation, and it was reported, that *Jenner* vent himself to Death at it in a little Time after.

In the Time of his Imprisonment, the Parliament being about to take Measures for enforcing with greater Severity the aforesaid *Conventicle Act*, He, whose Freedom of Spirit, a Prison could not confine from advocating the Cause of Liberty, writ the following Paper, directed

To the High COURT of PARLIAMENT.

*His Letter to
the High Court
of Parliament.*

FOrasmuch as it hath pleased you to make an *Act*, intituled, An *Act* for suppressing Seditious Conventicles, the Dangerous Practices of Seditious Sectaries, &c. And that under Pretence of Authority from it, many have taken the ungodly Liberty of plundering, pillaging, and breaking into Houses, to the Ruin and Detriment of whole Families, not regarding the Poor, the Widow and the Fatherless, beyond all President or Excuse; and that we are inform'd it is your Purpose instead of Relaxing your Hand, to supply the Defects of that *Act* by such Explanatory Clauses as will inevitably expose us to the Fury and Interest of our several Adversaries, that under Pretence of answering the Intents of the said *Act*, will only gratify their Private Humours, and doubtless extend it beyond its Original Purpose, to the utter Destruction of us and our Suffering Friends.

We therefore esteem our selves obliged in Christian Duty, once more to remonstrate,

First, That we own Civil Government, or Magistracy, as God's Ordinance for the Punishment of Evil Doers, and the Praise of them that do well; and tho' we cannot comply with those Laws, that prohibit us to worship God according to Our Consciences, as believing it to be His alone Prerogative to preside in Matters of Faith and Worship, yet we both own, and are ready to yield Obedience to Every Ordinance of Man, relating to Human Affairs, and that for Conscience-Sake.

Secondly, That we deny and renounce as an Horrible Impiety, all Plots and Conspiracies, or to promote our Interest, or Religion, by the Blood and Destruction of such as Dissent from us, or yet those that persecute us.

Thirdly, That in all Revolutions, we have demeaned our selves with much Peace and Patience, (disowning all contrary Actions) notwithstanding the numerous Provocations of Cruel and Ungodly Men, which is a Demonstration of our Harmless Behaviour, that ought not to be of little Moment with you.

Fourthly, That as we have ever liv'd most peaceably under all the various Governments that have been since our first Appearance (notwithstanding we have been as their Anvil to smite upon) so we do hereby signify that it is our Fixt Resolution to continue the same, that where we cannot actually obey, we patiently shall suffer, (leaving our innocent Cause with GOD, not daring to love our Lives unto the Death, for our Blessed Testimony's Sake,) thereby manifesting to the whole World, that we Love GOD above all, and our Neighbours as our selves.

If this prevails not with you, to suspend your Thoughts of reinforcing your former *Act*, we do desire that we, or some of our Friends, may receive a free Hearing from you, (as several of us had upon the first *Act* for Uniformity) having many Great and Weighty Reasons to offer against all such severe Proceedings, to the End all Wrong Measures of us and of our Principles may be rectified, and that you being better inform'd of both, may remove our heavy

Burdens,

1671.

Burdens, and let the Oppressed go free, for such Moderation will be well-pleasing both to GOD and Good Men.

From us who are now Prisoners at Newgate (for Conscience-Sake) on the Behalf of our selves, and all our Suffering Friends in England, &c.

Newgate, Second
Month, 1671.

W. Penn, and several others.

The Abusiveness of the Keepers of Newgate to the Quakers.

The Keepers of Newgate being at this Time very abusive to the Quakers there imprison'd (for honest Men bringing less Grift to the Jailor's Mill, than Riotous Debauchees, are hardly welcome Guests) he writ a Letter by Way of Complaint to the Sheriffs, who, that Year, were Men of Good Temper and Moderation, being as follows,

His Letter to the Sheriffs of London.

To the SHERIFFS of London.

FRIENDS,

THO' we are a People the Plainness of whose Principles will not admit of Vain Compliments, yet are we by them required to express our Gratitude, and we must confess that since your being in Office, we have receiv'd many Instances of your Kindness, for which you never will be condemned of God or Virtuous Men, as well as that we send you by the Bearer our Acknowledgments.

This done, we think fit to let you know, that tho' we are in a distinct House, yet not in a distinct Capacity with meer Felons, unless it be, that they have a Free Prison and we have none; for the Keeper is so far from shewing us that Common Respect, or we enjoy that which differenced us from Malefactors, that we are not less restrain'd, if not so much abused, for one of us desiring Liberty to fetch some Beer, the Turnkey thrust him back, calling him Loggerhead, Puppy, Rogue, &c. and that to several others.

In short, we are not willing to be Bondsmen at our own Cost (not for the Value of our House-Rent, with other additional Expences) but for our Testimony against the insulting Menaces and Extortions of some of the Jailers, who would cast us into the Common Stinking Jail, and therefore are resolv'd to undergo that Severity, which is all at present from those that have wrong'd no Man, but fear God, and have Peace with him,

Newgate, Third
Month, 1671.

Your True Friends, W. P. &c.

About this Time also a certain Roman Catholick having expressed in a Letter to him much Heat and Resentment, on Account of somewhat he had written against the Doctrines of their Church, he returned him the following Answer,

His Answer to a Roman Catholick.

My ingenious Friend,

I Am perswaded I was cooler when I read thy Letter, than thou wast when thou writ'st it, if I may have so much Credit with thee, and you Catholicks are famous for Believing (tho' it be you know not what) I do declare my End of animadverting upon that palliated Confession, was no other than of presenting to the World, the Catholick True Creed, and I shall avouch the Authorities.

My Ignorance in that Matter, will be best shewn by the Temper and better Reasons and Quotations of some Romanists; but it was ill offer'd, and a Token of more Indiscretion than I thought thee capable of, to shew so much Heat and Displeasure in rebuking mine; but, above all, to affirm my Ignorance invincible, and yet to offer me a Friend of thine to help to rectify my mistaken Understanding, is a Contradiction that may need my Charity.

Charity. However, methinks there can be no Reason in the World, why thou shouldst express so much *Unkindness* in thy Letter, since my *Ignorance* hath been so beneficial to the *Roman Cause*; (but if mine han't, there's one hath.) *Scolding* I utterly abhor, and have been ever bred a Step above so great *Rudeness*, but I perceive some Men esteem it *Spleen* to divulge theirs. I can only say, that the *Romish* I meant I did not intend to proclaim to be my Friend *L.——*, and am sorry his Concern should do it: It was the *Gall'd Horse* that was ever most apt to wince. I am so far from baulking an Encounter with any of thy *Friends*, that, if thou pleasest, I desire he may be either *Priest*, or *Jesuit*, 'tis my *Choice*; by which thou mayst understand, I am not *Conscious* to myself, either of *Fear* or *Ignorance*, though thou or thy *Friend* shews no less, that dares not confer in a *Free Auditory*: For my own Part, I have no Reason to embrace so unreasonable a *Proposition*, till my *Religion* can furnish me with all the *Revenge* that a *Roman Catholick's* can; if he please to come, each having One or Two Hearers on his own Side, I shall frankly accept his *Visit*, and believe it, that every one that comes from thee, shall find a very *Candid Reception*. By a *Protestant*, I mean that Man who denies the *Common Errors* charg'd, and justly too, upon the *Romish Church*: Next, I claim a Share in that Notion, *Negatively*, not as confessing all that some *Protestants*, vulgarly so called, hold, but denying with them the *Authority*, *Antiquity*, and *Orthodoxy* of the *Romish Church*, and by this in short thou mayst receive an Account of the Two Things.

If I did not proceed upon some *Undeniable Principles*, I suppose I may collect thus much, that I proceeded upon some *Deniable Principles*, as it is a great Truth, for I went upon a Discovery of a *Romish One's* coucht under the *dubious Phrases* of a *Mongrel Protestant*. 'Twas too uncharitable to expect all that might be said Methodically from so short a Discourse; and when led from it by the *Pamphlet* answered. I know not what *Old Fashion'd Stuff* that is I am charg'd to have reviv'd; but it is not unknown to thee, I am no Lover of that *New Fashion*, and am as great a Lover of that deserted *Old One*. I grant that *Protestants* (as they call themselves) have much quitted their former Way of arguing with those of the *Romish Faith*, but wouldst thou know the Reason of it; not because that was less *invincible*, or *unveiling*, but because they would expose themselves too much to other *Separatists*, that might employ their own Arguments against you, against them: But this doth no Way render me *Culpable*, but the more plain and ingenious to abet the *Protestant Religion* upon the first *Basis*: And I stand amaz'd to think, that so ingenious a Person as thy self, should ever play the Bigot for a *Religion* that never yet dare stand the *Test* of being read in *known*, I mean in *Vulgar Languages*. I am so far from thinking this enough, that I am but the more warmly resolved to prosecute my Design of publishing my *larger Tract*, and the rather that thou mayst read *Principles*, and I hope sure Footing too. Indeed, I am sorry that after I have defended myself against that *Apprehension* of incensing any against you, thou shouldst express so much *Persecution* in a Letter, that I look upon it as an *Earnest* of a *Romish Smithfield Bargain*.

Take this *abrupt Answer*, and believe that I am by my Principle, to write as well for *Toleration* for the *Romanists*, as for thy *True Friend*,

To R. Lany,
Newgate, 1671.

W. P.

His Six Months Imprisonment in *Newgate* being expired, he was set at Liberty, and shortly after went over into *Holland* and *Germany*; of his Ministry and Services at this Time in those Countries, some Account is given by himself in the Beginning of his *Subsequent Travels* into those Parts, herein after inserted.

His Discharge
from New-
gate.

1671.

R. Charles II.
issues a Declaration for Liberty of Conscience.

1672.

His first Marriage.

On the 15th of the First Month, 1671, came forth *King Charles the Second's Declaration of Indulgence to Tender Consciences*, in Matters of Religion, and thereupon near Five Hundred of the People called *Quakers*, who had been long imprisoned on a *Premunire*, were released, and a Stop was put to the *Violence of Persecution* for a Time.

In the Beginning of the Year 1672, and the 28th of his Age, our *Author* took to Wife, *Guhelma Maria Springett*, Daughter of Sir *William Springett*, formerly of *Darling* in *Sussex*, who was kill'd in the Time of the *Civil Wars* at the Siege of *Bamber*: His Widow was afterward married to *Isaac Pennington*, of *Peters-Chalfont* in *Buckinghamshire*, in whose Family her said Daughter was brought up; A Young Woman, whom a *Virtuous Disposition*, joyn'd to a *Comely Personage*, render'd well accomplished. He had Issue by her several Children, one of whom is yet living.

Soon after his Marriage, pitching upon a convenient Habitation at *Rickmersworth* in *Hertfordshire*, he resided there with his Family, often visiting the Meetings of Friends, and returning Home again.

In the Seventh Month this Year, he took a Journey to visit his Friends in *Kent*, *Sussex* and *Surrey*; of which his own Memorandums furnish us with an Observation of that singular Industry which the *Free-Ministers* of the GOSPEL exercise in the Discharge of their Office; for in the Space of Twenty One Days, He, with His Companion under the like Concern, were present at, and preached to as many Assemblies of People at distant Places, viz. *Rocheſter*, *Canterbury*, *Dover*, *Deal*, *Falkſtone*, *Aſhford*, and other Places in *Kent*; at *Lewis*, *Horſham*, *Stenning*, &c. in *Sussex*; and at *Charlewood* and *Rygate* in *Surrey*. Great was their Service in these Counties: Their Testimonies effectual to the strengthening of their Friends, silencing of *Gainſayers*, and to a General Edification, were received by the People with Joy and Openness of Heart; and themselves in the Performance of their Duty, fill'd with *Spiritual Consolation*. Our Author gives this Account of their last Meeting in that Journey, being at *Rygate*: *The Lord ſea'd up our Labours and Travels according to the Deſire of my Soul and Spirit, with his Heavenly Refreshments, and Sweet Living Power and Word of Life unto the Reaching of all, and conſolating our own Hearts abundantly.* And concludes his Narrative with these Words: *And thus hath the Lord been with us in all our Travels for His TRUTH, and with His Blessings of Peace are we returned, which is a Reward beyond all Worldly Treasure.*

In the Ninth Month this Year being at Home again, he writ to one *Dr. Haſſert*, a Physician at *Embsen* in *Germany*, cautioning him against resting at Ease in the outward Courts of Profession, and exhorting to a Sincere Obedience to the Light and Spirit of CHRIST, which gives the True and Saving Knowledge. * The Letter itself, worthy the Perusal, we insert in the Appendix.

At this Time sundry Opposers, some of whom being Dissenters themselves, had enough to do in Time of Persecution, by a Cautious Privacy, which they call'd Christian Prudence, to secure their own Heads from the Storm the Quakers weather'd, began, under the Sunshine of the King's Indulgence to peep out, and by gainsaying the TRUTH, to make its Defence necessary: So that our Author, who never turn'd his Back in the Day of Battle, had Plenty of Controversial Exercise for his Pen, the Remainder of this Year, and the two next ensuing, in which we shall present our Reader with a short List of the several Adversaries he encounter'd.

First, A Nameless Author, who writ a Book call'd, *The Spirit of the Quakers tried*, and was answer'd by him in a Treatise, entituled, *The Spirit of Truth vindicated*.

Secondly, *John Reeve* and *Lodowick Muggleton*, a Pair of Pretenders to wonderful Revelations, which Reeve, who compar'd himself to *Moses*, asserted he had received immediately from Heaven, and was commanded to communicate to Muggleton, whom he likened to *Aaron*: These Men made no small Stir, and with their Fond Imaginations drew some People after them: Compassion to their deluded Followers, induc'd our Author to detect those

He dwells at Rickmersworth.

His Travels into Kent and Sussex.

He writes to Dr. Hasbert a Physician at Embsen.

* Ap. No. III.

Other Dissenters opposing the Quakers.

A Nameless Author.

Reeve and Muggleton.

those *Impostors*, in a Book entituled, *The New Witnesses prov'd Old Hereticks*. He sent one of those Books to *Muggleton*, with the following Letter.

1672.

Rickmerfworth, 15th of the 10th Month, 1672.

L. Muggleton !

THE Sense of thy Ungodly and Blasphemous Practices, (though otherwise an Adversary of little Moment) and their Influence upon some poor, miserable, dark and ignorant Souls, begot in me a Desire to detect thee, that being laid open to the View of such as foolishly think thy Dreams and Impostures worth a viewing, and which is worse, a believing too ; God may be justified in their Judgment, and my self clear of their Blood in the Day of the Lord. For this Purpose have I publish'd the Discourse I send thee, if it should not otherwise prevail with them to reject thy Fables. And Lodowick, I could wish for thy Soul's Sake, that thou might'st through true and deep Repentance, come to find Forgiveness for all thy provoking Presumptions, which have kindled the dreadful Displeasure of the Eternal GOD against thee : For I should more rejoyce at thy Conversion than Destruction. But whether thy Day be not over, I leave with God. However, O the Anguish, Woe, and Eternal Misery, that will be the Recompence of such as go on thus obstinately, after the blind and sottish Imaginations of their own filthy dreaming Hearts : Certainly their End will be Endless Pain, from the never dying Worm in the Conscience, when all their foolish and unprofitable Concoits shall vanish as the Smoke.

His Letter to
Muggleton.

For Lodowick Muggleton, an Accuser
of the Brethren, False Prophet,
and Impostor.

W. P.

Thirdly, *John Morse* of *Watford*, whose Defamations of the *Quakers*, and *William Penn* in particular, obliged him in their and his own Defence, to write a Book call'd, *Plain Dealing with a Traducing Anabaptist*.

John Morse:

Fourthly, *Henry Hedworth*, who had writ a Paper call'd *Controversy ended* ; to which *W. Penn* return'd an Answer, entituled, *A Winding Sheet for Controversy ended*.

Henry Hedworth.

Fifthly, *John Faldo*, an Independent Preacher near *Barnet* : He perceiving some of his Hearers drawing off to the *Quakers*, and being sensible that every Sheep he lost, carried away *Wool* on his Back, was grievously incensed : At length he gave his Fury Vent, in a Book entituled, *Quakerism No Christianity*. To this our Author replied, in a Treatise called, *Quakerism a New Nickname for Old Christianity*. *Faldo* in a little Time after, publish'd a *Vindication* of his former Book, and *William Penn* as nimbly ply'd him with a *Rejoinder* to his, entituled, *The Invalidity of John Faldo's Vindication*. To this *Faldo* made no Reply, but the next Year sent our Author a Challenge, to which he returned the following Answer.

John Faldo:

J. Faldo ?

I Received a Letter from thee, with a Kind of Nameless Challenge inclosed : Just before it came, I had seen one at a Bookseller's, but thought it not worth my Notice, because any Body might have pickt up such a Paper for Gain, out of the Contents of thy First Book twice answer'd : But since thou own'st it, I shall give my Answer in Print. For thy Letter, it is Civil, I wish all thy Procedure had grated no more : I love, and shall at any Time convenient, embrace (God assisting) a Sober Discussion of Principles of Religion ; for truly I aim at nothing more, than Truth's Triumph, though in my own Abatement. But first, most, if not all, these Things mentioned in thy Paper, are now in Controversy between T. H. and us : And I freely consent, that thou shouldst engage us at the same Time, as Confederates in the same Work. Next, as to Personal Reflections, I know not what thou wouldst be at, nor how far thou extend'st those Words. If only to meer Personal Criminations,

His Answer to
John Faldo's
Challenge.

not

1672.

not touching upon Principles, nor bespattering our Profession, I am content they should be laid aside, at least for the present. But since we are represented so Ridiculous and Impious, by T. H. yet but as Real Quakers, which is Matter of Fact, and that we have so charged him; and that He, and His Abettors have engag'd to us to come next to the Matter of Fact: We do expect they should fulfil their Promise: And it is our present Resolution to stick there: Our Charge was Yesterday read, by that we will abide: No more, but Good Will to thee and all Men,

Thy Friend, W. P.

After this Faldo publish'd a Paper, call'd, *A Curb to W. Penn's Confidence*, to which W. Penn answer'd, in *A Return to John Faldo's Reply*, which shut up the Controversy between them.

1673.

Henry Hallywell.

Sixthly, Henry Hallywell: In Answer to a Book of his call'd, *An Account of Familism*, as it is revived and propagated by the Quakers, Our Author publish'd a Treatise entituled, *Wisdom justified of Her Children*, which he dedicated to the Justices of Peace in the County of Sussex.

Tho. Hicks.

Seventhly, Thomas Hicks, a Baptist Preacher: This Man forg'd *A Dialogue between a Christian and a Quaker*, in which by making the Quaker reason weakly enough for an easy Confutation, he [sav'd his own Path to Victory: An effectual Way of Calumniating, for many believing it a Real Discourse, entertain'd strange Notions of the Quakers. Upon this, our Author wrote the First Part of that excellent Piece, entituled, *The Christian Quaker and His Divine Testimony Vindicated*, wherein the Slanders of this and other Adversaries were obviated: But notwithstanding Hicks still wrought at his Anvil, and lengthened out his former Forgery by a Second Part, call'd, *A Continuation*. Wherefore W. Penn gave him a particular Answer, in a Book call'd, *Reason against Railing, and Truth against Fiction*. After which, Hicks hammer'd out a Third Dialogue, which W. P. answer'd in a Book entituled, *The Counterfeit Christian detected, and the Real Quaker justified*: To which Hicks made no Reply.

One and twenty Learned and Reverend Divines.

Eighthly, One and Twenty Learned and Reverend Divines: That Number of Men so called, had writ and subscribed a *Commendatory Epistle* by Way of Preface, to a New Edition of Faldo's Old Book, call'd, *Quakerism no Christianity*. Our Author thereupon publish'd, *A Just Rebuke to One and Twenty Learned and Reverend Divines*, the Preface to which, being very observable, deserves the Reader's Perusal.

Samuel Grevil.

Ninthly, Samuel Grevil, a Priest near Banbury, who had publish'd *A Discourse against the Testimony of the Light within*, to whom W. P. replied, in a Book call'd, *Urim and Thummim: Or the Apostolical Doctrines of Light and Perfection maintained*, &c.

A Nameless Author.

Tenthly, A Nameless Author, one that had been some Time before disowned by the Quakers, for a most irreverent Practice of keeping on the Hat in Time of Prayer in their Publick Assemblies, wrote a Pamphlet call'd, *The Spirit of the Hat*, to which our Author entituled his Reply, *The Spirit of Alexander the Copper-Smith lately revived, now justly rebuk'd*. The aforesaid Nameless Author, or some other like-minded, soon after publish'd another Piece in Opposition to the Church Order and Discipline used among the Quakers, to whom W. Penn answered in a Book call'd, *Judas and the Jews combin'd against CHRIST and His Followers*.

Sundry remarkable Letters.

Beside the aforesaid Books of Controversy, he penn'd about this Time several Remarkable Letters, which, though some of them were written to Private Persons, yet being of a Publick Concern, we have inserted in the Appendix, viz.

* Ap. No. IV.

* 1. To Justice Flemming, a Justice of the Quorum, and Deputy Lieutenant in Westmorland.

* Ap. No. V.

* 2. To Mary Pennymen, on Occasion of some Offence she had taken at his Book call'd, *Judas and the Jews*.

* Ap. No. VI.

* 3. A Letter of Consolation, to suffering Friends in Holland, Germany, &c.

* 4. To

* 4. To the Little Flock and Family of God in the United Netherlands.

1673.

* 5. To Friends in Maryland, relating to his Solicitations on their Behalf, with the Lord Baltimore, &c.

* Ap. No. VII.

* 6. To John Collenges, in Defence of his Book called, *The Sandy Foundation Shaken*.

* Ap. No. VIII.

* 7. To J. H. and his Companions, Justices in Middlesex, on Occasion of their Attempts to break up a Meeting in that County.

* Ap. No. IX.
* Ap. No. X.

In the Year 1674, the Parliament having censur'd the late Declaration of Indulgence as an undue Extention of the King's Prerogative, Persecution was revived, and some *Officious Justices* enforc'd the *Penal Laws* against Dissenters with *Extream Rigour*; one of whom our *Author* sharply reprov'd in the following Letter.

1674.

A fresh Persecution.

To ——— Bowls, Esq; in Wilts.

TO oppress an innocent Man, is so unrighteous and dishonourable, that he who regards his own Reputation here, and the Judgment of Almighty God hereafter, would never do it. How far thou art concern'd in such a Kind of Procedure, (at least by the Instigation of others) the Story of Thomas Pleafe sufficiently declares. I was willing to let thee know what the King pleas'd to say in a Case of the like Nature, to a Justice that lately disturbed some Meetings in or near Cambridgehire. The King ask'd him, By what Authority he gave those Dissenters that Disquiet? He answer'd, By the Laws. The King replied, The Execution of them was by him suspended. And farther gave this severe Rebuke, I thought, said he, there had been but one King in England: So dismiss the Justice with this Sort of Entertainment, and I think the Loss of his Justiceship, reputing such busy Medlers the Greatest Enemies of his Interest, and the Peace of his Kingdom. 'Tis true, the Declaration is call'd in, but 'tis as true that the Parliament intended a more Legal and Establish'd Indulgence; which though not accomplish'd (through the Multiplicity of other Affairs, and not because they had no Mind to do it) yet the Whole was left in the King's Bosom, who has never since declar'd any Dislike or Discontinuance of the Purport of His Declaration; Certainly nothing but Prejudice or Detestable Avarice, could induce any to put their Hands to such unworthy Work: I do desire thee to let the Poor Man have his Goods, so unchristianly and illegally taken from him, restored; or else we shall be necessitated to make our Complaint to the King, which shall be speedily and effectually done: We have been plunder'd and pillag'd enough already: The King and Law are ready both to our Protection, and their severe Rebuke, that so inhumanly overrun the Property and Privilege of an Englishman.

His Letter to
—Bowls, Esq;

I write this in Love to dissuade, not to menace or enrage, and if it be receiv'd in the same Candor, it will have a good Issue, which I heartily desire, not only for my Friends sake, but thine, for indeed it is beneath the Spirit of a True Gentleman, as well as contrary to that of a True Christian, to be at the Beck of an ungodly Crew of Illegal Informers.

W. P.

Rickmersworth,
1674.

He did also this Year represent to the King himself, the Cruel and Illegal Proceedings of some Justices and others, in the following Letter.

To the KING.

NOTwithstanding that it pleas'd the King by His Declaration, to dispense with the present Execution of Ecclesiastical Penal Laws, and that the Parliament (though disgust'd at the Manner of granting that Liberty thereby procured to Dissenters) express'd their Liking of a Toleration to

His Letter to
K. Charles II.

1674.

to *Dissenters*, and that a *Bill of Ease* was brought in and lies now depending till the next Sitting of Parliament, yet some Justices of the Peace in *Somersetshire*, have been very severe in the Revival and Prosecution of that Act, which hath so long slept, nay, have outdone the sharpest Part of it by most *Extrajudicial Proceedings*, as countenancing of *perjured Persons* to inform, Fining Persons that were never there, levying Fines without Warrants, (as *inferior Officers* say) and that to the Breaking open of Locks and Bolts, and taking sometimes Double what the *Fine* it self amounts to, and such as are not able to answer them, send to Prison as *Rioters*: Several Families are well nigh ruined, their Houses laid waste, and the *Creditors* disappointed of their Dues, tho' before sufficient to answer all.

Particularly, there is one *Humsheer*, Town-clerk of *Bridgewater*, an uncivil, envious, and persecuting Man; and as *Renegadoes* use to be worse than all the Town besides; he us'd in *O. Cromwel's* Days to be active, and read *Proclamations* against the King; now none more violent for Him, (indeed against Him) and the Good of His Kingdom.

One *William Bull* and Colonel *Stawell* Justices, are also furious to the Ruin of us. They have one or both, not only suffer'd, but encouraged such lewd *Persons*, to act thus unrighteously toward us; and when we would find out the Names of the *Informers*, to the End they might be punished for *Perjury*, in that they swear *Horrid Falsities* for *Truths*, they, or the Clerks withhold the Records of *Convictions*, until the very last Day of the Sessions, that we may be wrong'd without Remedy: We therefore with all due Respect, do intreat that we may have some Letter of *Check* to such Persons, that they may not go unproved of Superiors, in Actions that not only defy the King's *Clemency*, and His well known Purpose of *Liberty*, but the wholesome Laws of *England*, that are both *Jealous* and *Careful* of the Properties of *Englishmen*. And if it be desired, we are able to Produce and Prove a long *Schedule* of the *Illegal Proceedings* of these Men.

W. P.

He writes on
Behalf of his
Suffering
Friends, to the
Senate of
Embsden.

The same Zeal and Affection which made him a constant Advocate for his Friends at Home, led him also to solicit on their Behalf, with Foreign Powers and States, under whose Government they suffer'd *Persecution*. For there was a Decree made this Year at *Dantzick*, for banishing the *Quakers*; and a Law of the like Nature at *Embsden*, where that People had also undergone other grievous Sufferings: Whereupon he writ to the Senate of *Embsden*, an *Epistle in Latin*, which hath been since translated into *English*, and is in the Collection of his Works.

He publishes a
Treatise of
Oaths.

The Persecution at Home now waxing hot again, and many *Quakers* being imprisoned for refusing the Oath of Allegiance, our Author publishes their Reasons against *Swearing at all*, and confirms the same by numerous Authorities, in a Book, entituled, *A Treatise of Oaths*.

England's present
Interest.

This Year also he publisht a *Choice Piece* entituled, *England's present Interest discovered*, wherein, to allay the Heats of contending Parties, he shews the Consistency of a *General Liberty of Conscience*, with the *Peace of the Kingdom*, discovering at once the *Generous Charity of a Real Christian*, and the *Noble Spirit of a True Patriot*.

The continued
Cry of the Op-
pressed.

Soon after this he presented to the King and both Houses of Parliament, a Book called, *The continued Cry of the Oppressed for Justice*, giving an Account of the unjust and cruel Proceedings against the Persons and Estates of many of the People called *Quakers*, with a Postscript of the *Nature, Difference*, and *Limits* of Civil and Ecclesiastical Authority.

In the Eighth Month this Year being at *London*, he writ the following remarkable Letter to a *Roman Catholic*.

My

1675.

My Friend,

Christ Jesus did redeem a People with His most Precious Blood: And the ancient Church of Rome among other Churches, was One: But as the Sea loses and gets, and as Prosperity changes its Station, so the Chastity of the Church of Rome is lost, she having taken in Principles and Discipline that are not of Christ; neither can be found in Holy Scripture.

If thou wast to die, wouldst thou not leave a plain Will to thy Children? So have Christ and His Apostles in the Scripture: Read, and thou mayst behold the Simplicity, Purity, Meekness, Patience, and Self-denial of these Churches and Christians. They are Christ's, that take up His Cross to the Glory and Spirit of this World; which the Church of Rome lives in: Behold the Pride, Luxury, Cruelty, that hath for Ages been in that Church, even the Heads and Chieftanes thereof. 'Tis a Mistake to think that Christ's Church, that has lost its Heavenly Qualifications, because it once was: What is become of Antioch, Jerusalem, &c. both Churches of Christ, and before Rome. Nor is it Number; the Devil has that; nor Antiquity; for he has that; but Christlikeness and Conformity to Jesus, who hath divorced those that have adulterated. And though he had left but Two or Three (though there were Thousands) yet would he be in the Midst of them: And they have been in the Wilderness, People crying in Sackcloth: The Generality declin'd from Christ's Spirit, and it was lost, and the Teachings of it: And then came up Form without Power, and a Wrathful Spirit to propagate it: And this made up the Great Whore that look'd like the Lamb's Bride, Christ's Church, but was not; which God will Judge: Remember that God was not without a Church, though the Natural Church and Priesthood of the Jews apostatized: So in the Case of the Church of Rome.

Now, is the Lord raising up His Old Power, and giving His Spirit, and moving upon the Waters, the People, that out of that State all may come, and know God in Spirit, and Christ His Son, whom he has sent into People's Hearts, a True LIGHT. And my Friend, build not upon Fancies; nor the Traditions of Men; but CHRIST the sure Foundation, as He appears to thee in thy Conscience; that thou mayst feel His Power to redeem thee up to himself, out of the Earthly Sensual Spirit, to know thy Right Eye plucked out, the True Mortification: And this brings thee to the Church of the First-born, that is more Divine and Noble than an Outward Glittering Church, that is inwardly polluted. For know, as thou sowest, thou reapest, in the Great Day of Account. So, to God's Spirit in thy own Conscience do I recommend thee, that leads out of all Evil, and quickens thee to God as thou obeyest it, and makes thee a Child of God, and an Heir of Glory. I am in much haste, and in as much Love

Thy True Friend,

London 9th. 8ber.

1675.

W. Penn.

About this Time was a Controversy between the Famous Richard Baxter and our Author: They met at a convenient Place near Rickmersworth, and in the Presence of a numerous Auditory held a Dispute of Six or Seven Hours Continuance; but no Account thereof having ever been publish'd in Print (except some Hints given by Richard Baxter himself in his Life, Part 3. p. 174.) we know not the Particulars; but finding * several Letters written by W. Penn. to the said R. Baxter not long after, we have inserted them in the Appendix, and leave our Reader to make his own Observations upon them.

In the Twelfth Month this Year, one Matthew Hide, a Person that had been very troublesome in the Quakers Meetings, by opposing their Ministers in their Publick Testimony and Prayers, was taken sick, and on his Death-Bed, being under great Remorse of Conscience for what he had done, he could not be easy till he had sent for some of that People, and particularly

H

G. Whitehead,

His Letter to
a Roman Ca-
tholick.

A Dispute be-
tween him and
Richard Bax-
ter.

Ap. No. XI.
XII.
XIII.
XIV.
XV.

The Death of
Matthew
Hide.

1676.

He is made a
Proprietor of
West-Jersey.

G. Whitehead, to whom he expressed great Sorrow for the Abuses done them; declaring them to be the *Children of God*, and begging Mercy of the LORD for his wilful Opposition to known Truth in gainsaying them; and so died penitent. This gave Occasion to our Author to publish as a Warning to other *Opposers*, a Narrative entituled, *Saul smitten to the Ground*.

In the Year 1676 he became one of the *Proprietors of West-Jersey in America*, and was instrumental in the first Colonizing of that Province by the *English*: For King Charles the Second having given the Propriety of that Country to the Duke of York; he granted the same to Sir George Berkley and the Lord Carteret, the former of whom sold his Part to one Edward Billing, a *Quaker*, whose Circumstances in the World afterward declining, he transferr'd his Right to W. Penn, Gawen Lawrey, and Nicholas Lucas, in trust for the Payment of his *Debts*; they accordingly allotted out and sold the Lands; and many People from England transporting themselves and settling there, in a few Years it became a Flourishing Plantation, and so continues. The chief Town of it, is Burlington, situate on the great River Delaware.—But we return to Religious Matters.

John Cheney
an Adversary.

One John Cheney near Warrington in Lancashire had writ several Books against the *Quakers*, which were replied to by Roger Haydock and William Gibson: In one of those Books, he made an Excursion upon our Author, about a Passage in his Answer to Faldo, which occasioned him in his own Defence to publish a Book call'd, *The Skirmisher defeated*, &c. the Success of which, answered its Title, for Cheney drew his Sword no more.

Two Protestant
Ladies in
Germany in-
spired with a
Sense of True
Religion.

About this Time it pleased God to inspire the Hearts of two Protestant Ladies of great Quality in Germany, with a Sense of the Follies and Vanities of the World, and to excite them to an earnest Enquiry after the Knowledge of himself. The one was, the Princess Elizabeth, Daughter of Frederick the Fifth, Prince Palatine of the Rhine, and King of Bohemia, Granddaughter to King James the First, and Sister to Prince Rupert, and the late Princess Sophia, King George's Mother. The other Anna Maria de Hornes, Countess of Hornes, a familiar Acquaintance of the said Princess. The Report of their Religious Inclination coming to our Author's Ears, who gladly embraced every Opportunity of watering the Growing Seeds of Virtue, he sent them a Letter of Encouragement and Consolation, exhorting those Noble Women to a Constancy and Perseverance in that Holy Way which the Lord had directed their Feet into. * The Letter it self, tho' large, deserving the Reader's Perusal, we insert in the Appendix.

* Ap. No.
xvi.

1677.

In the Year 1677, he travelled into Holland and Germany, of which an Account written and published by himself here followeth.

HIS TRAVELS in Holland and Germany.

THE PREFACE to the Reader.

THIS ensuing Journal of my Travels in Holland and Germany, in the Service of the Gospel of my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, was written for my own and some Relations, and particular Friends Satisfaction, as the long Time it hath lain silent doth show: But a Copy that was found amongst the late Countess of Conway's Papers, falling into the Hands of a Person that much frequented that Family, he was earnest with me, both by himself and others, to have leave to publish it for a common Good: Which, upon Perusal, I have found a Willingness to comply with, hoping that the Lord will make the Reading of it Effectual to some into whose Hands it may fall; as well those who have received a Dispensation of the same Ministry, for their Encouragement in their publick Service for God, as those who are under the same Ministry, unto Zeal and Faithfulness.

For

1677.

For it is the Glorious Gospel-Day in which God is exalting His Dear Son, as Prophet, Priest, and King, in the Hearts of His People. Oh, that the Nations would hear Him, their only Saving Health, and Israel's Great Shepherd! Who takes Care of His Sheep, that bear His Voice, and gives unto them that follow Him, in the Daily-Cross, unto Regeneration, Eternal Life. And who hath sent, and is sending forth His Servants to gather Home the Sheep that are gone astray in all Nations, that so there may be but One Shepherd, and One Sheepfold, according to the Glorious Promise made to these latter Times; in which he (said he) would be the Teacher of His People Himself; For He is Teaching Thousands, by the Light, Spirit and Grace of His Son CHRIST, in whom He is well pleased. To this, God hath sent forth His Servants in this Day, to turn all People, as God's Call and Visitation to the Nations. And blessed are all those that Harken to this Testimony, both Mediate-ly and Immediately.

For God is awaking Men to the Knowledge of His Glory in the Face, or Appearance of Christ, by His Spirit in their Hearts and Consciences, which reveals to Men the Father; yea, the deep Things of God.

Oh, that they would Hear, and Fear, and Learn the Things that make for their Eternal Peace! For if the Righteous scarcely are saved, where, O where, shall they appear that neglect so great Salvation! A Salvation that comes so near them, as to knock at the Door of their Hearts; that searches them and tries their Reins, and tells unto them their most Inward Thoughts; and brings a Line of Judgment over all their Words and Works. This is Christ Jesus the Light of the World, that was given of God for Salvation to the Ends of the Earth. He has enlightened all, and shines to all, and calls all, that they should see their Sins and be sorry for them, and forsake them, and take up their Daily-Cross and follow Him, whom God hath given for an Example, as well as a Propitiation for our Sins. And none can know Him to be their Propitiation that reject Him as their Example and Leader in their Lives and Conversations. Wherefore, Reader be Serious, Inward and Inquisitive for thy Soul's Sake. What Faith hast thou? One that overcomes the World or one that the Spirit of the World overcomes, which is not the Faith of God's Elect, without which we cannot please God? For that Faith works by Love; such a Love to God as will not offend Him, but seeks His Glory through a most willing Obedience to His Holy Will? Blessed are the Souls in which this Love dwells; for such have none in Heaven but God, nor in the Earth in Comparison of Him. As they receive all Good from Him, so they resign all up to Him; and tho' it be through many Tribulations that they must attain the Rest of God, yet as nothing can separate them from His Love, so neither can any Thing deprive them of their Reward in the End.

Wherefore, Reader, be thou persuaded to take thy Lot among that blessed Number, if thou art not yet one of them. Thou seest the Way to that Divine Privilege; walk in it; for the End Crowns all: If one of that Number, that have chosen God for their Portion, be Diligent, Zealous, and fervent in the Work and Service of God. Redeem thy Time and Run thy Race, with Care and Constancy; Looking to Jesus the Author, that he may be the Finisher of thy Faith. Remember who said, there are many Mansions prepared for the Faithful. Do we believe and look for another World? Let us not then live in this as if there were no other. Let our Eyes be upon our better World, and live here as Strangers that are but on our Way to our Eternal Home; that so we may Answer the End of God's Love, by working out the Salvation of our own Souls (by His Power) with Fear and Trembling; knowing God will Judge all, by Christ Jesus, according to the Deeds done in the Body.

Reader, this Journal is of a Religious Voyage, and has some Passages in it that may engage thy Soul to Seriousness, and let thee see how Good God is to those that go of His Holy Errands. Mayst thou be heartily affected with this Testimony of His Love and Presence with His People; and feel good Desires raised in thee to serve the Lord also, according to His Blessed Will, in thy Day, that Peace thou mayst know to thy Soul when Time here shall be no more. I am, Thy assured Friend in the Best Things,

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An ACCOUNT, &c.

The first Figure is the Day of the Month, the next the Month, and the last the Day of the Week. Worm.

22. 5. 1.
London.

23. 5. 2.
Colchester.

24. 5. 3.
Harwich.

25. 5. 4.

BEING the First Day of the Week, I left my Dear Wife and Family, at *Worminghurst* in *Suffex*, in the Fear and Love of God; and came well to *London* that Night.

The next Day, I employed my self on Friends Behalf, that were in Sufferings, till the Evening; and then went to my own Mother's in *Essex*.

The next Morning I took my Journey to *Colchester*, and met *George Wats* of *London* upon the Way; who returned with me, and came well to that Town that Evening.

We lodged at *John Furly's* the Elder, but had a blessed Meeting at *Jonathan Furly's* House that Night.

The next Morning early I left *Colchester*, and came to *Harwich* about Noon, accompanied with *George Wats* and *John Furly* the Elder, *William Talcoat*, and *J. Whiterly* of *Colchester*; where we found dear *G. F.* at *J. Vandewall's* House, with many more Friends.

After Dinner, we went all to the Meeting, where the Lord gave us a Blessed Earnest of his Love and Presence, that should be with us in this Voyage; For his Holy overcoming refreshing Power, did open all our Hearts, and many of our Mouths in Ministry, Prayer, and Praises, to the Magnifying of his own Name, and Truth in that Place.

The Meeting done, we returned to *John Vandewall's* House, where we took our Leave of Friends; that is to say, of the Friends of that Place, with others that came with us, or met us there: And so we went on Board of the *Pacquet Boat*; where (by the Special Favour of the Master of the *Pacquets* to me, having formerly served under my Father,) we had the best Accommodation given to us. Many of the Friends accompanied us to the Ship; not leaving us till all was fix'd, and then we parted in the Fellowship of Jesus.

Those that came over were *G. Fox*, *R. Barclay*, *G. K. G. Wats*, *J. Furly*, *W. Talcoat*, *J. Yeamans*, *E. K.* My self, with two of our Servants.

We set Sail about three in the Morning, being the Fifth Day of the Week; and got the Sixth Day at Night within half a League of the *Briel*.

We had good Service those two Days in the Ship with several Passengers, *French* and *Dutch*: And though they seemed at first to be shy of us, and to Slight us, yet at last their Hearts were much Opened in Kindness towards us, and the Universal Principle had Place.

The next Morning Friends were fetcht on Shore by a Boat of *Rotterdam*, with some Friends of that City, that came to the *Briel* to meet us. The Friends that came were *A. Sonneman*, *B. Furly*, and *S. Johnson*, *Vetteken*, with three Young Men that live at *B. Furly's* House.

After we had Eaten, we took Boat immediately for *Rotterdam*; where we arrived about Noon, and where many Friends came to see us, among whom we were comforted.

The next Day, being the First Day of the Week, we had two Meetings at *B. Furly's* House; whither resorted a great Company of People, some of them being of the considerablest Note of that City. And Oh, blessed be the true Word of Life that never faileth them that rest upon it, and abide in it! The Gospel was preached, the Dead were Raised, and the Living Comforted; and God, even our God, bore Heavenly Record to his only begotten Son in us: And Truth is honourable in the Eyes of several in that Place.

The next Day, being the Second Day of the Week, we spent in Visiting Friends from House to House, not in one Company, being lodged in several Quarters of the City. All our Visits were Precious Meetings; for indeed, for that End God brought us into this Land.

Several of us Dined and Supped that Day at two Great Men's Houses, where we had blessed Opportunities to make known unto them what was the Hope of our Glory; that Mystery, which to the Gentiles is now revealing

26. 5. 5.
27. 5. 6.

Briel.
28. 5. 7.

Rotterdam.

29. 5. 1.

30. 5. 2.

vealing, even Christ Jesus the Light and Life of the World manifested in us.

The next Day being the Third Day of the Week, G. F. J. F. W. T. and my Self, after having broken our Fast at A. Sonnemans, took Boat for Leyden; where we came that Night, in Order to be at Haerlem next Day at a Meeting appointed by G. F. and my Self from Rotterdam: Being accompanied by J. Bocliffs, J. Arents and J. Claus. that came from Amsterdam on purpose to conduct us thither.

At Haerlem we arrived about the 11th Hour; and went to the House of a good Old Man, that had long waited for, and is now come to behold the Consolation and Salvation of Israel.

After we had a little refresh'd our selves, we went to the Meeting; where the Lord gave us a blessed Opportunity, not only with Respect to Friends, but many sober Baptists and Professors, that came in, and abode in the Meeting, to the End: *Blessed be the Name of the Lord.*

The Meeting done, we went to Amsterdam, in Company with several Friends of that City, and of Alchmaer and Embden, who met us at the Meeting at Haerlem. We lodged at Gertruyd Dirick's House.

G. K. and his Wife, and R. B. stayed over the Fourth Day's Meeting at Rotterdam, and so came not till the next Day; which was the Day of the General Meeting of Friends in this Country.

The Fifth Day of the Week at G. D's House the general Meeting was held both of Men and Women: And the Lord who is setting up his own Kingdom by his own Power, owned us with his own blessed Presence, and opened us in that wisdom and Love, that all Things ended with Peace, great Concord and Comfort: Many Things being spoken, especially by our Dear Friend G. F. that were of good Service; and I hope, will dwell with them for ever.

These several Things agreed upon, being of good Savour and Report, I think fit here to insert them.

At the General Meeting of Friends at Amsterdam, the Second of the Sixth Month, 1677.

1. **B**E it known to all Men, that the *Power of God, the Gospel*, is the Authority of all our Mens and Womens Meetings; that every Heir of that Power is an Heir of that Authority, and so becometh a living Member of right of either of those Meetings, and of the Heavenly Fellowship and Order in which they stand: Which is not of Man, nor by Man.

2. That each Monthly Meeting have a Collection apart; and also that there be another Collection Quarterly at Amsterdam from each Meeting for general Services; and that it be not disposed of, but by the Consent of the said Quarterly Meeting.

3. It is agreed upon, that henceforth, a Yearly Meeting be held here at Amsterdam; unto which Friends in the Palatinate, Hambrough, Lubeck, and Frederickstadt, &c. be invited: Of which Meeting there shall be given Notice to the Friends of the Yearly Meeting at London, to be kept always on the fifth Day of that Week, which is fully the Third Week following after the Yearly Meeting at London.

4. It is also agreed upon, that henceforth this General Meeting is to be changed into a Quarterly Meeting: And that the first Quarterly Meeting hereafter shall be on the second fifth Day of the Ninth Month following, and so forth every Quarter on the second fifth Day of the Month. This second of the Ninth Month is to be this first Quarterly Meeting.

5. It is also agreed, that henceforth a Monthly Meeting in Friesland should be Established, as also at Rotterdam; and that on the second Second Day of each Month: And at Harlingen upon the third Third Day of the Month.

6. Further, that in the Interim, the Friends of Alchmaer, Haerlem, and Waterland, are to have their Monthly Meeting with Friends at Amsterdam: And to begin the said Meeting the sixth of the Seventh Month, and so forth;

Always

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31. 5. 3.
Leyden;

Haerlem;
1. 6. 4.

Amsterdam;

2. 6. 5.

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Always upon the first Second Day of the first Week of the Month at the Eighth Hour.

7. And further concerning Gospel Order : Though the Doctrine of Christ Jesus requireth his People to admonish a Brother or Sister twice, before they tell the Church ; yet that limiteth none, so as they shall use no longer Forbearance before they tell the Church : But that they shall not less than twice admonish their Brother or Sister, before they tell the Church. And it is desired of all, that before they publicly Complain, they wait in the Power of God to feel, if there is no more required of them to their Brother or Sister, before they expose him or her to the Church. Let this be weightily considered.

8. And farther, when the Church is told, and the Party admonishd by the Church again, and again, and he or she remain still unsensible and unreconciled ; let not Final Judgment go forth against him or her, till every one of the Meeting hath cleared his or her Conscience : That if any Thing be insisted upon any farther to visit such a Transgressor, they may clear themselves ; if possibly the Party may be reacht and saved. And after all are clear of the Blood of such an one ; Let the Judgment of Friends in the Power of God go forth against him or her, as moved for the Lord's Honour and Glory's Sake : That no Reproach may come or rest upon God's Holy Name, Truth and People.

9. As much as possible can be, let all Differences be ended by some Honest Friends ; and trouble not the Monthly or Quarterly Meetings with them : And if that will not do, proceed to your particular Monthly Meetings. But if they be not there ended neither ; then take aside Six Honest Friends out of the Quarterly Meeting, and let them hear and determine the Matter. And in Case any Person or Persons be so obstinate, as that they refuse the Sense and Love of Friends, and will not comply with them ; then to proceed towards them according to the Way of Truth in such Cases.

10. That all such, as behold their Brother or Sister in a Transgression, go not in a Rough, Light, or upbraiding Spirit to reprove or admonish him or her, but in the Power of the Lord and Spirit of the Lamb ; In the Wisdom and Love of the Truth, which suffereth thereby, to admonish such an Offender. So may the Soul of such a Brother or Sister be seasonably and effectually reach'd unto, and overcome, and have Cause to bless the Name of the Lord on their Behalf : And so a blessing may be rewarded into the Bosom of the Faithful and tender Brother or Sister that so admonisheth.

11. And be it known unto all, we cast out none from among us : For if they go from the Light, and Spirit, and Power in which our Unity is, they cast out themselves. And it has been our Way to admonish them, that they may come to the Spirit and Light of God which they are gone from, and so come into the Unity again. For our Fellowship standeth in the Light, which the World hateth, and in the Spirit which the World grieveth, vexeth and quencheth : And if they will not hear our Admonitions, the Light condemneth them ; and then goeth our Testimony out against them.

12. That no Condemnation is to go farther than the Transgression is known, and if he or she return and give forth a Condemnation against him or her self, (which is more desirable than that we should do it) this is a Testimony of his or her Repentance and Resurrection before God, his People and the whole World. As David when Nathan came to admonish him, *Psalm* 51.

13. That no Testimony by Way of Condemnation be given forth against any Man or Woman (whatever Crime they commit) before Admonition, and till such Time as they have had Gospel Order, according to Christ's Doctrine.

14. And if any Brother or Sister hear any Report of any Brother or Sister, Let him or her go to the Party, and know the Truth of the Report ; and if true, let the Thing be judged ; if false, go then to the Reporter, and let him or her be judged. And if any should report it at a second or third Hand, without going to the Party of whom the Report goeth ; let such

be

be brought to judgment : For thou shalt neither raise, nor suffer a false Report to lie upon my People, saith the Lord ; for they are to be Holy as he is Holy, and Just as he is Just.

15. And if any Controverſie, or Weakneſs ſhould appear in either Men's or Women's Meetings, let it not be told out of your Meetings, becauſe ſuch Speeches tend to the defaming of ſuch Perſons and Meetings and to the Hurt of the common Unity, and Breach of the Heavenly Society and Priviledge.

This is an Account of what paſſed in that Meeting.

Next Day (Notice being already given) we had a large publick Meeting, in which the Sound of the Everlaſting Goſpel, Teſtament and Covenant went forth : And the Meeting ended with a Sweet and Weighty Senſe. 3. 6. 6.

That Evening we had a more Select Meeting of Friends than the Day before, in which the Nature of Marriage, and the Practice of Friends relating to it, and other Things were very weightily and cloſely diſcourſed. The Reſolutions were theſe following.

1. A Scruple concerning the Law of the Magiſtrate about Marriage, being propoſed and diſcourſed of in the Fear of God among Friends, in a Select Meeting ; it was the Univerſal and Unanimous Senſe of Friends, *that joining in Marriage is the Work of the Lord only, and not of Prielt or Magiſtrate.*

For 'tis God's Ordinance; and not Man's : And therefore Friends cannot conſent that they ſhould join them together : For we Marry none ; 'tis the Lord's Work, and we are but Witneſſes.

2. But yet if a Friend through Tenderneſs have a Deſire, that the Magiſtrate ſhould know it before the Marriage be concluded ; they may publiſh the ſame, after the Thing hath by Friends been found clear, and after the Marriage is performed in a publick Meeting of Friends and others, according to the Holy Order and Practice of Friends in Truth throughout the World (the Manner of the Holy Men and Women of Old) may go and carry a Copy of the Certificate to the Magiſtrate; and they are left to their Freedom herein, that if they pleaſe they may Register it. But for Priests or Magiſtrates to Marry, or join any in that Relation, it's not according to Scripture ; and our Teſtimony and Practice have been always againſt it. It was God's Work before the Fall, and it's God's Work only in the Reſtoration.

3. If any Friend have it upon him to Reprint any Book already Printed, and approved either in *England* or here, they may do it upon their own Charges.

4. It is alſo agreed, that the Care of reading and approving Books, be laid upon ſome of every Meeting ; to the end no Book be publiſhed but in the Unity : Yet any other faithful Friends not ſo Nominated, are not thereby excluded. Though in all theſe Caſes it is deſired, that all would avoid unneceſſary Diſputes about Words, which profit not, but keep in the Love that Edifieth.

5. It is farther concluded, that the general Stock of the Quarterly Meeting be not diſpoſed of, but by the Conſent of the Quarterly Meeting. But if betwixt Times there ſhall be a Preſſing Neceſſity concerning the Publick ; let that Monthly Meeting, where it ſhall fall out, lay down the Money, and give in an Account at the next Quarterly Meeting, in Order to their Relief, if it appear that they are thereby overcharged. And let all Things be done without Favour, Affection, Relation, or any Reſpect to Perſons, even for the Lord's Sake, and his bleſſed Everlaſting Truth : That God may bleſs and proſper his People.

And let all Things be written down, both as to your Monthly and Quarterly Meeting Collections ; what you receive, and what you diſburſe : That all may be fair and clear to the Satisfaction of all that deſire to ſee and examine the Books.

And the Lord's Fear, and Life, and Power was over all, in which the Lord God preſerve his for ever.

The next Day (being the Seventh Day of the Week) was employed in viſiting 4. 6. 7.

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visiting of Friends, and preparing our selves for a further Journey: That is to say, G. K. R. B. B. F. and my self.

Finding Letters here from the Friends of *Dantzick*, complaining of their heavy Sufferings they underwent; informing us also that the King of *Poland* was there, and asking Advice about an Address to Him, it fell upon me to write the following Letter in the Name of the Friends of *Dantzick*.

To the KING of Poland.

GREAT PRINCE!

ACTIONS of Justice, Mercy and Truth, are worthy of all Men, but in a most excellent Manner of the Serious Consideration of **KINGS** and **PRINCES**. We, certain Inhabitants of the City of *Dantzick*, have been long great Sufferers, not for any Wickedness committed against the Royal Law of God, or any Breach of those Civil Laws of this City, that relate to the well Government of it in all Natural and Civil Things; but purely and only for the Cause of our Tender Consciences towards God.

This Severity being by us represented to the Magistrates of this City, we could not as yet receive from them any Relief; some expressing, as if easing the Burthen of our Oppressions, should give Thee, O King, an Occasion of Dissatisfaction against them, who art our acknowledged Protector.

Being thus necessitated, and in a Manner driven to make this Address unto Thee, take it not amiss, that we with that Humility and Patience, that becometh the Servants and Followers of **JESUS**, and with all Manner of Christian Respect and Sincerity of Mind, briefly relate to Thee, the most Fundamental Principles most surely believed by us: Which, we hope Thou wilt believe, deserve not those Punishments that are inflicted upon us as Evil Doers.

1. We do reverently believe, That there is One God and Father, One Lord Jesus Christ, and One Holy Spirit, and these Three are One. Eph. iv. 6.

2. We believe the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to have been given forth by Divine Inspiration; and they are profitable for Doctrine, for Reproof, for Correction, for Instruction in Righteousness; able to make the Man of God Wise unto Salvation, through Faith which is in Christ Jesus. 2 Tim. iii. 15, 16.

3. That these Holy Scriptures are not to be understood, but by the Discoveries, Teachings, and Operations of that Eternal Spirit, from whence they came.

4. We believe that all Mankind through Disobedience to the Spirit of God, are fallen short of the Glory of God, and in that State are under Condemnation: But that God out of His infinite Goodness and Kindness, hath sent His Son a Light into the World, that whosoever believeth and obeyeth this Light, should not abide in Darkness, but have the Light of Eternal Life.

5. We believe this Gift of Light and Grace through Jesus Christ, to be Universal; and that there is not a Man or Woman upon Earth, that hath not a sufficient Measure of this Light, and to whom this Grace hath not appeared to reprove their ungodly Works of Darkness, and to lead them that obey it to Eternal Salvation. And this is the Great Condemnation of the World at this Day, under all their Great Professions of God, Christ, Spirit, and Scriptures; that though Christ hath enlightened them, yet they will not bring their Deeds to the Light, but hate the Light, and love their dark Customs and Practices rather than the Light; because their Deeds are Evil.

6. We do believe in the Birth, Life, Doctrine, Miracles, Death, Resurrection and Ascension of Jesus Christ our Lord; and that He laid down His Life for the Ungodly, not to continue so, but that they should deny their Wickedness and Ungodliness, and live Soberly, Righteously, and Godly in this present Evil World: As the Saints of Old did, that were redeemed from the Earth, and sat in Heavenly Places.

7. We

7. We do believe, that as the Devil through Man's Disobedience brought Sin into Man's Heart, so Christ Jesus, through Man's Belief in, and Obedience to His Holy Spirit, Light and Grace, cleanseth the Heart of Sin; destroyeth the Works of the Devil; finisheth Transgression, and bringeth in Everlasting Righteousness. That as the Devil hath had his Kingdom of Darkness in Man, so Christ may have His Kingdom of Light, Life, Righteousness, Peace and Joy in the Holy Ghost in the Heart of Man: And not that Christ Jesus saveth Men from Wrath, and not from Sin: For the Wages of Sin is Death, in whose Heart soever it liveth; but the Gift of God is Eternal Life, to all that Believe and Obey through Jesus Christ.

8. We do believe, that all True Ministry and Worship only stand in the Experimental Sense, Operations and Leadings of this Holy Light, Spirit or Grace, that is shed abroad in the Hearts of Men and Women, to conduct them in the Holy Way of Regeneration unto Life Eternal. This was the Ancient, Apostolical Doctrine; they spoke what they had Seen, Tasted and Handled of the Word of God. And this is our Faith, Doctrine and Practice in this Day.

And be not displeased with us, O King, we intreat Thee, if we give this for the Reason of our absenting of our selves from the Publick and Common Ministry or Worship, namely, that we have no Taste or Relish, no Sense or Evidence that their Ministry or Worship are Authorized and Performed by the Apostolical Power and Spirit of JESUS; but rather that they are the Inventions, Studies and Powers of Man's Nature: All which are but strange Fire, and therefore cannot kindle a True and Acceptable Sacrifice to GOD.

For it is not Man's Spirit and Degenerate Nature, Speaking and Professing the Words of God's Spirit, that giveth Acceptance with the Lord, or admitteth Heavenly Edification to Men. Nor can we believe, that where Envy, Passion, Wrath, Malice, Persecution, Envy and Strife, Lusts, Vanity, Wantonness, and Worldly Mindedness have such a Sway and Power, that the True Christian Spirit, Life and Doctrine can be heartily received and followed.

And as this is the Reason in the Sight and Presence of that God, that made Heaven and Earth, and will Judge the Quick and the Dead, wherefore we cannot join in the Common and Publick Worship of these Parts; so doth the same Light and Spirit of God lay an Holy Necessity upon us, with a Meek and Quiet Spirit, to come together after the Manner of the Ancient Christians, that were the True Followers of Jesus; and with Godly Fear and a retired Mind to wait upon God, and meditate in His Holy Law of Life, that He hath writ in our Hearts, according to His New-Covenant Promise: That He may Feed us, Teach us, Strengthen us, and Comfort us in our inward Man. And as by This Holy Spirit according to the Practice of the Churches of Old, any are inclined or moved to Reprove, Exhort, Admonish, Praise, or Pray, we are found exercised in these Holy Practices.

Now, O Prince! Give us Poor Christians Leave to expostulate with Thee: Did CHRIST JESUS, or His Holy Followers, endeavour by Precept or Example, to set up their Religion with a Carnal Sword? Called He any Troops of Men or Angels to defend Him? Did He encourage Peter to dispute his Escape with the Sword? But did He not say, Put it up? Or, did He countenance His over Zealous Disciples, when they would have had Fire from Heaven, to destroy those that were not of their Mind? No: But did not Christ rebuke them, saying, Ye know not what Spirit ye are of? And if it was neither Christ's Spirit, nor their own Spirit that would have Fire from Heaven? Oh! What is that Spirit that would kindle Fire on Earth, to destroy such as Peaceably Dissent upon the Account of Conscience? If we may not wish that God would Smite Men of other Judgments, because they differ from us, (in which there is no Use of Carnal Weapons) can we so far deceive our selves, as to esteem our selves Christians, and Followers of Christ, whilst we incurse Men with Worldly Weapons to Persecute such as Dissent from us?

O King! When did the True Religion Persecute? When did the True Church offer Violence for Religion? Were not Her Weapons Prayers, Tears, and Patience? Did not JESUS Conquer by those Weapons, and vanquish
 1 Cruelty

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Cruelty by Suffering? Can Clubs and Staves, and Swords and Prisons, and Banishments reach the Soul, Convert the Heart, or Convince the Understanding of Man? When did Violence ever make a True Convert, or Bodily Punishment a Sincere Christian? This maketh void the End of Christ's coming, which is to save Men's Lives and not to destroy them; to perswade them, and not to force them; yea, it robbeth God's Spirit of its Office, which is to Convince the World: That is the Sword by which the Ancient Christians overcame. It was the Apostles Testimony, that their Weapons were not Carnal, but Spiritual; but the Practice of their pretended Successors proveth, that their Weapons are not Spiritual, but Carnal.

Suppose we are Tares, as the True Wheat hath always been called; yet pluck us not up for Christ's Sake, who saith, Let the Tares and the Wheat grow together until the Harvest, that is, until the End of the World. Let God have his Due as well as Caesar; the Judgment of Conscience belongeth to Him; and Mistakes about Religion are best known to Him.

And here give us Leave to mind Thee of a Noble Saying of one of thy Ancestors, Stephen King of Poland: I am King of Men, not of Consciences; King of Bodies, not of Souls: And there have been found, and still are among the Emperors, Kings, Princes and States of the World, some that have had that Noble Spirit, Of indulging their Conscientious Dissenting Subjects: And not only with Gamaliel and Gallio not to Persecute, but also eminently to Protect and Defend them from the Hatred and Violence of their Enemies. Be not Thou less Noble than they: Consider how Quietly and Comfortably our Friends Live under other Governments.

And indeed we conceive it to be the Prudence of the Kings and States of the World: For if the Wise Man saith True, The Glory of a Prince is in the Multitude of His People: But this Practice saith, No, the Glory of a Prince is in the Conformity of the People to the Canons of the Clergy, which seemeth to strike at all Civil Society, which consisteth in Men of Virtue, Parts, Arts and Industry. But let Men have never such excellent Abilities, be never so Honest, Peaceable and Industrious, all which render them Good and Profitable Subjects to the Prince, yet they must not Live within their Native Country, unless they will Sacrifice the Peace of their Consciences by an Hypocritical Submission to the Canons and Fashions of the Church. Is not this, O Prince! To set the Church above the State? The Bishop above the King? To waste and give away the Strength and Glory of a Kingdom?

O that Thou mayst be Wise even in thy Generation! And use the Power that God hath given Thee, for God, and Truth, and Righteousness; that therein thou mayest be like unto God, who, Peter telleth us, Accepteth of all that fear Him, and work Righteousness throughout the World: Whose Sun shineth upon all, whose Rain cometh upon all.

And lest any should be so injurious to us, as to render us Enemies to Civil Government; Be it known unto Thee, O King! That we Honour all Men in the Lord, not with the vain invented Honours of this World, but with the True and Solid Honour that cometh from Above: But much more, Kings, and those whom God hath placed in Authority over us. For we believe Magistracy to be both Lawful and Useful, for the Terrifying of Evil Doers, and the Praise and Encouragement of those that do well.

The Premises duly considered, we intreat Thee, O Prince! To take our Suffering Case into Thy Serious Regard; and by that Power and Influence Thou hast with the Magistrates of this City, to recommend our Suffering Condition to their Serious Consideration: That we may no longer lie under these not only Unchristian, but Unnatural Severities, but receive that speedy and effectual Relief which becometh Christian Magistrates to give to their own Sober and Christian People.

§. 6. 1.

The first Day of the Week being come, the Meeting began about the Eleventh Hour, and held till about the Fourth Hour in the Afternoon. There was a mighty Concourse of People from several Places of this County, and that of several Perswasions, Baptists, Presbyterians, Socinians, Seekers,

Seekers, &c. and God was with his People, and his Word of Life and Power, of Wisdom and Strength covered them; yea, the hidden Things both of *Eſau* and *Jacob*, the Mystery both of Iniquity and Godlineſs were opened and declared in the Demonſtration of the Eternal Spirit that Day. And, Oh! Bleſſed and Magnified be the Name of the Lord that hath not only not left Himſelf, but alſo not His Servants without a Witneſs! Oh, He is worthy to be Lov'd and Fear'd, and Obey'd, and Reverenced for ever.

The next Day G. K. R. B. B. F. and myſelf, having taken our Leave of dear G. F. and Friends, took Boat for *Naerden*, where we arrived about the Second Hour in the Afternoon. 6. 6. 2. Naerden.

And after having eaten, we took our Leave of thoſe Friends that had accompanied us thither, and begun our Journey in the common Poſt-waggon to *Oſnabrug*, where we came the Fourth Day following in the Evening. 8. 6. 4. Oſnabrug.

We paſt through a very dark Country to that Place; yet I felt not ſo great a Weight and Suffering in my Spirit as Six Years ago, when I went through the ſame Places.

At *Oſnabrug* we had a little Time with the Man of the Inn, where we lay; and left him ſeveral good Books of Friends, in the Low and High Dutch Tongues to read and diſpoſe of.

The next Morning (being the Fifth Day of the Week) we ſet forward to *Herwerden*, and came thither at Night. This is the City where the Princeſs *Elizabeth Palatine* hath her Court: Whom, and the Counteſs in Company with her, it was eſpecially upon us to viſit, and that upon ſeveral Accounts. 9. 6. 5. Herwerden.

1. In that they are Perſons ſeeking after the Beſt Things.

2. That they are actually Lovers and Favourers of thoſe, that ſeparate themſelves from the World for the Sake of Righteouſneſs.

For the Princeſs is not only a private Supporter of ſuch, but gave Protection to *De Labadie* himſelf, and his Company: Yea, when they went under the reproachful Name of *Quakers* about Seven Years ſince.

This Man was a *Frenchman*, that being diſſatisfied with the Loofneſs and Deadneſs of the *French* Proteſtants, even at *Geneva* itſelf, left them, and came for *Holland*: And ſo vehemently declaimed againſt the Apoſtacy of the Prielts and People there, that the Clergy were enraged, and ſtirr'd up the Magiſtrates againſt him, and the rather becauſe many followed him, and ſeveral Women of Great Quality. Upon this the Princeſs gave them an Invitation, and they came and were protected by her. But ſince, ſome Miſcarriages falling out in that Place, ſhe thereupon in good Meaſure withdrew her Favour from them, and they removed into another Place.

I was moved to viſit this Man and his Company Six Years ago, and did ſee him, and his Two Great Diſciples: But they would not ſuffer me to ſee the People which I laboured for. I in that Day ſaw the Airineſs and Unſtableneſs of the Man's Spirit; and that a *Self-Maſter* was his Name. And it was upon me, both by Word of Mouth and Writing, to let them know that the Enemy would prevail againſt them to draw them into inconvenient Things, if they came not to be ſtay'd in the *Light of JESUS CHRIST*, and to know the *Holy Silence*: And that at laſt they would come to fall out one with another and moulder away. Which is in ſome Meaſure come to paſs as I fear'd; for I clearly perceived, that though they had received ſome Divine Touches, a Danger there was they would run out with them, and ſpend them like Prodigals: Not knowing then where to ſtay their Minds for Daily Bread. Yea, though they were ſomething Angelical, and like to the Celeſtial Bodies, yet if they kept not their Station, they would prove fallen Stars. They moved not in the Motion of Him that had viſited them, but were filled with groſs Mixtures, and thereby brought forth mixt Births: That is to ſay, Things not Natural, but Monſtrous. In ſine, they were ſhy of us, they knew us not: Yea I believed well of ſome of the People, for a Good Thing was ſtirring in them.

And in this alſo was the Counteſs commendable, in that ſhe left all to have joyned with a People that had a Pretence at leaſt to more Spirituality

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ality and Self-Denial, than was found in the National Religion she was bred up in: For God had reach'd her, as she told me, about Nine Years ago, and that by an extraordinary Way.

Now, it seem'd great Pity to us, that Persons of their Quality in the World, should so willingly expose themselves for the false *Quaker*, the reprobate *Silver*, the *Mixtures*; and that they should not be acquainted with the Life and Testimony of the *True Quakers*.

Now about a Year since, R. B. and B. F. took that City in the Way from *Frederickstadt* to *Amsterdam*, and gave them a Visit: In which they inform'd them somewhat of *Friend's Principles*, and recommended the Testimony of TRUTH to them, as both a nearer and more certain Thing than the utmost of *De Labadie's* Doctrine. They left them tender and loving.

Soon after this, *Gertruydt Diricks* and *Elizabeth Hendricks* from *Amsterdam* visited them, and obtained a Meeting with them, improving that little Way God by his Providence had made more closely to press the Testimony. And though they, especially the *Countesss*, made some Objections, in relation to the Ordinances, and certain Practices of Friends, yet she seem'd to receive at that Time Satisfaction from them.

These Visits have occasioned a Correspondence by Way of Letter betwixt them, and several of us, wherein the *Mystery of Truth* hath been more clearly opened to their Understandings: And they have been brought nearer into a waiting Frame, by those Heavenly Directions they have frequently receiv'd by Way of Epistles from several of us.

In Answer to Two of mine, the *Princesss* sent me the following Letter, which being short, I insert it here.

Herford, May 2, 1677.

THIS, Friend, will tell you that both your Letters were very acceptable; together with your Wishes for my obtaining those Virtues which may make me a worthy Follower of our Great King and Saviour JESUS CHRIST. What I have done for his True Disciples, is not so much as a Cup of cold Water; it affords them no Refreshment; neither did I expect any Fruit of my Letter to the Dutcheſs of L. as I have express'd at the same Time unto B. F. But since R. B. desired I should write it, I could not refuse him, nor omit to do any Thing that was judg'd conducing to his Liberty, tho' it should expose me to the Derision of the World. But this a meer moral Man can reach at; the True inward Graces are yet wanting in

Your Affectionate Friend,
Elizabeth.

This Digression from the present History, I thought not altogether unnecessary or displeasing.

But to return: Being arriv'd at that City, part of which is under her Government, we gave her to understand it, desiring to know what Time next Day would be most proper for us to visit her. She sent us Word, *She was glad that we were come, and should be ready to receive us the next Morning about the Seventh Hour.*

10. 6. 6.

The next Morning being come, (which was the Sixth Day of the Week) we went about the Time she had appointed us, and found both her and the *Countesss* ready to receive us; which they did with a more than ordinary Expression of Kindness. I can truly say it, and that in God's Fear, I was very deeply and reverently affected with the Sense that was upon my Spirit of the Great and Notable Day of the Lord, and the Breakings in of His Eternal Power upon all Nations; and of the raising of the Slain Witnesses to judge the World; who is the Treasure of Life and Peace, of Wisdom and Glory, to all that receive Him in the Hour of His Judgments, and abide with Him. The Sense of this Deep and Sure Foundation which GOD is laying, as the Hope of Eternal Life and Glory for all to Build upon, fill'd my Soul with an Holy Testimony to them; which in a Living Sense was followed by my Brethren: And so the Meeting ended about the Eleventh Hour.

The

The Princess intreated us to stay and Dine with her ; but with due Regard both to our Testimony, and to her at that Time we refused it : Desiring if she pleased another Opportunity that Day : Which she with all Cheerfulness yielded to ; she herself appointing the Second Hour.

So we went to our Quarters, and some Time after we had Dined, we returned. The Meeting soon began ; there were several present besides the Princess and Countess. It was at this Meeting that the Lord in a more eminent Manner began to appear. The Eternal Word shewed itself a Hammer at this Day ; yea, sharper than a Two-edged Sword, dividing asunder between the Soul and the Spirit, the Joints and the Marrow. Yea, this Day was all Flesh humbled before the Lord ; it amazed one, struck another, broke another : Yea, the Noble Arm of the Lord was truly awakened, and the Weight and Work thereof bowed and rendered us also after an unusual and extraordinary Manner ; that the Lord might work an Heavenly Sign before them and among them ; that the Majesty of Him that is risen among the *Poor Quakers* might in some Measure be known unto them ; what God it is we serve, and what Power it is we wait for and bow before. Yea, they had a Sense and a Discovery that Day, what would become of the Glory of all Flesh, when God shall enter into Judgment. Well, *let my Right Hand forget its Cunning, and my Tongue cleave to the Roof of my Mouth*, when I shall forget the Loving Kindness of the Lord ; and the sure Mercies of our God to us His Travelling Servants that Day. *O Lord, send forth thy Light and thy Truth, that all Nations may behold thy Glory.*

Thus continued the Meeting till about the Seventh Hour : Which done, with Hearts and Souls filled with Holy Thanksgivings to the Lord for his abundant Mercy and Goodness to us, we departed to our Lodging, desiring to know, whether our coming the next Day might not be uneasy or unreasonable to her, with Respect to the Affairs of Her Government, it being the Last Day of the Week ; when, we were informed, she was most frequently attended with Addresses from her People. But with a loving and ready Mind she replied, *That she should be glad to see us the next Morning, and at any Time when we would.*

The next Morning (being the Seventh Day) we were there betwixt Eight and Nine ; where R. B. falling into some Discourse with the Princess, the Countess took hold of the Opportunity, and whispered me to withdraw, to get a Meeting for the more inferior Servants of the House, who would have been bashful to have presented themselves before the Princess. And blessed be the Lord, he was not wanting to us : But the same Blessed Power that had appeared to visit them of High, appeared also to visit them of Low Degree : And we were all sweetly tender'd and broken together, for *Virtue went forth of JESUS that Day*, and the Life of our God was shed abroad amongst us as a sweet Saviour : For which their Souls bowed before the Lord, and confess'd to our Testimony.

Which did not a little please that Noble Young Woman, to find her own Report of us, and her great Care of them so effectually answered. Oh, What shall we say ! Is there any God like to our God ? Who is Glorious in Holiness, Fearful in Praises, working Wonders ! To His Eternal Name, Power and Arm be the Glory for ever.

The Meeting done, the Princess came to us, expressing much Satisfaction that we had that good Opportunity with her Servants ; telling us she much desired they should have a True and Right Character of us, and that therefore she chose to withdraw, that they might have freer Access ; and that it might look like their own Act : Or Words to that Purpose.

The Twelfth Hour being come, we returned to our Inn, letting them understand, we purposed (the Lord willing) to visit them some Time of that Afternoon.

I must not here forget, that we found at our Inn the first Night at Supper, a young Merchant of a sweet and ingenious Temper, belonging to the City of *Bremen*, who took Occasion from that Night's Discourse, the Sixth Day at Dinner and Supper, and the Seventh Day also, to seek all Opportunities

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nities of Conference with us : And (as we have Reason to believe) he stayed Twenty Four Hours in that City on our Account. We opened to him the *Testimony of Truth* : I know not, that in any one Thing he contradicted us. At last he plainly discovered himself unto us, to be a Follower of a certain Minister in *Bremen*, that is even by his Fellow-Ministers and Protestants, reproached with the Name of *Quaker*, because of his singular Sharpness against the Formal Lifeless Ministers and Christians in the World.

We laid fast hold upon this, and ask'd him, in Case any of us should visit that City, if he would give us the Opportunity of a Meeting at his House ? Which he readily granted us.

So we gave him some Books, recommending him to the True and Blessed Testimony of CHRIST JESUS, the Light and Judge of the World, and Life of them that receive Him, and believe in Him ; and so we parted.

It being now about Three in the Afternoon, we went to the Princess's, where being come, after some little Time, the Princess and Countess put me in Remembrance of a Promise I made them in one of my Letters out of *England*, namely, that I would give them an Account (at some convenient Time) of my *First Convincement*, and of those Tribulations and Consolations, which I had met withal in this Way of the Kingdom, which God had brought me to.

After some Pause, I found my self very free and prepared in the Lord's Love and Fear to comply with their Request. And so, after some Silence, began. But before I had Half done, it was Supper-time, and the Princess would by no Means let us go, we must Sup with her : Which Importunity not being well able to avoid, we yielded to, and sat down with her to Supper.

Among the rest, present at these Opportunities, it must not be forgotten, that there was a Countess, Sister to the Countess, then come in to visit her, and a *French Woman* of Quality ; the first behaving herself very decently, and the last often deeply broken : And from a light and slighting Carriage towards the very Name of a *Quaker*, she became very intimately and affectionately kind and respectful to us. Supper being ended, we all returned to the Princess's Chamber ; where making us all to sit down with her, she, with both the Countesses and the *French Woman*, prest from me the Continuance of my Relation ; but none more than the Countess's Sister. Which (tho' late) I was not unwilling to oblige them with, because I knew not when the Lord would give me such an Opportunity.

And I found them affected : It continued till about Ten at Night, yet many Particulars omitted, partly through Forgetfulness, and partly for want of Time. Howbeit, I must needs say, they heard me with an Earnest and Tender Attention : And I hope and believe, the Lord hath made it profitable unto them.

This done, some Discourse they had upon it, and afterwards we spoke about a Meeting for the next Day, being the First Day of the Week : And that we might have not only as many of her own Family, but as many of her Town as would willingly be there : She yielded to it, and appointed the Meeting to begin at the Second Hour. So we parted, being near the Eleventh Hour at Night.

12. 6. 1.

The next Morning we had a Meeting among our selves in our Chamber, wherein the Lord refresh'd us : And there was a great Travail upon our Spirits, that the Lord would stand by us that Day, and magnify the Testimony of *His own Truth* by us ; that he might have a Seed and People in that Place, to lift up a Standard for His Name.

At Dinner there were several Strangers that came by the Post-Waggon that Day : Among whom there was a Young Man of *Bremen*, being a Student at the Collège at *Dussburgh*, who informed us of a sober and seeking Man of great Note in the City of *Dussburgh* ; to him we gave some Books. There was one more who was tender and inquiring, to whom also we gave some Books.

The

The Second Hour being at Hand, we went to the Meeting; where were several as well of the Town as of the Family. The Meeting began with a weighty Exercise and Travail in Prayer, that the Lord would Glorify His own Name that Day. And by His own Power he made Way to their Consciences, and sounded His Wakening Trumpet in their Ears, that they might know that He was God, and that there is none like unto Him. Oh, the Day of the Lord Livingly Dawned upon us, and the *Searching Life of JESUS* was in the Midst of us! Oh! the Word that never faileth them that wait for it, and abide in it, opened the Way, and unsealed the *Book of Life*: Yea, the Quickning Power and *Life of Jesus* wrought and reach'd to them: And Virtue from Him in whom dwelleth the Godhead Bodily, went forth, and blessedly distilled upon us His own Heavenly Life, sweeter than the Pure Frankincense; yea, than the sweet smelling Myrrh that cometh from a far Country. And as it began, so it was carried on, and so it ended: Blessed be the Name of the Lord, and confided in be our God for ever.

As soon as the Meeting was done, the Princess came to me, and took me by the Hand (which she usually did to us all coming and going) and went to speak to me of the Sense she had of that Power and Presence of God that was amongst us, but was stop'd. And turning herself to the Window, brake forth in an extraordinary Passion, crying out, *I cannot speak to you, my Heart is full*; clapping her Hands upon her Breast.

It melted me into a deep and calm Tenderness, in which I was moved to Minister a few Words softly to her, and after some Time of Silence she recovered herself; and as I was taking my Leave of her, she interrupted me thus: *Will ye not come hither again? Pray, call here as ye return out of Germany.* I told her, *We were in the Hand of the Lord, and being His, could not dispose of our Selves. But the Lord had taken Care, that we should not forget her, and those with her: For he had raised and begotten an Heavenly Concernment in our Souls for her and them; and we loved them all with that Love wherewith God had loved us; with much more to that Purpose.*

After some Time of Silence she recovered herself.

She then turned to the rest of the Friends, and would have had us all gone to Supper with her. But we chose rather to be excused; we should Eat a Bit of her Bread, and drink a Glass of her Wine if she pleased, in the Chamber where we were. At last we prevailed with her to leave us.

The Countess, the *French Woman*, and the Countess's Waiting-Woman; stay'd with us, and we had a very retir'd and Seasonable Opportunity with them.

After the Princess had Supp'd, we went all down, and took our Solemn Leave of her, the Countess, her Sister, the *French Woman*, with the rest of the Family, whose Hearts were reach'd and opened by *Our Testimonies*; recommending unto them Holy Silence from all Will-worship, and the Workings, Strivings, and Images of their own Mind and Spirit: That *JESUS* might be felt of them in their Hearts, His Holy Teachings witnessed, and followed in the Way of His Blessed Cross, that would Crucifie them unto the World, and the World unto them: That their Faith, Hope and Joy might stand in Christ in them, the Heavenly Prophet, Shepherd and Bishop; whose Voice all that are truly Sheep will hear and follow, and not the Voice of any Stranger whatever.

So we left them in the Love and Peace of God, Praying that they might be kept from the Evil of this World.

So we returned to our Lodging, having our Hearts filled with a weighty Sense of the Lord's Appearance with us in that Place: And being late (towards the Ninth Hour) we prepared to go to Rest.

The next Morning (being the Second Day of the Week) G. K. B. F. and myself, got ready to begin our Journey towards *Frankfort*, which by the Way of *Cassel*, is about Two Hundred *English Miles*. R. E. prepared himself to return by the Way we came, directly to *Amsterdam*. But before we parted, we had a little Time together in the Morning in our Chamber, whither came one of the Princess's Family, and one of the Town. The Lord

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Lord moved me to call upon His Great Name, that he would be with them that stayed, and with them that returned also, and with us that went forward in wild and untrodden Places. And His Blessed Love and Life overshadowed us: Yea, he filled our Cup together, and made us drink into One Spirit, even the Cup of Blessings in the Fellowship of the Everlasting Seed: In which we took Leave of one another.

And after having Eaten, it being about the Seventh Hour, we departed the City.

Paderborn.

We came to *Paderborn* that Night, Six German Miles, which are about Thirty Six *English*: It is a dark Popish Town, and under the Government of a Bishop of that Religion. Howbeit, the Woman where we lodged, was an Ancient, Grave, and Serious Person, to whom we declared the *Testimony of the Light*, shewing her the Difference betwixt an outside and an inside Religion, which she received with much Kindness. We left some Books with her, which she took readily.

There was also with us at Supper a *Lutheran* that was a Lawyer, with whom I had very good Service, in opening to him the great Loss of the Power of Godliness, as well among them who separated from *Rome*, as in the *Roman Church*; which he confessed. I directed him to the Principle of *Light in His Conscience*, that let him see the Lifeless State of the False Christians: And if he turned his Mind to that Principle, and waited there for Power, he would receive Power to Rule and Govern himself according to True Godliness, and that it was the Loss of *Christendom* that they went from this Principle, in which the Power standeth, that conformeth the Soul to the Image and Likeness of the dear Son of God; and thither they must come again, if ever they will have the True Knowledge of God, and enjoy Life and Salvation; with much more to that Purpose; all which he received Lovingly.

14. 6. 3.

Cassel.

15. 6. 4.

The next Morning we set forwards toward *Cassel*; but through great Foulness of Weather, having only naked Carts to ride in, the Waters being also high with the Rains, we got not to *Cassel* till the next Day, which was the Fourth Day of the Week. It being late, we made little Enquiry that Night, being also wearied with the Foulness of the Ways and Weather.

16. 6. 5.

But the next Day we made our usual Enquiry, *viz.* Who was Worthy in the City? And found some that tenderly and lovingly received us, to whom we declared the Visitation of the Light and Love of God. Among the rest, was *Dureus* our Country-Man, a Man of Seventy Seven Years of Age, who had learned in good Measure to forget his Learning, School-Divinity, and Priest's Craft; and for his Approaches towards an Inward Principle, is reproachfully saluted by some with the *Honest Title* of *Quaker*. 'Tis much better than *Papist*, *Lutheran*, or *Calvinist*, who are not only ignorant of, but Enemies to Quaking and Trembling at the Word of the Lord, as *Moses* and others did.

17. 6. 6.

Upon the Sixth Day of the same Week about Noon, we set out towards *Franckfort*, having left several Books behind us, which hath been our Practice in our Journey.

Franckfort.

20. 6. 2.

At *Franckfort* we arrived the Second Day about Noon, being just a Week from *Herveerden*, and having from thence and *Cassel* made known our Intentions of coming to that City, Two Considerable Persons came and met us about Half a German Mile from the City, informing us of several Well-affected in that Town. Upon which we told them the End of our coming, and desired to have a Meeting with them in the Afternoon, which we easily obtained at the House of a Merchant, One of the Two that met us. The Persons that resorted thither, were generally People of considerable Nore, both of *Calvinists* and *Lutherans*; and we can say, they received us with Gladness of Heart, and embraced our Testimony with a Broken and Reverent Spirit, thanking God for our coming amongst them, and praying that He would prosper *His Work* in our Hands.

21. 6. 3.

This engaged our Hearts to make some longer Stay in this City: We therefore desired another Meeting the next Day, which they cheerfully assented

sented to, where several came that were not with us the Day before, and the Lord that sent us into the Land was with us, and by His Power reached to them, insomuch that they confessed to the *Truth of our Testimony*.

Of these Persons there were Two Women, one a Virgin, the other a Widow, both Noble of Birth, who had a deep Sense of that Power and Presence of God that accompanied our Testimony, and their Hearts yearned strongly towards us; the Virgin giving us a particular Invitation to her House the next Morning, where we had the most Blessed Opportunity of the Three, for the Lord's Power so eminently appeared, that not only those that had been with us before were most effectually reach'd, but a certain Student residing in the House of a *Lutheran Minister*, (sent for by that Young Woman) was broken to Pieces, and magnified that Blessed Power which appeared. Also there accidentally came in a *Doctor of Physick*, who unexpectedly was affected, and confessed to the *Truth*, praying God to prosper us. This was the Blessed Issue of our Visit to *Franckfort*. 22. 6. 42

But there is one Thing more not unfit to be mentioned: Among some of those that have Inclinations after God, a Fearful Spirit, together with the Shame of the Cross, hath entred; against which our Testimony in Part striking, we took Notice it was a Life to these Noble Women, for that was it as they told us, *Which had long oppress'd them, and obstructed the Work of the Lord amongst them*. Therefore, said the Young Virgin, *Our Quarters are free for you, let all come that will come, and lift up your Voices without Fear; for (said she) it will never be well with us till Persecution come, and some of us be lodged in the Stadthouse; that is, the Prison*.

We left the Peace of JESUS with them, and the same Afternoon we departed out of that City, being the Fourth Day of the Week.

Here I writ an Epistle to the Churches of JESUS.

*To the Churches of JESUS throughout the World,
Gathered and Settled in His Eternal Light, Power and
Spirit, to be One Holy Flock, Family, and Household
to the Lord, &c.*

Dear Friends and Brethren;

WHO have been visited with the Fatherly Visitation from on High, and have received God's Eternal Word and Testament in your Hearts, by which you have been gathered *Home to Christ Jesus*, the true Shepherd, from all the Idol-Shepherds, and their barren Mountains, and unprofitable Hills; where you have been scattered in the Dark and Gloomy Day of Apostasy; and by his Light, Spirit and Power, have been convinced of *Sin, Righteousness, and Judgment*, and can say, *The Prince of this World is judged by His Holy, Righteous, and Powerful Appearance in you, unto whom all Judgment in Heaven and Earth is committed; who is the blessed Lamb of God, the Light and Saviour of the World; who is King of Salem, and Prince of Peace: My Soul Loves you with everlasting Love; even, with the Love with which my God, and your God, my Father, and your Father, hath loved me, and visited my Soul, and your Souls; in this do I dearly Salute and Embrace you all, in this the Day of the Fulfilling of His Glorious Promises to His Church in the Wilderness; and Witnesses in Sack-Cloth*.

And, O Magnified be *His Name*, and everlastingly Praised and Renowned be *His Holy Power, and Arm*, by which he hath reached unto us, and brought Salvation near us! For he hath found us out, and hath heard our Solitary Cries, the deep and mournful Supplications of our bowed Spirits, when we were as the little silly Dove without its Mate, and the lonely Pelican in the Wilderness; when we were ready to cry out, *Is there none*

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to Save? Is there none to Help? O when shall the Time and Times, and half a Time be finished? When shall the One Thousand Two Hundred and Sixty Days be accomplished? And when shall the Abomination, that stands in the Holy Place, be cast out? When shall the Captivity of the People be turned back? O when shall Babylon come into Remembrance before God; the Dragon, Beast, and False Prophet be cast into the Lake? And when shall the Law go forth out of Sion, and the Word of the Lord out of Jerusalem? When shall Sion become the Joy, and Jerusalem the Praise of the whole Earth? And when shall the Earth be covered with the Knowledge of the Lord, as the Waters cover the Sea?

Friends, The Lord of Heaven and Earth hath heard our Cries, and the full Time is come, yea, the appointed Time is come, and the Voice of the Eternal Spirit in our Hearts hath been heard on this wise many a Time: Awake thou that sleepest, and I will give thee Life: Arise out of the Dust, and shine; for thy Light is come, and the Glory of the Lord is risen upon thee. And the Lord God hath given us that Light by which we have comprehended the Darkness in our selves and in the World: And as we have believed in it, dwelt in it, and walked in it, we have received Power to overcome the Evil One in all his Appearances in our selves; and Faithfully and Boldly to testify against him in the World. And the Blood of Jesus in this Holy Way of the Light, have we felt in our Souls, to cleanse us from Unrighteousness, and give us to know the Mystery of the Fellowship of the Gospel one with another, which stands in Life and Immortality. And here we become an Holy Household and Family unto God, that live in his Presence Day and Night, to do his Will, as becometh his Redeemed and Ransomed Children by the most Precious Blood of his Son, and no more to return to Folly.

*And, Friends, let it never pass out of our Remembrance; what our God hath done for us, since He hath made us a People: Hath any Weapon formed against us prospered? Hath he called us, and not protected us? Hath He given Power to conceive, and not to bring forth? Hath he not sheltered us in many a Storm? Did He ever leave us under the Reproaches and Contradictions of Men? Nay, hath He not spoken Peace to us! Were we ever cast out by Men, and He forsook us? No, the Lord hath taken us up: Were we ever in Prison, and He visited us not? Hungry, and He fed us not? Naked, and He clothed us not? Or have we been sick, and He came not to see us? When were the Jails so close, that He could not come in? And the Dungeons so dark, that He caused not His Light to shine upon us? O nay; He hath never left us, nor forsaken us; yea, He hath provided richly for us; He hath brought us into the Wilderness, not to starve us, but to try us; yet not above our Measure: For He fed us with Manna from on High, with pure Honey and Water out of the Rock, and gave His Good Spirit to sustain us: By Night He was a Pillar of Fire to us, to comfort us; and by Day a Pillar of Cloud, to hide and shelter us. He was a Shadow of a mighty Rock, that followed us; and we never wanted a Brook by the Way to refresh us. Was God good to Israel Outward? Much more hath He abounded to His Spiritual Israel, the proper Seed and Offspring of Himself. O the Noble Deeds and Valiant Acts, that He hath wrought in our Day for our Deliverance! He hath caused One to chase Ten, and Ten an Hundred, and an Hundred a Thousand many a Time. None hath been able to snatch us out of His Hands, who abode in His Truth. For though the Winds have blown, and the Sea hath raged, yet hath He rebuked the Winds and the Sea for His Seed's Sake: He hath said to the Winds, *be still*; and to the Sea, *Thus far shalt thou come, and no further.* He hath cast up an high Way for His Ransomed to walk in, so plain, that tho' a Fool he shall not err therein. This is the Light, in which all Nations of them that are saved must walk for ever.*

And therefore, Friends, let us stay our Minds in the Light of the Lord for ever; and let the Awe, Fear, and Dread of the Almighty dwell in us; and let His Holy Spirit be known to be a Covering to us, that from the Spirit

Spirit of this World we may be chastly kept and preserved unto God, in the Holy Light and Self-denying Life of *Jesus*, who hath offered himself up once for all, leaving us an Example that we should also follow His Steps; that as He our dear Lord and Master, so we his Servants, and Friends, and Children, might by the Eternal Spirit offer up our selves to God, in Body, in Soul, and in Spirit, which are His; that we may be His Workmanship, created in Christ *Jesus* unto good Works, to the Praise of Him that hath called us; which Calling is an High and an Holy Calling, by the Eternal Light and Spirit in our Consciences. O that it might for ever remain in high Estimation with us! And that it may be the daily Watch and Travel of us all, in the Presence of the Holy and Living God, that hath called us, to make our great Call and Election sure, which many having neglected to do, (who have been convinced by the Blessed Light and Truth of Christ *Jesus* revealed in their Hearts, and who for a Time have walked among us) have been overcome by the Spirit of this World, and turned their Hands from the Plough, and deserted the Camp of the Lord, and gone back into *Egypt* again; whereby the Heathen have blasphemed, and the Way and People of the Lord greatly have suffered.

Therefore, O my dear Friends and Brethren, in the Sense of that Life and Power, that God from Heaven so gloriously hath dispensed among us, and by which He hath given us multiplied Assurances of His Loving-kindness unto us, and crowned us together with *Heavenly Dominion*, and in which my Spirit is at this Time broken before the Lord; do I most earnestly entreat you to watch continually, lest any of you, that have tasted of the good Word of God, and the Powers of the World to come, fall by Temptation; and by Carelessness and Neglect tempt the Living God to withdraw his Fatherly Visitation from any of you, and finally to desert such: For the Lord our God is a Jealous God, and he will not give his Glory unto another. He hath given to Man all but Man himself, and him He hath reserved for his own peculiar Service, to build him up a glorious Temple to himself; so that we are bought with a Price, and we are not our own.

Therefore let us continually watch, and stand in awe, that we grieve not His Holy Spirit, nor turn his Grace into Wantonness; But, all of us, let us wait, and that in an *Holy Travel of Spirit*, to know our selves sealed by the Spirit of Adoption, unto the Day of our compleat Redemption; when not only all our Sins, but all Sorrows, Sighings and Tears shall be wiped away from our Eyes; and everlasting Songs of Joy and Thanksgiving shall melodiously fill our Hearts to God, that sits upon the Throne, and to his blessed immaculate Lamb, who by his most precious Blood shall have compleatly redeemed us from the Earth, and written our Names in the Book of Life.

Friends, The Spirit of the Lord hath often brought you into my Remembrance, since I have been in this desolate Land; and with Joy unutterable have I had sweet and precious Fellowship with you in the Faith of *Jesus*, that overcometh the World: For, though absent in Body, yet present in him that is Omnipresent. And I can truly say, you are very near and very dear unto me; and the Love that God hath raised in my Heart unto you, surpasses the Love of Women. And our Testimony, I am well satisfied, is sealed up together. And I am well assured, that all that love the Light, shall endure to the End throughout all Tribulations, and in the End obtain *Eternal Salvation*.

And now, Friends, as I have been Travelling in this dark and solitary Land, the great Work of the Lord in the Earth has been often presented unto my View, and the Day of the Lord hath been deeply upon me, and my Soul and Spirit hath frequently been possessed with an *Holy and Weighty Concern* for the Glory of the Name of the Lord, and the spreading of His Everlasting Truth, and the Prosperity of it through all Nations; that the very Ends of the Earth may look to Him, and may know Christ the Light to be given to them for their Salvation. And when the Sense of these Things hath been deeply upon me, an holy and strong Cry God. hath

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raised in my Soul to Him, *That we, who have known this Fatherly Visitation from on High, and who have beheld the Day of the Lord, the Rising of the Sun of Righteousness, who is full of Grace, and full of Truth, and have beheld His Glory, and confessed it to be the Glory of the only begotten Son of God; and who by Obedience to his Appearance are become the Children of Light, and of the Day, and as the First-fruits to God after this long Night of Apostacy, might for ever walk and dwell in His Holy Covenant, Christ Jesus, the Light of the World; because in him we have always Peace, but out of him comes all the Trouble.*

And whilst this *Heavenly Sense* rested with me, the Lord God, that made me, and called me by his Grace unto Salvation, laid it upon me, to visit you in an holy Exhortation. And it is the Exhortation of my Life at this Time, in the earnest and fervent Motion of the Power and Spirit of *Jesus*, to beseech you all, who are turned to the Light of Christ, that shineth in your Hearts, and believe in it; That you carefully and faithfully walk in it, in the same *Dread, Awe, and Fear*, in which you began; that the *Holy Poverty of Spirit*, that is precious in the Eyes of the Lord, and was in the Days of your first Love, may dwell and rest with you; that you may daily feel the same *Heavenly Hunger and Thirst*, the same *Lowliness and Humility* of Mind, the same *Zeal and Tenderneſs*, and the same *Sincerity and Love unfeigned*; that God may fill you out of *His Heavenly Treasure with the Riches of Life*, and Crown you with *Holy Victory and Dominion* over the God and Spirit of this World: That your *Alpha* may be your *Omega*, and your *Author* your *Finisher*, and your first Love your last Love; that so none may make Shipwreck of Faith, and of a good Conscience, nor faint by the Way. And as in this State we are kept in *Holy Watchfulness to God*, as in the Beginning, the Table which our Heavenly Father spreads, and the Blessings with which he compasseth us about, shall not become a Snare unto us, nor shall we turn the *Grace and Mercies* of the Lord into Wantonness; but we shall Eat and Drink in an *holy Fear*, Apparel our selves in Fear, Buy and Sell in Fear, Visit one another in Fear; keep Meetings, and there wait upon the *Lord in Fear*: Yea, whatsoever we take in hand to do, it shall be in the holy Fear of God, and with an holy Tenderneſs of His Glory, and Regard to the Prosperity of his Truth: Yea, we shall deny our selves not only in the unlawful Things, but in the Things that are even lawful to us, for the Sake of the many Millions that are unconverted to God.

For, *my Friends and Brethren*, God hath laid upon us (whom he hath honoured with the Beginning of his great Work in the World) the Care both of this Age, and of the Ages to come; that they may walk, as they have us for Examples: Yea, the Lord God hath chosen you to place his Name in you; the Lord hath entrusted you with his Glory, that you might hold it forth to all Nations; and that the Generations unborn may call you Blessed.

Therefore, let none be Treacherous to the Lord, nor reward him Evil for Good; nor betray his Cause directly by wilful Wickedness, nor indirectly by Negligence and Unfaithfulness: But be *zealous and valiant for Truth on Earth*; let none be *Slothful or Careless*: O remember the Slothful Servant's State. And let the Loving Kindness of the Lord overcome every Soul to Faithfulness; for *with Him are Riches and Honour, and every good Thing*: And *whither should any go? He hath the Words of Eternal Life*. O, let none lose their Testimony, but hold it up for God; let thy Gift be never so small, thy Testimony never so little. Through thy whole Conversation bear it for God; and be true to what thou art convinced of: And wait all upon the Lord, that you may grow in your heavenly Testimony; that Life may fill your Hearts, your Houses, and your Meetings; that you may daily wait to know, and to receive Power to do the Will of God on Earth, as it is in Heaven.

And, O! That the Cross of *Jesus* may be in high and honourable Esteem with every one; that the Liberty of all may stand in the Cross, which alone preserveth: For it is the Power of God, that crucifieth us to the World, and the World to us. And through Death, Way is made unto Life

Life and Immortality; which by this blessed Cross, the Gospel, the Power, is brought to Light. So shall the Life that God hath sown in our Hearts, grow; and in that Seed shall we all come to be blessed, unto whom God hath appointed the Dominion over us. And it is good for all to live under the Holy Government of it; for the Ways of it are the Ways of Pleasantness, and all it's Paths are Peace; and all that are born of it, can say, *Thy Scepter is a Scepter of Righteousness*. And, O! That all Friends every where, may continually bow unto his Righteous Scepter, and keep to his holy Law, which is written in their Hearts; that it may be a Light to their Feet, and a Lanthorn to their Paths. So shall they come to witness that holy Promise made good unto them, *That the Spirit, which I have given unto him, the Seed; and the Words, which I have put into his Mouth, shall not depart from him, nor from his Seed, nor from his Seeds Seed unto all Generations*.

Isa. 59. 21.

Wherefore, Friends, redeem the Time, because the Days are evil; God hath given you to see they are so: And be ye separated more and more, yea, perfectly disentangled from the Cares of this World. And be ye not cumbered with the many Things; but stand loose from the Things that are seen, which are Temporal.

And you that are Poor, murmur not; but be Patient, and trust in the Lord, and submit to his Providence, and he will provide for you, that which is convenient for you, the Days of your appointed Time. And you that are Rich, keep in the Moderation, and strive not to multiply Earthly Treasure, nor to heap up uncertain Riches to your selves; but what God hath given you more than what is convenient for your own Use, wait for his Wisdom, to employ it for his Glory; that you may be faithful Stewards of this World's Mammon; and the Lord God shall reward you in your Bosoms, of the Riches of that Kingdom that shall never have an End.

O my Friends and Brethren, whether Rich or Poor, in Bonds or at Liberty, in whatsoever State you are, the Salutation of the universal Life of Jesus is to you. And the Exhortation is, to bow to what is made known unto you; and in the Light, by which ye have received in Measure the Knowledge of God, watch and wait diligently to the farther Revelation of the Mind and Will of God unto you, that ye may be endued from on High with Power and Might in your inward Man, to answer the Call and Requirings of the Lord; that ye may be enabled to make known to the Nations, what is the Riches of the Glory of this blessed Mystery in the *Gentiles*; which is Christ Jesus the Light of the World, in you the Hope of Glory. For this I have to tell you in the Vision of the Almighty, that the Day of the breaking up of the Nations about you, and of the sounding of the Gospel Trumpet unto the Inhabitants of the Earth, is just at the Door: And they that are worthy, who have kept their Habitation from the Beginning, and have dwelt in the Unity of the Faith that overcometh the World, and have kept the Bond of Peace, The Lord God will impower and Spirit them to go forth with his Everlasting Word and Testament to *awaken, and gather, Kindreds, Languages, and People to the Glory of the rising of the Gentiles Light; who is God's Salvation unto the Ends of the Earth*.

And I must tell you, that there is a Breathing, Hungering, Seeking People, solitarily scattered up and down this great Land of *Germany*, where the Lord hath sent me; and I believe it is the like in other Nations. And as the Lord hath laid it upon me, with my Companions, to seek some of them out, so have we found several in divers Places. And we have had many blessed Opportunities amongst them, wherein our Hearts have greatly rejoiced; having been made deeply sensible of the Love of God towards them, and of the great Openness and Tenderness of Spirit in them, to receive the Testimony of Light and Life through us. And we have a steadfast Belief, that the Lord will carry on his Work in this Land effectually; and that he will raise up those, that shall be as Ministers of his Eternal Testament amongst them. And O! our Desire is, that God would put it
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into the Hearts of many of his faithful Witnesses, to visit the Inhabitants of this Country, where God hath a great Seed of People to be gathered; that his Work may go on in the Earth, till the whole Earth be filled with his Glory.

And it is in the deep and weighty Sense of this approaching Work, that the Lord God hath laid it upon me, to write to you, to wait for the farther Pourings out of the Power and Spirit of the Lord; that nothing that is Careless, Sleepy, Earthly, or exalted, may get up, whereby to displease the Lord, and cause him to withdraw his sweet and Preserving Presence from any that know him. But let all keep the King of Righteousness his Peace, and walk in the Steps of the Flocks of the Companions: For Withering and Destruction shall come upon all such as desert the Camp of the Lord, or with their murmuring Spirit disquiet the Heritage of God; for they are greater Enemies to *Sion's* Glory, and *Jerusalem's* Peace, than the open Armies of the *Aliens*.

And it is a Warning to all, that make mention of the Name of the Lord in this Dispensation he hath brought us to, That they have a Care how they let out their Minds in any wise to please the Lusts of the Eye, the Lusts of the Flesh, and the Pride of Life; which are not of the Father, but of this World: Lest any be exalted in a Liberry, that maketh the Cross of Jesus of none Effect, and the Offence thereof to cease: For such will become as Salt that hath lost its Savour, and at last will be trod under the Feet of God, and Men. For the Lord will withdraw his daily Presence, and the Fountain will come to be sealed up, and the Well of Salvation be stopped again.

Therefore, as all would rejoyce in the Joy of God's Salvation, let them wait for the saving Power, and dwell in it; that, knowing the Mystery of the Work of Regeneration, Christ formed in them, the Hope of their Glory, they may be able in the Motion of him, that hath begotten them through Death to Life, to go forth and declare the way of Life and Salvation.

And all you, that are young, convinced of the Eternal Truth, come into it, and then you will feel the Virtue of it, And so, you will be witnesses, otherwise *Vain Talkers, Wells without Water, Clouds without Rain*; for *which State is reserved the Blackness of Darkness for ever*.

Wherefore gird up the Loins of your Minds, and be sober, and tempt not God; but receive the Day of your Visitation and walk worthy of so great a Love, and delight to retain God in your Knowledge; and grieve not his Holy Spirit, but join to it, and be led by it, that it may be an Earnest to you of an Eternal Inheritance.

And take up your daily Cross, and follow Christ, and not the Spirit of this World. He was meek and lowly, he was humble and plain; he was few in Words, but mighty in Deeds; He loved not his Life unto Death, even the reproachful Death of the Cross; but laid down his Life, and became of no Reputation, and that for the *Rebellious. O the Height, and the Depth, the Length, and the Breadth*; yea, *the Unsearchableness of the Love of God in Christ Jesus*.

Wherefore, while it is to Day, hearken to his Voice, and harden not your Hearts: And make no Bargains for your Selves, neither consult with Flesh and Blood; but let the Lord be your Light, and your Salvation: let him be the Strength of your Life, and the Length of your Days. And this know assuredly, that none ever trusted to the Lord, and were confounded.

Wherefore hold up your Testimony for God; as ye would enjoy, the encreasings of his Life and Love: And let your Light shine, and confess him before the whole World. Smother not his Appearance, neither hide thy Candle, God hath lighted in thee, under a Bushel; for Christ walketh among his Candlesticks of pure and tried Gold. Wherefore set thy Light upon a Candlestick, and shew forth thy good Conversation in Meekness, and Godly Fear, that thou mayst become a good Example; and others behold ing thy good works, may glorifie God. But for the *Rebellious, the Fearful,*
and

and the Unbelieving, the Day hastens upon such, that the Things that be long to their Eternal Peace, shall be hid from their Eyes for ever.

And all you my Dear Friends and Brethren, who are in Sufferings for the Testimony of Jesus, and a good Conscience; look up to Jesus, the Author and Finisher of your Faith; who for the Joy that was set before him, endured the Cross, and despised the Shame; and is set down at the Right Hand of the Father, in the Heavenly Place, into which, if you faint not, you shall all be received, after the Days of your Pilgrimage shall be at an End, with a *Well done, Good and Faithful Servant.*

And though these Afflictions seem not joyous, but grievous for the present, yet a far more exceeding Weight of Glory stands at the Door. Wherefore count it all Joy when you fall into these Trials, and persevere to the End, knowing that *He* that shall come, will come, and will not tarry, and that *His* Reward is with *Him*. Remember the Martyrs of *Jesus*, that loved not their Lives to the Death for His Name's-Sake that called them. And *Jesus* himself, that made a good Confession before *Pontius Pilate*, who hath Consecrated through *His Blood* a New and Living Way for all, that come unto God by Him, who is made an High Priest, higher than the Heavens, One that can be touched and moved, and is daily touched and moved with our Weakness and Infirmary, that through Him we may be made strong in the Lord, and more than Conquerors through Him that hath loved us.

Wherefore let it not seem as if some strange Thing had happened to you, for all these Things are for the Trial of your Faith; which is more Precious than the Gold that perisheth. 'Tis the Old Quarrel, Children of this World against the Children of the Lord; those that are born after the Flesh, Warring against those that are born after the Spirit: *Cain* against *Abel*, the Old World against *Noah*; *Sodomites* against *Lot*; *Hagar* against *Sarah*; *Ishmael* against *Isaac*; *Esau* against *Jacob*; *Egyptians* against *Israelites*; the *False Prophets* against the *True Prophets*, as *Isaiah*, *Jeremiah*, &c. The Jews under the Profession of the Letter of the Law, against CHRIST, that came to fulfil the Law, and all His Spiritual Followers and Disciples: And all the False Apostate Christians against the True and Spiritual Christians and Martyrs of JESUS.

So, your Conflict is for the Spiritual Appearance of *Christ Jesus*, against those that profess Him in Words, but in Works and Conversation every Day deny Him; doing Despite to the Spirit of Grace in themselves, and those that are led by it. But though *Gog* and *Magog* shall gather themselves together to lay Waste the City of God, yet the Lord hath determined their Destruction, and He will bring it to pass.

Wherefore rejoice, O thou Little Hill of God, and clap thy Hands for Joy; for He that is Faithful and True, Just and Righteous, and able to deliver thee, dwells in the Midst of thee: Who will cause thee to grow and increase, till thou becomest a great Mountain, till thou becomest the Praise of the whole Earth, and the whole Earth be filled with thy Glory.

And to you all, who are the Followers of the Lamb of God, who was dead, but is alive, and lives for evermore; who is risen in your Hearts, as a Bright Shining Light, and is leading you out of the Nature and Spirit of this World, in the Path of Regeneration; I have this to say by Way of Holy Encouragement unto you all, The Lord God Eternal that was, and is, and is to come, hath reserved for you the Glories of the Last Days: And if so be, that the Followers and Martyrs of JESUS in Ages past, when the Church was going into the Wilderness, and his Witnesses into Sackcloth, were notwithstanding so Noble and Valiant for the Truth on Earth, that they loved not their Lives unto Death, and suffered joyfully the Spoiling of their Goods for the Testimony of Jesus, how much more ought you all to be encouraged unto Faithfulness, who are come to the Resurrection of the Day, which shall never more be Eclipsed; in which the Bridegroom is to come, to fetch you His Spouse out of the WILDERNESS, to give you Beauty for Ashes, and the Garment of Praise for the SPIRIT of HEAVINESS; who will cover you with His Spirit, and adorn you with

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with His Fine Linen, the Righteousness of the Saints. Lean upon His Breast for ever, and know your joyning in an Everlasting Covenant with Him, that He may lift up the Light of His Countenance upon you, and delight to do you Good : That in Blessing He may Bless you, increase you, and multiply you in all Spiritual Blessings now and for ever ; that to God through Him, you may live all the Days of your appointed Time. To whom be Glory and Honour, Praises and Thanksgivings in the Church throughout all Ages, and for ever.

I am, in the Faith, Patience, Tribulation, and Hope of the Kingdom of JESUS, your Friend and Brother,

William Penn.

My Companions in the Labour and Travel of the Testimony of *Jesus*; Salute you all in the Love of our God. We have passed through several Cities of *Germany*, and are now at *Frankfort*, where the Lord hath given us Three Blessed Opportunities with a Serious and Seeking People ; whereof, as in other Places of this Country, many of them are Persons of Great Worldly Quality. Blessed be the Name of the Lord, to whom be Glory for ever.

W. P.

*Frankfort, the 22d of
the 6th Month, 1677.*

*Crisheim,
23. 6. 7.*

The Fifth Day we arrived by the Way of *Worms* at *Crisheim*, in the *Paltzgrave's* Country, where we found to our great Joy, a Meeting of Tender and Faithful People : But it seems the Inspector of the *Calvinists* had enjoined the Vaught, or Chief Officer, not to suffer any Preaching to be among our *Friends*; who (Poor Man) fearing the Indignation of the Clergy, came next Day to desire *Friends* not to suffer any Preaching to be amongst them, lest he should be turned out of his Place. To whom we desired *Friends* to say, That if he pleased he might apprehend us, and carry us to the Prince, before whom we should give an Account of our Testimony.

But, blessed be the Lord, we enjoyed our Meeting quietly and comfortably; of which a Coach full from *Worms* made a Part, amongst whom was a Governor of that Country, and one of the Chief *Lutheran* Priests.

It came upon me in this Place to Salute the Princess and Countess with this following Epistle.

A Salutation to Elizabeth Princess Palatine, and Anna Maria d' Hornes, Countess of Hornes, at Herwerden in Germany.

My Worthy Friends,

SUCH as I have, such I give unto you, the Dear and Tender Salutation of Light, Life, Peace and Salvation by *JESUS CHRIST*, the Blessed Lamb of *GOD*; with the unspeakable Joy of which He hath replenished my Soul at this Time, that my Cup overfloweth ; which is the Reward of them that cheerfully drink His Cup of Tribulations, that love the Cross, and triumph in all the Shame, Reproaches and Contradictions of the World that do attend it. My God take you by the Hand, and gently lead you through all the Difficulties of Regeneration ; and as you have begun to know and love His Sweet and Tender Drawings, so resign the whole Conduct of your Lives to Him.

Dispute not away the Precious Sense that you have of Him, be it as small as a Grain of Mustard-Seed, which is the least of all Seeds; there is a Power in it (if you do but believe) to remove the greatest Mountains of Opposition. O Precious is this Faith, yea, more Precious than the Glory and Honour of this World that perisheth. It will give Courage to go with *CHRIST* before *Caiaphas* and *Pilate*; yea, to bear His Cross with-
out

out the Camp, and to be Crucified with Him, knowing that the Spirit of GOD and of Glory shall rest upon them. To the Inheritors of this Faith, is reserved the Eternal Kingdom of Peace, and *Joy in the Holy Ghost*.

O be you of that little Flock unto whom JESUS said, *Fear not, it is your Father's Good Pleasure to give you the Kingdom*: And to be of this Flock, you must become as Sheep; and to be as Sheep, you must become Harmless; and to become Harmless, you must hear and follow the *Lamb of God*, as He is that Blessed Light which discovereth and condemneth all the unfruitful Works of Darkness, and maketh Harmless as a Dove; which Word, *All*, leaveth not one Peccadillo or Circumstance undiscovered or unjudged; and the Word *Darkness* taketh in the whole Night of Apostasy, and the Word *Unfruitful*, is a plain Judgment against all those dark Works. Wherefore out of them all come, and be you separated; and God will give you a Crown of Life, which shall never fade away.

O! the Lowness and Meanness of those Spirits that despise or neglect the Joys and Glories of Immortality, for the Sake of the Things which are seen, that are but Temporal, debasing the Nobility of their Souls, abandoning the Government of the Divine Spirit, and embracing with all Ardency of Affection, the Sensual Pleasures of this Life; but such as persevere therein, shall not enter into God's Rest for ever.

But this is not all that hindereth and obstructeth in the Holy Way of Blessedness; for there is the World's Fear as well as the World's Joy that obstructeth many, or else Christ had not said, *Fear not*, to his Little Flock. The Shame of the Cross is a Yoke too uneasie, and a Burden too heavy for Flesh and Blood to bear, 'tis true; but therefore shall Flesh and Blood never enter into the Kingdom of God. And not to them that are born of the Flesh, but to those that are born of the Spirit, through the Word of Regeneration, is appointed the Kingdom, and that Throne which shall judge the Twelve Tribes of *Israel*, and all the World. The Lord perfect what he hath begun in you, and give you Dominion over the Love and Fear of this World.

And, my Friends, if you would profit in the Way of God, despise not the Day of Small Things in your selves: Know this, that to desire and sincerely to breath after the Lord, is a Blessed State; you must seek before you find. Do you believe? Make not Haste, extinguish not those small Beginnings by an over-earnest or impatient Desire of Victory. God's Time is the best Time; be you faithful, and your Conflict shall end with Glory to God, and the Reward of Peace to your own Souls. Therefore love the Judgment, and love the Fire; start not aside, neither flinch from the Scorplings of it, for it will purify and refine you as Gold seven times tried; then cometh the Stamp and Seal of the Lord upon his own Vessel, *Holiness to Him for ever*; which he never gave, nor will give to Reprobate Silver, the State of the Religious Worshippers of the World. And herein be comforted, that *Sion* shall be redeemed through Judgment, and her Converts through Righteousness; and after the appointed Time of Mourning is over, the Lord will give Beauty for Ashes, the Oil of Joy for Mourning, and the Garment of Praise for the Spirit of Heaviness. Then shall you be able to say, *Who is he that condemneth us? God hath justified us; there is no Condemnation to us that are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the Flesh, but after the Spirit*.

Wherefore, my dear Friends, walk not only not after the Fleishly Lusts, but also not after the Fleishly Religions, and Worships of the World: For that *That* is not born of the Spirit is Flesh; and all Flesh shall wither as the Grass, and the Beauty of it shall fade away as the Flower of the Field, before God's Sun that is risen, and rising. But the Word of the Lord in which is Life, and that Life the Light of Men, shall endure for ever, and give Life Eternal to them that love, and wait in the Light.

And I intreat you, by the Love you have for JESUS, have a Care how you touch with Fleishly Births, or say *Amen*, by Word or Practice, to that which is not born of the Spirit: For God is not to be found of

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‘ that, in your selves or others, that calleth *Him Father*, and *He* hath never begotten it in them; that Latitude and Conformity is not of God, but secretly grieveth *His Spirit*, and obstrueth the Growth of the Soul in its Acquaintance, and intimate Communion with the LORD. *Without me*, saith JESUS, *you can do nothing*; and *all that came before Me are Thieves and Robbers*. If so, O what are they that Pray, and Preach, and Sing without JESUS, and follow not *Him* in those Duties, but even in them Crucify *Him*? O that I may find in you an Ear to hear, and an Heart to perceive, and embrace these *Truths of JESUS*.

‘ And I can say, I have great Cause to hope, and patiently to wait till the Salvation of God be farther revealed to you, and the whole Family; with whom (I must acknowledge) I was abundantly refreshed and comforted, in that God in Measure made known the Riches of His Grace; and Operation of His Celestial Power to you; and His Witness shall dwell with you, (if we never see you more) that God magnified His own Strength in our Weakness. With *Him* we leave our Travels, affectionately recommending you to *His Holy Spirit of Grace*, that you may be conformed to the *Image of His own Dear Son*, who is able and ready to preserve you. O stay your Minds upon *Him*, and *He* will keep you in perfect Peace, and abide with you for ever. The ALMIGHTY take you into *His Holy Protection* now and for ever.

*I am your True Friend, ready to serve you, with Fervent Love
in the Will of GOD,*

William Penn.

My dear Companions do, with me, give you the Dear Salutation of unfeigned Love, and those in the Family that love the Lord JESUS in Sincerity and Truth without wavering.

P. S. We are this Evening bound towards *Manheim*, the Court of the Prince Palatine, and have travell'd about twelve *English* Miles on Foot.

Franckenthal.
25. 6. 7.
Manheim.

That Night we lodged at *Franckenthal*, and got next Morning, being the Seventh Day of the Week, to *Manheim*; but were disappointed of our Design, which was to speak with the Prince, for he was gone the Day before to *Heydelberg*, his Chief City, about fifteen *English* Miles from that Place. And considering that by Reason of the Meeting next Day with Friends at *Crisheim* already appointed, we could neither go forward, nor stay till he returned; and yet being not clear to come away, as if we had never endeavoured to visit him, it was upon me to write him this following Letter, to let him know we had been there, and briefly our End in coming.

To the Prince Elector Palatine of *Heydelberg*.

Great PRINCE!

IT would seem strange that I, both a Stranger, and a Subject, should use this Freedom of Address to a Prince, were he not one, whose Actions shew him to be of a Free Disposition, and easie Access to all: Would to God All Princes were of that Mind! But I have not chosen this Way of Application, I am driven to it by the Disappointment thy Absence from this Court gave me, and the Necessity I am under to expedite my Return. And though I cannot so fully, and consequently not so clearly, express by Letter the Grounds inducing me to attempt this Visit, yet this being all the Way that is left me, I shall declare them as well as I can.

In the first Place, I do with all Sincere and Christian Respect, acknowledge and commend that INDULGENCE Thou givest to all People Professing Religion, Dissenting from the National Communion: For it is in itself a Most Natural, Prudent and Christian Thing.

Natural,

Natural, because it preserves Nature from being made a Sacrifice to the Savage Fury of Fallible, yet Proud Opinions, Outlawing Men of Parts, Arts, Industry and Honesty, the Grand Requisites of Humane Society; and exposing them and their Families to utter Ruin for Meer Nonconformity, not to Religion, but to Modes and Fashions in Religion.

Christian, since the contrary expressly contradicted both the Precept and Example of CHRIST, who taught us to Love Enemies, not to abuse our Friends, and triumph in the Destruction of our Harmless Neighbours. He rebuked His Disciples, when they called for Fire from Heaven upon Dissenters, it may be Opposers: Certainly then, He never intended that they should kindle Fire upon Earth to devour Men for Conscience. And if CHRIST (to whom all Power was given) and His Holy Apostles refused to employ Humane Force and Artifice so much as to conserve themselves, 'tis an Arrogancy every Way indefensible in those that pretend to be their Followers, that they assume an Authority to supersede, controul, and contradict the Precepts and Examples of CHRIST and His Apostles; whose Kingdom not being of the Nature of this ambitious violent World, was not erected or maintained by those Weapons that are Carnal, but Spiritual and Intellectual, adequate to the Nature of the Soul, and mighty through God to cast down the Strong-holds of Sin, and every Vain Imagination exalted in Man above the lowly meek Fear of God, that ought to have the Pre-eminence in the Hearts of the Sons of Men.

Indulgence is Prudent, in that it preserveth Concord: No Kingdom divided against itself can stand. It encourageth Arts, Parts and Industry, to show and improve themselves, which indeed are the Ornaments, Strength and Wealth of a Country: It encourageth People to transplant into this Land of Liberty, where the Sweat of the Brow is not made the Forfeit of the Conscience.

And, lastly, it rendereth the Prince peculiarly Safe and Great. Safe, because all Interests, for Interest Sake, are bound to love and court him. Great, in that he is not govern'd or clogg'd with the Power of his Clergy, which in most Countries is not only a Co-ordinate Power, a Kind of Duumvirate in Government, Imperium in Imperio, at least an Eclipse to Monarchy, but a Superior Power, and rideth the Prince to their Designs, holding the Helm of the Government, and steering not by the Laws of Civil Freedom, but certain Ecclesiastical Maxims of their own, to the Maintenance and Enlargement of their Worldly Empire in their Church. And all this Villany acted under the Sacred, Peaceable and Alluring Name of CHRIST, His Ministry and Church; though as remote from their Nature, as the Wolf from the Sheep, and the Pope from Peter.

The next Thing I should have taken the Liberty to have discours'd, would have been this: What Encouragement a Colony of Virtuous and Industrious Families might hope to receive from Thee, in Case they should transplant themselves into this Country, which certainly in itself is very excellent, respecting Taxes, Oaths, Arms, &c.

Farther, to have represented the Condition of some of our Friends, and thy own Subjects; who though they are liable to the same Tax as Ministers, &c. (not by Part the Case of other Dissenters) yet the Vaught of the Town where they live, came Yesterday to forbid all Preaching amongst them, which implies a Sort of Contradiction to the Indulgence given.

And in the last Place, for as much as all Men owe their Being to something Greater than themselves, to which 'tis reasonable to believe they are accountable, from whence follow Rewards or Punishments;

I had an Earnest Desire to have spoken of the Nature, Truth, Use, Benefit and Reward of Religion, and therein as to have discours'd what is Christian Religion in it self, (freed from those unreasonable Garbs some Men make it to wear, so justly offensive to Wise and Thinking Men) so to have proved the Principle and Life of the People in Scorn called Quakers, to have been suitable to the True Followers of Holy JESUS. But as the Particulars would swell a Letter to a Book, I shall take the Freedom to present Thee upon my Return, with some Tracts treating upon all those Subjects.

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Prince, my Soul is filled with Love and Respect to Thee and Thy Family; I wish you all True and Lasting Felicity, and earnestly desire that you may never forget your Afflictions, and in the Remembrance of them be deborted from those Lusts and Impieties, which draw the Vengeance of Heaven upon the greatest Families on Earth, that God may look upon you with the favourable Eye of His Providence. And blessed is that Man, whose God (by Profession) is the Lord in Reality, viz. that is Ruled and Governed by the Lord, and that lives in Subjection to His Grace; that having a Divine Sense of God in his Heart, delights to retain that Sense and Knowledge of Him, and be meditating in His Noble Royal Law, that converts the Soul to God, and redeems Man from the Sensual Pleasures of this World, to the True Satisfaction of the Intellectual and Divine Life.

O the Meanness and Lowness of their Spirits, that abandon themselves to the Government of Sense, the Animal Life, thereby debasing their Natures, rejecting the Divine Light, that shineth in their Hearts, saying, Let us Eat and Drink, for to Morrow we shall Die; forgetting whence they are descended, and not considering the Peace and Joy of the Virtuous!

I desire that the Lord would put it into Thy Heart to think of thy Latter End, and with the Light of Christ in thy Conscience, examine how it stands with Thy Soul, that thou mayst know, and diligently watch to do those Things that belong to Thy Eternal Peace.

One Thing more give me Leave to recommend to Thee, and that is, to be very careful of inculcating Generous, Free and Righteous Principles into thy Son, who is like to succeed Thee, that when Thou art gone, the Reputation of the Country may not sink by contrary Practices, nor the People of divers Judgments (now thy Subjects) be disappointed, distressed or ruined. Which, with Sincere Desires for Thy Temporal and Eternal Good, concludes this,

From Mannheim, the 25th of
the 5th Month, 1677.

Thy unknown, but Sincere Friend,

William Fenn.

Worms.
26. 6. 1.
Crisheim.

Which being done, and having refreshed our selves, we returned that Night by the Rhine to Worms; from whence we the next Morning (being the First Day of the Week) walked on Foot to Crisheim, which is about Six English Miles from Worms. We had a good Meeting from the Tenth, till the Third Hour, and the Lord's Power sweetly opened to many of the Inhabitants of the Town that were at the Meeting; yea, the Vaught, or Chief Officer himself, stood at the Door behind the Barn, where he could hear, and not be seen; who went to the Priest and told him, that it was his Work, if we were Hereticks, to discover us to be such, but for his Part, he had heard nothing but what was Good, and he would not meddle with us.

In the Evening we had a more retired Meeting of the Friends only, very weighty and tender; yea, the Power rose in an high Operation among them, and great was the Love of God that rose in our Hearts at the Meeting to visit them; and there is a lovely, sweet, and true Sense among them: We were greatly comforted in them, and they were greatly comforted in us. Poor Hearts, a little Handful surrounded with great and mighty Countries of Darknes; 'tis the Lord's Great Goodness and Mercy to them, that they are so finely kept, even Natural in the Seed of Life. They were most of them gathered by dear William Ames.

The next Morning we had another Meeting, where we took our Leave of them, and so came accompanied by several of them to Worms, where having refresh'd our selves, we went to visit the Lutheran Priest, that was at the Meeting the Sixth Day before at Crisheim; he received us very kindly, and his Wife, not without some Sense of our Testimony. After we had discours'd about an Hour with him, of the True and Heavenly Ministry and Worship, and in what they stood, and what all People must come unto, if ever

Worms.
27. 6. 2.

ever they will know how to worship God aright, we departed, and immediately sent them several good Books of *Friends*, in *High-Dutch*.

Immediately we took Boat, about the Third Hour in the Afternoon, and came down the River *Rhine* to *Mentz*, where we arrived about the Fifth Hour in the Morning, and immediately took an open Chariot to *Frankfort*, where we came about the First Hour in the Afternoon.

Mentz.
28. 6. 34
Frankfort.

We presently informed some of those People that had received us the Time before, of our Return to that City, with Desires that we might have a Meeting that Afternoon, which was readily granted us by the Noble Women, at whose House we met, whither resorted some that we had not seen before. And the Lord did, after a Living Manner, open our Hearts and Mouths amongst them, which was received by them as a farther Confirmation of the coming of the Day of the Lord unto them; yea, with much Joy and Kindness they received us.

The Meeting held till the Ninth Hour at Night; they constrained us to stay and eat with them, which was also a Blessed Meeting to them. Before we parted, we desired a select Meeting the next Morning at the same Place, of those that we felt more inwardly affected with *Truth's Testimony*, and that were nearest unto the State of a Silent Meeting, which they joyfully assented to.

We went to our Lodging, and the next Morning we returned unto them, with whom we had a Blessed and Heavenly Opportunity, for we had Room for our Life amongst them: It was as among Faithful Friends, Life ran as Oil, and swam a-top of all.

29. 6. 41

We recommended a *Silent Meeting* unto them, that they might grow into an *Holy Silence* unto themselves; that the Mouth that calls God *Father*, that is not of his own Birth, may be stop'd, and all Images confounded, that they may hear the soft *Voice of JESUS* to instruct them, and receive His Sweet Life to feed them, and to build them up.

About the Ninth Hour we departed from that Place, and went to *Vander Walls*, where the Meeting was the Time before, and there we had a more publick Meeting of all that pleased to come. The Lord did so abundantly appear amongst us, that they were more broken than we had seen them at any Time; yea, they were exceeding tender and low, and the Love of God was much raised in their Hearts to the Testimony. In this Sensible Frame we left them, and the Blessings and Peace of our Lord *Jesus Christ* with and among them.

And after we had refresh'd our selves at our Inn, we took Boat down the *Maine* to *Mentz*, where we arrived about the Fifth Hour. 'Tis a great City, but a dark and superstitious Place, according to the Popish Way, and is under the Government of a Popish Bishop. We stayed not longer there, than till our Boat was ready, which might be better than Half an Hour. From *Mentz* we went on our Way down the *Rhine* Six German Miles, and came that Night to *Hampack*: From thence the next Morning, we went by *Bacharach*, *Coblentz*, and other Places upon the *Rhine*, to *Tresy* that Night, being about Eleven German Miles. Next Day (being the Sixth Day of the Week) we got to *Cullen*, a great Popish City, about the Third Hour in the Afternoon. We gave Notice to a Sober Merchant in that Town, a *Serious Seeker after God*, that we were there arrived, who presently came to us. We sat down, and had a Living and Precious Opportunity with him, opening to him the *Way of the Lord*, as it *had been manifested to us*; intreating him, if he knew any in that City, who had Desires after the Lord, or that were willing to come to a Meeting, that he would please to inform them of our being here, and of our Desire to meet with them. He answered, *He would readily do it*.

Mentz.

Hampack.
30. 6. 5.
Tresy.
Cullen.
31. 6. 6.

This Night, when we were in Bed, came the Resident of several Princes, (a Serious and Tender Man) to find us out: We had some Discourse with him, but being late, he promised to see us the next Day.

The next Morning came the aforesaid Merchant, informing us that it was a busy Time, several preparing for the Mart or great Fair at *Frankfort*; yet

1. 7. 7.

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yet some would come, and he desired the Meeting might be at his House about Three in the Afternoon.

In the Morning we went to visit that Resident, whom we met coming to see us; but he returned and brought us to his House. We had a good Time with him; for the Man is an ancient Seeker, oppressed with the Cares of this World, and he may be truly said to mourn under them: *His Heart* was opened to us, and *He Blessed God that he had lived to see us*. We gave him an Account how the Lord had appeared in the Land of our Nativity, and how he had dealt with us; which was as the cool and gentle Showers upon the dry and scorched Desert. About Noon we returned Home, and after we had eaten, we went to the Merchant's House to the Meeting, where came four Persons, one of which was the *Presbyterian Priest*, who preach'd in private to the *Protestants of that Place*, for they are no ways publicly allowed in that City. Surely the True Day and Power of the Lord made known itself to the Consciences of them present: Yea, they felt that we were such as had been with *JESUS*, and that had obtained our Testimony through the Sufferings and *Travels of the Cross*. They were tender: The Resident and Merchant conducted us to our Inn, and from thence to the Boat, being about Seven at Night. We set out towards the City of *Duyf-burgh*, of the *Calvinist Way*, belonging to the Elector of *Brandenburg*, in and near to which we had been informed there were a retired and Seeking People.

Duyfburgh.
2. 7. 1.

We arrived there the next Day about Noon, being the First Day of the Week. The first Thing we did after we came to our Inn, was to inquire out one *Dr. Mastricht* a Civilian, for whom we had a Letter to introduce us, from a Merchant of *Cullen*; whom quickly finding, we informed him what we came about, desiring his Assistance, which he readily promised us. The first Thing we offered, was an Access to the Countess of *Falckensteyn* and *Bruch*: He told us, *She was an extraordinary Woman, one in whom we should find Things worthy of our Love; that he would write to her, to give us an Opportunity with her; that the fittest Time was the present Time, in that we might find her at the Minister's of Mulheim, on the other Side of the River from her Father's Castle; for that she used to come out the First Day Morning, and not return till Night: That we must be very shy of making our selves Publick, not only for our own Sakes, but for hers, who was severely treated by her Father, for the Sake of those Religious Inclinations that appeared in her, although her Father pretended to be of the Protestant Religion.*

We therefore dispatched towards *Mulheim*, having received his Letter, and being also accompanied by him about One Third of the Way; but being Six English Miles, and on Foot, we could not compass the Place before the Meeting was over; for it was past Three before we could get out from *Duyfburgh*; and following that Way which led to the Backside of the *Graef's* Castle and Orchard, which was also a common Way to the Town, (tho' if we had known the Country we might have avoided it) we met with one *Henry Smith*, Schoolmaster and Catechizer of *Speldorp*, to whom we imparted our Business, and gave the Letter of *Dr. Mastricht* of *Duyf-burgh*, to introduce us to the Countess.

He told us, *He had just left her, being come over the Water from Worship, but he would carry the Letter to her, and bring an Answer suddenly; but notwithstanding staid near an Hour. When he came, he gave us this Answer, viz. That she would be glad to meet us, but she did not know where; but rather inclined that we should go over the Water to the Minister's House, whither, if she could, she would come to us; but that a strict Hand was held over her by her Father.* After some more serious Discourse with him, concerning the *Witness of God in the Conscience*, and the Discovery, Testimony, and Judgment of that *True Light*, unto which all must bow that would be Heirs of the Kingdom of God (recommending him to the same) we parted; he returning homewards, and we advancing to the Town. But being necessitated to pass by her Father's Castle, who is Seignior or Lord of that Country, it so fell out, that at that very Instant he came forth to walk:

And

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Mulheim.

And seeing us in the Habit of Strangers, sent One of his Attendants to demand who, and from whence we were? And whither we went? Calling us afterwards to him, and asking us the same Questions. We answered, *That we were Englishmen come from Holland, going no farther in these Parts, than his own Town of Mulheim.* But not showing him, or paying him that Worldly Homage and Respect which was expected from us, some of his Gentlemen ask'd us, *If we knew whom we were before? And if we did not use to deport our selves after another Manner before Noblemen, and in the Presence of Princes?* We answered, *We were not Conscious to our selves of any Disrespect or Unseemly Behaviour.* One of them sharply replied, *Why don't you pull off your Hats then? Is it Respect to stand covered in the Presence of the Sovereign of the Country?* We told them, *It was our Practice in the Presence of our Prince, who is a Great King, and that we uncovered not our Heads to any, but in our Duty to Almighty G.O.D.* Upon which the Graef called us *Quakers*, saying unto us, *We have no need of Quakers here; get you out of my Dominions; you shall not go to my Town.*

We told him, *That we were an innocent People that feared God, and had Good Will towards all Men; that we had True Respect in our Hearts towards him, and would be glad to do him any real Good or Service; and that the Lord had made it Matter of Conscience to us, not to conform our selves to the vain and fruitless Customs of this World, or Words to this Purpose.* However, he commanded some of his Soldiers to see us out of his Territories; to whom we also declared somewhat of the Reason and Intention of our coming to that Place, in the Fear and Love of God, and they were civil to us.

We parted with much Peace and Comfort in our Hearts; and as we passed through the Village where the Schoolmaster dwelt, (yet in the Dominions of the Graef) we called upon him, and in the Sense of God's Power and Kingdom, open'd to him the *Message and Testimony of TRUTH*, which the Man received with a weighty and serious Spirit. For under the Dominion of the Graef there is a large Congregation of Protestants called *Calvinists*, of a more Religious, Inward and Zealous Frame of Spirit, than any Body of People we met with, or heard of in Germany.

After we had ended our Testimony to him, we took our Leave, desiring him not to fear, but to be of good Courage, for the Day of the Lord was hastning upon all the Workers of Iniquity: And to them that feared his Name, where-ever scattered throughout the Earth, he would cause the *Sun of Righteousness to arise and visit them, with Healing under His Wings*: And to remember us with True Love and Kindness to the Countess, Daughter to this Graef, and to desire her not to be offended in us, nor to be dismayed at the Displeasure of her Father, but Eye the Lord that hath visited her Soul with his *Holy Light*, by which she seeth the Vanity of this World, and in some Measure the Emptiness and Deadness of the Religions that are in it, and He would preserve her from the Fear of the Wrath of Man, that worketh not the *Righteousness of God*. So we left the *Peace of JESUS* with him, and walked on towards *Dussburgh*, being about Six English Miles from thence, and near the Eighth Hour at Night. The Lord was with us, and comforted our Hearts as we walked, without any *Outward Guide*, through a tedious and solitary Wood, about Three Miles long, with the *Joy of His Salvation*: Giving us to remember, and to speak one unto another, *Of His Blessed Witnesses in the Days past, who wandered up and down like Poor Pilgrims and Strangers on the Earth, their Eye being to a City in the Heavens, that had Foundations, whose Builder and Maker is God.*

Betwixt Nine and Ten we reached the Walls of *Dussburgh*, but the Gates were shut, and there being no Houses without the Walls, we laid us down together in a Field, receiving both Natural and Spiritual Refreshment, blessed be the Lord. About Three in the Morning we rose, sanctifying God in our Hearts that had kept us that Night, and walked till Five, often speaking one to another, *Of the Great and Notable Day of the Lord dawning upon Germany, and on several Places of that Land that were almost ripe unto Harvest.*

3. 7. 2.

Soon

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Duyburgh.

Soon after the Clock had struck Five, they opened the Gates of the City, and we had not long got to our Inn, but it came upon me, with a sweet, yet fervent Power, to visit this *Persecuted Countess*, with a Salutation from the Love and Life of Jesus, and to open unto her more plainly the Way of the Lord; which I did in this following *Epistle*.

To the Countess of Falckensteyn and Bruch, at Mulheim.

My Dear Friend,

JESUS, the Immaculate Lamb of God (Grieved and Crucified by all the Workers of Iniquity) illuminate thy Understanding, bless and be with thy Spirit for ever!

Tho' unknown, yet art thou much beloved for the Sake of thy Desires and Breathings of Soul after the Living God: The Report whereof, from some in the same State, hath made deep Impression of true Kindness upon my Spirit, and raised in me a very singular and fervent Inclination to visit thee; and the rather, because of that Suffering and Tribulation thou hast begun to endure for the Sake of thy Zeal towards God, myself having from my Childhood been both a Seeker after the Lord, and a great Sufferer for that Cause, from Parents, Relations, Companions, and the Magistrates of this World. The Remembrance whereof hath so much the more endeared thy Condition unto me; and my Soul hath often, in the sweet Sense and Feeling of the Holy Presence of God, and the precious Life of his dear Son in my Heart, with great Tenderness, implored his Divine Assistance unto thee, that thou mayst both be illuminated to do, and made willing to suffer for his Name's Sake; that the Spirit of God, and of Glory may rest upon thy Soul.

And truly I can say, I felt the good Will of God, his holy Care, and heavenly Visitation of Love to extend unto thee. But one Thing more especially lay upon my Spirit to have communicated unto thee, which made me the more pressing for an Opportunity to speak with thee, and that was this, That thou shouldst have a true, right and distinct Knowledge of thy own State, and what that is which hath visited thee; and in what thy Faith, Patience, Hope and Salvation stand; where to wait, and how to find the Lord, and distinguish between that which is born of God, and that which is not; both with Respect to thy self in all the Motions and Conceptions of thy Heart; and with Respect to others in their Religious Worships and Performances; to the End that thou mayst not be deceived about the Things relating to God's Kingdom, and thy Eternal Peace: This is of greatest Weight.

Now know certainly, that which hath discovered unto thee the Vanities of this World, the Emptiness and the Fading of all earthly Glory, the Blessedness of the Righteous, and the Joy of the World that is to come, is the Light of Christ Jesus wherewith he hath enlightened thy Soul: For in him was Life, and that Life is the Light of Mankind, John i. 4. 9. Thus God promised by the Prophet Isaiah; to give Him, viz. for a Light to lighten the Gentiles, and for his Salvation to the Ends of the Earth. So that Christ the Light is God's Gift, and Eternal Life is hid in him; yea, all the Treasures of Wisdom and Knowledge, who is the Light of the Gospel-Temple, true Believers, Rev. 21. And all that receive this Light into their Hearts, and bring their Deeds to it, to see in what Ground they are wrought, whether in God or in the Evil One, and make this blessed Light the Guide of their Life; fearing, with an holy Fear, to do any Thing that this Light manifests to be Evil; waiting and watching with a godly Care to be preserved blameless before the Lord: I say, all such become Children of Light, and Witnesses of the Life of Jesus. O blessed wilt thou be for ever, if in the Way of this Holy Light thy Mind walks to the End!

Let This that hath visited thee lead thee; this Seed of Light and Life, which is the Seed of the Kingdom; yea, 'tis Christ, the true and only Seed of God, that visited my Soul, even in my young Years; that spread my Sins in Order before me, reprov'd me, and brought Godly Sorrow upon me; making
me

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me often to weep in Solitary Places, and say within my Soul, O that I knew the Lord as I ought to know him! O that I served him as I ought to serve him! Yea, often was there a great Concern upon my Spirit about mine Eternal State, mournfully desiring that the Lord would give my Soul Rest in the great Day of Trouble. Now was all the Glory of the World as a Bubble; yea, nothing was dear to me that I might win Christ: For the Love, Friendship and Pleasure of this World were a Burden unto my Soul. And in this Seeking-state I was directed to the Testimony of Jesus in mine own Conscience, as the true shining Light, giving me to discern the Thoughts and Intents of mine own Heart. And no sooner was I turned unto it, but I found it to be that which from my Childhood had visited me, though I distinctly knew it not: And when I received it in the Love of it, it shewed me all that ever I had done, and reprov'd all the unfruitful Works of Darknes; judging me as a Man in the Flesh, and laying Judgment to the Line, and Righteousness to the Plummert in me. And as by the Brightness of his Coming into my Soul, he discovered the Man of Sin there, upon his Throne, so by the Breath of his Mouth, which is the two-edged Sword of his Spirit, He destroyeth his Power and Kingdom. And so having made me a Witness of the Death of the Cross, he hath also made me a Witness of his Resurrection. So that in good Measure my Soul can now say, I am justified in the Spirit; and though the State of Condemnation unto Death was glorious, yet Justification unto Life was, and is, more glorious.

In this State of the New Man all is new: Behold new Heavens, and a new Earth! Old Things come to be done away; the old Man with his Deeds put off. Now new Thoughts, new Desires, new Affections, new Love, new Friendship, new Society, new Kindred, new Faith; even that which overcometh this World, through many Tribulations; and new Hope, even that living Hope that is founded upon true Experience, which holds out all Storms, and can see to the Glory that is invisible (to carnal Eyes) in the midst of the greatest Tempest.

Now it is the same blessed Seed of Light, Life and Grace, which from God the Father is sown in thy Heart, and which hath moved and wrought there the Change which thou hast witnessed from the Spirit of this World: Turn to it, watch in it, that by it thou mayst be kept from all that it discovers to be contrary to God; especially from thy self, from thine own Runnings, Willings, and Strivings: For whatsoever is not born of the Spirit is Flesh; and that inheriteth not the Kingdom of God; but all that sow to it shall inherit Corruption. By this thou wilt come to feel, not only all Sin to be a Burden, but all thine own Righteousness, yea, all Man's Righteousness to be a Burden. Thou wilt see the Difference betwixt the Duties and Prayers which thou begettest, and the Duties and Prayers which, in thy true Silence from all Self-Activity of Mind, the Lord begets in thee.

O that thou might'st know the Mystery of the new Birth, and what that is that can truly call God Father; even that that is begotten of him, which liveth and breatheth, and hath its Beginning and Being in that Life which is hid with Christ in God, and by which it hath been quickened to the Knowledge and Worship of Christ and God. And this thou shalt not fail to know and enjoy, as thou patiently sufferest the Lord to work his own Work in thee, by his own blessed Spirit. And that which will give thee to savour and discern the right Motions and Conceptions, Duties and Performances in thy self, from the false, will give thee to savour and discern that which is right from that which is false in others; that which is of God, from that which is of Man.

Have a Care of gathering of Sticks, and kindling a Fire of thine own, and then compassing thy self about with the Sparks of the Fire which thou hast kindled, for the End of this State is to lie down in Sorrow; because the Heavenly Fire is absent, which maketh the Sacrifice acceptable: Yea, the Lord may stir in thy Heart, but thou mayst bring forth: But he that gives to conceive, he brings to the Birth, and he giveth Power to bring forth acceptably: For without Christ we can do nothing; and blessed are they that stir not before the Angel moveth the Waters, and go not before Christ but are led by Him, and that

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awaken not their Beloved till he please; in whose Hands the Times and the Seasons are. O blessed are they, whose Eyes are opened to see him always present, a God always nigh at Hand; whose Hearts are stayed upon his holy Appearance in them, and are thereby translated into his Likeness; whose Faith and Hope are in Christ in them, the Hope of Glory.

My dear Friend, weigh these Things with a serious, retired, sweet and tender Frame of Spirit; and the God that hath called me and thee, by the Light of his dear Son, open thine Understanding to perceive the Truth as it is in Jesus, and what is the Mystery of the Fellowship of the Saints in Light. So to the Lord I recommend thee, the Watchman and Keeper of Israel. The Lord be thy Strength and holy Comfort, and speak Peace to thee, and never leave thee nor forsake thee till he hath conducted thee through all Tribulations, to his everlasting Kingdom of Rest and Glory.

O dear Heart, be valiant, and stay thy self upon Christ Jesus the Everlasting Rock, and feel him a Fountain in thy Soul; feel his Blood to cleanse, and his Blood to drink, and his Flesh to eat: Feed upon him, for God hath given him for the Life of the World.

I had seen thee, had not thy Father's strange Sort of Severity hindered. I confess, I do not use to be so treated in mine own Country, where the Lord hath raised up many Thousands of Witnesses, that he hath gathered out of all Selfs and Professions, to worship him, not in their own Spirits or Wills, but in his Will, Spirit and Truth: And we are generally, after much Affliction and Suffering, in good Esteem, even with the great Ones of this World. And this let me add for thy particular Comfort, that though I have been a Man of great Anguish and Sorrow, because of the Scorn and Reproach that hath attended my Separation from the World, (having been taught of Jesus to turn my Back upon all for the Sake of that Glory that shall be revealed) yet to God's Honour I can say it, I have an Hundred Friends for One, yea, God hath turned the Hearts of mine Enemies towards me; he hath fulfilled his Promise, to turn the Hearts of the Parents unto the Children. For my Parents, that once disowned me for this blessed Testimony's Sake, (of the Jew, Christian, Circumcision, and Baptism Inward, against the Fleishly Christian) have come to love me above all, and have left me all; thinking they could never do and leave enough for me. O how good is the Lord! Tea, the Ways of his Mercy are even past finding out.

Wherefore, my dear Friend, trust in the Lord for ever; and the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, the God of the Prophets and of the Apostles, the God of all the holy Martyrs of Jesus, illuminate, fortifie and preserve thee stedfast, that in the End thou mayst receive the Reward of Life and Eternal Salvation: To whom be Glory, and to the Lamb that sits upon the Throne, One God, and One Lord, blessed and magnified for Ever and Ever; Amen.

Thy great and faithful Lover for the blessed and holy TRUTH's sake.

Duysburgh the 13th of the
7th Month S. N. 1677.

W. PENN.

The enclosed I received from a Religious Young Woman at Franckfort. We have had a blessed Opportunity in this Town with some that have a Desire after the Lord, in which we are abundantly comforted. We have just now received thy Message and Salutation from H. V. which hath exceedingly refreshed and revived us; for our Trouble was not for our selves, but for thee; and we hope our Love will not turn to thy Disadvantage, for we mentioned nothing of thy Name, nor the Name of any other Person, only that we desired to speak with the Minister of Mulheim, and that was only to the Soldier. The Lord made us a good Bed in the Fields, and we were very well satisfied. We are going this Afternoon out of the Town towards Wesel, from thence to Cleve, and thence to Herwerden (the Lord willing) so Farewell in the Lord.

Here

Here followeth a Letter to her Father, the Graef of Bruch and Falckensteyn.

To the Graef or Earl of Bruch and Falckensteyn.

Friend,*

I Wish thy Salvation, and the Lord reward thee Good for the Evil that thou shewedst unto me and my Friends the last Night, if it be his Will: But since thou art but a mortal Man, one that must give an Account in common with all, to the Immortal God, let me a little expostulate with thee.

By what Law on Earth are Men, not Scandalous, under no Proscription, harmless Strangers, about Lawful Occasions, and Men, not Vagabonds, but of good Quality in their own Country, stopp'd, menaced, sent back with Soldiers, and that at Sun-set, exposed to the Night in an unknown Country, and therefore forced to lie in the Fields: I say, by what Law are we judged, yea, thus punished before heard? Is this the Law of Nations, or Nature, or Germany, or of Christianity? Oh! Where's Nature? Where's Civility? Where's Hospitality? But where's Christianity all this while? Well, but we are Quakers: Quakers! What's that for a Name? Is there a Law of the Empire against that Name? No: Did we own it? No: But if we had, the Letters of that Name neither make up Drunkard, Whoremaster, Thief, Murderer nor Traitor? Why so odious then? What Harm hath it done? Why could Jews pass just before us, that have Crucified Christ, and not Quakers that never Crucified Him? But Ignorance is as well the Mother of Persecution as Devotion: And the false Christian, and the false Jew have but one Father.

But, Argumentum ad hominem, my Friend, bear with me a little: Art thou a Christian? How canst thou be Rude, Uncivil, and Persecute then? Thou art to Love Enemies, not Abuse Friends; harmless Strangers. Well, but this Life is dead, this Doctrine antiquated, Jesus Christ turned out of Doors, I perceive. What art thou for a Christian? A Lutheran? Yes; canst thou so lately forget the Practices of the Papists, and with what Abhorrence thy Ancestors declared against such Sort of Entertainment? Were not they Despised, Mocked and Persecuted? And are their Children treading in the Steps of their old Enemies? Friend, 'tis not Reformed Words, but a Reformed Life that will stand thee in stead. 'Tis not to live the Life of the Unregenerate, Worldly-minded and Wicked, under the Profession of the Saint's Words, that give an Entrance into God's Rest. Be not deceived, such as thou sowest, such must thou reap in the Day of the Lord. Thou art not come to the Berean-state that tried all Things, and therefore not Noble in the Christian Sense. The Bereans were Noble, for they judged not before Examination.

And for thy saying, We want no Quakers here, I say, under favour, you do: For a true Quaker is one that Trembleth at the Word of the Lord, that worketh out his Salvation with Fear and Trembling, and all the Days of his appointed Time waiteth in the Light and Grace of God till his great Change cometh; and that taketh up the daily-Cross to his own Will and Lusts, that he may do the Will of God manifested to him by the Light of Jesus in his Conscience; and according to the holy Precepts and Examples in the Holy Scriptures of Truth, laid down by Jesus, and his Followers, for the Ages to come. Yea, he is one that loveth his Enemies, rather than feareth them; that Blesseth those that Curse him, and Prayeth for those that despitefully treat him; as God knoweth we do for thee. And, O that thou wert such a Quaker! Then wouldst thou Rule for God, and all in all Things as one that must give an Account to God for the Deeds done in the Body, whether Good, or Evil. Then would Temperance, Mercy, Justice, Meekness, and the Fear of the Lord dwell in thy Heart, and in thy Family and Country. Repent, I exhort thee, and consider thy latter End, for thy Days are not like to be many

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in this World, therefore mind the Things that make for thy Eternal Peace, lest Distress come upon thee as an Armed Man, and there be none to deliver thee.

Duysburgh 3d 7th Mo.
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I am, Thy Well-wishing Friend,

W. P.

This being done, we went to Dr. *Mastricht's* to inform him of what had past, who tho' of a kind Disposition, and very friendly to us, yet seemed surprized with Fear (the common Disease of this Country) crying out, *What will become of this poor Countess!* Her Father hath called her *Quaker* a long Time, behaving himself very severely to her, but now he will conclude she is one indeed, and he will lead her a lamentable Life: *I know* (said he) *you care not for Suffering, but she is to be pitied.* We told him that we loved her, and pitied her, and could lay down our Lives for her, as Christ hath done for us, in the Will of God, if we could thereby do her Good; but that we had not mentioned her Name, neither was the Letter, that he gave us to her, so much as seen, or known of her Father. But still he feared that our Carriage would incense the *Graef* so much the more against both his Daughter, and all those serious and enquiring People up and down his Country. We answered with an Earnestness of Spirit, That they had minded the Incensings and Wrath of Men *too much* already, and that true Religion would *never spring* or grow under such Fears; and that it was Time for all that felt any Thing of the Work of God in their Hearts, to cast away the *slavish Fear* of Man, and to come forth in the *Boldness* of the true Christian Life; yea that Sufferings *break* and make way for greater *Liberty*, and that God was Wiser and Stronger than Man.

We ask'd him if there were any in that City who enquired more diligently after the Way of the Lord, he recommended us (as we had already been informed in another Place) to the Family of the *Prætor*, or chief Governour of the Town; whose Wife, and Sister more especially, were seeking after the best Things: So we parted with him in Love, and by the Help of his Daughter, were conducted to this Family.

We had not been long there before a School-Master of *Dusseldorp*, and also a Minister came in, enquiring after us, having heard of us at *Mulheim*, where he preached the Day before to the People, or else by the Way of our Attempt to visit that Place, and the Entertainment we received at the Hands of the *Graef*. He sat down with us, and tho' we had already a sweet Opportunity, yet feeling the Power of God to rise, the Meeting renewed: And, O magnified be the Name of the Lord! He *witnessed* to our Testimony abundantly in all their Hearts and Consciences, who were broken into much Tenderness; and certainly there is a blessed *Power* and *Zeal*, stirring in that young Man; yea, he is very near the Kingdom. So we took our Leave of them, leaving the Lord's *Peace* and *Blessing* upon them.

It was now something past the Twelfth Hour of the Day. In the Way to our Lodging we met a Messenger from the Countess of *Falkensteyn*, a pretty young tender Man, near to the Kingdom, who saluted us in her Name with much Love; telling us, That she was much grieved at the Entertainment of her Father towards us, advising us not to expose our selves to such Difficulties and Hardships, for it would grieve her Heart, that any that came in the Love of God to visit her, should be so severely handled; for at some he sets his Dogs, upon others he puts his Soldiers to beat them: *But what shall I say, That it self, must not hinder you from doing Good*, said the Countess.

We answered him, that his Message was joyful to us, that she had any Regard to us, and that she was not offended with us: We desired the Remembrance of our kind Love unto her, and that he would let her know that our Concern was not for our selves, but for her. We invited him to Eat with us, but he told us he was an Inhabitant of *Meurs*, and was in haste to go Home. So we briefly declared our *Principle* and *Message*, recommending

mending him to Christ the true Light in his Conscience, and parted. So we went home to Dinner, having neither eaten nor drank since first-day Morning, and having lain out *all Night* in the Field.

We had no sooner got to our Inn, but the Man was constrained to come after us, and sat down with us, and enquired concerning our Friends, their *Rise, Principles, and Progress*, and in all things that he desired satisfaction about, he declared himself satisfied. Dinner being done, and all cleared, we departed that City, being about the fourth Hour in the Afternoon, and for want of Accommodation were forced to walk on foot eight *English* Miles to a Town called *Holton*, where we rested that Night.

The next Morning we set out for *Wesel* and got thither at Noon. The first Thing we did (as had been our Custom) was to enquire who was worthy, particularly for two Persons recommended to us by the Countess of *Hornes*, that lives with the Princess *Elizabeth*. But upon Enquiry, we found one of them was gone to *Amsterdam* with his Wife, who had been formerly a Preacher, and being Conscientiously dissatisfied with his own Preaching, laid it down, and is now in a Seeking State. But in lieu of him we found out three more, with the other Person that had been recommended to us. We bespoke a Meeting amongst them after Dinner, which accordingly we had at a Woman's House of good Note in the Town; who told us, that she had been long in a solitary Estate dissatisfied with the Religions generally profest in that Country, waiting for *Salvation*, and she hoped that now the Time was come, and that we were the Messengers of it.

The Lord was with us in the Meeting, and their Hearts were opened by the Word of God. to receive our Testimony as glad Tidings of Salvation. Meeting being done, we immediately returned to our Lodgings, desiring we might see them together in the same Place the next Morning, to take our Leave of them, to which they readily assented.

Next Morning we came and had a precious Meeting with them, and there were some present that were not there the Night before. So we left them in much Love, and went to our Inn: where, after having refresh'd our Selves, we went to *Rees*, where we met with a *Counsellor of Gelderland*, with whom we had a good Opportunity to declare the Testimony of *Jesus*, who received it, and parted with us in much Kindness.

From thence we went to *Emrick*, and there called upon an eminent Baptist-Teacher, recommended to us by one of *Wesel*: We spent some Time with him, opening to him the Way of life, as in the light it is manifested to all that love and obey the Light; and of that more spiritual and pure Ministry that from the Living Word of God is received by many true Ministers in this Day. The Man was somewhat full of Words, but we felt the living Visitation of the Love of God reach'd to him, and so we left him, making all the Hast we could to get to *Cleve* that Night, which accordingly we did, though late, being forced to walk one third Part of the Way on Foot.

That Night, notwithstanding, one of us went to a certain Lady, to whom we had Recommendations from the Princess, and that was particularly known to one of us, informing her that we were come to that City, desiring to know what Time next Day we might give her a Visit; she appointed Eight in the Morning.

About that Time we went to see her; she received us (considering her Quality and Courtship) far from any Appearance of Offence at our *Department*. We told her our *Message* and *Visit* was to those of that City, that had any Inclinations or Desires, hunger or thirst after the true and living Knowledge of God; for that End we had left our own Country, and had wandred up and down in several Parts of *Germany*. She told us, that some there were that searched after God, but she feared the Name of *Quaker* would make them shy, because they were called *Quakers* themselves, by People of the same Profession, only for being more serious and retired in their Conversation.

We replied, that it was an Honour to the Name, that all Sobriety through

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Holton;
Wesel.
4. 7. 3.

5. 7. 4.

Rees.

Emrick.

Cleve.

6. 7. 5.

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throughout *Germany*, was called by it; this ought to make the Name less Odious, yea, it will make the way easier for those that are truly called so, or that are *Quakers* indeed: It will take off much of the wonder, and, it may be, of the Severity of the Places, where we come, that the Name is gone before us, and hath received a Dwelling-Place in their Towns and Cities. In fine, to all such God hath committed to us the Word of Life to preach, and such we seek out in all Places where the Lord bringeth us: And hitherto we can say it to the Praise of our God, he hath vindicated our Services and Testimony, by his own blessed Power, shed abroad in their Hearts to whom we have been sent.

So she told us she would send for an Attorney at Law, one that was more than Ordinarily Eminent; having deserted the Church, and being therefore reproached with the Name of *Quaker*.

In this Interval we had close Discourse with her, a Woman certainly of great Wit, high Notions, and very ready Utterance: So that it was hard for us to obtain a *True Silence*; a State in which we could reach to her.

But through some Travail of Spirit more than Ordinary, we had a sweet Time of Refreshment, and the Witness was raised in her, and we really and plainly beheld a true Nobility, yea, that which was sensible of our Testimony, and did receive it.

By this Time the Person she sent for came, and a blessed sweet time we had: For the Power and Presence of the Lord, our *Staff* and *Strength*, unto which our Eye hath been throughout all our Travels, that we might only be acceptable in that, plentifully appeared amongst us (the Lord have the Glory of his own Work) both confessing to the Truth of what had been said, and the *Attorney* to the *Living Sense* in which the Truth had been declared.

We would have returned to our Inn to eat, according as we had appointed in the Morning, but she laid a kind of violent Hands upon us, and necessitated us to stay and eat with her; which we did. And we had no sooner sat down, but her Brother-in-Law, a Man of Quality and Employment in the Court of the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, came in, who dined with us.

As we sat at Meat, we had a *good Meeting*, for the Time was much taken up about the Things of God, either in answering their Questions, or ministering to them about the true Christian Nature and Life; in all which her Brother behaved himself with great sweetness and Respect.

After Dinner we took our Christian Leave of them in the Fear of God, recommending unto them the Light of Christ Jesus, that brings all that receive it into the one Spirit, to live in holy Peace and Concord together; particularly and alone speaking to the Lady, and the Attorney what was upon us as to their States.

Nimmeguen.

And so we departed, and soon after took Waggon for *Nimmeguen*, where arriving about the Seventh Hour that Night, we immediately took Waggon for *Utrecht*, and got thither about the Tenth Hour next Morning. We heard there was a People in that City, but had not now time to visit them, referring it to another Opportunity.

Utrecht.
7. 7. 6.

Amsterdam.

About the first Hour in the Afternoon, G. K. and B. F. took Waggon for *Rotterdam*, and I took Waggon for *Amsterdam*, where I came safely that Night, about Six in the Evening; and I found Friends generally well, though it was a Sickly Time in that Country. The Meeting-House was much enlarged, and there was a fresh Enquiry among many People after the Truth, and great Desires to hear the Testimony and Declaration of it. I also understood that Dear G. F. was returned from *Fredericksstadt* and *Hamburg* into *Urieislands*, whither T. R. and I. T. were gone from this City to meet with him. He had an hard Time of Travel with Respect to the Weather, yet I heard was in good Health, through the Lord's Power that had kept him.

Here I received a Letter from the *Princess Elizabeth*, in Answer to mine of the 25th of the Sixth Month, from *Manheim*, alias *Fredericksburgh*.

The

The $\frac{4}{7}$ of September, 1677.

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Dear Friend,

I Have received your Greetings, good Wishes and Exhortations with much Joy, and shall follow the latter as far as it will please our great God to give me Light and Strength. I can say little for my Self, and can do nothing of my Self, but I hope the Lord will conduct me in his Time, by his Way, to his End; and shall not shrink for his Fire; I do long for it; and when he assures my Ways, I hope he will give me Power to bear the Cross I meet therein: I am also glad to hear, the Journey hath been Prosperous both in the Constitutions of your Bodies, to withstand the Badness of the Weather, and in the Reception you had in Cassel, Franckfort, and Crisheim: Nothing surprized me there but the good old Dury, in whom I did not expect so much Ingenuity, having lately writ a Book, Intituled, *Le Veritable Chretien*, that doth speak another Way. I wish to know what Reception you have had at Fredericksburgh, and if this find you at Cleve, I wish you might take an Occasion to see the two Pastors of Mulheim which do really seek the Lord, but have some Prejudice against your Doctrine, as also the Countess there. It would be of much Use for my Family to have them disabused; yet God's will be done in that, and all Things else, concerning

Your Loving Friend in the Lord Jesus, Elizabeth.

Let both your Friends and Companions receive my hearty Commendations here.

This Day at Night (being the Seventh Day of the week) came John Hill 8. 7. 7.
from *Urieslandt* to the House of G. D. in *Amsterdam*.

The next Day (being the first Day of the Week) we had a blessed and large Meeting, larger than Ordinary, because a great Addition of Room 9. 7. 14
since our Journey into *Germany*. Indeed there was a great Appearance of Sober Professing People, yea, several of the chief of the *Baptists*, as *Galeanus* and Companions: The Lord's heavenly Power was over all, and the Meeting blessedly ended about the fourth Hour.

That Night, after Supper, having taken my Leave in a sweet little Meeting among Friends, I took Boat for Horn (*P. Hendrick* accompanying me) about the Seventh Hour at Night, and got thither about two in the Morning: where lying down till about Six, we took Waggon for *Enckbuyzen* We came thither a little after Eight in the Morning; where having refreshed our Selves, about the Ninth Hour we took Ship for *Workum* in *Urieslandt*, and arriving about One immediately took Waggon for *Harlingen*, where we arrived about Six, there we met with dear G. F. J. T. I. T. T. R. J. C. and his Wife.

Horn:
10. 7. 2.
Enckhuysen.

Workum.
Harlingen.

The next Day we had two blessed Meetings; one amongst Friends, being the first Monthly Meeting that was settled for *Urieslandt*, *Groningen* and *Emboden*; the other a publick Meeting, where resorted both *Baptists* Collegians and others: And among the rest, a Doctor of *Physick* and a *Presbyterian* Minister: All sat with great Attention and Sobriety, but the Minister and Doctor more especially. The First having a Lecture Sermon to Preach that Evening, went away; but notwithstanding speedily returned, G. F. still speaking: But as a Man in pain to be gone, yet willing to stay, sat at the Door till G. F. had done; and then stood up, and pulling off his Hat, looking up to Heaven, in a solemn Manner, and with a loud Voice, spake to this Purpose: *The Almighty, the All-Wise, the Omnipotent Great God, and his Son Jesus Christ, who is blessed for Ever and Ever, confirm his Word that hath been spoken this Day*: Apologizing, that he could not longer stay, for that he was a Minister of the Reformed Religion, and was just now going to Preach, where all that would come, should be welcome; and so left the Meeting.

11. 7. 3.

The Physician also was called away, but returned and stayed till the Meeting was ended: Just as the Meeting ended came the Minister again, who

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who said in the Hearing of some Friends, *That he had made his Sermon much shorter than Ordinary, that he might enjoy the rest of the Meeting.* At Night came the Physician to see me, who, after a serious and Christian Discourse, expressing great Satisfaction in most Things relating to Friends, left me: Withal telling me, *That if I had not been to go the Fourth Hour next Morning, he would either have staid longer with me, or come again.*

He also remembered the Parson's Love to us, and told me, *That if it had not been for Fear of giving Offence, or coming too much under the Observation of the People, he would have come to have seen us:* Adding, *That it was a great Pity that this People had not Printed their Principles to the World:* To which the Doctor answered, that he had some of our Books, and he would lend him them. Blessed be the Lord, his Glorious Work goeth on, and his Power is over all. It being now the Tenth Hour at Night, I took my Leave of G. F. and Friends.

This Day it came upon me to write a Letter to *Joanna Eleonora Malane,* the Noble Young Woman at *Frankfort.*

Dear Friend, *J. E. M.*

My dear and tender Love, which God hath raised in my Heart by His Living Word to all Mankind, (but more especially unto those in whom He hath begotten an Holy Hunger and Thirst after Him) saluteth thee: And amongst those of that Place where thou livest, the Remembrance of thee, with thy Companions, is most particularly and eminently at this Time brought before me. And the Sense of your Open-heartedness, Simplicity and Sincere Love to the Testimony of JESUS, that by us was delivered unto you, hath deeply engaged my Heart towards you, and often raised in my Soul Heavenly Breathings to the God of my Life, that He would keep you in the Daily Sense of that Divine Life, which then affected you. For this know, it was the Life in your selves, that so sweetly visited you by the Ministry of Life through us.

Wherefore love the Divine Life and Light in your selves: Be retired and still; let that Holy Seed move in all Heavenly Things before you move: For no one receiveth any Thing (that truly profiteth) but what he receiveth from Above. Thus said John to his Disciples. Now that that stirreth in your Hearts, draweth you out of the World, slayeth you to all the Vain-Glory, and Pleasure, and empty Worship that are in it: This is from Above, the Heavenly Seed of God, Pure and Incorruptible, that's come down from Heaven to make you Heavenly; that in Heavenly Places you may dwell and witness, with the Saints of Old, this Heavenly Treasure in Earthen Vessels.

O stay your Minds upon the Appearance of JESUS in you, in whose Light you shall see Light! It will make you of a weighty considering Spirit, more and more; that you may see how the Mystery of Iniquity hath wrought, and how Mankind is corrupted in all Things, and what Hurt you yet have, that belongeth not to the Paradise of God, that you may lay it all down at the Feet of Jesus, and follow Him, who is going up and down, doing Good to all that believe in His Name. So possess your Souls in the Sensible Feeling of His Daily Visits, Shinings and Breathings upon your Spirits; and wait diligently, and watch circumspectly, lest the Enemy surprize you, or your Lord come at unawares upon you, and you be unprepared to receive His Sweet and Precious Visitations. That so those Holy Beginnings, which thou art a Witness of with thy Companions, may not be lost, or as if they had never been; but that you may, from Day to Day feel the Growth of His Light, Life, Power and Kingdom in your Souls, that you may be able to say, The Kingdom of God is come, yea, it is given to the Saints.

And what I say unto one, I say unto all that received our Testimony in that City, to whom thou may'st give, if thou pleasest, the Remembrance of my dear Love, who Travel in the Spirit for their Redemption, that they may be brought into the Glorious Liberty of the Sons of God. Particularly Salute me the Young Woman, that met with us at thy Lodging. The Lord JESUS CHRIST, the Prince of Peace, dwell amongst you, keep your Hearts steadfast in His Holy Light, without wavering, all the Days of your appointed Time, until your

Great

Great and Last Change shall come; when He will receive His own Sheep into His own Everlasting Kingdom, from the Power of the Foxes and the Wolves, and all the Devouring Beasts and Birds of Prey: When He will wipe away all Tears from their Eyes, and Sighing and Sorrowing shall be no more: And when it shall be said, There is no more Death, no more Night, no more Time.

So dear J. E. M. know, that the Lord hath brought us well to Amsterdam, not without Good Service by the Way: For at Cullen we had a Precious Meeting, and were received with much Gladness of Heart. We also went to Duyfburg, and from thence towards Mulheim, being the First Day of the Week, hoping to get an Opportunity with the Countess of Bruch, and to deliver thy Letter: But her Father (who is a Cruel and Severe Man) meeting us near his Castle, stopp'd us; and after some little Time, finding what we were, said, There wanted no Quakers there; and sent us with some of his Soldiers out of his Territory. It was about Sun-set, so that we were forced to return towards Duyfburg; but the Gates of the City being shut, and there being no Houses without it, we were forced to lie in the Fields all Night, where the Lord made us a good and comfortable Bed. We told the Graef at Parting, We were Men that feared the Almighty GOD; we desired the Good of All Men; and that we came not hither for any Evil Design; but he would not hear; the Lord, if he pleaseth, forgive him. Nevertheless we had a good Meeting at Duyfburg, where we had our Hearts Desire, the Blessed Power and Life of God making its own Way in the Hearts of those that heard our Testimony. I also writ a large and tender Letter to the Countess, and received a sweet and loving Message from her; and I have great Hopes that all Things will work together for the best.

From Duyfburg we went to Wesel, where we enquired out who was worthy, and there we found four or five separated from all Congregations, waiting for the Consolation of Israel, with whom we had Two Precious Meetings: And leaving the Peace of JESUS with them, went to Emrick, where we visited the Chief Baptist-Teacher, who confessed to our Testimony, and received us lovingly. We directed him to that Gift of God in himself, that Pure and Eternal Word in the Heart, that he might know the Pure Ministry of that, from the Ministry of Man's Spirit, which cannot profit or give Life to the Soul.

From thence we went to Cleve, where at a Lady's House, belonging to the Court, we had a Precious Meeting: And we found some that had deserted the Publick Ministry, as not being Anointed of God to Preach, neither knowing by a True Experience the Way and Travail of the New Birth, but made and maintained by Men: We sounded the Joyful Gospel amongst them, and from thence by the Way of Nimmequen and Utrecht, we came the last Sixth Day to Amsterdam, which was the Seventh of the Seventh Month.

This last First Day I had a Great and Blessed Meeting at Amsterdam, almost of every Quality and Religion, the Lord's Heavenly Power (that is quickning People into a Living Sense of Him, that they may say, The Lord liveth, and He liveth in me) reigned that Day over all.

In the Evening I took Boat for Horn, and from thence came last Night (being the Second Day of the Week) to this City of Harlingen, where we met with some of our Brethren, that had been up at Hamburg and Frederickstadt; and this Day we are to have Two Meetings here, the one among our Friends, the other publick for the Town. It is upon me to visit J. de Labadie's People, that they may know Him in themselves, in whom their Salvation standeth: For these Simple People are to be pitied. From thence I think to visit Leeuwarden, Groningen, Embden, Bremen, Herwerden, Wesel, Emrick, Cleve, Utrecht, and so to return to Amsterdam, the Lord enabling me by His Power.

This crieth in my Heart to thee; Give not thy Bread to Dogs; Spend not thy Portion; Feed not the Serpent, neither hearken to him: Abide with JESUS, and He will abide with Thee, that thou mayst grow in Wisdom and in Righteousness, through the Cross that Crucifieth Thee to the World, and

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the World to thee. So in the Love which overcometh the World, that is Divine, and from Above, and leadeth all thither that receive it into their Hearts, I take my Leave of Thee, with Thy Companions, and all the rest of that City known to us, remaining

Harlingen, 11th of the
7th Month, 1677.

Thy Faithful Friend, and the Lord's Day-
Labourer,
W. P.

12. 7. 4.

Next Morning about the Fourth Hour, I took Boat for *Leeuwarden*; *J. Claus*, who had been at *Frederickstadt* with *G. F.* went with me. *G. F. J. Y.* and *T. R.* with *P. H.* returned that Day towards *Amsterdam*.

Leeuwarden.

At *Leeuwarden* we came about Nine, and began the Meeting about Ten; which we enjoyed with Peace and Refreshment, several being there (as in other Places) that were never at a Meeting before.

Wiewart.

The Meeting being done, and having refresh'd our selves with Food, we took Waggon for *Wiewart*, the Mansion-house of the Family of the *Somerdykes*, where *J. de Labadie's* Company resideth, it being strong upon my Spirit to give them a Visit. We got thither about Five, and as we were walking over a Field to the House, we met a Young Man of that Company, who conducted us in. I ask'd for *Ivon* the Pastor, and *Anna Maria Schurmans*. *Ivon* presently came with his Co-Pastor; they received us very civilly: However they seem'd shy of letting me speak with *A. M. S.* objecting her Weakness, Age, taking Physick, &c. But putting them in Mind how unhandfomely I was us'd at *Herwerden* Six Years ago, by *J. de Labadie*, their Father, who, though I came a great Journey to visit him and his People, suffer'd me not to speak with them; they presently complied, and went in to let her know that such a Person desired to speak with her, and quickly return'd, desiring me to come in. But foreseeing my Time would be too short for my Message, the Sun being near setting, and having Two English Miles of unknown Way to our Lodging, on Foot, I desired them, that they would give me an Opportunity the next Morning, which they readily complied with. So I took my Leave of them, who in a Friendly Manner brought us a little on our Way. That Night a Great Weight was upon my Spirit, and especially the next Morning; yet my Faith was in the Power of God, and I had a plain Sight, that I should have a Good Service among them, however, I should clear my Conscience, and my Peace should rest with me.

13. 7. 1.

The next Morning I return'd to them, and *J. C.* along with me. So soon as we came, we were brought into *A. M. S.'s* Chamber; where also was with her, One of the Three *Somerdykes*.

This *A. M. S.* aforesaid, is an Ancient Maid, above Sixty Years of Age, of great Note and Fame for Learning, in Languages and Philosophy, and hath obtained a considerable Place among the most Learned Men of this Age. The *Somerdykes* are Daughters to a Nobleman of the *Hague*, People of great Breeding and Inheritances. These, with several other Persons, being affected with the Zealous Declamation of *J. de Labadie*, against the dead and formal Churches of the World, and awakened to seek after a more Spiritual Fellowship and Society, separated themselves from the common Calvinist Churches, and followed him in the Way of a Refined Independency.

They are a serious, plain People, and are come nearer to Friends, as in Silence in Meetings, Women-Speaking, Preaching by the Spirit, Plainness in Garb, and Furniture in their Houses. With these Two we had the Company of the Two Pastors, and a Doctor of Physick. After some Silence, I propos'd this Question to them: What was it that induc'd them to separate from the Common Way they formerly lived in? I desired them that they would be pleas'd to be plain and open with me, as to the Ground of their Separation; for I came not to Caviel, but in a Christian Spirit to be inform'd.

Upon this, *Ivon* the Chief Pastor, gave us the History of *J. de Labadie's* Education; how he was bred among the *Jesuits*, and deserted them, and embraced the Protestant Religion; and finally, of his Great Dissatisfaction with

with the Protestant Churches of France, and that if God would not give them a Purer Church, they Three would sit down by themselves, resolving never more to mix themselves among the *Babylonish Assemblies of the World*. Adding several solemn Appeals concerning the Simplicity and Integrity of their Hearts in these Things.

Ivon having done, A. M. S. began in this Manner: *I find my self constrained to add a short Testimony. She told us of her former Life, of her Pleasure in Learning, and her Love to the Religion she was brought up in; but confessed she knew not GOD or CHRIST truly all that While. And though from a Child God had visited her at Times, yet she never felt such a Powerful Stroke, as by the Ministry of J. de Labadie. She saw her Learning to be Vanity, and her Religion like a Body of Death: She resolved to despise the Shame, desert her former Way of Living and Acquaintance, and to join herself with this Little Family, that was retired out of the World, among whom she desired to be found a Living Sacrifice, offer'd up entirely to the Lord. She spoke in a very Serious and Broken Sense, not without Some Trembling. These are but short Hints of what she said.*

After she had done, One of the *Somerdykes* began, in a very reverent and weighty Frame of Mind, and in a Sense that very well suited her Contempt of the World: She told us how often she had mourned from her Young Years, because she did not know the Lord as she desired, often saying within her self, *If God would make known to me His Way, I would trample upon all the Pride and Glory of the World.* She earnestly express'd the frequent Anguish of Spirit she had because of the Deadness and Formality of the Christians she was bred among, saying to her self, *O the Pride, O the Lusts, O the Vain Pleasures in which Christians Live! Can this be the Way to Heaven? Is this the Way to Glory? Are these Followers of Christ? O No! O God, Where is Thy Little Flock? Where is Thy Little Family that will Live intirely to Thee, that will follow Thee? Make me One of that Number, And when the Servant of the Lord, J. de Labadie came into Holland, I, among others, had a Curiosity to hear him; and among several others was deeply affected by him. He spoke the very Thoughts of my Heart: Methought my Heart was pricked when I heard him; and I resolved by the Grace of God, to abandon all the Glory and Pride of this World, to be One of those that should set down with him in a Separation from the Vain and Dead Worship of this World. I count my self Happy that I ever met with him, and these Pastors, who seek not themselves, but the Lord: And we are a Family that live together in Love, of One Soul and One Spirit, intirely given up to serve the Lord; and this is the Greatest Joy in the World.*

After her *du Lignon*, the other Pastor, gave us also an Account of his Inducement to embrace *J. de Labadie*, but not so lively.

After him the *Doctor of Physick*, that had been bred for a Priest, (but voluntarily refused that Calling) express'd himself after this Manner: *I can also bear my Testimony in the Presence of God, that tho' I lived in as much Reputation at the University, as any of my Colleagues or Companions, and was well reputed for Sobriety and Honesty, yet I never felt such a Living Sense of God, as when I heard the Servant of the Lord J. de Labadie: Adding, The first Day I heard him, I was so struck and affected, that I can truly say, through the good Grace of God, and the Conduct of the Holy Spirit, it was to me as the Day of my Salvation; he did so Livingly touch my Heart with a Sense of the True Christian Worship: Upon which I forsook the University, and resolved to be one of this Family; and this I can say in the Fear of the Lord.*

P. Ivon concludeth, *This is what we have to say concerning the Work of God amongst us.*

All this while I minded not so much their Words, as I felt and had Unity with a Measure of Divine Sense that was upon them. Certainly the Lord hath been amongst them; yea, I had a living Sense in my Heart that somewhat of the Breath of Life had breathed upon them; and though they were in great Mixtures, yet that God's Love was towards them.

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After some Silence, I began on this wise : I come not to judge you, but to visit you ; not to quarrel or dispute, but to speak of the Things of God's Kingdom ; and I have no Prejudice, but great Love and Regard in my Heart towards you : Wherefore hear me with Christian Patience and Tenderneſs.

I do confeſs and believe that God hath touched your Hearts with His Divine Finger, and that His Work is amongst you : That it was *His Spirit* that gave you a Sight of the Vanity and Folly of this World, and that hath made you ſenſible of the Dead Religions that are in it. 'Tis this Senſe I love and honour ; and I am ſo far from undervaluing or oppoſing this tender Senſe I feel upon you, that this it is I am come to viſit, and you for the Love of it. And as for the Reproaches that may attend you on the Score of your Separation, with all the Reports that therefore go concerning you, they are what I reſpect you for, being well acquainted with the Nature and Practice of this World towards thoſe that retire out of it.

Now ſince I have with Patience, and I can truly ſay with great Satisfaction, heard your Account of your Experiences, give me the like Chriſtian Freedom to tell you mine, to the End you may have ſome Senſe of the *Work of G O D in me* : For thoſe who are come to any Meaſure of a Divine Senſe, they are as *Looking-Glaſſes* to each other, as Face anſwereth Face in a Glaſs.

Here I began to let them know how, and when the Lord firſt appeared unto me, which was about the Twelfth Year of my Age, *Anno 1656*. How at Times, betwixt that and the Fifteenth, the Lord viſited me, and the Divine Impreſſions He gave me of Himſelf : Of my Perſecution at *Oxford*, and how the Lord ſuſtained me in the Miſt of that Hellish Darkneſs and Debauchery : Of my being *Baniſh'd* the Colledge ; the bitter Uſage I underwent when I returned to my Father ; *Whipping, Beating, and Turning out of Doors in 1662*. Of the Lord's Dealings with me in *France*, and in the Time of the *Great Plague in London*. In ſine, the deep Senſe he gave me of the Vanity of this World ; of the *Irreligiousneſs* of the Religions of it : Then of my mournful and bitter Cries to Him, that He would ſhow me His own Way of Life and Salvation, and my Reſolutions to follow Him, whatever Reproaches or Sufferings ſhould attend me, and that with great Reverence and Brokenneſs of Spirit. How after all this, the Glory of the World overtook me, and I was even ready to give up my ſelf unto it, ſeeing as yet no ſuch Things as the *Primitive Spirit and Church on the Earth* : And being ready to faint concerning my *Hope of the Reſtitution of all Things*.

It was at this Time that the Lord viſited me with a certain Sound and Teſtimony of His Eternal Word, through one of thoſe the World calls *Quakers*, namely *Thomas Lor*. I related to them the *Bitter Mockings and Scornings* that fell upon me, the *Diſpleaſure* of my Parents, the *Unſociableneſs and Cruelty* of the Prieſts, the *Strangeneſs* of all my Companions : What a *Sign and Wonder* they made of me ; but, above all, that great Croſs of *Reſiſting and Watching* againſt mine own inward vain Affections and Thoughts.

Here I had a fine Opportunity to ſpeak of the *Mystery* of Iniquity, and Ungodlineſs in the Root and Ground, and to give them an Account of the Power and Preſence of God which attended us in our Publick Teſtimonies and Sufferings : After an indiret Manner cenſuring their Weakneſſes, by declaring and commending the contrary Practices among Friends, too large to be here related. And notwithstanding all my Sufferings and Trials by Magiſtrates, Parents, Companions ; and above all, from the Prieſts of the *False Religions in the World*, the Lord hath preſerved me to this Day, and hath given me an *Hundred Fold* in this World, as well as the Assurance of *Life Everlaſting* : Informing them of the Tenderneſs of my Father to me before, and at his Death ; and how, through Patience and Long-Suffering, all Oppoſition was conquered. Then I began my Exhortation unto them, which was on this wiſe.

That

That since God had given me and them a Divine Sense of Him, our Eye should be to Him, and not to Man; that we might come more into a Silence of our selves, and a Growth into that Heavenly Sense. That this was the Work of the *True Ministry*, not to keep People to themselves, ever Teaching them, but to turn them to God, the *New-Covenant Teacher*, and to Christ the *Great Gospel-Minister*. Thus *John* did, and thought it no Dishonour that they left him to go to Christ. *Behold the Lamb of God*, said he, *that taketh away the Sin of the World!* And even *John's* Disciples left him to follow Christ. Nay, *John* testifies of himself, *That he was to decrease, and Christ was to increase*. Wherefore I press them to have their Eye to CHRIST *that taketh away the Sin*; that is from Heaven, Heavenly; so see that He increase in them. Yea, that henceforth they should know no Man *after the Flesh*; no, nor Christ himself. That their Knowledge of, and Regard and Fellowship with one another, should stand in the Revelation of the *Son of God in them*; who is God's *Great Prophet*, by whom God speaketh in these latter Days. And if their Ministers be True Ministers, they will count it their Glory to *give Way* to Christ, and that they decrease, and Christ increase; that the Instrument giveth Way to him that useth it, the Servant to the Lord. Which, though it seemeth to detract from the Ministers, yet it was, and is the Glory of a True Minister, that God and Christ should be *All in All*, and that His Will should be fulfilled. For I told them, *The Day of the Lord God was come*, and all People must look to Him for Salvation: That all People must now come to keep God's *Great Sabbath*, to rest from *meer Man*, and the Spirit of Man, and all Mens Thoughts, Words and Works; and that if they were True Believers, they were, at least, *entering into their Rest*.

I closely recommended it to them, that they might not be of those that begin in the Spirit, and end in the Flesh; for that those that should do so, and thereby break God's Sabbath-Day, would be stoned to Death, by the Stone which is cut out of the Mountain *without Hands*; yea, That should fall upon them as a Millstone, and grind them to Powder. Therefore let CHRIST have His Honour; let Him Preach and Speak among you, and in you, and you in him; and by him only, Sigh, Groan, Pray, Preach, Sing, and not otherwise, lest Death come over you: For thereby the Apostacy came in, by their going before Christ, instead of Christ going before them.

And wait in the Light and Spirit of *Judgment* that hath visited you, that all may be wrought out that is not Born of God, so will you come to be Born of the *Incorruptible Seed*, of the Word of God that liveth and abideth for ever: That you may be an *Holy Priesthood*, that offers up a *Living Sacrifice* with God's *Heavenly Fire*, that God may have His Honour in you all, and through all by JESUS CHRIST. And turning myself towards the *Somerdykes*, with a serious and tender Spirit, I thus exprest myself: *That you should be Pilgrims in the Inheritance of your Father, I have a deep and reverent Sense of: O that you might dwell with Him for ever, and exalt Him that hath so visited you, with whom are the Rewards of Eternal Blessedness.*

So I left the *Blessing and Peace of JESUS among them*, departing in the *Love and Peace of GOD*: And I must needs say they were, (beyond Expectation) tender and respectful to us: All of them coming with us but the ancient *A. M. S.* (who is not able to walk) to the outward Door; giving us their Hands in a Friendly Manner, expressing their great Satisfaction in our Visit. And being come to the Porch, and meeting several Persons of the Family, I was moved to turn about and exhort them, in the Presence of the rest, to keep to Christ, that had given them a Sense of the Spirit of this World, and had raised Desires in them to be delivered from it! And to know no Man after the Flesh, but to have their *Fellowship in Christ, Union and Communion with God*, and one with another; that all their Worship and Performances might stand in Him, that He might be *All in All*. Desiring that the Lord might keep them in His Fear all the Days of their appointed Time, that so they might serve Him in their Generation, in His own Universal Spirit, to His Glory, who is Blessed for ever.

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The Lord comforted my Soul in this Service : Yea, All that is within me magnified His Holy Name, because of His Blessed Presence that was with us ! O let my Soul trust in the Lord, and confide in Him for ever ! O let me dwell and abide with Him that is Faithful and True, and Blessed for evermore !

The *Two Pastors* and the *Dollor* came with us a Field's Length, where we took Waggon, and the Chief of them took Occasion to ask me, If the Truth role not first amongst a *Poor, Illiterate, and Simple Sort of People* ? I told him Yes, that was our Comfort, and that we owed it not to the Learning of this World : Then, said he, *let not the Learning of this World be used to defend that which the Spirit of God hath brought forth ; for Scholars now coming among you, will be apt to mix School-Learning amongst your Simpler and Purer Language, and thereby obscure the Brightness of the Testimony.* I told him, It was good for us all to have a Care of our own Spirits, Words and Works, confessing what he said had Weight in it ; telling him, it was our Care to Write and Speak according to the Divine Sense, and not Human Invention.

So in a very sober and Serious Manner we parted, being about the 12th Hour at Noon.

Lippenhusen.

This Night about Ten we got to *Lippenhusen*, where there is a little Meeting of Friends, being about 25 *English* Miles.

14. 7. 6.

The next Morning we had a Blessed Meeting among Friends, many of the World came in, were very serious and well-affected ; one whereof was a *Magistrate* of the Place. The Lord pleads his own Cause, and crowns his own Testimony with his *Own Power*. There is like to be a fine Gathering in that Place.

Groningen.

After Dinner we took Waggon for the City of *Groningen*, where we arrived at Eight at Night, being about 25 *English* Miles.

15. 7. 7.

The next Morning we had a Meeting among Friends of that City, whither resorted both *Collegian* and *Calvinist* Students, who behaved themselves soberly : The Lord's Power was over all, and His Testimony stands. When Meeting was ended, they went out ; and as I was concluding an Exhortation to Friends, came in a Flock of *Students* to have had some Conference with us : But having set the Time of our leaving the City, we recommended them to the Universal Love of God, promising them some Books of our Principles, with which they expressed themselves satisfied, and civilly parted from us.

Delfzyl.

16. 7. 1.

After Dinner we took Boat for *Delfzyl*, and came thither about Six at Night. The next Morning about Seven, we took Boat for *Emdden*, which is about three Leagues. On Board of that Vessel it came upon me to write a Letter to *Friends in England*, concerning the present *Separatists*, and their *Spirit of Separation*, which had several Times been opened unto me, and had remained some Days upon my Spirit. The Letter followeth.

TO FRIENDS every where, concerning the present *Separatists*, and their *Spirit of Separation*.

Friends and Brethren,

BY a Mighty Hand, and by an Outstretched Arm, hath the Lord God Everlasting gathered us to be a People, and in His own Power and Life hath he preserved us a People unto this Day : And Praises be to His Eternal Name, no Weapon that hath yet been formed against us, either from without, or from within hath prospered.

Now this I say unto you, and that in His Counsel that hath visited us, whoever go out of the Unity with their Brethren, are first gone out of Unity with the Power and Life of God in themselves, in which the Unity of the Brethren

Brethren standeth, and the least Member of the Body in the Unity, standeth on the Top of them, and hath a Judgment against them; unto which Judgment, of both Great and Small amongst the Living Family that in the Unity are preserved, they must bow, before they can come into the Unity again: Yea, this they will readily do, if they are come into Unity with the Life and Power of God in themselves; which is the Holy Root that beareth the Tree, the Fruit and the Leaves; all receiving Life and Virtue from it, and thereby are nourished unto God's Praise.

And let all have a Care how they weaken that, or bring that under the Exaltation and high Imagination of those that it is revealed against. For I feel that unruly Spirit is tormented under the Stroke and Judgment of the Power, and in its Subtily is seeking Occasion against the Instruments, by whom the Power goes it forth. Let all have a Care how they touch with this Spirit in those Workings, for by being one with this Spirit in judging those that have been faithful, according to the Gift of Wisdom they have received from God, they will feed it and fortify it, and in the End come to be one with it against the Power itself; and at last run out and become open Enemies and Despisers, for whom is reserved the Blackness and Darkeness for ever, unless they repent.

Wherefore all that labour for the Restoration of those that are out of the Unity with the Brethren, let them be such as are of a Sound Mind themselves: Else, What will they gather to? Or, What will they gather from? And let them labour in the Simplicity, Integrity, Love, and Zeal of the Power that first gathered us to God. For that which is rightly gotten will endure, but that which is obtained by the Contrivance, Interest and Persuasions of Men, getteth no farther than Man, and is of the Flesh; and what is of the Flesh, is Fleishly, and shall never inherit the Kingdom of God.

Therefore let none look out of the Seed for Help, for all Power is in it, and there the True Light and Judgment stands for ever; and that Seed only hath God ordained to bruise the Serpent's Head. They that would save it, and those that would bruise it by any other Thing, are Breakers of God's Great Ordinance, and fly to Egypt for Strength. For 'tis David, the Stripling, that shall be too hard for Goliath the Giant; and that not by Saul's Armour, but with God's Living Little Stone, Cut out of the Mountain without Hands; without Man's Invention and Contrivance. Oh, this hath wrought all our mighty Works in us, and for us, to this Day! Wherefore let us be still, and trust and confide therein for ever. Let none look back, faint or consult; for if they do, they will darken their pure Eye, and lose their Way, and into the Eternal Rest of the Flocks of the Companions will never come.

Brethren, the Judgment given forth against this Spirit (and all those that have resisted our Love and Forbearance that are joined to it) must stand, and all that are out of our Unity with the Judgment, are judged by it: Therefore as all would stand before the Lord, and His People, let not this Spirit be reasoned withal; enter not into Proposals and Articles with it, but feed it with Judgment, that is God's Decree: So may the Souls that are deceived, come by the Right Door into the Heavenly Unity.

My Brethren, look forwards, and lift up your Eyes, for the Fields are even White unto Harvest, up and down the Nations. Remember the Great Name of the Lord, and behold the Great Work that He is doing before all People; whose Saving Health is visiting the World, and whose Eternal Word and Testament must from among us go forth to gather the Nations. Let That that will be Unjust, be Unjust still; let the Dead Bury the Dead: Let us all who have received the Gift from God, wait in deep Humility, to be raised up and empowered by Him more and more, to eye and prosecute His Universal Service in the World, to whose Appearance the Kings and Kingdoms of the Gentiles shall bring their Glory: Which Noble Work, had those that are gone into the Separation, but laid deeply to Heart, they would never have sat at Home murmuring, fretting and quarrelling against the Comely and Godly Order, and Practice of their Brethren: But Love, Peace and Joy had filled their Hearts, and not the Troubler and Accuser of the Brethren; who hath opened

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an Evil Eye in them, and begotten them into a discontented self-separating Mind, and this Image they bear, and the Pure Eye sees it.

O let none tempt the Lord! Let none provoke the Eyes of His Jealousie; let us all dwell in that Divine Sense that he hath begotten in us: Where our Love, as a fresh and pure Stream, will always flow to God and to one another. Here all His Ways are Pleasantness, and all His Paths are Peace; for where he keepeth the House who is Prince of Peace, He will keep all in His Heavenly Peace. We are but as one Family, and therefore we have but One Lord and Master. We are but as one Flock, and we have but One Heavenly Shepherd to hear, who goeth before us, and giveth us Eternal Life to follow Him. If any are offended in Him or in His, it is their own Fault; if they faint and grow weary, we are truly sorry; if through Unwatchfulness the Enemy hath enter'd, and begotten Coldness to the Brethren, and Carelessness of embracing the Opportunities by which the Unity is renewed and increased, so that what's done by the Brethren without them, is look'd upon first with a Slight Eye, and then with an Evil Eye, which begets Distance, and this Distance in Time, a Separation; and Separation continued bringeth forth Enmity, and this Enmity Death itself; we are in our Spirits truly griev'd for them. However the Judgment of God must stand against them, and that Spirit that leadeth them, in which they gather not to God but to themselves: And Wo to them that strengthen their Hands and despise Counsel, they will have much to answer for before the Lord. I feel a slighting, scornful, laughing Spirit often flying at me with its Venomous Sting, but the Seed of Life is over it, and the Lord God will destroy it.

Wherefore Friends, in all Places where this Spirit hath had Entrance, keep Sound Judgment upon it, if you will keep your Garments clean: And enter not into Disputes and Contests with it; 'tis that it seeketh and loveth; but go on in your Testimony and Business for the Lord, in the Lord's Peaceable Power and Spirit, and His Blessing and Presence of Life shall be with you; and in multiplying he shall multiply you; for no Good Thing will he withhold from you. We can say it of a Truth, God is good to Israel, and to all that are of an Upright Heart. And let us be of Good Cheer, for 'tis God's Determination, that the House of David should grow stronger and stronger, and His Branch shall increase and spread, and of His Government, Kingdom and Dominion there shall be No End.

Your Faithful Friend and Brother in the Service of our dear Lord,

God's Blessed Work increaseth and prospereth in these Lands, Magnified be His Everlasting Name.

W. P.

From on Board the Passage-Boat between Delfzyl and Embden, the 16th of the Seventh Month, 1677.

Embden.

We arrived at Embden about the 11th Hour: This is the City where Friends have been so bitterly and barbarously used, the like hath scarcely been known in any Place where Truth hath broke forth in our Day; they having here been Banished some 30, and some 40 Times and above. The first Family that received Truth in this City, was Doctor John William Haffbert, a Physician, and his Wife; at whose House also the first Meeting was set up among Friends to wait upon the Lord by Way of Publick Testimony. They are now both dead, but the Memory of their Fidelity is as precious Ointment among the Righteous.

They were with me at a Meeting Six Years ago, in this City; and I remember the Power of the Lord had that Operation upon them, that I said to B. F. and T. R. then with me, it will not be long before they will publickly own and bear Testimony in this Place: And about Three Months after, he came forth, and she about a Year after him. And from their Fidelity and Integrity, notwithstanding all the sore and bitter Tempest of Per-

secution, a fine Meeting sprang; but at this Day they are scattered, being still sent away as fast as they return.

We visited his Mother's Family, where we found Three of his Sisters in the *Love of Truth*, his Fourth Sister being also a Friend, and is Wife of J. C. living at *Amsterdam*. We had a little sweet comfortable Meeting with them. After it, I returned to my Lodging, and as I was writing to Doctor *Andrews*, President of the *Council of State*, (who is reported to have been the Author of this Cruelty to our Friends) a *Burden* came upon me, my writing would not serve Turn, I must go myself, in the Fear and Name of the Lord, *To plead the innocent and Suffering Cause of our Friends with him.*

So away we went to his House: He was at first astonished to see what Manner of Men we were; but after a little Time he comported himself with more Kindness than we expected at his Hand. I ask'd him, *If He and the Senate had not received a Letter in Latin from an Englishman about Two Years since, concerning their Severity towards the People called Quakers?* He told me, *He had.* I replied, *I was the Man, and I was constrained in Conscience to visit him on their Behalf; and I could not see how He, being a Common-Wealth's Man, and a Protestant, could Persecute.*

I pleaded the *Unnaturalness*, the *Unchristianity* and *Imprudence* of such Proceedings, and press'd our Reasons earnestly, but tenderly upon him. He assaulted us with several Objections; but, blessed be the Lord, they were mostly fictitious, and therefore easily removed and answered. He also promised me, That if I would write to the Senate a Remonstrance of the Case of our Friends, and express my Request to them, and inclose it to Him, he would both present it, and get it to be read, and make it appear, that he was not so much our Enemy as we look'd upon him to be. I promised to send him some Books containing a Defence of our Principles, which were accordingly put into the Hands of *Elizabeth Haefbert*, to deliver him in my Name.

Having taken our Leave of the Old Woman and her Daughters, and a *Man-Friend* residing in that City, and left the Blessing and Peace of our God amongst them, we took Ship for *Lier*, where we arrived the next Morning. Thence we took Waggon for *Bremen*, where we came Safe, through the Lord's Goodness the next Day; where we met our Friends and Companions, G. K. and B. F. who were come thither some Hours before us from *Amsterdam*. In this City there is a Work of the Lord begun, though yet obscurely: We had a Travail upon our Spirits, that the Blessed and Precious Truth of our *Dear Lord and Master*, might find a Place to rest its Foot upon.

To that Purpose we wrote to *Two Ministers*, under some Suffering from their Brethren, because of their Great Zeal against the *Formality* and *Deadness* of the so called Reformed Churches. This we sent by a Merchant, whom we formerly met at *Herwerden*. With some Difficulty we got to them, but the Person chiefly struck at was shy to speak with us: His Reason was this: 'It was known that we were in Town, and it was one of the Accusations against him, that he was a Fosterer of all the strange Religions that came through the Town. Also he was then actually under Process, and that the People that had heard of the Innocency of his Cause, conceived a Prejudice against our Name, though it might be without Cause: Therefore he could not at present confer with us, and said, he was sorry for it with all his Heart, but what we should say to his Brother, should be the same as if it had been said to him; to whom he referred us.

However, I took hold of his Arm, and said, I have this Message to deliver to Thee, that I may disburden my self before the Lord; which was this: *Mind that which hath touched Thy Heart; let that guide Thee; and do not Thou order that: Consult not with Flesh and Blood, how to maintain that Cause, which Flesh and Blood in thy Enemies persecuteth thee for.* He answered;

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swered, 'Rather than I will betray that Cause, or desert CHRIST, by GOD's Strength, *they shall pull my Flesh off my Bones.*' So he left us in his House, and truly we had a good Time with his Companion, the other Minister, about three Hours, testifying unto him, that the Day was come and coming, in which the Lord would gather out of all Sects (that stand in the oldness of the Letter) *into His own Holy Spirit, Life and Power*; and that in *This* the Unity of Faith and Bond of Peace should stand. And therefore that he and all of them should have an Eye to the *Principle* of God in themselves, that being turned to it, they might speak from it; and that therein they would Glorify God and be Edified. So we parted, leaving the Man in a sensible and favourable Frame. We visited the Merchant twice, and had a very good Time with him; the Man is of a loving and sensible Spirit, and the Love of God opened our Hearts to him.

We also visited Doctor *Johan Sophrony Cozack*, an odd *Compositum* of a Man. He has had great and strange Openings; he hath writ several Scores of Tracts: He is a great Enemy to the Priests, and in Society with none: Of a merry, yet of a rough Disposition, without any Method or Decency in his Clothes, Food, Furniture and Entertainment. He wants but Three of Four score, yet of a wonderful Vigour and Pregnancy.

We were twice with him, and we have Reason to think he was as loving to us as to any Body. And truly he did show at parting some serious and hearty Kindness: But we could fasten little upon him as to God's Power, or any inward Sense of us or our Testimony: Yet we had little to object against what he said; nay, some Things were very extraordinary.

From him we went to Doctor *Bellingham*, an *English* Physician, a Man of a lowly and tender Spirit, who received us in much Love, lamenting when we left him, that he had no more Time with us.

At the Inn we had frequent Opportunity to declare the Way of Truth, and we must needs say, we were heard with Patience and Sobriety; particularly by a Doctor of Law, who lodged at the House, and an ancient Man of *Kiel in Holstein*. We left Books amongst them all, and in the Love and Fear of God we took our Leave of them on the Fifth Day after Dinner, and began our Journey towards *Herwerden*, the Court of the Princess, where we arrived on the Seventh Day in the Morning, every way well, through the Mercies of the Lord. We sent to inform her of our Arrival, and to know what Hour it would be convenient for us to visit her; who returned us this Answer, That being then employed in the Business of her Government, it would be the Second Hour in the Afternoon before she could be at Leisure.

The Time being come we went to visit her, and found both her and the Countess ready to receive us; which they did with much Love and Tenderness. I observed them to be much lower in their Spirits than Ever, and that our former blessed Opportunities had had a blessed Effect upon them. That Afternoon was employed in the Narrative of our Travels, which they heard with great Attention and Refreshment. The whole Discourse ended with a precious little Meeting. The House being clear of Strangers, they both earnestly press us to Sup with them, which being not well able to decline, we submitted to.

At Supper the Power of the Lord came upon me, and it was a *true Supper* to us, for the hidden *Manna* was manifested and broken amongst us; yea, a blessed Meeting it proved to us: O the reverent *Tenderness* and *lowly Frame* of Spirit that appeared this Evening, both in the Princess and Countess. The *French-woman* we found greatly improved, both in her Love and Understanding; yea, she was very zealous and very broken, and was always with us on these Occasions. After Supper we returned to the Princess's Chamber, where we stayed till it was about Ten at Night. At parting I desired the Princess would give us such another Opportunity next Day, being the First Day of the Week, as we had the last Time we were with her: She answered me, *With all my Heart, but will ye not come in the Morning too?*

I replied,

I replied, *Yes willingly; What Time wilt thou be ready to receive us, she answered, At Seven.*

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23. 7. 1.

About Seven the next Morning we came; about Eight the Meeting began, and held till Eleven: Several Persons of the City, as well as those of her own Family being present. The Lord's Power very much affected them, and the Countess was twice much broken while we spoke. After the People were gone out of the Chamber, it lay upon me from the Lord to speak to them two, the Princess and the Countess, with Respect to their particular Conditions, occasioned by these Words from the Princess; *I am fully convinc'd; but O my Sins are great!*

Whilst I was speaking, the Glorious Power of the Lord wonderfully rose, yea, after an *awful* Manner, and had a deep Entrance upon their Spirits; especially the Countess's, that she was broken to Pieces: God hath raised, and I hope fix'd his own Testimony in them.

We returned to our Inn, and after Dinner we came back to the second Meeting on that Day, which began about the second Hour in the Afternoon: And truly, the Reverent, Blessed, Sure Word of Life was divided aright, and a precious Sense of Truth was raised in the Meeting. There came more of the City than in the Morning, and we were much comforted in the Lord's Power that was with us. For the Truth had Passage, and the hungry were satisfied, and the simple-hearted deeply affected.

This Day at both Meetings was one of the Princess's Women, that never was at a Meeting before, and she (tho' very shy of us the last Time) became tender and loving to us; she was truly reach'd. O, Magnified be the Name of the Lord, whose *Presence* was with us, and whose Arm stood by us! After Meeting the Princess press'd us to stay and Sup with her, pleading the Quietness of the Family, and that they were alone. At Supper (as the Night before) it was upon me to Commemorate the Goodness of the Lord, his daily Providences, and how Precious He is in the Covenant of *Light* to the dear Children, and Followers of the Light. Great was the Reverence and Tenderness that was upon the Spirits of both Princess and Countess at that Instant. After Supper we returned to the Princess's Chamber, where we spent the Rest of our Time, in holy Silence, or Discourse, till about the Tenth Hour, and then we repaired to our Quarters.

24. 7. 2.

Next Morning about Eight we returned to the Court, where the Princess and Countess were ready to receive us. The Morning was employ'd in a very serious Relation, relating of the Affairs, Practice and Sufferings of our *Friends in England*, with which they seem'd greatly affected: When, about the Eleventh Hour a rattling of a Coach interrupted us. The Countess immediately step'd out to see what was the Matter, and returned with a Countenance somewhat uneasy, telling us, that the young *Princes, Nephews* to the *Princess* and the *Graef of Donaw*, were come to visit her. Upon which I told them, we should withdraw, and return to our Lodging; but intreated, that so far as we were to depart that Night with the Post-Waggon, we might not be disappointed of a Farewel Meeting with them; and the rather, for that I had a great Burden upon my Spirit: Which they readily complied with, telling me, these Persons would only Dine and be gone. As we went to the Door, the *Countess* step'd before us, and opened it for us; and as I pass'd by, she look'd upon me with a weighty Countenance, and fetch'd a deep Sigh, crying out, *O the Cumber and Entanglements of this Vain World! They hinder all Good.* Upon which I replied, looking her stedfastly in the Face, *O come thou out of them then!*

After we had dined at our Lodging, something being upon me to write to the Professors of Religion in that Country, I went up to my Chamber that I might be the more retired. Just as I was about the Conclusion of the Paper, came the Steward of the House from the Princess, with this Message, That the Princess intreated us to come to her, for the *Graef of Donaw* had a great Desire to see us, and to speak with us. This brought a fresh Weight and Exercise upon us; but committing all to the Lord, and casting our Care upon Him, we went.

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Being arrived, the *Graef* approached us in *French*: At first he took no great Notice of our Inceremonious Behaviour, but proceeded to enquire of us our Success in our Journey, and what we found answering our Journey and Inclinations. Then we fell to Points of Religion, and the *Nature* and *End* of true Christianity, and what was the Way that leaderh to the Eternal Rest. After some short debate about compleat Sanctification in this Life, we both agreed that Self-denial, Mortification and Victory was the Duty, and therefore ought to be the Endeavour of every sincere Christian.

From this I fell to give him some Account of my *Retreat* from the World, and the Inducements I had thereto, and the Necessity of an *Inward Work*; with which he seemed much pleased. After this he fell to the *Har, &c.* This choketh, and the rather, because it telleth Tales: It telleth what People are; it marketh Men for Separatists; it's blowing a Trumpet, visibly crossing the World, and that the Fear of Man (greatly prevalent with too many serious People in that Land) *cannot abide, starteth at, and runneth away from.* Howbeit the Lord enabled me to open the Thing to him, as that it was no Plant of God's planting, but a Weed of Degeneracy and Apostacy; a Carnal and Earthly Honour, the Effect, Feeder and Pleaser of *Pride*, and of a vain Mind, and that no Advantage redounded to Mankind by it; and how could they that ought to do all to the Glory of God, use that vain and unprofitable Custom, which cannot be done to the Glory of God? I entreated him seriously to consider with himself the Rise and End of it; whence it came, what it pleased, and what that was that was angry it had it not.

I also told him of the *sincere* and *serviceable Respect* which Truth substituteth in Place thereof: And I exhorted him to Simplicity and Poverty of Spirit; to be like that Jesus he professed to be his Saviour, whose *outside* as well as Doctrine pleased not the *Jews*, and so we parted. He took his Leave of the *Princess*, and then of us with great Civility.

After he was gone, the *Princess* desired us to withdraw to her Bed-Chamber, and there we began our Farewel Meeting. The Thing lay weighty upon me, and that in the deep Dread of the Lord; and Eternally magnified be the Name of the Lord that overshadowed us with his Glory: His Heavenly, Breaking, Dissolving Power richly Flowed amongst us, and his Minist'ring Angel of Life was in the midst of us. Let my Soul never forget the Divine Sense that overwhelmed all. At that Blessed Farewel I took of them, much opened in me of the Hour of Christ's *Temptation*, his Watchfulness, Perseverance and Victory: Also about the *Ten Virgins*, what the true Virgin was, the true Oyl and Lamp; and what the Bridegroom, his Door, Chamber and Supper: And in the Conclusion of that *Torrent* of Heavenly, Melting Love with which we were all deeply affected, I fell on my Knees, recommending them unto the Lord, Crying with strong Cries to him, for their Preservation, and beseeching the Lord's Presence with us, and so ended.

After some Pause, I went to the *Princess*, and took her by the Hand, which she received and embraced with great Signs of a weighty Kindness, being much broken: I spoke a few Words apart to her, and left the *Blessing* and *Peace* of *Jesus*. with and upon her. Then I went to the *Countess*, and left a particular Exhortation with her, who fervently beseeched me to remember her, and implore the Lord on her Behalf. From her I went to the *French-woman*, and bid her be faithful and constant to that which she knew: She was exceedingly broken, and took an Affectionate and Reverent Leave of us.

Then I spoke to the rest, and took Leave severally of them; my Companions did all the like. They followed us to the outward Room, and there it was upon me to step to the Countess, and once more to speak to her, and take my Leave of her, which she received and returned with great Sense, Humility and Love. So turning to them all, my Heart and Eye to the Lord, I prayed that the *Fear, Presence, Love* and *Life* of God, with all Heavenly

Heavenly Blessings, might Descend and Rest with and upon them, Then, and for ever.

Home we went to our Lodging, clear'd the House, exhorted the Family, left Books, and then took Waggon for *Wesel*, about 200 English Miles from *Herwerden*. We rid Three Nights and Days without lying down on a Bed, or sleeping, otherwise than in the Waggon, which was only covered with an old ragged Sheer. The Company we had with us, made Twelve in Number, which much streightned us: They were often, if not always, Vain; yea, in their Religious Songs, which is the Fashion of that Country, especially by Night; they call them *Luther's Songs*, and sometimes *Psalms*. We were forced often to reprove and testify against their Hypocrisie, to be full of all Vain, and often Prophane Talk one Hour, and Sing Psalms to God the next; we shewed them the Deceit and Abomination of it. We passed through several great Towns by the Way, as *Lipstad*, *Ham*, &c. Many Discourses we had of Truth, and the Religion and Worship that was truly Christian, and all was very well; they bore what we said. But one Thing was remarkable that may not be omitted: I had not been Six Hours in the Waggon, before an heavy Weight and unusual Oppression fell upon me; yea, it weighed me, almost to the Grave, that I could almost say, *My Soul was sad even unto Death*. I know not at present the Ground of this Exercise; it remained about Twenty four Hours upon me. Then it opened in me, that it was a Travel for the *Seed* of God, that it might arise over all in them I had left behind, and that nothing might be lost but the Son of Perdition. O the strong Cries, and deep Agonies, many Tears and sincere Bowings and Humblings of Soul before the Lord, that His Holy Sense, which was raised in them, might be preserved alive in them, and they for ever in it! That they might grow and spread as heavenly Plants of Righteousness to the Glory of the Name of the Lord.

The Narrative from the 27th of the 7th Month inclusive, to the 10th of the 8th Month exclusive, is inserted in the following Letter to the *Countess of Hornes*.

For *Anna Maria de Hornes*, stiled Countess of *Hornes*, at *Herwerden* in Germany.

My dear Friend,

O That thou mayst for ever dwell in the sweet and tender Sense of that Divine Love and Life, which hath visited thy Soul, affected and overcome thy Heart! O tell me, hath it not sometimes raised thy Spirit above the World, and fill'd thee with fervent and passionate Desires, Yea, holy Resolutions to follow Jesus thy blessed Saviour, who hath given His most Precious Blood for thee, that thou shouldst not live to thy self, but to him that hath so dearly purchased thee?

O the Retired, Humble, Reverent Frame that I have beheld thee in, when this blessed Life hath drawn thee into it self, and adorned and seasoned thee with its own Heavenly Virtue; beautifying thy very Countenance beyond all the Vain and Foolish Ornaments of the Wanton Daughters of Sodom and Egypt, for therein are Charms not known to the Children of this World.

O that this Holy and Chast Life may be always precious with thee! And that thou mayst be for ever chastly kept in the Love and Fellowship of it! That out of this World's Nature, Spirit, and Practice, thou mayst be redeemed by Him, who is the Way, the Truth, and the Life; who, as thou watchest with Holy Vigilance, will not only daily manifest the Devices of the Enemy to thee, but save thee from him. For Christ's Work in thee is thy Sanctification, as it is in Him His Father's Will, as Paul said of old to the Believers, This is the Will of God, even your Sanctification.

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My dearly beloved Friend, be Stedfast, Immoveable, without Wavering; and Work out thy great Salvation with Fear and Trembling; and lose not that sweet and precious Sense that the Lord hath begotten in thee: It is soon lost, at least weakened, but hard to recover. Wherefore let not the Spirit of the World in any of its Appearances, Vain Company, Unnecessary Discourse, or Words, or Worldly Affairs prevail upon the Civility of thy Nature; for they will oppress the Innocent Life, and bring grievous Weights and Burdens upon thy Soul, and prolong the coming of the Lord, whom thou lookest for, and put the Day of thy Redemption afar off. O beware of this Compliance! Let me put thee in Mind of that sensible Resolution so frequently and so passionately repeated by thee; *Il faut que je rompe, Il faut que je rompe.* Ah this speaketh a Weight, this weight a Sense, and this Sense a strong Conviction. Now be assured, that till Obedience be yielded to that present Manifestation and Conviction, the good things desired and thirsted after can never be enjoyed.

Wherefore, my dear Friend, be faithful, and watch against the Workings of the Spirit of this World in thy self; that the Nature and Image of it in all Things may be crucified, that thou mayst know an entire Translation, with holy Enoch, and walk with God. Jesus the holy Light, is this Cross and Power of God, that killeth and maketh alive; and he is the Heavenly Vine too, if thou abidest in him, thou wilt bring forth Fruit: But if thou abidest not in him, thou wilt not bring forth that Fruit, in which his Heavenly Father only can be glorified. O see what the Mind daily abideth in! O my Soul is even ravish'd with the Sense of that holy and quiet Habitation! In me saith he, you shall have Peace, but in the World Trouble; however, be of good Cheer, I have overcome the World, I am not of the World: as if he had said; I am not of the World's Ways, Worships, Customs, or Fashions; for whatever is of the Nature and Spirit of this World, hath no Part in me: And as I am not of this World, neither are you of this World; for I have chosen you out of the World; out of the Inventions, out of the Worships, and Fashions of the World. You are to leave them all, to come out of them all, and live and walk as Pilgrims in the World; that is Strangers: To what? To the Life and Practice of the World; not using, but renouncing the Vain Customs and Ceremonies, yea, the whole Conversation of the World, remembering that the Friendship of this World is Enmity with God. And what if the World hate you, it hated me first; and the Disciple is not greater than his Master, nor the Servant than his Lord: If you were of the World, the World would Love you, and not reproach and persecute you; for the World loveth it's own. O my dear Friend, that thou mayst be perfectly sensible what it is, not to be of this World.

But there is yet a farther Mystery, in these Words, not discerned even of many, in whom some Tenderness and inquiry is begotten, much less of the worldly Christians. This World hath a false Earth, and a false Heaven, a false Foundation, and a false Joy: Not only gross Wickedness, but Iniquity in a Mystery inwardly and outwardly. The Whore, false Prophet, and Dragon, and all their Off-Spring are here concerned. This is their World that must be burnt with Fire, that Christ is not of, nor his true Disciples. O the Light of Jesus discovereth it! And he is that Spiritual Solomon, that giveth true Judgment, and that saveth the Living Child, the true Birth; giving it to the right Mother, and not to the false Pretender. And all that hear his Voice and follow him, shall receive true Light, discerning and Judgment, to whom all Judgment is given: They shall know his Voice from Man's.

There are Two Trees of differing Natures that have contrary Fruits and Leaves. The one is the Tree of Life, which is Christ, the other the Tree of Death, and that is Satan. The Fruit of the one giveth Life; The Fruit of the other bringeth Death; the Leaves of the first Heal; the Leaves of the last Poison. Many that discern the Tree, cannot clearly distinguish the Branches: And those that see many Arms and Branches, cannot distinctly behold the Leaves much less the Fruit. This cometh by the gradual Discoveries and Revelations of the Light of Jesus, the Word of God, as it is daily received, and daily obeyed. Yea, and that Word is the Ax and Sword of the Almighty, to cut it down; daily feel the Strokes of this Eternal searching Light and Word at the

very Root of this Corrupt Tree, this Evil one, and his Corrupt Nature, Works and Effects. For which End Jesus Christ is come, and therefore is called a Saviour, which is little known in Truth to the Christians of this World.

Alas my dear Friend, thou knowest this Word, yea, thou hast felt it; O hide it in thy Heart! Treasure it up in thy Soul, and love it, and abide with it for ever. Alas! Whither shouldst thou go? This hath the Words, and is the Word of Eternal Life; daily therefore watch and wait, that thou mayst be grafted more into it; that thou mayst live and grow by the Virtue and Life of it; and that it may grow in thy Heart, as it grew among the first Christians, the holy Followers of the Persecuted Jesus. And when it searcheth thy Wound, and cutteth away thy dead Flesh; yea, when it separateth between the Soul, and the Spirit of this World, and divideth between Joints and Marrow, when it cutteth off the right Hand, and plucketh out the right Eye; O watch unto Prayer, and Pray that thou mayst endure! O keep the holy Patience of this pure and living Word; and this very Word will keep thee in the hour of thy Sharpest Trials, and sorest Tribulations! All Virtue is in it! It is a Tried Word, a sure Refuge, the Staff and Strength of the Righteous in all Ages. 'Twas David's Teacher, and Buckler; a Light to his Feet, and a Lanthorn to his Paths. Walk thou in the Light thereof, and thou shalt not stumble: In this Word is Life (as in the Root) and this Light is the Life of Men. They that receive and love the Light of it, will therein receive Divine Life from it to live to God. This is the Bread of God, that cometh from God, and feedeth, and leadeth up to God: By this only, that which is born of God liveth, and is nourished: This is that Carkass to which the Wise Eagles gather; and see thou gatherest to no other, and feedest on no other. This is that hidden Manna, that cometh from Heaven; that feedeth God's Gospel Israel. The World hath a Manna, but it perisheth; but this endureth for ever: For 'tis not of Man, nor from Man, but Immortal, and from God; hid from the Knowledge of all the Vain Christians in the World: So that the Israel of God can say to the Children of this World, and that in Truth and Righteousness, We have a Bread you know not of. For this Manna wait daily, that thou mayst be strengthened in thy Wilderness-Travel to the Land of Eternal Rest.

Wherefore labour not for the Bread that perisheth, that is, the Bread of Man's inventing and making, which cometh from below, and profiteth not, because it giveth not Life Eternal. But labour thou, (my dear Friend) for the Bread that never perisheth, that endureth for ever, and that giveth Life Eternal to all that feed upon it. O cast thy Care upon this Word, love it, and dwell with it, wait daily upon it, hear its Voice only, and follow it, for it bringeth the Soul to the Eternal Habitation of Rest and Glory. Yea, when all Flesh shall wither, and the Beauty thereof fade away, this Word, and they that are Grafted into it, shall abide for ever. O that this may be thy Choice, and it shall be thy Diadem, and thy Eternal Crown of Glory.

These are the fervent Desires, and these the daily Prayers of my Soul, to the God of my Salvation for thee; not only that nothing in thee may be left, besides the Son of Perdition: But that thou mayst Cast off every Weight and Burden, and that Sin that doth so easily beset thee, that grieveth, boweth and oppresseth thee: Under the heavy Weight of which thou groonest and siggest that thy Redeemer would come from Zion to deliver thee. O give not Heed to the Enemy, the False Accuser, that seeketh to devour that which is begotten of God in thee: Neither look upon thine own Sins, Burdens, or Weaknesses; but lift up thy Head, and look to JESUS, the Author of thy Blessed Visitation, and wholly Hunger and Thirst after Him, the Spiritual Brazen Serpent, that healeth and relieveth all that in Faith and full Assurance look to Him. Want of looking to Him, bearing and obeying Him, and having True Faith in Him, is the Cause both of all the Presumption and Despair that are at this Day. He did no mighty Things of Old in those Places where they believed not.

O faint not, look not back, remember the Holy Ancients, the Holy Pilgrims of Faith, the Royal Generation of Heaven! Heb. 11. Thou believest in God, Believe

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Believe also in him, for the Word's Sake that He has already wrought in thee: He will minister to thee, as he was ministered unto by His Father's Angels in the Hour of His Abasement and Great Temptation. O Watch, and be Faithful, and thou shalt be a Noble Witness for the Lord.

Once more let me expostulate with thee: Wouldst thou overcome the Enemies of thy Soul's Peace, and enjoy the Delightful Presence of the Lord with thee, then keep nothing back; let nothing be withheld that he calleth for: Remember that Saul of old lost his Kingdom, for keeping that Alive which he should have Slain: Thou knowest what befel Ananias and Sapphira outwardly: But be thou like the Poor Widow of Old, that therefore gave more into the Treasury than all the rest, because they reserved the greatest Part to themselves; but She gave All she had. O Blessed are they that make no Bargains for themselves: That have no Reserves for self; neither consult with Flesh and Blood; nor in any Sense conform to the least Ceremony which is born of them: But that submit their Wills, in all Things, to the Lord's, that they may be made Perfect through Sufferings, as Christ was.

Read me in the Mystery of Life: I speak not of deserting, or flinging away all outward Substance; but that thy Heart may Reign above all Visibles, and make God its Treasure, and never stick in any Thing of this lower World, or rest short of CHRIST, the Eternal Rest of all the Seed of Faith.

Here beginneth the NARRATIVE.

Wesel.
27. 7. 5.

THE Lord brought us well to *Wesel* on the fifth Day after we left *Herwerden*, having some Service by the Way. At *Wesel* we had a good time with Dr. *Schuler*, and *Rosendale*, and the Woman we mentioned to thee, but the *Taylor* was shy, and fearful of coming to us at the Doctor's.

28. 7. 6.

The next Day we went towards *Daysburgh*, we visited the *Schult*, or chief Governour that Night, whom we found at home; he received us in much Kindness. His wife and Sister, we fear, have been shaken in their good Testimony since we were last there; some *Fowls of the Air*, have devoured the Seed that was sown. O that sweet and tender frame in which we left them the time before! However, the entrance we had upon the Spirit of the *Schult*, a little consoled us. Hence we sent *Maria Martha's* Friend, a Letter, desiring him to let us have his Answer the next Night at *Dusseldorp*, inclosed to *Neander*, when and where we might see him, either at *Dusseldorp*, *Mulheim*, or *Daysburgh*, and if it were possible, we would gladly visit the Countess of *Bruch*.

Dusseldorp.
29. 7. 7.

We got early to *Dusseldorp* next Day, being the last Day of the week: But *Neander* was gone to *Mulheim*, in order to Preach on the Morrow; so that we were disappointed of our Intelligence.

Collen.
30. 7. 1
1. 8. 2.
Dusseldorp.

Next Morning we went towards *Collen*, and there arrived that Evening.

The next Day we had a good Opportunity with *Van Dinando*, and *Doe-mius* at the House of the latter; and that Afternoon took Boat back for *Dusseldorp*: where arriving next Morning, we presently sent for *Neander*; who came to us, and three more in Company. We had a blessed Meeting with them, and one of the three that came with him our Souls were exceedingly affected with.

2. 8. 3.

The Meeting done, they went away, but *Neander* returned. And first, of our Letter to *Mulheim*; we found by him, (as also at our Return to *Daysburgh*) that *Kuper* was so far from endeavouring our visit to the Countess, that he would not meet us himself, neither at *Dusseldorp*, *Mulheim*, or *Daysburgh*: Nay, it did not please him to send us an Answer, much less any the least Salutation. I confess it grieved us now for *Neander*, the young Man hath a Zeal for God, and there is a Visitation upon him, my Soul desireth that it may not be ineffectual: But I have a great fear upon me. For this I know certainly from the Lord God that liveth for ever, and I have a Cloud of Witnesses to my Brethren, that Retirement and Silence before God is the alone way for him to feel the heavenly Gift to arise, and come forth pure and unmix'd. This only can aright Preach for God, Pray to God, and beget

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beget People to God, and nothing else. But, alas, his Office in that Family is quite another thing; namely, to perform set Duties, at fix'd Times: Pray, Preach, and Sing, and that in the Way of the *World's* Appointment. His very Office is *Babylonish*, namely, a *Chaplain*; for it is a *Papish* Invention.

In the good Old Times, godly *Abraham*, that was a Prince, and *Joshua* a great General, and *David* a King, with many more, *instructed their Families* in the Knowledge and Fear of God: But now People are too Idle, or too great to pray for themselves, and so they worship God by *Proxy*. How can a Minister of the Gospel be at the beck of any Mortal Living, or give his Soul and Conscience to the Time and Appointment of another; The thing in it self is utterly wrong, and against the very Nature and worship of the New and Everlasting Covenant. You had better meet to read the Scriptures, the Book of Martyrs, &c. if you cannot sit and wait in Silence upon the Lord, till his Angel move upon your Hearts, than to uphold such a formal, Limited and Ceremonious Worship. This is not the way out of *Babylon*. And I have a deep Sense upon my Soul, that if the Young Man strive beyond the Talent God hath given him, to answer his Office, and fill up his Place, and wait not for the pure and living word of God in his Heart, to open his Mouth, but either studieth for his Sermons, or speaketh his own words, he will be utterly ruined.

Wherefore, O Dear Friend, have a Care thou art no Snare to him, nor he to thee! Man's Works smother, and stifle the true Life of Christ; what have you now to do but to look to *Jesus*, the Author of the holy Desires that are in you, who himself hath visited you. Tempt not the Lord, provoke not God. What should any Man preach from, but Christ? And what should he preach People to, but Christ in them, the hope of Glory? Consider, nothing feedeth that which is born of God, but that which cometh down from God; even the *Bread of God*, which is the Son of God, who giveth his Life for the World. Feel it, and feed on it; let none mock God, or grieve his Eternal Spirit that is come to seal them up from the Mouth of Man that hath deceived them, that *Jesus* the Anointing may teach them, and abide with them for Ever.

Be Stedfast and immoveable, and this will draw the Young Man nearer to the Lord, and empty him of himself, and purge away Mixtures, and then you will all come to the *Divine Silence*. And when all Flesh is silent before the Lord, then is it the Lord's Time to speak, and if you will hear your Souls shall Live. O my Soul is in great Pain that you may be all chafily preserved in that Divine Sense begotten in your Hearts by the Eternal Word of God, that abideth for Ever; that nothing may ever be able to extinguish it. But more especially that *Thou*, my dear Friend, mayst be kept in Faithfulness: For the Lord is come very near to thee, and *thou must* begin the Work, the Lord God expecteth it at *thy Hand*. If one Sheep break through, the rest will follow, Wherefore watch, O watch, that thou mayst be strengthened and confirmed; and strengthen all that is begotten of God in that Family, by thy weighty, Savoury and circumspect Life! O how is my Soul affected with thy present Condition! It is the fervent Supplication of my Heart, that thou mayst, through the daily obedience of the Cross of *Jesus*, Conquer and shine as a bright and glorious Star in the Firmament of God's Eternal Kingdom. So let it be, Lord *Jesus*! Amen.

We tenderly, yet freely spoke our Hearts to him, before we parted, which done, in God's Love we took our Leave of him at *Dusseldorp*, and got that Night to *Daysburgh*, being the Third Day of the Week. We first visited Dr. *Mastricht*, a Man of a good natural Temper, but a rigid Calvinist. I perceived by him, that they held a Consultation about seeing us at *Bruch*; but they all concluded, it was best to decline meeting with us, because of the *Graef*, he being ready to sling our Name in Reproach, upon them, in his Displeasure; and this would confirm him in his Jealousies of them. This might excuse the *Countess*, but by no Means *Kuper*; and if I had any

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Sense, *Mastricht* was there with them upon design to frustrate the hopes we had conceived of meeting with her. We from that descended to other Things of weight, and in Love and Peace parted.

From his House we returned to our Inn, and after Supper we visited the *Schult*, who with much Civility and some Tenderneſs received us. His *Sister* also came to us, and we had a good little Meeting with them, and our God was with us, and His Pure and Tender Life appeared for our Justification, and pleaded our innocent Cause in their Conſciences: And ſo we parted with them, leaving our Maſter's Peace amongst them.

Wesel.

3. 8. 4.

The next Day we came to *Wesel*, being the Fourth Day, where we understood by Dr. *Schuler*, that thy *Sister* desired we would be ſo kind as to ſee her when we returned: Upon that we went and viſited her; ſhe received us very kindly. Thy *Brother-in-Law's Two Sisters* were preſent; we ſtayed with her at leaſt Two Hours. Many Queſtions ſhe put to me, which I was glad to have an Opportunity to answer, for it made Way for a Meeting: She intreated us to come again if we ſtayed, and told us our Viſit was very grateful to her: Adding, That becauſe we paſt her by the laſt Time, ſhe concluded with her ſelf, *We had no Hopes of Her*; with more to that Effect. From thence we went to Dr. *Schuler's*, who freely offered us his Houſe for a Meeting next Day: And indeed, the Man is bold, after his Manner.

4. 8. 5.

The next Day about Seven, I writ a Billiet in *French* to thy *Sister*, to inform her of the Meeting to begin about Eight: She came, and her *Two Sisters* with her; there was *Rosendale*, Colonel *Copius* and his Wife, and about three or four more, and to our Great Joy the Lord Almighty was with us, and His Holy Power reached their Hearts, and the Doct^r and *Copius* thereby confeſſed to our Teſtimony.

The Meeting laſted about Four Hours: Being ended, we took our Leave of them in the *Spirit of JESUS*, and ſo returned to our Inn. The *Taylor* was all this While afraid of coming to our Inn, or to the Doct^r's to the Meeting: Great Fears have overtaken him, and the poor Man liveth but in a dry Land. After Dinner, we viſited *Copius* and *Rosendale*, and at *Copius's* we had a Bleſſed Broken Meeting, he, his Wife, *Rosendale*, his Wife, and another Woman (Wife to one Dr. *Willick's* Brother) preſent; they were extremely affected and overcome by the Power of the Lord, 'twas like one of our *Herwerden* Meetings; indeed much Tenderneſs was upon all their Spirits.

This done, and having left Books, both there, and with thy *Sister*, we left *Wesel* with Hearts full of Joy and Peace: And let me ſay this, That more Kindneſs, and Openneſs, we have ſcarceſy found in all our Travels: O that this Bleſſed Senſe may dwell with them. A Seed there is in that Place GOD will Gather; yea, a Noble People He will find out: And I doubt not but there will be a good Meeting of *Friends* in that City before many Years go about; my Love is great to that Place. O how Good is our dear Lord to us, who helpeth our Infirmities, and carrieth through all Oppoſition, and feedeth us with his Divine Preſence, in which is Life! His Candle hath hitherto reſted on our Tabernacle, and He hath made us glad in His own Salvation; Eternal Glory be to His Excellent Name.

Cleve.

5. 8. 6.

We immediately took a *Post-Carr*, and came next Day about Two in the Afternoon to *Cleve*, where we had a very Precious Meeting at an honeſt *Procurator's* Houſe, who received us with much Love: Four or Five more were preſent, all Grave and Tender: Our Hearts were greatly affected with their Love and Simplicity. We alſo viſited the Lady *Hubner*, who was kind to us.

Nimmeguen.

Utrecht.

6. 8. 7.

Next Morning we ſet out for *Nimmeguen*, and thence immediately to *Utrecht*, where we arrived that Night; and took the *Night-Boat* for *Amſterdam*, becauſe of a Preſſure upon my Spirit to be next Day at the Meeting; and the rather, having intimated as much from *Cullen*.

Amſterdam.

7. 8. 1.

We arrived in the Morning at *Amſterdam*, where we found our Dear *Friends* generally well, the City much alarm'd, and great Curioſity in ſome, and *Deſires* in others to come to the Meeting. We had a very great Meeting,

Meeting, and many People of Note resorted : *God's Gospel-Bell was Rung, the Great Day of the Great GOD Sounded, and the Dead was Raised, so as much Tenderness appeared in several.* O Blessed be the Name of the Lord, whose Work and Testimony prospereth.

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The next Day was spent in divers Affairs relating to the Truth.

8. 8. 2.

9. 8. 3.

The Day following we had a Meeting with *Galenus Abrahams*, (the Great Father of the *Socinian Menists* in these Parts) accompanied with several Preachers and others of his Congregation ; divers of our Friends were also present. It continued about Five Hours ; he affirmed in Opposition to us, *That there was no Christian Church, Ministry, or Commission Apostolical now in the World ;* but the Lord assisted us with his Wisdom and Strength to confound his Attempts.

Here endeth the Narrative.

I intend a Visit at the *Hague* to the Lady *Overkirk*, Sister of the *Somerdikes*, and some others that have sober Characters of Truth and Friends ; and thence to *Rotterdam*, where I have much to do, both with Respect to Meetings and the Press.

Thus, my dear Friend, have I given Thee a tedious Narrative, yet I hope not altogether unpleasant. Perhaps the Brevity of my Letters hereafter, may best Apologize for the Length of this : However, I consider Two Things ; One is, That Thou hast Time enough, one Time or other, to look over it ; and next, That I have *plentifully* answered thy Requests, and demonstrated *I have not forgotten Thee.* O Dear Friend, let us live and remember one another (now absent) in that Divine Sense in which the Lord God dissolv'd our Spirits when together. O the Unity of this Faith, the Purity of this Love, and the Bond of this Peace ! The Lord JESUS be with Thy Spirit, and keep Thee in this the *Hour of Thy Temptation*, that Thou mayst come forth as *Gold Seven Times Tried.* So shall Thy Testimony shine for the God that hath called Thee, and HE will reward Thee with Honour, Glory, and Eternal Life. *Amen.*

Thus saith the Lord, *I remember Thee, the Kindness of Thy Youth, the Love of thine Espousals, when Thou wentest after Me in the Wilderness, in a Land that was not Sown.* Jer. ii. 2. Dear Friend consider this.

Yet again : The Way of the Just is Uprightness ; Thou most Upright dost weigh the Paths of the Just, yea, in the Way of Thy Judgments, O Lord, have we waited for Thee, the *Desire* of our Soul is to Thy Name, and to the Remembrance of Thee.

With my Soul have I desired Thee in the Night ; yea, with my Spirit within me will I seek Thee early ; for when thy Judgments are in the Earth, the Inhabitants of the World will learn Righteousness.

Lord Thou wilt ordain Peace for us, for Thou also hast wrought all our Works in us.

O Lord our God, other Lords besides Thee have had Dominion over us ; but by Thee Only we make Mention of Thy Name.

Lord, in Trouble have they visited Thee ; they poured out a Prayer when Thy Chastning was upon them.

Like as a Woman with Child, that draweth near the Time of her Delivery is in Pain, and cryeth out in her Pangs, *so have we been in Thy Sight, O Lord.*

We have been with Child, we have been in Pain, we have as it were brought forth Wind, we have not wrought any Deliverance in the Earth, neither have the Inhabitants of the World fallen.

Thy dead Men shall live, together with my dead Body shall they arise : *Awake and Sing, ye that dwell in the Dust, for Thy Dew is as the Dew of Herbs, and the Earth shall cast out the Dead.*

Come my People, enter thou into thy Chambers, and shut thy Doors about thee ; hide thy self as it were for a little Moment, until the Indignation be overpast.

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For behold, the Lord cometh out of His Place, to Punish the Inhabitants of the Earth for their Iniquities; the Earth also shall disclose her Blood, and shall no more cover her Slain. Isa. xxvi. 7, 8, to 21. So come dear Lord JESUS, that was Dead, and is Alive, and Liveth for ever. Amen.

Amsterdam, 10th of the
8th Month, 1677.

Very dearly Farewel,
Thy Friend that Faithfully Travelleth
for thy Redemption, W.P.

10. 8. 4.

The same Day we had a Blessed Publick Meeting, never to be forgotten: O the Majesty, Glory and Life that the Lord attended us with! Our Hearts were deeply affected with His Presence, Great Reverence and Brokenness was over the Meeting, more than I had seen. The Meeting done, we were opposed by a Preacher, who was closely encountred and pursued by several Merchants, &c. (not of us) that cryed, *He was Rude and Ignorant*, and, *That they had a Testimony for us*; and offered to dispute in our Defence, but the Priest ran away: They followed him till they housed him; what followed I know not.

11. 8. 5.

It was upon me this Day to engage Galenus Abrahams to a second Conference, that we might more fully debate and confute his Grand Objections against the present Dispensation of Truth, and the Heavenly Ministry Witnessed among Friends. He refused not my Offer of a second Meeting, but sent me Word his Business would not give him Leave to let it be any Time this Day. Upon which the next Morning was fix'd for the Conference, to begin at Eight, which accordingly it did, and held till One. The Account of both the Conferences is not yet found, but with the latter some of his own Friends seem'd better satisfied, and it ended very comfortably to us, because to a General Satisfaction.

Leyden.

The Meeting thus ended, and having refresh'd our selves, after a Solemn Leave taken of our dear Friends at Amsterdam, G. F. and my self went that Night to Leyden, accompanied by B. F. Coming there late at Night, we forbore to inquire after any Worthy in that Place.

12. 8. 6.

But the next Morning we found out Two, One a German of, or near Darmstadt, who not only express'd much Love to the Principle of Truth, and unto us the Friends thereof, but also inform'd us of a retired Person, of Great Quality, that liveth about two Hours back again towards Amsterdam, at a Village called *Wonderwick*. Our Resolutions of being that Night at Rotterdam, and having the Hague to Visit by the Way, made our Return at that Time unpracticable. However, the Relation of the German concerning the Good Inclinations of the Great Man and his Wife, their Disdain of the World, and voluntary Retreat from the Greatness and Glory of it, rested strongly upon our Spirits. This Person presently conducted us to the House of one who had formerly been a Professor in the University, and there left us.

To this Person both G. F. and my self were more than ordinarily open, he was of a *sweet*, yet *quick*; of a *wise*, yet *very loving and tender Spirit*: There were few Strangers we felt greater Love to. He assented to every Thing we said: And truly his Understanding was very clear and open to the Things that lay upon us to declare; and he express'd his firm Belief of Great Revolutions at Hand, and that they should terminate in the setting up of the Glorious Kingdom of CHRIST in the World.

What shall I say? The Man felt our Spirits, and therefore loved us, and in the fresh Sense of that Love, writ a Letter by us to a retired Person at the Hague, like himself: Which in several Places of Germany was the Way whereby we found out most of the retired People we visited. After near two Hours Time with him, we took Waggon for the Hague, leaving the Peace of God upon him.

Hague.

The first Thing we did there, was to enquire out the Lady Overkirk, a Person of a Retired and Religious Character; separated from the publick Worship of that Country: She was at Home, but her Husband's being with her,

her, a great Man of the Army of another Disposition and Way of Living, hindred our Access at that Time.

The next Person we went to, was a Judge of the Chief Court of Justice in that *Republick*: He received us with great Respect, and a more than ordinary Desire to know the *Truth of our Faith and Principles*. We declared of the Things most surely believed amongst us, in the Power and Love of God. He made his Observations, Objections, and Queries upon several Things we spake, to whom we replied, and explained all Matters in Question; insomuch as he declared himself satisfied in our Confessions, and his *Good Belief of us and our Principles*. We took a Solemn and Sensible Leave of him, and we felt the Witness of God reach'd in him, and his Spirit tendered, which filled our Hearts with dear Love to him: He brought us to his Street-door, and there we parted.

From him we went to visit that Person for whom we had a Letter from the Doctor at *Leyden*, but he was not at home. We immediately took Wagon for *Delft*, and from thence an Express-Boat for *Rotterdam*, where we arrived well about Eight at Night.

The next Day was mostly spent in Visiting of Friends, and the Friendly People in that Place, which consisted of several Persons of Worldly Note.

The next Day being the First Day of the Week, we had a large and Blessed Meeting, wherein the deep *Mysteries of the Kingdom of CHRIST and antichrist*, were declared in the Power of an Endless Life. Several of diverse Religions were there, but no Disturbance or Contradiction, but a profound Silence and Reverent Attention were over the Meeting.

That Night I had a Blessed Meeting at my Lodging, with those Persons of Note, that at sometimes visited our publick Meetings, as that Day, and have a Convincement upon them: The *Lord's Love, Truth and Life*, preciously reached towards them, and they were very sweetly affected.

Next Day I bestowed in perfecting and correcting several publick Letters which I was moved to write, both in my first and second Journey in *Germany*, and after my Return to these *Low-Countries*. They are left behind to be Translated and Printed: They are omitted here, because they are large, and likely to be hereafter Printed in *English*. The Titles whereof follow.

I. A Summons, or Call to Christendom; in an Earnest Expostulation with Her, to prepare for the Great and Notable Day of the Lord that is at the Door.

II. To all those who are Sensible of the Day of their Visitation, and who have received the Call of the LORD, by the Light and Spirit of His SON in their Hearts, to partake of the Great Salvation, where-ever scattered throughout the World; but more especially in the High and Low-Dutch Nations; Faith, Hope, and Charity, which overcome the World, be multiplied among you.

III. To all those Professors of Christianity, that are Externally Separated from the Visible Sets and Fellowships in the Christian World, (so called) where-ever Hidden or Scattered: True Knowledge, which is Life Eternal, from GOD the Father, through CHRIST JESUS, be increased.

IV. A Tender Visitation, in the Love of God that overcometh the World, to all People in the High and Low-Dutch Nations, who Hunger and Thirst after Righteousness, and desire to know and Worship God in Truth, and in Sincerity; containing a Plain Testimony to the Ancient and Apostolical Life, Way and Worship that God is Reviving and Exalting in the Earth, in His Spirit and Truth.

The Sense of the Serious Retreat of the Great Man we heard of at *Leyden*, was so strong upon me, that I could not see my self clear to leave the Country before I had given him a Visit. I purposed therefore the next Morning to set forward to the *Hague*, from thence to *Leyden*, and so to *Wonderwick*.

Delft.
Rotterdam.

13. 8. 7.
14. 8. 1.
A Person then
Convinced,
who the World
prevailed, died
lately, acknow-
ledging it, and
cried out,
How Happy
had I been,
if I had then
Obeyed.
15. 8. 2.

Ap. N. XVII.

Ap. N. XVIII.

Ap. No. XIX.

Ap. No. XX.

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Wonderwick.
16. 8. 3.

I arrived there in the Evening with *B. F. A. Sonnemans*, and *M. Sonnemans*, and immediately made known our coming, and the End of it to him and his Wife, by the Means of the Young *German*, who was got thither before us to visit them. An Invitation came to us all at our Inn, and immediately we repaired to his House, which was very Stately, and yet Plain. He presently came to us, took us by the Hand, and bid us *Heartily Welcome*. We immediately sat down, and after some Time of Retirement, I spoke something of what was upon me, yet not before he had given us a Sober and Pathetical Account of his Life, and of the present Frame and Disposition of his Spirit.

All this was in the Absence of his Wife; but so soon as I had finish'd what was then upon me to speak of the Witness of GOD, and of its Work in Man, upon the Occasion of the History he gave us of his Life, he led us into another Room, where his Wife was: He told her, here were some *Christian Friends* come to visit her, she Saluted us very kindly.

We all sat down, and after some Silence, the Heavenly Power of God did, in a Living and Tender Manner, open their States and Conditions to me, and opened my Mouth to them. The Substance of my Testimony was to this Purpose, That *Death* reigned from *Adam* to *Moses*; *Moses* was till the *Prophets*, the *Prophets* till *John*, and *John* till *Christ*: What *Christ's* Day was: How few see this Day: And whilst People are talking of being in *CHRIST*, under Grace, and not under the Law, *Death Reigneth over them*, and they are not come to *Moses*, nor the Shaking or Quaking Mountain, the Thundrings, Lightnings and Whirlwinds: And what was that Way which led to *CHRIST*, and what it was to be in Him, and under the Government of His Grace; directing them to the Blessed Principle of Light and Truth, and Grace, which God had shed abroad in their Hearts. I declared the Nature and Manner of the Appearing and Operating of this Principle, and appealed to their own Consciences for the Truth of what was said: And I can truly say, the *Holy Life of JESUS* was revealed amongst us, and like *Oil*, swam on the Top of All. In this Sense I was moved to Kneel down and Pray; great Brokenness fell upon all; and *That* that was before the World began, was richly manifested in and amongst us.

The Meeting being done, the Great Man and his Wife Blest us, and the Work of GOD in our Hands, saying with *Tears* in his Eyes, *My House is Blessed for Your Sakes; and Blessed be God that I ever lived to see you.*

And thus we left them, though with much Difficulty; for they prest us, with great Earnestness, both to Eat and to Lodge with them; and 'twas hard for them to bear our Refusal. They said it was a Scandal to their House, that they should let such *Good People* as we were go out of it; or suffer us to lodge in any other Place: But we declared our Pre-Engagement elsewhere, and that it was not for want of True Kindness towards them.

One Passage I had almost forgot to mention: 'I was (said he) once at Table with the Duke of *Holsheyn* at *Fredericksstadt*, when the Magistrates came to complain against a People called *Quakers* in that City: The Duke was ready to be prejudiced against them; but at the very naming of them, I conceived a more than ordinary Kindness in my Mind towards them. I ask'd the Magistrate, what they were for a People? He told me that they would not pull off their Hats to their Superiors: I ask'd him, whether they would pull off their Hats to God? He said, Yes: Said I, That may be the Reason why they will not pull them off to Man. Do they live Peaceably? Yes: Do they pay their Taxes? Yes: Do they rub their Hats in your Eyes? No: Do they do any Harm with them? No: Why what is your Quarrel then? They meet in *Silence*, and they will not Speak or Pray unless they be moved by the Spirit. Why, that is according to the Doctrine of Scripture: If this be to be a *Quaker*, I would I were a *Quaker* too. But, said he, I never saw one before, but I bless God I see you now.' He very much inveighed against the false Christianity that is in the World, and greatly magnified a *Tender, Mortified and Retired Estate*, I have great Hopes he and his Wife will die in the Truth. We returned to our Inn to Supper, and to Bed.

Next

Next Morning we took Waggon for the *Hague*, where we met with *Docemius*, the King of *Denmark's* Resident at *Cullen*, who had been at *Rotterdam* to seek us, and came back thither, with Hopes to meet us. We had some Service there with a *Lawyer*; but were again disappointed of visiting the *Lady Overkirk*, because of her Husband's Presence; and the other retired Man before-mentioned was again from Home: The *Judge* would gladly have received us, but a great Cause then depending commanded his Attendance. That Afternoon we took Boat for *Delft*, and so to *Rotterdam*, where we all arrived well.

It was my Desire to have been the next Day at a Meeting at *Dort*; but it seems the Way that we hoped had been open for us, was shut, inasmuch that we were prevented of that Service. However, I applied my self to the perfecting of what yet wanted to be compleated in those Writings I left behind me to be Printed.

The next Day, being the Sixth Day of the Week, we had a very Blessed Publick Meeting, taking therein our Leave of the Country: And after that was done, we had another amongst Friends, recommending to them the *Peaceable, Tender, Righteous TRUTH*: Desiring that they might Live and Grow in it, and be a People to the Lord's Praise; so should His Work Prosper; His Dominion be Enlarged and Encreased among them. In the Evening I had also a Meeting at my Lodging among the *Great People* of that Place, of which I have before made Mention: And magnified be the Name of the Lord, His Power did so sweetly Visit them, and effectually Reach them, that, at their Departure, *Some of them fell upon our Necks*, and with *Tears of Love*, Prayed, that they might be remembered by us, and that they might have Strength to answer our great Travel for them. We recommended them unto the Lord, and the Pure Word of His Grace in their Hearts.

The next Day, the Generality of *Friends* of that Place, met at *Simon Johnson's* House, early in the Morning, where we took our Leave of one another, in the Love and Power of the Lord, feeling His Living Presence with them that stayed, and with us that went.

Several accompanied us to the *Briel*, where we arrived about Noon. There accompanied us the King of *Denmark's* Resident at *Culen*, who had been with us at those Meetings at *Rotterdam*, *P. Hendricks*, and *C. Rocloffs* of *Amsterdam*, and *A. Sonnemans*, *B. F. M. S.* and *S. J.* with several others of *Rotterdam*. The *Pacquet-Boat* not being come, we were necessitated to lye there that Night.

That Night it was upon me, in the Earnest Love of God, to Salute the *Princesses* and *Countesses*, with a *Few Farewel-Lines*, as followeth.

To the Princess ELIZABETH,

Salvation in the Cross, Amen.

Dear and Truly Respected Friend,

MY Soul most earnestly desireth thy Temporal and Eternal Felicity, which standeth in thy doing the Will of God now on Earth, as 'tis done in Heaven. O *Dear Princess*, do it! Say the Word once in Truth and Righteousness, *Not my Will, but Thine be done, O God!* Thy Days are few, and then thou must go to Judgment: Then an Account of thy Talent God will require from thee. What Improvement hast thou made? Let it prove and shew its own Excellency, that it is of God, and that it leadeeth All, that love it, to God. O that thou mayst be able to give an Account with Joy!

I could not leave this Country, and not testify the Resentments I bear in my Mind of that *Humble and Tender* Entertainment thou gavest us at thy Court: The Lord *JESUS* Reward thee: And surely He hath a Blessing in Store for thee. Go on, be stedfast, *Overcome*, and thou shalt Inherit.

1677.

Hague.

17. 8. 4.

Delft.

Rotterdam.

18. 8. 5.

19. 8. 6.

20. 8. 7.

Briel.

*She died about
Four Years af-
ter.*

1677.

Inherit. Do not despond; One that is Mighty is near thee; a present Help in the Needful Time of Trouble. O let the Desire of thy Soul be to His Name, and to the Remembrance of Him. O wait upon the Lord, and thou shalt renew thy Strength! The Youth shall faint, and the Young Men shall fail, but they that trust in the Lord shall never be confounded.

I wish thee all True and Solid Felicity, with my whole Soul. The Lord God of Heaven and Earth have thee in his Keeping, that thou mayst not lose, but keep in that Divine Sense, which, by His Eternal Word, he hath begotten in thee. Receive, Dear Princess, my Sincere and Christian Salutation, Grace, Mercy, and Peace be multiplied among you all that love the Lord JESUS.

Thy Business I shall follow, with all the Diligence and Discretion I can, and by the first give thee an Account, after it shall please the Lord to bring me safe to London. All my Brethren are well, and present thee with their dear Love, and the rest with thee that love JESUS, the Light of the World, in thy Family. Thou hast taught me to forget thou art a PRINCESS, and therefore I use this Freedom; and to that of God, in thee, am I manifest; and I know my Integrity. Give, if thou pleasest, the Salutation of my dear Love to A. M. de Hornes, with the inclosed. Dear Princess, do not hinder, but help her: That may be required of her, which (considering thy Circumstances) may not yet be required of thee. Let her stand Free, and her Freedom will make the Passage easier unto thee. Accept what I say, I intreat thee, in that Pure and Heavenly Love and Respect, in which I write so plainly to thee. Farewel my Dear Friend, and the Lord be with thee. I am more than I can say,

Thy Great Lover and Respectful Friend,

William Penn.

I refer thee to the inclosed for Passages: We visited Giffrall and Hooftman; and they us: They were at one or two of the Meetings at Amsterdam. Vale in Æternum.

For ANNA MARIA de Hornes, styled Countess of Hornes.

Jesus be with thy Spirit. Amen.

BEloved, and much esteemed for the Sake of that Love which is raised in thy Heart to the Eternal Truth of God; the Increase of which I earnestly desire; that thou mayst be more than Conqueror, through the Powerful Workings of that Divine Love in thy Soul, which casteth out all false Fear, and overcometh the World. In This Eternal Love it is that I love thee, and would be loved of thee: Blessed are they that hold their Fellowship in it. It is Pure, Harmless, Patient, Fervent and Constant: In fine, it cometh from God, and leadeth all that receive it to God. Indeed it is God, and they that live in Love, live in God, if we keep and abide in him that hath visited us, we shall always feel His Love as a Fountain; and Wonderful are the Effects of it. O it can lay down its Life for its Friend! It will break through all Difficulty, and hath Power to Conquer Death and the Grave: This transcendeth the Friendship of the World, and the vain-glorious Honour of the Courts of this World. This Kindness is inviolable: Our Purest Faith worketh by this Love. O the Tendernefs of that Soul in which this Love liveth and hath Place! The Humility and Compassion that always keep it Company.

And who can lively enough describe the lovely Image it giveth, the attracting and engaging Conversation it hath: But it is discerned, and greatly valued by the Children of Love, who are born of it, which all the Children of Light are. What shall I say, it is the great Command, and it keepeth

eth all the Commands; Love Pure and Undeiled, it fulfilleth the Law and Gospel too: Blessed are they that feel any of this Love shed abroad in their Hearts.

1677.

With this Love it is that God hath loved us, and by the Power of this Love CHRIST JESUS hath died for us. Yea, 'tis this Love that quickneth us to *Jesus*, that enflameth our Souls with pure and ardent Love to Him, and Zeal for him: Yea, 'tis this Holy Love, that *forsakes Father and Mother, Sister and Brother, Husband, Wife and Children, House and Land, Liberty and Life for the Sake of Jesus*: That *leaveth the Dead to bury the Dead, and followeth Jesus in the Narrow Way of Regeneration*. That can trust him in the Winds, and in the Earthquakes, in the Fire, and in the Waters; yea, when the Floods come in, even unto the Soul, This despondeth not, neither murmureth.

And as it cannot Despair, so it never presumeth; Yea, it can triumphantly say, What shall be able to separate me from the Love of God that is in Christ Jesus? Shall Principalities or Powers? Things present, or Things to come? Shall Life or Death? O No, neither Time nor Mortality.

My dear Friend, Let this Noble Plant of Paradise grow in thy Heart. Wait upon the Lord, that he would Water it, and Shine upon it, and make an Hedge about it; that thy whole Heart may be replenished with the Heavenly Increase and Fruits of it. O that thou mayst grow in thy Inner Man! In Wisdom, Strength, and a pure Understanding; in Favour with God, and with all People, that are in the same Nature and Image: For the World only loveth its own.

I hoped not to have been so quick upon my last long Letter, but God's pure Love (that hath redeemed me from the Earth, and the Earthly Nature, and Spirit) moved fervently upon my Spirit to visit thee, once more, before I leave this Land. I deferred it to this Extremity, and being not clear to go hence, I send thee my *Christian Salutation*, in this pure Love that many Waters cannot quench, Distance cannot make it forget, nor can Time wear it out. My Soul Reverently boweth before the God and Father of our Lord *Jesus Christ*, that it would please Him to preserve thee. Fear Him, and thou needest not fear, For the Angel of the Lord encampeth about those that Trust in His Name. The Angel of His Eternal Presence *Guard thee*, that none of the Enemies of thy Soul's Peace may ever Prevail against thee! *Perseverance and Victory* be thy Portion in this World, and a Crown of *Endless Glory* be thy Reward in that which is to come. Amen.

Since my last (being the next Day after the Date thereof) we had a Meeting with *Galenus Abrahams* and His Company: The Success thou mayst perhaps see suddenly in Print, and therefore I shall defer the Narrative: Only, in general, our Dear Lord, our Staff and Strength, was with us, and Truth Reigned over all.

That Night we went to *Leyden*, where we Visited some retired Persons.

Thence, next Day, to the *Hague*, where also we had a little Meeting. O the Lust and Pride of that Place. Thou camest into my Mind as I walked in the Streets, and I said in my self, Well she hath chosen the *Better Part*. O be Faithful, and the Lord will give thee an *Eternal Recompence*!

Thence we came to *Rotterdam*, where the Lord hath given us several heavenly Opportunities in Private and Publick.

We are now come to the *Briel* and wait our Passage. The Lord Jesus be with You that stay, and with Us that go, that in Him we may live and abide for Ever.

Salute me to my *French Friend*, bid her be Constant. I wish thy Servants Felicity; but *Thine* as mine own: God Almighty overshadow thee, hide thee under His Pavilion; be thy Shield; Rock and Sanctuary for Ever. Farewel, Farewel.

Thy Friend and the Lord's Servant,

Briel $\frac{2}{7}$ 8th Month,
1677.

Q

W. P.

1677.
21. 8. 1.

Next Morning the Pacquet-Boat arrived, and about Ten we went on Board, having first taken our Solemn Leave of those Friends that accompanied us thither.

22. 8. 2.
23. 8. 3.
Harwich
24. 8. 4.

We immediately set Sail, with a great Number of Passengers: But, by Reason of contrary and tempestuous Weather, we arrived not at *Harwich* till the Third Day about the 7th Hour. Whence, next Morning, I writ this following *Salutation* and Account to the Friends of *Holland* and *Germany*, to return with the Boat.

A Letter from Harwich, to Friends in Holland and Germany, containing the Passages from Holland to England.

Let this be sent to the Friends in *High* and *Low-Dutch-Land*.

O My Soul magnifieth the Lord, and my Spirit rejoiceth in God my Saviour, who hath rebuked the Winds and the Seas, and made us to drink of His Salvation upon the Great Deepes! Yea, we could not but Praise Him in the Tempest, for all Things are full of His Majesty. Blessed is the Eye that seeth, and the Heart that dependeth upon Him at all Times. There is not another God; He is the Lord alone that the Holy Ancients trusted in, and were not confounded. What shall my Soul render unto the Lord? We are full of His Mercy, he hath made us Witneses of His Care. We can say in Righteousness, they are blessed whose God is the Lord, and that serve all the Day long no other Master than our God.

Friends, this is an endeared Salutation to you all in *High* and *Low-Dutch-Land*, in the Deep and Fresh Sense of the Lord's Preserving Power. O that you may abide in that Sense of Him which He hath begotten in you, and in the Reverent Knowledge of Him, according to the Manifestation which you have received of Him, in the Light of His Dear Son: That you may be Faithful, and Fervent for the Lord; that His Glorious Life and Power may break through you: And these Lands long Dry and Barren, as the Wilderness, may spring and blossom as the Rose. For what have we to do here, but to exalt Him, that hath visited and loved us; yea, saved us in great Measure? *Ab*, He is Worthy! My Spirit reverenceth Him, my Heart and Soul do bow before Him: Eternal Blessings dwell for Ever with Him.

Dear Friends, my Love floweth to you as a Fountain. God, even my God, and your God hath made you dear to me; yea, dearer than all Natural Kindred. You are Flesh of Flesh indeed. Nor Sea nor Land, nor Time nor Place can ever separate our Joy, divide our Communion, or wipe out the Remembrance that I have of you. Yea, the living Remembrance that my God often giveth me of you, in the Life of His Son, abideth; which breaketh my Heart to Pieces; And I can say, I left much of my Heart behind me; and the Lord only could have outwardly separated me so soon from you. O this Love that is stronger than Death: More excellent than the Love of Women; for that endureth for Ever: This Privilege have all the Saints. Jesus the Light of the World, that saveth from the World, be with you, Amen.

We got well last Night about Seven to *Harwich*, being three Days and two Nights at Sea: Most Part of the Time was a great Storm of Wind, and Rain, and Hail; the Weather was against us, and the Vessel so leaky, that two Pumps went Night and Day, or we had perished. 'Tis believed that they pump'd twice more Water out, than the Vessel could contain; but our Peace was as a River, and our Joy full, The Seas had like to have wash'd some of the Seamen over-board, but the Great God preserved all well. Frights were among the People, and Despondencies in some, but the Lord wrought Deliverance for all: We were mightily throngd, which made it the more troublesome.

But

But it is observable that though the Lord so wonderfully delivered us, yet some Vain People soon forgot it, and returned quickly to their *wanton Talk and Conversation*, not abiding in the Sense of that Hand which had delivered them: Nor can any do it, as they should, but those that are turned to His Appearance in their Hearts: Who know Him to be a God *nigh at Hand*; which, O! May it be your Experience and Portion for Ever!

And the Lord be with you, and refresh and sustain you; and in all your Temptations never leave you, nor forsake you; that *Conquerors* you may be, and in the End of Days and Time, stand in your Lot among the Spirits of the *Just* made Perfect. *Amen, Amen.*

Tours in that which is Eternal,

Harwich 24th of the 8th
Month, 1677.

W. P.

Here I left dear G. Fox, and Gertruyd Diricks and her Children, that came over with us, to follow me in a Coach; But I having a Desire to be that Day at *Colchester* Meeting, went early away on Horse-back. G. K. accompanying me. We got to the Meeting, and were well Refreshed in Friends.

Colchester.
25. 8. 5.

That Evening we had a mighty Meeting at J. Furley's House, where we lay; many being there of the Town that would not come to a Publick Meeting. And indeed the Lord's Divine Power and Presence were in the Assembly.

Next Day we had a great Meeting at a Marriage, where we had good Service for the Lord. That Afternoon about Four, we took Horse for *London*. G. F. &c. through Misfortune of a Letter about the Coach, not being come to *Colchester*: That Night we lay at I. Ravens, Eight Miles on our Way. There we met Giles Barnadiston, and William Bennet; with whom, and some other Friends thereabout, we were comforted in the Life and Power of the Lord.

25. 8. 6.

The Day following we took our Journey for *London*; we came there in good Time, that Evening; where I found all Things relating to Friends in a good Condition: Blessed be the Name of the Lord. I stayed about a Week in Town; both to visit Friends at Meetings, and to be serviceable to the more general Affairs of Truth: Where a second Letter from the *Princess Elizabeth* came to Hand.

London,
27. 8. 7.

Herford, the 29th of October, 1677.

Dear Friend,

YOUR Tender Care of my Eternal Well-being doth oblige me much, and I will weigh every Article of your Counsel to follow as much as lies in me, but God's Grace must be Assistant; as you say your self, he accepts nothing that does not come from Him: If I had made me bare of all Worldly Goods, and left undone what He requires most, I mean, to do all In, and By His Son, I shall be in no better Condition than at this present. Let me feel Him first governing in my Heart, then do what he requires of me; but I am not able to teach others, being not taught of God my self. Remember my Love to G. F. B. F. G. K. and dear Gertruyd. If you write no worse than your Postscript, I can make a shift to read it. Do not think I go from what I spoke to you the last Evening, I only stay to do it in a Way that is answerable before God and Man. I can say no more now, but recommend to your Prayers,

Your True Friend,

Elizabeth.

I almost forgot to tell you, that my Sister writes me Word, she had been glad you had taken your Journey by Olenburg to return to Amsterdam: There

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is also a Drossard of Limburgh near this Place (to whom I gave an Exemplar of R. B's. Apology) very desirous to speak with some of the Friends.

Worming-
hurst.
1. 9. 5.

The fifth Day of the next Week I went to *Worminghurst*, my House in *Sussex*, where I found my *Dear Wife*, *Child* and *Family* all well: Blessed be the Name of the Lord God of all the Families of the Earth. I had that Evening a sweet Meeting amongst them, in which God's blessed Power made us truly glad together: And I can say, Truly blessed are they who can cheerfully give up to serve the Lord: Great shall be the Increase and Growth of their Treasure, which shall never End.

To Him that was, and is, and is to come; The Eternal, Holy, Blessed; Righteous, Powerful and Faithful ONE, be Glory, Honour, and Praise, Dominion, and a Kingdom, for Ever and Ever. Amen.

A Third Letter from the *Princess*, which though it be after the Closing of this *Journal*, yet being an Answer to one writ to her in *Holland*, relates to it.

This 17th of November, 1677.

Dear Friend,

I Have received a Letter from you, that seemeth to have been written at your Passage into England, which I wish may be Prosperous, without Date, but not without Virtue, to spur me on, to do and suffer the Will of our God. I can say in Sincerity and Truth, thy Will be done, O God, because I wish it heartily; but I cannot speak in Righteousness, until I possess that Righteousness which is acceptable unto Him. My House and my Heart shall be always open to those that Love Him. Gichtel has been well satisfied with the Conferences between you. As for my Business, it will go as the Lord pleaseth, and I remain in Him.

Your Affectionate Friend,

Elizabeth.

There are more of this Nature from her, and divers other Persons of Eminence in those Parts, but not immediately relating to the Journal, are therefore not published.

WILLIAM PENN.

Soon after his Return from *Holland*, he writ a Letter in answer to one he had received from *John Pennyman*, a Person who had once profess'd himself a *Quaker*, but was now become an Opposer of them; Part of which Letter containing Advice well adapted to the Case of such a *Backslider*, we here subjoin.

TO JOHN PENNYMAN.

John Pennyman,

His Letter to
J. Pennyman.

I Received a Letter from thee since my Arrival in this Land——— Let me tell thee in the Spirit of Truth and Meekness, my Soul has been frequently sad and heavy for thy Sake, because of those degenerate and sour Grapes, which thou hast brought forth, the unnatural and unkindly Fruits, that of late Tears have proceeded from thee. Ah! Whence art thou fallen, and what art thou turned to? What is become of thy Tenderneſs and thy Zeal, for the Way of Truth, as profess amongst us? Verily thou art encreasing thy Burthen, and strengthening the Lord's Judgment against thee, and treasuring up Wrath against the Day of Wrath.

Hadst thou been told of the Things that thou hast done, ten Years since, thou wouldst never have believed it; thou wouldst have cried out, God forbid, far be it from me: But one Weakness brings on another, and one Unfaithfulness encrease

encreaseth another : O that thou wouldst be advised ! That thou wouldst see from whence thou art fallen and repent, and turn to thy first Love, and do thy first Works ; for I have nothing but Love and Goodwill in my Heart, both to thee and thy Wife ; and it is with the Grief of a Friend of God, and of you both, that I behold the Evil and Pernicious Use that some Envious, Prejudiced, and unreasonable People make of you, and your Carriage to us ; yet scorn and deride you in their Hearts, after they have served their Turns of you. O Return, if yet Mercy may be found with the Lord, and be not found fighting against Him. O that my Love could take hold of you, and that my Life could raise any Tenderness in you, that yet you might be gathered and not utterly perish.

This I tell you, in the Name and Fear of the Lord, the Weighty Power and Life and Glory of God is amongst us as a People, and tho' there may be some Personal Weaknesses, or Miscarriages, through the Unfaithfulness of some Particulars, that serve as Food for prejudiced Spirits to feed upon, and tho' some go out from us, and turn against us, speaking Lies in Hypocrisie, that is, under the Pretence of Truth, which may cause some to stumble, and several to be astonish'd, yet all this shall work together for Good to them that fear the Lord. It shall tend to greater Watchfulness, Diligence, and Faithfulness to the Lord ; and the Just shall live more and more by Faith, through which they shall overcome all their Enemies, and stand in their Lot at the End of all Days, and Live and Reign with the Lord for Ever. I should willingly spend an Hour with thee upon this Subject, if I knew when and where, without Inconvenience to either of us. In the mean while I wish thee well, and for ever,

Thy True Friend,

London, 18th of the 9th
Month, 1677.

William Penn.

The People call'd *Quakers* being now harrafs'd with severe Prosecutions in the Exchequer, on Penalties of Twenty Pounds per Month, or Two Thirds of their Estates, by Laws made against *Papists*, but unjustly turn'd upon them ; William Penn soliciting the Parliament for Redress of those Grievances, presented the following Petitions, viz.

To the Commons of England Assembled in Parliament.

The Request of the People called Quakers.

BEsides those many and great Sufferings we have sustained by the Execution of Laws made against us to the Ruin of many Industrious Families, we have been many of us much damnified both in our Estates and Persons, sometimes even to Death it self, by Laws neither made against us, nor so much as design'd such a People as we are, and such Principles as we hold.

And understanding that you are pleased to insert and enact such a Distinguishing Clause in the Bill against Popery, as that they who will take the Oath and subscribe a Declaration therein exprest, shall not suffer by such Laws. And because, for pure Conscience, we cannot swear at all (in which we are not alone, for that many of the Philosophers, Jews, and many of the best of Christians have had the same Tenderness) We intreat you to take our particular Case into your Serious Consideration, and give us some Relief, otherwise we are like to come under Penalties that belong not to us, because we cannot take this Oath ; though the Ground of our Refusal be not the Matter to which the Penalty is affixed, but the Form of it ; and that, which with due Respect and Integrity we offer, is, That our Word may be taken instead of an Oath, and if we are found faulty, that we may undergo that Penalty which shall be inflicted in the other Case. That we and our Families may not be expos'd to the Malice, self-Ends, or Revenge of any, which we shall certainly be, if you relieve us not :

Petition to the
House of
Commons.

1678.

1678.

‘ Many of us having already suffered upon this single Account: And it is
 ‘ not to be thought by Wise and Charitable Men, that we have any ill De-
 ‘ sign in refusing to swear, since we always refused it *in our own Case*, tho’
 ‘ to our great *Detriment*.

*The Request of some called Quakers, presented to the House of LORDS,
 on the Behalf of their Suffering Friends.*

*Petition to
 the House of
 Lords.*

‘ **B**Ecause we are informed that this Day you are pleased to consider of
 ‘ *Religion*, particularly the *Romish*, we think it not improper to let
 ‘ you know, that there are many *Hundreds* of us, that are severely profe-
 ‘ cuted, not only upon those *Laws* that look upon us as *Dissenters* in General
 ‘ from the Church of *England*, but by several *Statutes* particularly designed
 ‘ against *Poper*y, and Persons professing the *Romish Religion*; insomuch that
 ‘ our Persecutors are proceeding to a Seizure of *Two Thirds* of our *Estates*,
 ‘ and give us that Trouble, as well as subjecting us to the Loss, which will
 ‘ not only render *Tenants* unable to pay their *Rents*, and others to Live up-
 ‘ on their Own, but make both a *Charge* to the Country, who have hither-
 ‘ to by their *Callings* and *Estates* contributed to others.

‘ The Injustice of such Strained Executions, and Cruel Misapplications
 ‘ of *Law* considered, we intreat You, that You would be pleased to com-
 ‘ passionate our *Case*, and out of Your *Mercy* and *Justice*, Relieve and
 ‘ Right us: The *Way* of doing it is left to Your *Wisdom*.

Being thereupon admitted to an *Hearing* before a Committee, on the
 22d of the Month called *March*, 1678, he made the following Speeches.

His First SPEECH to the COMMITTEE.

*His Speech
 before a Com-
 mittee of Par-
 liament.*

‘ **I**F we ought to believe that it is our *Duty*, according to the *Doctrine* of
 ‘ the *Apostle*, to be always ready to give an Account of the *Hope* that *is*
 ‘ in us, and that to every Sober and Private *Enquirer*, certainly, much more
 ‘ ought we to hold our selves obliged to declare with all Readiness, when
 ‘ call’d to it by so *Great an Authority*, what is not our *Hope*, especially
 ‘ when our very *Safety* is eminently concerned in so doing, and that we can-
 ‘ not decline this *Discrimination* of our selves from *Papists*, without being
 ‘ *Conscious* to our selves of the Guilt of our own Sufferings, for that must
 ‘ every Man needs be that suffers mutely, under another Character, than
 ‘ that which truly and properly belongeth to him and his Belief. That
 ‘ which giveth me a more than ordinary *Right* to speak at this Time, and
 ‘ in this Place, is the great Abuse that I have receiv’d above any other of
 ‘ my *Profession*, for of a long Time I have not only been suppos’d a *Papist*,
 ‘ but a *Seminary*, a *Jesuit*, an Emissary of *Rome*, and in pay from the *Pope*,
 ‘ a Man dedicating my Endeavours to the Interest and Advancement of that
 ‘ Party. Nor hath this been the Report of the *Rabble*, but the Jealousie
 ‘ and Insinuation of Persons otherwise sober and discreet: Nay some zeal-
 ‘ ous for the *Protestant Religion* have been so far gone in this Mistake, as
 ‘ not only to think ill of us and to decline our Conversation, but to take
 ‘ Courage to themselves to prosecute us for a Sort of concealed *Papists*; and
 ‘ the Truth is what with one Thing, and what with another, we have been
 ‘ as the *Wool-Sacks*, and *common Whipping-Stock* of the Kingdom: All *Laws*
 ‘ have been let loose upon us, as if the Design were not to *Reform*, but to
 ‘ *Destroy* us, and that not for *what we are*, but for *what we are not*: ’Tis
 ‘ hard that we must thus bear the Stripes of another Interest, and have been
 ‘ Proxy in Punishment, but its worse that some men can please themselves
 ‘ in such a Sort of *Administration*.

‘ I would not be mistaken: I am far from thinking it fit, that *Papists*
 ‘ should be whipt for their *Consciences*; because I exclaim against the In-
 ‘ justice of whipping *Quakers* for *Papists*; No, for though the Hand pre-
 ‘ tended to be lifted up against them, hath (I know not by what Discre-
 ‘ tion)

1678.

tion) lit heavy upon us, and we complain, yet we do not mean that any should take a fresh Aim at them, or that they must come in our Room, for we must give the *Liberty* we ask, and cannot be false to our *Principles*, though it were to relieve our selves, for we have Good Will to all Men, and would have none suffer for a truly *Sober* and *Conscientious* Dissent on any Hand: And I humbly take Leave to add, that those Methods against Persons so qualified do not seem to me to be convincing, or indeed adequate to the *Reason of Mankind*, but this I submit to your *Consideration*.

To Conclude, I hope we shall be held excus'd of the Men of that *Profession* in giving this *Distinguishing Declaration*, since it is not with Design to expose them, but first to pay that Regard we owe to the *Enquiry* of this *Committee*, and in the next Place, to relieve our selves from the daily Spoil and Ruin which now attendeth and threatneth many Hundreds of Families by the Execution of *Laws*, that (we humbly conceive) were never made against us.

His Second SPEECH to the COMMITTEE.

THE Candid hearing our Sufferings have received from this *Committee*, and the fair and easie Entertainment that you have given us, obligeth me to add, whatever can encrease your Satisfaction about us. I hope you do not believe I would tell you a *Lie*, I am sure I should chuse an ill Time and Place to tell it in, but I thank God it is too late in the Day for that. There are some here that have known me formerly, I believe they will say, I never was *that Man*; and it would be hard if after a Voluntary Neglect of the Advantages of this World, I should sit down in my *Retirement* short of Common Truth.

Excuse the Length of my Introduction; 'tis for this I make it. I was bred a *Protestant*, and that strictly too; I lost nothing by Time or Study; for Years, Reading, Travail and Observations made the Religion of my Education the Religion of my *Judgment*: My Alteration hath brought none to that Belief, and though the Posture I am in may seem odd, or strange to you, yet I am *Conscientious*; and (till you know me better) I hope your Charity will rather call it my *Unhappiness* than my *Crime*. I do tell you again, and here solemnly Declare in the *Presence of Almighty God*, and before you all, that the *Profession* I now make, and the *Society* I now adhere to, have been so far from altering that *Protestant Judgment* I had, that I am not Conscious to my self of having receded from an *Atom* of any one *Principle* maintained by those first *Protestants* and *Reformers* of *Germany*, and our own Martyrs at Home, against the *Pope* and *See of Rome*.

On the Contrary I do with great Truth assure you, that we are of the same negative Faith, with the Ancient *Protestant Church*, and upon Occasion shall be ready (by God's Assistance) to make it appear, that we are of the same Belief as to the *Most Fundamental Positive Articles* of her *Creed* too. And therefore it is, we think it hard, that though we deny in common with her those Doctrines of *Rome* so *zealously protested against* (from whence the Name *Protestants*) yet that we should be so unhappy as to suffer, and that with *extream Severity*, by those very Laws on Purpose made against the Maintainers of those Doctrines, we do so deny. We chuse no Suffering, for God knows, what we have already suffered, and how many sufficient and trading Families are reduced to great Poverty by it. We think our selves an *Useful People*: We are sure, we are a Peaceable People; yet, if we must still suffer, let us not suffer as *Papish Recusants*, but as *Protestant Dissenters*.

But I would obviate another Objection, and that none of the least that hath been made against us, *viz.* That we are *Enemies* to Government in General, and particularly disaffected to this we live under: I think it not amiss, but very seasonable; yea, my Duty now to declare to you (and

*His Second
Speech before
the Committee*

that

1678.

that I do with *Good Conscience* in the *Sight of the Almighty God*) first, that we believe *Government* to be *God's Ordinance*, and next, that this *Present Government* is established by the *Providence of God* and *Law of the Land*, and that it is our *Christian Duty* readily to obey it in all it's *Just Laws*, and wherein we cannot comply through *Tenderness of Conscience*, in all such Cases, not to revile or conspire against the *Government*, but with *Christian Humility and Patience* tire out all *Mistakes* about us, and wait their better *Information*, who, we believe, do as undeservedly as severely treat us, and I know not what greater *Security* can be given by any *People*, or how any *Government* can be easier from the *Subjects* of it.

I shall conclude with this, that we are so far from esteeming it hard or ill, that the *House* hath put us upon this *Discrimination*, that on the *Contrary* we value it (as we ought to do) for an high *Favour* (and cannot chuse but see and humbly acknowledge *God's Providence* therein) that you should give us this fair *Occasion*, to discharge our selves of a *Burden* we have not with more *Patience* than *Injustice* suffered but too many *Years* under. And I hope our *Conversation* shall always manifest the *Grateful* *Resentment* of our *Minds* for the *Justice* and *Civility* of this *Opportunity*, and so I pray *God* direct you.

The *Committee* agreed to insert in a *Bill* then depending a *Proviso* or *Claufe* for *Relief* in the *Case* complained of; and the same did pass the *House of Commons*: but before it had gone through the *House of Lords*, it was quash'd by a sudden *Prorogation* of the *Parliament*.

This *Year* some *sneaking Adversary*, who shewed more *Wisdom* in *concealing* his *Name*, than in *publishing* his *Work*, put forth a *Libel* called *The Quakers Opinions*; to which our *Author* replied in *A brief Answer to a false and foolish Libel*.

The *Generality* of *People* being now in an *Hurry* and *Consternation* of *Mind* upon the *Discovery* of the *Papish Plot*, and *Apprehensions* of a *French Invasion*; He, left the *Minds* of any of his *Friends* the *Quakers* should be drawn from their wonted *Dependence upon God*, to partake of the *Popular Uneasiness*, writ an * *Epistle* to them, directed *To the Children of Light in this Generation*.

And in the next *Year*, the *Nation* still continuing under *Fears* of *wicked Designs* on foot for *subverting the Protestant Religion*, and *introducing Popery*; he published a *Book*, entitled, *An Address to Protestants* Wherein he sets forth the *Reigning Evils* of the *Times*, and endeavours to excite *Men* to *Repentance* and *Amendment of Life*, as the best *Means* to cure their *Fears*, and prevent the *impending Dangers*.

The same *Year* also he prefixed to the *Works* of *Samuel Fisher*, then printing in *Folio*, a *Testimony* concerning that *Author*, who having been a *Minister of the Church of England*, and afterwards a *Preacher* among the *Baptists*, at length joyned in *Profession* with the *Quakers*, and died a *Prisoner* for his *Testimony* in the *Year 1665*.

The rising *Hopes* of *Papists* and the just *Fears* of *Protestants* kept the *Nation* still in a *Ferment*, and *Writs* being issued for summoning a *New Parliament*, *Party-Struggles* for *Power* ran high, on which *Occasion* our *Author* dedicated to the *Freeholders and Electors*, a *Sheet* called *England's great Interest in the Choice of this New Parliament*, and soon after, the *Parliament* sitting, he presented to them a *Book* entitled, *One Project for the Good of England*.

About this *Time* were published three several *Books* representing to the *Government* the *Great Sufferings* and *Oppressions* of the *People* called *Quakers*.

1. Upon *Statutes* made against *Papish Recusants*.
2. In the *Ecclesiastical Courts*.
3. Upon the *Conventicle Act*.

The observable * *Prefaces* to which *Books*, being penn'd by our *Author*, the *Reader* may peruse in the *Appendix*.

In

His Answer
to a Nameless
Author.

The Fears of
People upon
the Discovery
of the Papish
Plot.

* Ap. No.

xxi.

1679.

His publishing
his Address to
Protestants.

He writes a
Preface to
Samuel Fisher's
Works.

A new Parli-
ament Sum-
moned.

He publishes a
Sheet called
England's
great Interest
&c.

1680.

Books of Suffer-
ings published
with Prefaces
to them.

* Ap. No.

xxii.

xxiii.

xxiv.

In this Year 1680, died that *Excellent Princess, Elizabeth*, of the *Rhine*, before mentioned, to whose Real Worth, our *Author's Religious Gratitude* dedicated a *Memorial*, by transmitting to Posterity her *Exemplary Character*, in the second Edition of his *No Cross, No Crown*, Printed Anno 1682.

On the Eighth of the Eighth Month this Year also, departed this Life his Dear Friend and Father in Law *Isaac Pennington*, to whose Virtues he published a *Testimony*, and prefixed it to his *Works* that Year printed in Folio.

There being about this Time some Difference in Judgment among his Friends the *Quakers* about Establishing Church Discipline, a point not easily fixt, so as neither to *subvert the Conscience* to an Ecclesiastical Authority, nor yet to give an *Unlimited Liberty* of Running into *Anarchy and Confusion*. He published a little Book, called, *A Brief Examination of Liberty Spiritual*.

A fresh Persecution, being now raised in the City of *Bristol*, where *Sr. John Knight Sheriff, John Helliar Attorney at Law*, and other their Accomplices put the *Penal Laws* in a Rigorous Execution, Many of the People called *Quakers* there were fined and Imprisoned. To whom *W. P.* writ an * Epistle for their *Christian Consolation* and Encouragement, directed, *To the Friends of God in the City of Bristol*.

Having hitherto attended our *Author*, through a Continued Series of his Labours and Travails in the Service of the Gospel, and work of the Ministry in these Parts of the World; we shall now accompany him to his Province of *Pennsylvania*.

King Charles the second (in Consideration of the Services of *Sir W. Penn*, and sundry Debts due to him from the Crown at the Time of his Decease) by *Letters-Patent*, bearing date, the 4th of March 1680-1 granted to *W. P.* and his Heirs that Province lying on the West Side of the River *Delaware* in *N. America*, formerly belonging to the *Dutch*, and then called the *New Netherlands*: The Name was now changed by the King, in Honour of *W. P.* Whom and his Heirs he made absolute *Proprietors* and *Governours* of it. Upon this, he presently publishes an *Account of the Province of Pennsylvania*, with the *King's Patent*, and other Papers relating thereto, describing, the Country and it's Produce, and proposing an Easy Purchase of Lands, and good Terms of Settlement, for such as might incline to transport themselves. Many Single Persons, and some Families out of *England* and *Wales* went over; and with singular Industry and Application having cleared their Purchased Lands, settled and soon improved Plantations to good Advantage, and began to build the City of *Philadelphia*, in a Commodious Situation on the aforesaid Navigable River *Delaware*. And to secure the New Planters from the *Native Indians*, (who in some other Provinces being injuriously dealt with, had made reprisals to the loss of many Lives) the *Governour* gave Orders to treat them with all Candour and Humanity; and appointed Commissioners to confer with them about Land, and to confirm a League of Peace; by whom he also sent them the following Letter.

W. P's LETTER to the Indians.

My Friends,

London, the 18th of the 8th Month, 1681.

There is a Great God and Power that hath made the World and all Things therein, to whom you and I and all People owe their Being and Well-being; and to whom you and I must one Day give an Account for all that we do in the World: This Great God hath written his Law in our Hearts, by which we are taught and Commanded to love and help, and do good to one another, and not to do Harm and Mischief one unto another: Now this Great God hath been pleased to make me concerned in your Part of the World, and the King of the Country where I live hath given me a great Province therein, but I desire to enjoy it with your Love and Consent, that we may always live together as Neighbours and Friends; Else what would the Great God do to us? who hath made us not to devour and destroy one another, but to live soberly and kindly together in the World. Now I would have you well observe; that I am

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very

1680.

The Death of the Princess Elizabeth of the Rhine. The Death of Isaac Pennington.

1681.

He publishes a brief Examination of Liberty Spiritual.

Persecution in the City of Bristol.

*Ap. N. xxv.

The Province of Pennsylvania granted by King Charles the Second to him and his Heirs

The first Planting of Pennsylvania by the English.

W. Penn's Letter to the Indians

1681.

very sensible of the Unkindness and Injustice that hath been too much exercised towards you by the People of these Parts of the World, who have sought themselves, and to make great Advantages by you, rather than to be Examples of Justice and Goodness unto you, which I hear hath been Matter of Trouble to you, and caused great Grudgings and Animosities, sometimes to the shedding of Blood, which hath made the Great God angry. But I am not such a Man, as is well known in my own Country: I have great Love and Regard towards you, and I desire to win and gain your Love and Friendship by a kind, Just, and Peaceable Life, and the People I send are of the same Mind, and shall in all Things behave themselves accordingly, and if in any Thing any shall offend you or your People, you shall have a full and speedy Satisfaction for the same by an equal Number of Just Men on both Sides, that by no means you may have just Occasion of being offended against them. I shall shortly come to you my self, at what Time we may more largely and freely confer and discourse of these Matters, in the mean Time I have sent my Commissioners to treat with you about Land, and a firm League of Peace: Let me desire you to be kind to them and the People, and receive these Presents and Tokens which I have sent you, as a Testimony of my good Will to you, and my Resolution to live justly peaceably and Friendly with you.

I am your Loving Friend

W. Penn.

His Friendly and pacifick Manner of treating the Indians begat in them an Extraordinary Love and Regard to him, and his People, so that they have maintained a perfect Amity with the English of Pennsylvania ever since. And 'tis observable, that upon renewing the Treaty with the present Governour Sir William Keith, Bar. in 1722, they mention the Name of William Penn with much Gratitude and Affection, calling him, * *A good Man*, and as their highest Complement to Sir William use this Expression, † *We esteem and Love you as if you were WILLIAM PENN himself*. So universally doth a Principle of Peace, Justice and Morality, operate on the Hearts even of those we call Heathens.

He also drew up the *Fundamental Constitutions of Pennsylvania*, in Twenty Four Articles consented to, and subscribed by the first Adventurers and Freeholders of that Province, as the Ground and Rule of all future Government: The first of which Articles, shewing that his Principle was to give, as well as take *Liberty of Conscience* in Matters of Religion, we shall transcribe.

The First CONSTITUTION.

‘ In Reverence to God, the Father of Light and Spirits, the Author as well as Object of all Divine Knowledge, Faith and Worship, I do for me and mine, declare and establish for the First Fundamental of the Government of this Country, that every Person that doth or shall reside therein, shall have and enjoy the Free Profession of his or her Faith and Exercise of Worship toward God, in such Way and Manner as every such Person shall in Conscience believe is most acceptable to God: And so long as every such Person useth not this *Christian Liberty* to Licentiousness, or the Destruction of others, that is to say, to speak loosely and prophanely, or contemptuously of God, Christ, the Holy Scriptures, or Religion, or commit any Moral Evil or Injury, against others in their Conversation: He or she shall be protected in the Enjoyment of the aforesaid *Christian Liberty* by the Civil Magistrate.

In the next Year, 1682, he published *The Frame of Government of Pennsylvania*, containing Twenty Four Articles somewhat varying from the aforesaid *Constitutions*, together with certain other Laws to the Number of Forty, agreed on in England, by the Governour and diverse Freemen of the said Province: Of which Laws one was,

‘ That all Persons living in this Province, who confess and acknowledge the One Almighty and Eternal God, to be the Creator, Upholder and Ruler of

* The Historical Register for the Year 1723, Numb. XXX. p. 107.
† Ib. p. 108.

The Fundamental Constitutions of Pennsylvania drawn up.

The First Fundamental Constitution.

1682.

The Frame of Government of Pennsylvania.

of the World, and that hold themselves obliged in Conscience to live peaceably and justly in Civil Society, shall in no wise be molested or prejudiced for their *Religious Perswasion*, or Practice in Matters of Faith and Worship; nor shall they be compelled at any Time to frequent or maintain any Religious Worship, Place, or Ministry whatsoever.

The rest of those Laws relating to the Encouragement of the Planters, suppressing of Vice and Immorality, and the good Government and Regulation of the Province, our Reader may peruse at his Pleasure.

In the 6th Month, 1682, himself, accompanied with diverse of his Friends, took shipping for his Province of *Pensylvania*, and on the 30th of the same Month, he writ from the *Docks*, *A Farewel to England*, being *An Epistle containing a Salutation to all Faithful Friends*.

After a prosperous Voyage of Six Weeks, they came within Sight of the *American Coast*, from whence the Air at Twelve Leagues Distance, smelt as Sweet as a New-blown Garden. Sailing up the River, the Inhabitants, as well *Dutch* and *Swedes*, as *English*, met him with Demonstrations of Joy and Satisfaction. He landed at *Newcastle*, a Place mostly inhabited by the *Dutch*, and the next Day he summoned the People to the *Court-House*, where Possession of the Country was Legally given him: He then made a *Speech*, setting forth the Purpose of his coming, and the Ends of Government, giving them Assurances of a Free Enjoyment of *Liberty of Conscience* in Things Spiritual, and of Civil Freedom in Temporal, and recommending to them to live in Sobriety and Peace one with another: After which, he renewed the Magistrates Commissions, and then departed to *Upland* or *Chester*, where he call'd an Assembly, to whom he made the like Declaration, and received their thankful Acknowledgments. Here also the *Swedes* deputed one Captain *Lucy Cook* in their Names to Congratulate him upon his safe Arrival, and to assure him of their Fidelity, Love and Obedience.

By this Time some Progress had been made in Building at *Philadelphia*, and several pretty Houses were run up on the Side of the River *Delaware*: The Governor himself had a fair Mansion-House erected at *Penn's-Bury*, near the Fall of the said River, at which he sometimes resided. The Country was unexceptionable, the Air exceeding Clear, Sweet and Healthy; and Provisions, both Meat and Drink, Good and Plentiful.

In the Tenth Month following, a General Assembly of the Freeholders was held at *Chester* aforesaid, at which *Newcastle* was annexed to *Pensylvania*; The Foreigners there inhabiting were Naturaliz'd, and the Laws before agreed on in *England*, with some Amendments and Alterations, were Confirm'd and Ratified; and the whole Proceedings of the Assembly carried on with Love and Unanimity.

After the Adjournment of that Assembly, he went to *Maryland*, and was there kindly received by the Lord *Baltimore*, and the Chiefs of that Colony: They held a Treaty about settling the Bounds of their Provinces; but the Season of the Year not admitting the Conclusion of that Business, after Two Days Conference, he took his Leave, and the Lord *Baltimore* accompanied him back some Miles to the House of one *William Richardson*; from thence he went Two Miles farther to a Meeting of his Friends, at the House of *Thomas Hooker*, and afterward forwarded his Journey to *Choptank*, on the *Eastern Shore*, where was to be an appointed Meeting of Colonels, Magistrates, and People of several Ranks and Qualities. Thus he proceeded to settle his Government and Province, and to Establish a Good Correspondence with his Neighbours. Nor was the Advancement of himself or his Family in Worldly Wealth and Grandeur, his Aim in the Administration of Government; but in the Greatest Honour of his Publick Station, he still retained the Meekness and Humility of a Private Christian: The Sincerity of his Intentions, and with what Zeal and Ardour he pursued a *General Good*, are best express'd by his own Words, in a Letter to a Person who had unduly reflected on him, *viz.*

1682.

His first going over to Pennsylvania.

His Arrival at Pennsylvania.

Heads of his Speech to an Assembly at Newcastle.

He makes a Speech to an Assembly at Chester, and is Congratulated by the Swedes.

An House Erected for the Governour.

A General Assembly of the Freeholders at Chester.

His Reception at Maryland by the Lord Baltimore.

A Meeting of Magistrates, &c. at Choptank, on the Eastern Shore.

His Aim in Government was not Self-Advancement.

1682.

*His Defence
of himself a-
gainst a Cavil-
ling Objection.*

My Old Friend,

‘ I could speak largely of God’s Dealings with me in getting this Thing : What an inward Exercise of Faith and Patience it cost me in passing. The Travail was mine, as well as the Debt and Cost, through the Envy of many, both *Professors, False Friends, and Profane* : My G O D hath given it me in the Face of the World, and it is to hold it in True Judgment, as a Reward of my Sufferings, and that is seen here, whatever some Despisers may say or think : The Place God hath given me, and I never felt Judgment for the Power I kept, but Trouble for what I parted with. It is more than a *Worldly Title or Patent* that hath clothed me in this Place. — Keep thy Place : I am in mine, and have served the God of the whole Earth since I have been in it : Nor am I sitting down in a Greatness that I have denied. — I am Day and Night spending my Life, my Time, my Money, and am not Six-Pence enriched by this Greatness : Costs in Getting, Serling, Transportation, and Maintenance, now in a publick Manner at my own Charge duly considered ; to say nothing of my Hazard, and the Distance I am at from a considerable Estate, and which is more, *My Dear Wife and Poor Children.*

‘ Well, — The Lord is a God of Righteous Judgment : Had I fought Greatness, I had stay’d at Home, where the Difference between what I am here, and was offered, and could have been there in Power and Wealth, is as wide as the Places are : No, I came for the *Lord’s Sake*, and therefore have I stood to this Day, Well, and Diligent, and Successful, *Blessed be his Power.* — Nor shall I trouble my self to tell thee what I am to the People of this Place, in Travails, Watchings, Spendings, and my Servants every Way, freely, (not like a Selfish Man) I have many Witnesses. — To conclude, it is now in Friend’s Hands : Through my Travail, Faith and Patience it came. — If Friends here keep to God, and in the Justice, Mercy, Equity and Fear of the Lord, their Enemies will be their Footstool : If not, their Heirs and my Heirs too will lose all, and Desolation will follow ; but blessed be the Lord we are well, and live in the dear Love of God, and the Fellowship of His Tender Heavenly Spirit, and our Faith is for our selves and one another, that the Lord will be with us a *King*, and a *Counsellor* for ever.

*Chester, 5th of the 12th
Month, 1682.*

Thy Ancient, tho’ Grieved Friend,
William Penn.

1683.

*He writes to
the Society of
Traders at
London.*

In the Sixth Month, 1683, having been about a Year in *Pensylvania*, he writ a Letter *To the Free Society of Traders of that Province, residing at London*, wherein he describes the *Country*, relates the Customs and Manners of the *Indians*, the Condition of the *First Planters*, and the present State and Settlement of that *Province*, with an Account of the new laid out City of *Philadelphia* : which the Reader may find no small Pleasure in perusing.

1684.

*He writes an
Epistle to the
Quakers in
Pensylvania.
His Return to
England.
King Charles
the Second’s
Death.
King James
the Second’s
Accession to
the Crown.*

And being no less sollicitous for the *Spiritual Good*, than for the *Temporal Advantages* of his People, he writ in the Year 1684, *An Epistle to the People of God called Quakers, in the Province of Pensylvania, &c.*

After about Two Years Residence there, having settled all Things in a Thriving and Prosperous Condition, he returned to *England*, where he arrived safe the 12th of the 6th Month, 1684.

On the 6th of the 12th Month following, King *Charles the Second* died, and was succeeded by his Brother the Duke of *York*, by the Name of King *James the Second*, who being a profess’d *Papist*, his Accession to the Crown fill’d the People’s Hearts with *Just Apprehensions and Fears*, lest he should take into the wonted Measures of those of his *Perswasions*, and *Establish his Own Religion by the Destruction of others* ; and had *W. P.* at that Time fomented the *General Uneasiness*, by encouraging Multitudes then upon the Wing, he might, as himself said, *Have put many Thousands of People into his Province, as well as Pounds into his Pocket.* But he, who had been intimate

timate with that King when Duke of York, and for whom, excepting their Difference in Matters of Religion, the Duke had always shewn a Personal Respect and Esteem, was induced by the repeated Protestations he had heard him make, to believe, *That He was really Principled for Granting Liberty of Conscience*; and accordingly embraced the present Opportunity of solliciting afresh for the Relief of his Innocent and Suffering Friends, who at that Time fill'd the Jails; and that he might be the nearer on all Occasions for the Service of them and his Country, he took Lodgings in 1685, near Kensington.

And now his Acquaintance and Frequency at Court, subjected him to the Undeserved Censure of such as least knew him, as being a *Papist*, or *Jesuit*; and about this Time Two Copies of Verses were printed, with the Initial Letters of his Name subscribed, condoling the *Late King's Death*, and Congratulating the Accession of the *Present*: These Verses, though favouring both of Popery and Flattery, were, as perhaps the *Publisher's Malice* intended, presently imputed to him: Whereupon to undeceive the World, and clear himself, he published the following Paper, call'd,

1684.

1685.

He is undeservedly censured as a Papist or Jesuit.

Fiction Found Out.

He publishes a Paper, call'd Fiction found out:

To my Esteemed Friends, called QUAKERS, on Occasion of Two Copies of Verses Printed and Subscribed W. P.

Dear Friends,

I Have writ this for your Satisfaction, and yet not for yours, as you well say, but to inform those many that importune you on my Account, alking, *If I was the Author of the Condoling and Congratulating Verses on the Late and Present King*; Printed (say they) in my Name: Concluding if I were the Author, I must needs have turn'd *Papist*, *Flatterer*, and what they please.

Others, I perceive, without this Help, as well as without Truth or Modesty, stick not to report me a *Declared Papist*, and, that I openly go to Mass.

Now, though it looks idle in any to wonder I should be a *Papist* at this Time of Day, that have been thought, and upon just as good Grounds a *Jesuit* for many Years; yet because they have no better Evidence, a Man would wonder why they should be so believing, but that we lamentably see, Men are apter to be *Injurious* than *Just*. In the mean While I have a fine Time of it, to be reported a *Papist* on one Hand, and presented and prosecuted as a *Disaffected Person* on the other Hand; but I know myself, and the World too well, to be troubled at this, and worse, if that can be: 'Tis enough for me 'tis false.

For the Verses, if it be considered, the Two Letters *W. P.* begin 500 Names besides mine; and I that pretend not to *Poetry* at any Time, should hardly have done it then, when I must needs look to have such sad Company, as the dull Flattery of all the Suburbs of the Town.

But that I did not write them, the Stuff itself shows, and they must be bereav'd of Sense as well as Charity, that can think it: For to own my self a *Quaker*, and jeer the Profession: To use their Phrases and prophane them: To promise as *Quakers* to live peaceably, and yet engage to be no more such: To make our selves Loyal in *One Stanza*, and ask Pardon for not being so in another: Be now a *Mistaken* and *Wilful Rout*; and presently the *Loving* and *Loyal Friends* of *Charles* and *James*, make up a Jarr and a Nonfense that I have not been used to be Guilty of in Prose; and whenever I turn such a *Penny-Poet*, let such Confusion be my Judgment: However, it would look rude to be angry at them; for certainly they put a mighty Complement upon my Name, that thought *Two Letters* of it would make their *Drugg-Sell*: And because I am so known a Friend to Property, to the unknown Hawker-Wit that writ them I leave them, with

the

1685.

the Credit of all the fine and foolish Fancy they are laboured with: Contenting myself against all *Defamations*, that I have this Defence for my *Religion and Conduct* in my *Conclusion*.

First, That the Grace of GOD within me, and the *Scriptures* without me, are the *Foundation and Declaration* of my *Faith and Religion*, and let any Man get better if he can.

Secondly, That the Profession I make of this *Religion*, is in the same Way and Manner, that I have used for almost these Eighteen Years last past.

Thirdly, That my *Civil Conduct*, I humbly bless my God, has been with *Peace on Earth, and Good Will to all Men, from the King on the Throne, to the Beggar on the Dunghill*.

I have ever loved *England*, and Moderation to all Parties in it, and long seen, and foreseen the Consequences of the Want of it: I would yet heartily wish it might take Place, and *Perswasion* that of *Persecution*, that we might not grow *Barbarous* for *Christianity*, nor abuse and undo one another for *God's Sake*.

These have been, these are, and with God's Strength shall be, through all the crooked and uneven Paths of Time, the Principles and Practice of

Worminghurst-Place, the last of the
Second Month called April, 1685.

Your Ancient and Constant Friend,

William Penn.

P O S T S C R I P T.

If this will not serve and satisfy the Mistaken, for the Malicious I fear are past Cure, let them but prove the Report upon any Body, and I will yet, as late in the Day as it looks for such Work, effectually Convince them with the Judgment of the Law, that ought to be every Honest Man's Shield,

W. P.

The Occasion of
an Epistolary
Conference be-
tween Doctor
Tillotson and
W. Penn.

But yet the mistaken Notions entertain'd by the Common People, of his being a *Papist*, or at least holding a Correspondence with *Jesuits* at *Rome*, began to enter the Minds of some of better Judgment; and among others his Acquaintance, Dr. Tillotson, (afterward Archbishop of *Canterbury*) having let in a Suspicion of him, dropt some Expressions, which were improv'd to his Disadvantage; W. P. being inform'd of this, wrote a Letter to the Doctor on that Subject, which was followed by several others that pass'd between them, until at last the Doctor declar'd himself fully satisfied, that his Suspicion was groundless: And that our Reader may not miss of as full Satisfaction in this Case, a Copy of those Letters here follows, viz.

W. PENN to Dr. TILLOTSON.

W. Penn's
Letter to Dr.
Tillotson.

Worthy Friend,

Being often told that Dr. Tillotson should suspect me, and so report me a *Papist*, I think a *Jesuit*, and being closely prest, I take the Liberty to ask thee, if any such Reflection fell from thee? If it did, I am sorry one I esteem'd ever the First of his Robe, should so undeservedly stain me, for so I call it; and if the Story be false, I am sorry they should abuse Dr. Tillotson as well as my self without a Cause. I add no more, but that I abhor Two Principles in Religion; and pity them that own them. The First is, Obedience upon Authority without Conviction; and the other, Destroying them that differ from me for God's Sake. Such a Religion is without Judgment, though not without Teeth: Union is best, if right; else Charity: And as Hooker said, The Time will come, when a few Words spoken with Meekness, and Humility and Love, shall be more acceptable than Volumes of Controversies; which commonly destroy Charity, the very best Part of the

True

True Religion : I mean not a Charity that can change with All, but bear All, as I can Dr. Tillotson in what he Dissents from me, and in this Reflection too, if said, which is not yet believed by

1685.

Charing-Cross, 22d of the
11th Month, 1685-6.

Thy Christian True Friend;

W. Penn.

Dr. TILLOTSON to W. PENN.

Honoured SIR,

Jan. 26, 1685.

THE Demand of your Letter is very Just and Reasonable, and the Manner of it very kind, therefore in Answer to it, be pleased to take the following Account. The last Time you did me the Favour to see me at my House, I did, according to the Freedom I always use, where I profess any Friendship, acquaint you with something I had heard of a Correspondence you held with some at Rome, and particularly with some of the Jesuits there. At which you seemed a little surprized, and after some General Discourse about it, you said, You would call on me some other Time, and speak farther of it : Since that Time I never saw you, but by Accident and in Passage, where I thought, you always declined me, particularly at Sir William Jones's Chamber, which was the last Time, I think, I saw you ; upon which Occasion I took Notice to him, of your Strangeness to me, and told him what I thought might be the Reason of it, and that I was sorry for it, because I had a particular Esteem of your Parts and Temper. The same, I believe, I have said to some others, but to whom I do not so particularly remember. Since your going to Pennsylvania, I never thought more of it, till lately being in some Company, One of them press'd me to declare, Whether I had not heard something of you, which had satisfied me that you were a Papist ? I answered, No, by no Means. I told him what I had heard, and what I said to you, and of the Strangeness that ensued upon it ; but that this never went farther with me, than to make me suspect there was more in that Report which I had heard, than I was at first willing to believe ; and that if any made more of it, I should look upon them as very injurious both to Mr. Penn and my self.

This is the Truth of that Matter, and whenever you will please to satisfy me that my Suspicion of the Truth of that Report I had heard was Groundless, I will heartily beg your Pardon for it. I do fully concur with you in the Abhorrence of the Two Principles you mention, and in your Approbation of that excellent Saying of Mr. Hooker's, for which I shall ever highly esteem him : I have endeavour'd to make it one of the Governing Principles of my Life, never to abate any Thing of Humanity or Charity, to any Man for his Difference from me in Opinion, and particularly to those of your Persuasion, as several of them have had Experience. I have been ready upon all Occasions to do all Offices of Kindness, being truly sorry to see them so hardly used ; and tho' I thought them Mistaken, yet in the Main I believed them to be very Honest : I thank you for your Letter, and have a just Esteem of the Christian Temper of it, and rest,

Your Faithful Friend,

Jo. Tillotson.

W. PENN to Dr. TILLOTSON.

Worthy Friend,

HAVING a much less Opinion of my own Memory, than of Dr. Tillotson's Truth, I will allow the Fact, though not the Jealousy : For besides that I can't look strange where I am well us'd ; I have ever treated the Name of Dr. Tillotson with another Regard. I might be Grave, and full of my own Business ; I was also then disappointed by the Doctors ; but my Nature is not harsh, my Education less, and my Principle least of all. 'Twas the Opinion I have

Dr. Tillotson's
Answer to
W. Penn.

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Jan. 26

W. Penn's
Second Letter
to Dr. Til-
lotson.

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have had of the Doctor's Moderation, Simplicity, and Integrity, rather than His Parts, or Post, that always made me set a Value upon His Friendship, of which, perhaps, I am better Judge, leaving the latter to Men of deeper Talents. I blame him nothing, but leave it to his better Thoughts, if, in my Affair, His Jealousy was not too nimble for His Charity. If he can believe me, I should hardly prevail with my self to endure the same Thought of Dr. Tillotson on the like Occasion, and less to speak of it. For the Roman Correspondence I will freely come to Confession: I have not only no such Thing with any Jesuit at Rome; (tho' Protestants may have without Offence) but I hold none with any Jesuit, Priest, or Regular in the World of that Communion. And that the Doctor may see what a Novice I am in that Business, I know not One any where. And yet, when all this is said, I am a Catholick, tho' not a Roman. I have Bowels for Mankind, and dare not deny others what I crave for my self, I mean, Liberty for the Exercise of my Religion, thinking Faith, Piety, and Providence, a better Security than Force, and that if TRUTH cannot prevail with her own Weapons, all others will fail her.

Now, though I am not obliged to this Defence, and that it can be no Temporizing now to make it, yet that Dr. Tillotson may see how much I value his Good Opinion, and dare own the Truth and my self at all Turns, let him be Confident, I am no Roman Catholick, but a Christian, whose Creed is the Scripture, of the Truth of which I hold a Nobler Evidence, than the Best Church Authority in the World; and yet I refuse not to believe the Porter, tho' I can't leave the Sense to his Discretion; and when I should, if he offends against those plain Methods of Understanding God hath made us to know Things by, and which are inseparable from us, I must beg his Pardon; as I do the Doctor's for this Length, upon the Assurance he has given me of his doing the like upon better Information; which that he may fully have, I recommend him to my Address to Protestants, from pag. 133. to the End, and to the four first Chapters of my No Cross, No Crown; to say nothing of Our most inceremonious and unworldly Way of Worship, and their Pompous Cult; where at this Time I shall leave the Business, with all due and Sensible Acknowledgments to thy Friendly Temper, and Assurance of the Sincere Wishes and Respects of

Charing-Cross, the 29th of
the 11th Month, 1685

Thy Affectionate Real Friend,

W. Penn.

W. PENN to Dr. TILLOTSON.

Worthy Friend,

Charing-Cross, 27th of 2d Month, 1686.

W. Penn's
Third Letter to
Dr. Tillotson.

THIS should have been a Visit, but being of Opinion that Dr. Tillotson is yet a Debtor to me this Way, I chose to provoke him to another Letter by this, before I made him one: For tho' he was very just and obliging when I last saw him, yet certainly no Expression, however kindly spoken, will so easily and effectually purge me from the unjust Imputation some People cast upon me in his Name, as his Letter will do. The Need of this he will better see when he has read the inclosed, which coming to Hand since my last, is, I presume, enough to justify this Address, if I had no former Pretensions: And therefore I cannot be so wanting to my self, as not to press him to a Letter in my Just Defence, nor so uncharitable to him, as to think he should not frankly write what he has said, when it is to Right a Man's Reputation, and disabuse the too Credulous World. For to me it seems from a Private Friendship, to become a Moral Duty to the Publick, which, with a Person of so great Morality, must give Success to the Reasonable Desire of

Thy very Real Friend,

William Penn.

Dr.

1686.

Dr. TILLOTSON to W. PENN.

SIR,

April the 29th, 1686.

I Am very sorry that the Suspicion which I had entertain'd concerning you, of which I gave you the True Account in my former Letter, hath occasioned so much Trouble and Inconvenience to you: And I do now declare with Great Joy, that I am fully satisfied that there was no just Ground for that Suspicion, and therefore I do heartily beg your Pardon for it. And ever since you were pleas'd to give me that Satisfaction, I have taken all Occasions to vindicate you in this Matter; and shall be ready to do it, to the Person that sent you the inclosed, whenever he will please to come to me. I am very much in the Country, but will seek the first Opportunity to visit you at Charing-Cross, and renew our Acquaintance, in which I took great Pleasure. I rest,

Dr. Tillotson's Second Answer to W. Penn.

Your Faithful Friend,

Jo. Tillotson.

In this Year he published *A farther Account of the Province of Pennsylvania*; and about this Time the Duke of Buckingham having writ a Book in Favour of *Liberty of Conscience*, for which he was always a known Advocate; a Nameless Author put forth an Answer, reflecting not only on the Duke himself, but also on W. P. saying, *The Pennsylvanian had enter'd him, (i. e. the Duke) with his Quakeristical Doctrine.* W. P. gave that Answerer a Reply, entituled, *A Defence of the Duke of Buckingham's Book of Religion and Worship, &c.* A small Piece; in the Conclusion of which, he refers to another excellent and larger Discourse soon after published by himself, entituled, *A Persuasive to Moderation to Dissenting Christians, in Prudence and Conscience, humbly submitted to the King and His Great Council:* In which he confutes the several Pleas for *Persecution*, and confirms his own Arguments for a *Toleration*, by the Testimonies of Authors, and the Examples of flourishing Kingdoms and States, and shews the dismal Effects and Consequences of the contrary: A Treatise well worthy the Reader's serious Perusal.

W. P. writes a Defence of a Book of the Duke of Buckingham's.

He publishes a Persuasive to Moderation.

How far this Book, and other Sollicitations of its Author, did influence the King and Council, we determine not, but shortly after, viz. on the 14th of the Month called March, 1687, came forth the King's Proclamation for a General Pardon; and Instructions being given to the Judges of Assize in their several Circuits, to extend the Benefit of it to the Quakers, about Thirteen Hundred of that People, most of whom had been diverse Years imprisoned, were set at Liberty: Joyful, no doubt, to their distressed Families, as well as Beneficial to the Country, was the restoring so many Industrious People to their own Homes, and Lawful Employments; and, whatever Private Views some in Authority may be suppos'd to have had in Granting that General Amnesty, it was certainly the Duty of the Afflicted to receive the present Favour with a Becoming Gratitude.

King James's Proclamation for a General Pardon.

On the 4th of the Month called April, 1687, came forth the King's Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, suspending the Execution of all Penal Laws in Matters Ecclesiastical; by which, (tho' probably done in Favour of the Papists) Dissenters receiv'd a General Ease, and enjoy'd their Meetings peaceably. The People called Quakers, having smarted by those Laws, more than others, could not be less sensible of the present Relief, wherefore at their next Annual Assembly held at London, in the third Month this Year, they drew up an Address of Thanks to the King, deputing W. P. and others to present the same: His Speech at the presenting of it, with the Address itself, and the King's Answer were as follows.

1687.

King James publishes a Declaration for Liberty of Conscience.

1687.

W. Penn's
Speech to King
James the Se-
cond.

W. Penn's Speech to the KING, upon his delivering the QUAKERS Address.

May it please the KING,

IT was the Saying of our Blessed LORD to the Captious Jews in the Case of Tribute, Render to Cæsar the Things that are Cæsar's, and to God the Things that are God's. As this Distinction ought to be observed by all Men, in the Conduct of their Lives, so the King has given us an illustrious Example in His own Person that excites us to it: For while He was a Subject, He gave Cæsar his Tribute, and now He is a Cæsar, gives GOD His Due, viz. The Sovereignty over Consciences. It were a great Shame then for any Englishman (that professes Christianity) not to give God His Due. By this Grace He has relieved His Distressed Subjects from their Cruel Sufferings, and raised to Himself a New and Lasting Empire, by adding their Affections to their Duty. And we pray God to continue the King in this Noble Resolution; for He is now upon a Principle that has Good Nature, Christianity, and the Good of Civil Society on its Side, a Security to Him beyond the Little Arts of Government.

I would not that any should think, that we came hither with Design to fill the Gazette with our Thanks, but as our Sufferings would have moved Stones to Compassion, so we should be harder, if we were not moved to Gratitude.

Now since the King's Mercy and Goodness have reached to us throughout the Kingdom of England, and Principality of Wales, Our General Assembly from all those Parts met at London, about our Church Affairs, has appointed us to wait upon the King, with our Humble Thanks, and me to deliver them; which I do by this Address, with all the Affection and Respect of a Dutiful Subject.

THE ADDRESS.

To King JAMES the Second over England, &c.

The Humble and Grateful Acknowledgment of His Peaceable Subjects
called QUAKERS, in this Kingdom.

From their usual Yearly Meeting in London, the Nineteenth Day of the Third
Month, vulgarly called May, 1687.

WE cannot but Bless and Praise the Name of Almighty God, who hath the Hearts of Princes in His Hand, that He hath inclined the King to bear the Cries of His Suffering Subjects for Conscience-Sake: And we rejoyce that instead of troubling Him with Complaints of our Sufferings, He hath given us so Eminent an Occasion to present Him with our Thanks: And since it hath pleased the King, out of His Great Compassion, thus to commiserate our Afflicted Condition, which hath so particularly appear'd by His Gracious Proclamation, and Warrants last Year, whereby Twelve Hundred Prisoners were releas'd from their Severe Imprisonments, and many others from Spoil and Ruin in their Estates and Properties; and His Princely Speech in Council, and Christian Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, in which He doth not only express His Aversion to all Force upon Conscience, and grant all His Dissenting Subjects an ample Liberty to worship God, in the Way they are perswaded is most agreeable to His Will, but gives them His Kingly Word the same shall continue during His Reign; We do (as our Friends of this City have already done) render the King our Humble, Christian, and Thankful Acknowledgments, not only in Behalf of our Selves, but with Respect to our Friends throughout England and Wales. And pray God with all our Hearts

The Address of
the People cal-
led Quakers,
to K. James
the Second.

to Bless and Preserve Thee, O King, and those under Thee, in so Good a Work : And as we can assure the King it is well accepted in the several Counties from whence we came, so we hope the Good Effects thereof, for the Peace, Trade, and Prosperity of the Kingdom, will produce such a Concurrence from the Parliament, as may secure it to our Posterity in After-Times : And while we live, it shall be our Endeavour (through God's Grace) to demean our selves, as in Conscience to God, and Duty to the King, we are oblig'd,

1687.

His Peaceable, Loving, and Faithful Subjects.

The KING's Answer.

Gentlemen,

I Thank you heartily for your Address: Some of you know (I am sure you do Mr. Penn) that it was always my Principle, That Conscience ought not to be forced : And that all Men ought to have the Liberty of their Consciences : And what I have promis'd in my Declaration, I will continue to perform as long as I live : And I hope, before I die, to settle it so, that After-Ages shall have no Reason to alter it.

The King's Answer to the Quakers Address.

Some have objected against the Quakers, and other Dissenters, for addressing King James upon the aforesaid Declaration of Indulgence, as though they had thereby countenanced the King's Dispensing with the Laws in General; let such observe their Imputation, as to our Author, and His Friends the Quakers, sufficiently guarded against in that Part of their Address, where they say, *We hope the Good Effects thereof for the Peace, Trade, and Prosperity of the Kingdom, will produce such a Concurrence from the Parliament, as may secure it to our Posterity.* 'Tis plain therefore, they gratefully accepted of the Suspension of the Penal Laws, by the King's Prerogative, (as who in their Case would not ?) A Thing in it self Just and Reasonable, in Hopes of having the same afterward confirmed by the Legislative Authority; there being at that Time much Talk of an approaching Parliament : And that their Expectation center'd not in the King's Dispensing Power, is evident by our Author's continuing his Endeavours to shew the Necessity of abolishing the Penal Laws, for soon after this he writ a large Tract, call'd, *Good Advice to the Church of England, Roman Catholics, and Protestant Dissenters*; in which he shews the disannulling of those Laws to be their General Interest.

An Objection answered.

He wrote also presently after this, a Book entituled, *The Great and Popular Objection against the Repeal of the Penal Laws, briefly stated and considered.*

On the 27th of April, 1688, King James renew'd His Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, with an Order of Council for the Reading of it in Churches, against which Seven Bishops petitioning, were committed to the Tower.

1688.

K. James's Declaration renewed.

Our Author labouring at this Time under many Jealousies and Reflections as a Countenancer of the Court Proceedings, a particular Friend of his, William Popple, Secretary to the Plantation-Office, sent him the following Letter.

To the Honourable WILLIAM PENN, Esq; Proprietor and Governour of Pennsylvania.

Honoured Sir !

THough the Friendship with which you are pleas'd to honour me, doth afford me sufficient Opportunities of Discouraging with you upon any Subject, yet I chuse rather at this Time to offer unto you in Writing, some Reflections which have occur'd to my Thoughts in a Matter of no common Importance. The Importance of it doth primarily and directly respect your self, and your own private Concernments, but it also conse-

W. Popple's Letter to W. Penn.

‘*quentially and effectually* regards the King, His Government, and even the *Peace and Settlement* of this whole Nation: I intreat you therefore to bear with me, if I endeavour in this Manner to give somewhat more Weight unto my Words than would be in a Transient Discourse, and leave them with you as a Subject that requires your retired Consideration.

‘You are not ignorant that the Part you have been supposed to have had of late Years in *Publick Affairs*, though without either the Title, or Honour, or Profit of any *Publick Office*, and that especially your avowed Endeavours to introduce amongst us a General and Inviolable *Liberty of Conscience* in Matters of *Meer Religion*, have occasioned the *Mistakes* of some Men, provoked the *Malice* of others, and in the End have raised against you a *Multitude of Enemies*, who have unworthily defamed you with such Imputations as I am sure you abhor. This I know you have been sufficiently informed of, tho’ I doubt you have not made sufficient Reflection upon it: The *Consciousness* of your own *Innocence* seems to me to have given you too great a Contempt of such unjust and ill-grounded Slanders: For however *Glorious* it is, and *Reasonable*, for a truly virtuous Mind, whose inward Peace is founded upon that Rock of *Innocence*, to despise the Empty Noise of *Popular Reproach*, yet even that *Sublimity of Spirit* may sometimes swell to a *reprovable Excess*. To be steady and immoveable in the Prosecution of Wise and Honest *Resolutions*, by all honest and prudent *Means*, is indeed a *Duty* that admits of no *Exception*: But nevertheless it ought not to hinder, that, at the same Time, there be also a due Care taken of Preserving a fair *Reputation*. A good Name, says the Wise Man, is better than Precious Ointment. It is a *Perfume* that recommends the Person whom it accompanies, that procures him every where an *easy Acceptance*, and that facilitates the Success of all his *Enterprizes*: And for that Reason, though there were no other, I intreat you observe, that The Care of a Man’s Reputation is an essential Part of that very same Duty that engages him in the Pursuit of any worthy Design.

‘But, I must not entertain you with a Declaration upon this General Theme. My Business is to represent to you, more particularly, those very Imputations which are cast upon your self, together with some of their Evident Consequences; that, if possible, I may thereby move you to labour after a Remedy. The Source of all arises from the Ordinary Access you have unto the King, the Credit you are supposed to have with Him, and the Deep Jealousie that some People have conceived of his Intentions in Reference to Religion. Their Jealousie is, that his Aim has been to settle Popery in this Nation, not only in a fair and secure Liberty, but even in a Predominating Superiority over all other Professions: And from hence the Inference follows, That whosoever has any Part in the Councils of this Reign, must needs be popishly affected: But that to have so great a Part in them, as you are said to have had, can happen to none but an Absolute Papist. That is the direct Charge; but that is not enough, your Post is too considerable for a Papist of an ordinary Form, and therefore you must be a Jesuit: Nay, to confirm that Suggestion it must be accompanied with all the Circumstances that may best give it an Air of Probability; as that you have been bred at St. Omers in the Jesuits Colledge; that you have taken Orders at Rome, and there obtained a Dispensation to Marry; and that you have since then frequently officiated as a Priest, in the Celebration of the Mass at Whitehall, St. James’s, and other Places. And this being admitted, nothing can be too black to be cast upon you. Whatsoever is thought amiss either in Church or State, tho’ never so contrary to your Advice, is boldly attributed to it, and if other Proofs fail, the Scripture it self must be brought in to confirm, That whosoever offends in one Point (in a Point especially so essential as that of our too much affected Uniformity) is Guilty of the Breach of all our Laws. Thus the Charge of Popery, draws after it a Tail like the Et Cetera Oath, and by endless Innuendos, prejudicates you as guilty of whatsoever Malice can invent, or Folly believe:

' believe : But that *Charge* therefore being removed, the Inferences that are drawn from it will vanish, and your *Reputation* will easily return to its former Brightness.

' Now that I may the more effectually persuade you to apply some Remedy to this Disease, I beseech you, *Sir*, suffer me to lay before you some of its pernicious Consequences. It is not a trifling Matter for a Person raised, as you are, above the common Level, to lie under the *Prejudice* of so *General a Mistake*, in so important a Matter. The General and the Long Prevalency of any Opinion gives it a Strength, especially among the Vulgar, that is not easily shaken. And as it happens that you have also Enemies of an higher Rank, who will be ready to improve such *Popular Mistakes*, by all Sorts of *Malicious Artifices* : It must be taken for Granted that those Errors will be thereby still more confirmed, and the Inconveniences that may arise from thence no less increased. This, *Sir*, I assure you, is a melancholy Prospect to your Friends ; for we know you have such Enemies. The Design of so Universal a *Liberty of Conscience* as your Principles have led you to promote, has offended many of those whose Interest is to cross it : I need not tell you how many and how Powerful they are : Nor can I tell you, either how far, or by what Ways and Means they may endeavour to execute their Revenge. But this however I must needs tell you, that in your present Circumstances, there is sufficient Ground for so much *Jealousie* at least, as ought to excite you to use the *Precaution* of some *Publick Vindication*. This the *Tenderness* of *Friendship* prompts your Friends to desire of you ; and this the *Just Sense* of your *Honour*, which *true Religion* does not extinguish, requires you to execute.

' Pardon, I entreat you, *Sir*, the Earnestness of these Expressions ; nay, suffer me, without Offence, to expostulate with you yet a little farther. I am fearful lest these *Personal Considerations* should not have their due Weight with you, and therefore I cannot omit to reflect also upon some more general Consequences of your *Particular Reproach*. I have said it already, That the King, His Honour, His Government, and even the *Peace and Settlement* of this whole Nation, either are, or have been concerned in this Matter : *Your Reputation*, as you are said to have meddled in *Publick Affairs*, has been of *Publick Concernment*. The promoting a *General Liberty of Conscience* having been your *Particular Province*; the *Aspersions* of *Papery* and *Jesuitism*, that has been cast upon you, has reflected upon *His Majesty*, for having made use, in that *Affair*, of so disguised a Personage as you are supposed to have been. It has weakened the Force of all your Endeavours, obstructed their Effect, and contributed greatly to disappoint this poor Nation of that inestimable Happiness, and secure Establishment, which I am persuaded you designed, and which all Good and Wise Men agree, that a just and inviolable *Liberty of Conscience* would infallibly produce. I heartily wish this Consideration had been sooner laid to Heart, and that some demonstrative Evidence of your Sincerity in the Profession you make, had accompanied all your Endeavours for Liberty.

' But what do I say, or what do I wish for ? I confess that I am now struck with Astonishment at that abundant Evidence which I know you have constantly given, of the Opposition of your Principles to those of the *Romish Church*, and at the little Regard there has been had to it. If an open Profession of the directest *Opposition* against *Papery*, that has ever appeared in the World, since *Papery* was first distinguished from *Common Christianity*, would serve the Turn ; this cannot be denied to all those of that *Society*, with which you are joyned in the Duties of *Religious Worship*. If to have maintained the Principles of that *Society*, by frequent and fervent Discourses, by many elaborate Writings, by suffering Ignominy, Imprisonment, and other manifold Disadvantages in Defence thereof, can be admitted as any Proof of your Sincere Adherence therunto ; this, it is evident to the World you have done already : Nay farther, if

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* Dr. Tillotson.

to have enquired as far as was possible for you, into the *Particular Stories* that have been framed against you, and to have sought all Means of rectifying the Mistakes upon which they were grounded, could in any Measure avail to the settling a true Character of you in Men's Judgments; this also I know you have done. For I have seen under the Hand of a * Reverend Dean of our *English Church*, a full Acknowledgment of Satisfaction received from you in a Suspicion he had entertained upon one of those Stories, and to which his Report had procured too great Credit. And though I know you are averse to the publishing of his Letter without his Express Leave, and perhaps may not now think fit to ask it; yet I am so thoroughly assured of his *Sincerity* and *Candor*, that I cannot doubt but he has already vindicated you in that Matter, and will (according to his Promise) be still ready to do it upon all Occasions. Nay I have seen also your Justification from another Calumny of common Fame, about your having kidnapp'd one who had been formerly a *Monk*, out of your *American Province*, to deliver him here into the Hands of his Enemies; I say, I have seen your Justification from that Story under that Person's own Hand: And his Return to *Pensylvania*, where he now resides, may be an irrefragable Confutation of it, to any that will take the Pains to enquire thereinto.

Really it afflicts me very much to consider that all this does not suffice. If I had not that particular Respect for you which I sincerely profess, yet I could not but be much affected, that any Man who had deservedly acquired so fair a Reputation as you have formerly had, whose *Integrity* and *Veracity* had always been reputed spotless, and whose *Charity* had been continually exercised in serving others, at the dear Expence of his *Time*, his *Strength*, and his *Estate*, without any other Recompence than what results from the Consciousness of doing good: I say, I could not but be much affected, to see any such Person fall innocently and undeservedly under such unjust Reproaches as you have done. It is an hard Case, and I think no Man that has any Bowels of Humanity, can reflect upon it without great Relentings.

Since therefore it is so, and that something remains yet to be done, something more express, and especially more *Publick*, than has yet been done for your *Vindication*, I beg of you, *Dear Sir*, by all the *Tender Efficacy* that *Friendship*, either mine, or that of your Friends and Relations together, can have upon you; by the due Regard which *Humanity*, and even *Christianity* obliges you to have to your *Reputation*; by the Duty you owe unto the King; by your Love to the Land of your Nativity; and by the Cause of universal Religion and Eternal Truth: Let not the Scandal of *Insincerity*, that I have hinted at, lie any longer upon you; but let the Sense of all these *Obligations* persuade you to gratifie your *Friends* and *Relations*, and to serve your King, your Country, and your Religion, by such a publick *Vindication* of your Honour, as your own *Prudence* upon these Suggestions, will now shew you to be most necessary, and most expedient. I am, with unfeigned and most Respectful Affection

Honoured Sir,

London, October the
20th, 1688.Your most Humble and most
Obedient Servant.

W. PENN'S Answer to the foregoing Letter.

Worthy Friend,

W. Penn's
Answer to the
foregoing Letter.

IT is now above Twenty Years, I thank God, that I have not been very sollicitous what the World thought of me. For since I have had the Knowledge of Religion from a Principle in my self, the First and Main Point with me has been, to approve my self in the Sight of God, through
Patience

Patience and Well-doing: So that the World has not had *Weight* enough with me, to suffer its good *Opinion* to raise me, or its ill *Opinion* to deject me. And if that had been the only *Motive* or *Consideration*, and not the Desire of a good Friend in the Name of many others, I had been as silent to thy Letter, as I use to be to the Idle and Malicious Shams of the Times: But as the *Laws of Friendship* are *Sacred*, with those that value that Relation, so I confess this to be a Principal one with me, *not to deny a Friend the Satisfaction he desires, when it may be done without Offence to a good Conscience.*

The *Business* chiefly insisted upon, is my *Popery*, and Endeavours to promote it. I do say then, and that with all Sincerity; That I am not only no *Jesuit*, but no *Papist*. And which is more, I never had any Temptation upon me to be it, either from *Doubts* in my own Mind about the Way I profess, or from the *Discourses* or *Writings* of any of that *Religion*. And in the Presence of Almighty God, I do declare, That the King did never once, directly or indirectly, attack me, or tempt me upon that Subject, the many Years that I have had the Advantage of a *Free Access* to Him; so *unjust*, as well as sordidly false, are all those Stories of the Town.

The only Reason, that I can apprehend, they have to repute me a *Roman-Catholick*, is, my frequent going to *Whitehall*, a Place no more forbid to me than to the Rest of the World, who yet, it seems, find much fairer Quarter. I have almost continually had one Business or other there for our Friends, whom I ever served with a steady Solicitation, through all Times, since I was of their Communion. I had also a great many Personal good Offices to do, upon a *Principle of Charity* for People of all Perswasions, thinking it a Duty to improve the little Interest I had for the good of those that needed it, especially the Poor. I might add something of my own Affairs too, though I must own (if I may without *Vanity*) that they have ever had the least share of my Thoughts or Pains, or else they would not have still depended as they yet do.

But because some People are so unjust, as to render Instances for my *Popery*, (or rather *Hypocrisie*, for so it would be in me) 'tis fit I contradict them as particularly as they accuse me. I say then solemnly, That I am so far from having been bred at *St. Omer's*, and having received Orders at *Rome*, that I never was at either Place, nor do I know any Body there, nor had I ever a *Correspondency* with any Body in those Places, which is another Story invented against me. And as for my officiating in the King's Chappel, or any other, it is so ridiculous, as well as untrue, that besides that no Body can do it but a *Priest*, and that I have been married to a Woman of some Condition above Sixteen Years, which no *Priest* can be, by any *Dispensation* whatever: I have not so much as look'd into any Chappel of the *Roman Religion* and consequently not the King's, though a common Curiosity warrants it daily to People of all Perswasions.

And once for all, I do say, That I am a *Protestant Dissenter*, and to that Degree such, that I challenge the most Celebrated *Protestant* of the *English Church*, or any other, on that Head, be he *Layman*, or *Clergyman*, in publick or in private. For I would have such People know, 'tis not impossible for a *True Protestant Dissenter* to be Dutiful, Thankful, and Serviceable to the King, though he be of the *Roman-Catholick Communion*. We hold not our Property or Protection from him by our Perswasion, and therefore his Perswasion should not be the Measure of our *Allegiance*. I am sorry to see so many that seem fond of the *Reformed Religion*, by their *Disaffection* to him, recommend it so ill. Whatever Practices of *Roman-Catholicks* we might reasonably object against, (and no Doubt but such there are) yet he has disclaimed and reprehended those ill Things by his declared Opinion against *Persecution*; by the Ease in which he actually indulges all *Dissenters*, and by the Confirmation he offers in *Parliament*, for the Security of the *Protestant Religion* and Liberty of Conscience. And in his Honour, as well as in my own Defence, I am obliged in Conscience to

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to say, that he has ever declared to me; *it was his Opinion*; and on all Occasions, when *Duke*, he never refused me the repeated Proofs of it, as often as I had any poor Sufferers for *Conscience-sake* to solicit His Help for.

But some may be apt to say, *Why not any Body else as well as I? Why must I have the preferable Access to other Dissenters, if not a Papist?* I answer, *I know not that it is so.* But this I know, That I have made it my Province and Business; I have followed and press'd it, I took it for my Calling and Station, and have kept it above these Sixteen Years; and which is more (if I may say it without Vanity or Reproach) wholly at my own Charges too. To this let me add the Relation my Father had to this King's Service, his particular Favour in getting me released out of the Tower of London in 69; my Father's Humble Request to him upon his Death-Bed, to protect me from the Inconveniencies and Troubles my Persuasion might expose me to, and his friendly Promise to do it, and exact Performance of it, from the Moment I address'd my self to him: I say, when all this is considered, any Body that has the least Pretence to Good-nature, Gratitude, or Generosity, must needs know how to interpret my Access to the King. Perhaps some will be ready to say, This is not all, nor is this yet a Fault, but that I have been an Adviser in other Matters, disgustful to the Kingdom, and which tend to the Overthrow of the Protestant Religion, and the Liberties of the People. A likely Thing indeed, that a Protestant Dissenter, who from Fifteen Years old has been (at Times) a Sufferer in his Father's Family, in the University, and by the Government, for being so, should design the Destruction of the Protestant Religion. This is just as probable as it is true, that I dy'd a Jesuit Six Years ago in America. Will Men still suffer such stuff to pass upon them? Is any Thing more Foolish, as well as False, than that because I am often at White-hall, therefore I must be the Author of all that is done there, that does not please abroad. But supposing some such Things to have been done, pray tell me, if I am bound to oppose any Thing that I am not called to do? I never was a Member of Council, Cabinet, or Committee, where the Affairs of the Kingdom are transacted. I have had no Office, or Trust, and consequently, nothing can be said to be done by me, nor for that Reason, could I lie under any Test or Obligation to discover my Opinion of Publick Acts of State, and therefore neither can any such Acts, nor my Silence about them, in Justice, be made my Crime. Volunteers are Blanks and Cyphers in all Governments. And unless calling at White-hall once a Day, upon many Occasions, or my not being turn'd out of nothing, (for that no Office is) be the Evidence of my Compliance in disagreeable Things, I know not what else can with any Truth, be alledged against me. However one Thing I know, that I have every where most religiously observed, and endeavour'd in Conversation with Persons of all Ranks and Opinions, to allay Heats, and moderate Extremities, even in the Politicks. 'Tis below me to be more particular, but I am sure it has been my Endeavour, that if we could not all meet upon a Religious Bottom, at least we might upon a Civil One, the Good of England; which is the common Interest of King and People: That He might be great by Justice, and we free by Obedience; distinguishing rightly on the one Hand, between Duty and Slavery; and on the other, between Liberty and Licentiousness.

But, alas, I am not without my Apprehensions of the Cause of this Behaviour towards me, and in this I perceive we agree; I mean my constant Tool for an Impartial Liberty of Conscience. But if that be it, the Cause is too good to be in Pain about. I ever understood that to be the natural Right of all Men; and that he that had a Religion without it, his Religion was none of his own. For what is not the Religion of a Man's Choice, is the Religion of him that imposes it: So that Liberty of Conscience is the first Step to have a Religion. This is no new Opinion with me. I have writ many Apologies within the last Twenty Years to defend it, and that

that impartially. Yet I have as constantly declared, that Bounds ought to be set to this Freedom, and that Morality was the Best; and that as often as that was violated, under a Pretence of *Conscience*, it was fit the *Civil Power* should take Place. Nor did I ever once think of Promoting any Sort of *Liberty of Conscience* for any Body, which did not preserve the *Common Protestancy* of the Kingdom, and the *Ancient Rights* of the Government. For to say Truth, the one cannot be maintained without the other.

Upon the whole Matter, I must say, I Love *England*; I ever did so; and that I am not in her Debt. I never valued *Time*, *Money*, or *Kindred*, to serve her and do her good. No Party could ever byas me to her *Prejudice*, nor any *Personal Interest* oblige me in her Wrong. For I always abhor'd discounting *private Favours* at the *Publick Cost*.

Would I have made my Market of the Fears and Jealousies of People, when this King came to the Crown, I had put *Twenty Thousand Pounds* into my Pocket, and an *Hundred Thousand* into my Province: For mighty Numbers of People were then upon the Wing: But I wad it all, hop'd for better Times; expected the Effects of the King's Word for *Liberty of Conscience*, and Happiness by it: And till I saw my Friends, with the Kingdom, deliver'd from the Legal Bondage, which Penal Laws for Religion had subjected them to, I could with no Satisfaction think of leaving *England*; though much to my Prejudice beyond Sea, and at my great Expence here; having in all this Time, never had either Office or Pension: and always refusing the Rewards or Gratuities of those I have been able to oblige.

If therefore an *Universal Charity*, if the asserting an *Impartial Liberty of Conscience*, if doing to others as one would be done by, and an open avowing and steady practising of these Things, in all Times, to all Parties, will justly lay a Man under the Reflection of being a *Jesuit*, or *Papist*, of any Rank, I must not only submit to the Character, but embrace it too; and I care not who knows, that I can wear it with more Pleasure, than it is possible for them with any Justice to give it me. For these are *Corner-Stones* and *Principles* with me; and I am scandalized at all *Buildings* that have them not for their *Foundations*. For Religion it self is an empty Name without them, a *Whited Wall*, a *Painted Sepulchre*, no *Life or Virtue to the Soul*; no Good, or Example to one's Neighbour. Let us not flatter our selves; We can never be the better for our Religion, if our Neighbour be the Worse for it. Our Fault is, we are apt to be mighty hot upon *speculative Errors*, and break all Bounds in our Repentments; but we let practical Ones pass without Remark, if not without Repentance: As if a Mistake about an *Obscure Proposition of Faith* were a greater Evil than the Breach of an *undoubted Precept*. Such a Religion the Devils themselves are not without; for they have both *Faith* and *Knowledge*, but their Faith doth not work by Love, nor their Knowledge by Obedience. And if this be their *Judgment*, can it be our *Blessing*? Let us not then think Religion a litigious Thing; nor that Christ came only to make us good Disputants, but that he came also to make us good Livers. Sincerity goes farther then Capacity. It is *Charity* that deservedly excells in the *Christian Religion*; and happy would it be, if where Unity ends, Charity did begin, instead of *Envy* and *Railing*, that almost ever follow. It appears to me to be the Way that God has found out and appointed to moderate our Differences, and make them at least harmless to Society; and therefore I confess, I dare not aggravate them to *Wrath* and *Blood*. Our Disagreement lies in our *Apprehension* or Belief of Things; and if the *Common Enemy* of Mankind had not the governing of our *Affections* and *Passions*, that Disagreement would not prove such a Canker, as it is, to Love and Peace, in *Civil Societies*.

He that suffers his Difference with his Neighbour about the other World, to carry him beyond the Line of Moderation in this, is the Worse for his Opinion, even though it be true. It is too little considered

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by *Christians*, that Men may hold the Truth in Unrighteousness; that they may be *Orthodox*, and not know what *Spirit* they are of; So were the *Apostles* of our Lord, they believed in him, yet let a false Zeal do Violence to their Judgment, and their unwarrantable Heat contradict the Great End of their Saviour's Coming, Love.

Men may be angry for God's Sake, and kill People too. Christ said it, and too many have practised it. But what Sort of *Christians* must they be, I pray, that can hate in his Name, who bids us, Love; and Kill for his Sake, that forbids Killing; and commands Love, even to Enemies?

Let not Men or Parties think to shift it off from themselves: 'Tis not this Principle, or that Form, to which so great a Defection is owing, but a Degeneracy of Mind from God. Christianity is not at Heart, No Fear of God in the Inward Parts: No Awe of his Divine Omnipresence. Self prevails, and breaks out more or less, through all Forms, but too plainly, (*Pride, Wrath, Lust, Avarice*) so that tho' People say to God, *Thy Will be done*, they do their own; which shews them to be true *Heatbens*, under a Mark of Christianity, that believe without Works, and repent without Forsaking, busie for Forms, and the Temporal Benefits of them, while true Religion, which is to visit the Fatherless, and the Widow, and to keep our selves unspotted from the World, goes bare-foot, and like Lazarus is despised. Yet this was the Definition the Holy Ghost gave of Religion before Synods, and Councils had the Medling with it, and Modeling of it. In those Days *Bowels* were a good Part of Religion, and that to the Fatherless and Widow at large. We can hardly now extend them to those of our own Way. It was said by him that could not say amiss; *Because Iniquity abounds, the Love of many waxeth Cold*. Whatsoever divides Man's Heart from God, separates it from his Neighbour; and he that loves Self more than God, can never love his Neighbour as himself. For (as the Apostle said) *If we do not love him whom we have seen, How can we love God whom we have not seen?*

O that we could see some Men as eager to turn People to God, as they are to blow them up, and set them one against another. But indeed those only can have that pure and Pious Zeal, who are themselves turned to God, and have tasted the Sweetness of that Conversation, which is to Power, not Form; to Godliness, not Gain. Such as those do bend their Thoughts, and Pains to appease not Increase Heats and Animositities, to exhort People to look at Home, sweep their own Houses, and weed their own Gardens. And in no Age or Time was there more need to set Men at Work in their own Hearts, than this we live in, when so busy, wandering, licentious a Spirit prevails, For whatever some Men may think, *The Disease of this Kingdom is Sin, Impiety against God, and want of Charity to Men*. And while this Guilt is at our Door, Judgment cannot be far off.

Now this being the Disease, I will briefly offer two Things for the Cure of it. The first is, David's Clean Heart and Right Spirit, which he asked and had of God: Without this we must be a Chaos still. For the Distemper is within; and, our Lord said, *All Evil comes from thence*. Set the Inward Man right, and the Outward Man cannot be wrong: That is the Helm that governs the Humane Vessel: And this Nothing can do but an Inward Principle, the Light and Grace that came by Christ which the Scriptures tell us, enlightens every one, and hath appeared to all Men. It is preposterous to think that he, who made the World, should show least Care of the best Part of it, our Souls, No, he that gave us an outward Luminary for our Bodies, hath given us an Inward one for our Minds to act by. We have it; and 'tis our Condemnation that we don't love it, and bring our Deeds to it. 'Tis by this we see our Sins, are made sensible of them, sorry for them, and finally forsake them. And he that thinks to go to Heaven a Nearer Way, will, I fear, belate his Soul, and be irreparably Mistaken. There are but Goats and Sheep at last, whatever Shapes we wear here. Let's not therefore, Dear Friend, deceive our

“selves.

‘ selves. Our Souls are at Stake, God won’t be mocked, What we sow we must expect to reap. There’s no Repentance in the Grave; which shows, that if none there, then no where else. To Sum up this Divinity of Mine; It is the *Light of Jesus* in our Souls, that gives us a true Sight of our Selves, and that Sight that leads us to Repentance, which Repentance begets Humility, and Humility that true Charity, that covers a Multitude of Faults, which I call God’s Expedient against Man’s Infirmy. The Second Remedy, to our present Distemper, is this; Since all of all Parties profess to believe in God, Christ, the Spirit, and Scripture, that the Soul is immortal, that there are Eternal Rewards and Punishments, and that the Virtuous shall receive the One, and the Wicked suffer the Other: I say, since this is the Common Faith of Christendom, let us all Resolve in the Strength of God to live up to what we agree in, before we fall out so miserably about the Rest in which we differ. I am perswaded, the Change and Comfort which that pious Course would bring us to, would go very far to dispose our Natures to compound easily for all the Rest, and we might hope yet to see happy Days in poor England; for there I would have so good a Work begun. And how it is possible for the Eminent Men of every Religious Persuasion, (especially the present Ministers of the Parishes of England) to think of giving an Account to God at the last Day, without using the utmost of their Endeavours to moderate the Members of their respective Communion, towards those that differ from them, is a Mystery to me: But this I know and must lay it at their Doors, I charge also my own Soul with it, God requires Moderation and Humility from us; for he is at hand, who will not spare to Judge our Impatience, if we have no Patience for one another. The Eternal God rebuke (I beseech him) the Wrath of Man, and humble all under the Sense of the Evil of this Day: and yet (unworthy as we are) give us Peace, for his Holy Name’s Sake.

‘ It is now Time to end this Letter, and I will do it without saying any more than this: Thou seest my Defence against Popular Calumny; thou seest What my Thoughts are of our Condition, and the Way to better it, and thou seest my hearty and humble Prayer to Almighty God, to incline us to be wise, if it were but for our own Sakes. I shall only add, That I am extremely sensibl of the Kindness and Justice intended me by my Friends on this Occasion, and that I am for that, and many more Reasons.

1688.



Teddington October
the 24th 1688.

Thy Obliged and Affectionate Friend,

W. P.

On the fifth of November this Year, William Prince of Orange landed at Torbay in Devonshire, to the great Joy of the English Nation: Many of K. James’s Officers and Army soon joyn’d the Prince, and the King perceiving the Hearts of the People alienated from him, withdrew himself and went over to France; and by a Convention call’d shortly after, the said Prince of Orange and the Princess Mary his Spouse K. James’s Daughter were declared King and Queen of England &c, and were proclaimed on the 13th of the Month called February, 1688-9. Upon this Turn of the Times, our Author’s late Friendship at Court, made him suspected of Disaffection to the present Government, so that on the 10th of December 1688, walking in White-Hall, he was sent for by the Lords of the Council then sitting; and though nothing appeared against him, and himself assured them That he had done nothing, but what he could answer before God, and all the Princes in the World, that he loved his Country and the Protestant Religion above his Life, and never acted against Either, that all he ever aimed at in his publick Endeavours, was no other than what the Prince himself had declared for; That King James was always his Friend, and his Father’s Friend, and in Gratitude he was the King’s and did ever as much as in him lay, influence him to his true Interest. Notwithstanding they obliged him to give Sureties for his Appearance the first Day of the Next Term; which he did, and then was continued on the

The Prince of
Orange’s land-
ing.

W. P. is ex-
amined by the
Lords of the
Council,

1689.

He is set at Liberty.

1690.

He is a second Time examin'd by the Council, and appeals to K. William. A Proclamation issued against him and others.

He propos'd to have went again to Pennsylvania, but was prevented by an Accusation made against him by W. Fuller.

His retiring for some Years.

same Security to *Easter Term* following, on the last Day of which, nothing having been laid to his Charge, he was clear'd in open Court.

In the Year 1690, he was again brought before the Lords of the Council, upon an Accusation of holding Correspondence with the late King *James*, and they requiring Sureties for his Appearance, he appeal'd to King *William* himself, who, after a Conference of near two Hours, inclined to acquit him; but to please some of the Council, he was held upon Bail for a while, and in *Trinity-Term*, the same Year, again discharged.

He was yet attackt a third Time, and his Name inserted in a Proclamation, dated *July* the 18th this Year, wherein he with divers Lords and others, to the Number of Eighteen, were charg'd with adhering to the Kingdom's Enemies; but Proof failing respecting him, he was again clear'd by Order of the King's Bench Court at *Westminster*, on the last Day of *Michaelmas Term*, 1690.

Being now again at Liberty, he purposed to go over a second Time to *Pennsylvania*, and published Proposals in Print for another Settlement there: He had so far prepared for his *Transportation*, that an Order for a Convoy was granted him by the *Secretary of State*, when his Voyage was prevented by a *Fresh Accusation* against him, backt with the Oath of one *William Fuller*, a *Wretch*, afterward by Parliament declared a *Cheat and Impostor*; and a Warrant was thereupon granted for his Apprehension, which he narrowly escaped at his Return from *G. Fox's Burial*, on the 16th of the Month called *January*, 1690.

He had hitherto defended himself before the King and Council, but now thought it rather advisable to retire for a Time, than hazard the sacrificing his Innocence to the Oaths of a *Profligate Villain*; and accordingly he appeared but little in Publick for two or three Years. During this Recess, he applied himself to Writing; and first, left his own Friends, the *Quakers*, should entertain any sinister Thought of him, he sent the following *Epistle* to their Yearly-Meeting in London, viz.

The 30th of the third Month, 1691.

His Letter to the Yearly-Meeting.

My Beloved, Dear, and Honour'd Brethren,
MY Unchangeable Love Salutes you; and though I am absent from you, yet I feel the sweet and lowly Life of your Heavenly Fellowship, by which I am with you, and a Partaker amongst you, whom I have loved above my Chiefest Joy: Receive no Evil Surmising, neither suffer hard Thoughts, through the Insinuations of any, to enter your Minds against me your afflicted, but not forsaken Friend and Brother. My Enemies are yours, and in the Ground mine for your Sakes; and that God seeth in Secret, and will one Day reward openly. My Privacy is not because Men have Sworn truly, but falsely against me; For Wicked Men have laid in Wait for me, and False Witneses have laid to my Charge Things that I knew not, who have never sought myself, but the Good of All, through Great Exercises, and have done some Good, and would have done more, and Hurt to no Man, but always desired that Truth and Righteousness, Mercy and Peace might take Place amongst us. Feel me near you, and lay me near you, My Dear and Beloved Brethren, and leave me not, neither forsake, but wrestle with Him that is able to prevail against the Cruel Desires of some, that we may yet meet in the Congregations of His People, as in Days past to our Mutual Comfort. The Everlasting God of His Chosen in all Generations, be in the Midst of you, and Crown your Most Solemn Assemblies with His Blessed Presence, that His Tender, Meek, Lowly, and Heavenly Love and Life may flow among you; and that He would please to make it a Seasoning and Fruitful Opportunity to you, that Edified and Comforted, you may return Home to His Glorious High Praise, who is worthy for ever. To whom I commit you, desiring to be remembered of you before Him, in the nearest and freshest Accesses, who cannot forget you in the nearest Relation,

Your Faithful Friend and Brother,
 W. P.

His excellent Preface to *Robert Barclay's Works*, and another to those of *John Burnycat*, both printed this Year, were farther Fruits of his Retirement, as were also,

1. A small Treatise, entituled, *Just Measures, in an Epistle of Peace and Love*, to such Professors as are under any Dissatisfaction about the present Order practis'd in the Church of CHRIST.

2. *A Key opening the Way to every Common Understanding, how to discern the Difference between the Religion profess'd by the People called Quakers, and the Perversions, Misrepresentations, and Calumnies of their Adversaries, both upon their Principles and Practices*, wherein several Doctrines of that People are set in a clear Light: A Book so generally accepted, that it has been Re-printed even to the Twelfth Edition.

3. *An Essay toward the present Peace of Europe*: A Work so adapted to the Unsettled Condition of the Times, and so well received, that it was Re-printed the same Year.

4. *Reflections and Maxims, relating to the Conduct of Human Life*: An useful little Book, which has also past many Impressions.

Having thus improv'd the Times of his Retirement to his own Comfort, and the Common Good, it pleas'd God to dissipate that Cloud, and open his Way again to a Publick Service; for in the latter End of the Year 1693, through the Mediation of his Friends, the Lord Ranelagh, Lord Somers, Duke of Buckingham, and Sir John Trenchard, or some of them, he was admitted to appear before the King and Council, where he so pleaded his Innocency, that he was acquitted.

In the 12th Month, 1693, departed this Life his Beloved Wife, *Gulielma Maria*, with whom he had liv'd in all the *Endearments of that nearest Relation*, about Twenty One Years. The Loss of Her was a very great Exercise, such, himself said, *As all his other Troubles were nothing in Comparison of*. Her Character, Dying Expressions, and Pious End, were related by himself,* in an Account he published, and which is inserted in the Appendix.

In the Year 1694, he writ a Preface to *G. Fox's Journal*, printed that Year, which Preface was Re-printed the same Year, and several Times since in *Octavo*, under the Title of *A Brief Account of the Rise and Progress of the People called Quakers*.

The same Year was publish'd the *Journal of his Life in Holland and Germany*, before inserted.

He also writ this Year, *A Visitation to the Jews, by Way of Appendix*, to a Book publish'd by *John Tomkins*, call'd, *The Harmony of the Old and New Testaments*.

In the 9th, 10th, and 11th Months this Year, he travelled in the Work of the Ministry, in the Counties of Gloucester, Somerset, Devon and Dorset, having Meetings almost daily, in the most considerable Towns, and other Places in those Counties, at which the People flockt in abundantly; and his Testimony to the TRUTH, answering to that of God in their Consciences, was assented to by many.

In the Year 1695, a Nameless Author writ what he call'd *An Answer to William Penn's Key*, and W. P. return'd *A Reply to a Nameless Answer to William Penn's Key*, in which the Principles of the People called Quakers, are farther explained and confirm'd: A Passage or two in which Reply, being a Defence of his own Conduct, under the several Changes of Government, we think it but Justice to transcribe.

The said Nameless Author charges W. Penn as being the Author of a Pamphlet in Defence of the Bill of Exclusion, and tells him, *He was then a Man Principled for the Civil Liberties of his Country*: To which W. P. thus answers: 'But if I may be so bold with the Author, Pray, Why then Principled for Civil Liberties, and not afterwards? And why this upon me at all? But why at this Time, and upon this Occasion, to be brought in by Head and Shoulders, as the Proverb is? But what if I never writ such a Pamphlet, (as to be sure I did not) what's to be said to, and of such an Author, in such a Case, and in such a Time, and to a Man under my Circumstances?

1691.

He writes a Preface to Barclay's and Burnycat's Works.

1692.

He publishes his Just Measures. The publishing of his Key.

1693.

An Essay towards the Peace of Europe.

Reflections and Maxims. A Way open'd for his appearing before the King and Council, who after hearing acquitted him. The Death of his Wife, Gulielma Maria.

* Ap. N. xxvi. 1694.

He writes a Preface to G. Fox's Journal.

He writes a Visitation to the Jews.

His Travels in the Work of the Ministry in several Counties.

1695.

His Reply to an Answer to his Key.

1695.

cumstances? Let him know then, that I did not only never write such a Pamphlet, but I am sure that I do not remember that I ever read one of such a *Title*, or heard of it; nor was I of that *Principle*, and therefore I return the Civility of his *Conclusion* to him again; for I thank God, I was always so much for *Civil Liberties*, that I thought no Man ought to lose them for his *Religious Principles*, and farther that they were never to be secured by this or that Man, but by a Good and Equal *Constitution of Government*, as some Papers by me, which I writ at that Time, as well as diverse Persons yet living of good Reputation, can evidence for me.

The aforesaid Author also charges him with *Prevaricating in the late Reign*, and shewing an *intemperate Zeal for a boundless Liberty of Conscience*, &c. To which he says, 'In this he would be *Charitable*, but let him first be *Just*. If there were no *Prevarications*, then there is no Need of an *Intemperate Zeal for Liberty* to shadow, or reconcile them to my former *Principles*; and I am so much a Friend to him and his Brethren, that I wish them free from all *Intemperance* and *Prevarications* too, and that in all Reigns: And if it be possible, or worth While to reconcile him better to my Conduct, let him peruse my *Great Case of Liberty of Conscience*, printed 1671, and my *Letter to the States of Embden* 1672, and my *Present State of England* 1675, and he will find I was the same Man then, and acted by the same Principles: Not more intemperate in the Reign that favoured it, than in the Reign I contended with that did not favour it: And no Man but a Persecutor, which I count a *Beast of Prey*, and a declared *Enemy to Mankind*, can without great Injustice or Ingratitude reproach that Part I had in King James's Court. For I think, I may say without Vanity upon this *Provocation*; I endeavoured at least to do some Good at my own Cost, and would have been glad to have done more: I am very sure, I intended, and I think, I did Harm to none, neither Parties nor private Persons, *my own Family excepted*, for which I doubt not this Author's Pardon, since he shews himself so little concerned for the *Master* of it.

He is present
at a Dispute at
Melksham.

About the latter End of the Summer this Year, he again went down into the West of England, and was present in the 8th Month at a Dispute held at Melksham in Wiltshire, between one John Plympton a Baptist, and John Clark a Quaker. The Baptist had dard the Quakers to a Conference on Five Heads, viz. 1. *The Universality of Grace*. 2. *Baptism*. 3. *The Supper*. 4. *Perfection*. 5. *The Resurrection*. John Clark notably answer'd his Objections; but Plympton continuing to cavil against the Plainest Scripture Proofs, even when the Auditors were satisfied, would not be silent. The Evening approaching, and William Penn finding himself under a Concern to bear his Testimony to the TRUTH in that Assembly, terminated the Dispute by an open and free Declaration, which the Auditory received with singular Attention; and he concluded the Meeting with Prayer.

A large Meeting
at Wells
broke up by the
Mayor's Order.

On the 15th of the 9th Month a Meeting was appointed at Wells, and a large Room at an Inn, with a Balcony next the Street was taken for that Purpose; and the Bishop duly certified of the same. The Room was quickly filled, and there was also a great Concourse of People in the Street; so that for the Conveniency of his Double Auditory, W. P. plac'd himself in the Balcony, and thence preached to the People; but in the Midst of his Declaration came Officers from the Mayor with the following Warrant, viz.

Wells City and To the Constables, Verderors, and Serjeants at Burrough. S. Mace, of the said City.

Warrant from
the Mayor of
Wells.

Whereas William Penn and several others called Quakers are now riotously and unlawfully assembled and gathered together in this City, and the said William Penn is now Preaching or Teaching in an House not licensed according to the late Act of Parliament. These are therefore in His Majesties Name

Name to require you to take the said William Penn, and him immediately to bring before us to answer the Premises. Given under our Hands and Seals this 15th Day of November, 1695.

1695.

Matthew Baron, Mayor.
William Salmon.

The Officers rudely officious, though desired to tarry till he had done, forc'd him away instantly before the Magistrates; who upon Examination finding the House was certified, and that by disturbing a lawful for an unlawful Assembly, they had overshot themselves, excus'd the Matter as well as they could, and presently dismiss'd him; having done just enough to manifest the Keeness of their Stomachs for the old Work of *Devouring*, in that they could not refrain from whetting their Teeth again, after the *Act of Toleration* had blunted them.

About this Time, the People called *Quakers* soliciting the Parliament in the Case of Oaths, *W. P.* presented to the House of Commons, before whom a Bill for their Ease was then depending, the following Paper, *viz.*

He presents to the House of Commons a Paper concerning Swearing.

To the Honourable House of COMMONS.

A Few Words crave their Pearsal, upon Occasion of the Bill to excuse the People called Quakers from Swearing.

THAT the Request of the People called *Quakers* may be indulged by the Members of this Honourable House, it is humbly propos'd to them to consider the Nature and Fulness of the Security they offer; and if it be found to amount to the Weight and Value of an Oath it is hop'd there will be no Difficulty in accepting it in Lieu of an Oath.

The Pledge that every Man upon Oath gives of his Truth is his Soul; he means that God should deal with him according to the Truth of his Affirmative or Negative given by him in the Name of God. Now that the said People do as much, *viz.* That they pledge their Souls too, in their Way; that they mean the same Caution with them that Swear, and are under the same Reverence in their simple and solemn *Yes* or *No*, and therefore give the same Security; I shall beg this Honourable House to consider three Things:

First, That this People make it an Article of their Faith and Practice, and a great Part of their Characteristick, *Not to Swear at all*: They think (whether mistaken or no) that the Righteousness of Christianity does not Need or use an Oath; so that You have their Religion, in the highest Exercises of it, in Human Affairs, for Your Security.

Secondly, That they have often, and at very dear Rates, prov'd to the World they Mean what they Say; since they have frequently Chosen to lose their Estates, and lie and die in Jail, rather than Save the One, or Deliver the Other, by deviating from their Principle; and since in such Cases, Integrity is the Security all aim at, it is hard to conceive which Way any Man can give a greater; nor are they so insensible, as not to know that Untruth in them, after this great Indulgence, is a more aggravated Crime than Perjury in others; since they excuse themselves from not Swearing, by a Profession of an exacter Simplicity and greater Strictness.

Lastly, They Humbly Hope, that being to suffer for Untruth as for Perjury, their Request will not be uneasie; since they subject their Integrity to Trial, upon the hazard of a Correction, that is so much greater than the Nature of the Offence, in the Eye of the Law, would bear. Let them then, pray, Speak in their own Way; and if False, be Punish'd in Yours. And since this Honourable House has testified an excelling Zeal to Secure the Rights and Priviledges of that Great Body They Represent,

: this

1695.

this Inferior Member, with all due Respect, claiming a Relation to it, Request they may not be left exposed in theirs; but that by Your Wisdom and Goodness, they may be provided for, in true Proportion to the Exigencies they are under; which will Engage them in the best Wishes for Your Prosperities.

W. P.

His Second Marriage.

On the 5th of the 1st Month, 1695-6. he consummated his Second Marriage at *Bristol*, with *Hannah* the Daughter of *Thomas Callowhill*, and Granddaughter of *Dennis Hollister*, an eminent Man of that City; she was a Sober and Religious Young Woman; with whom he had a comfortable Cohabitation during the Rest of his Life, and had Issue by her Four Sons and one Daughter.

1696.

The Death of his eldest Son.
* Ap. No. xxvi.

In the 2d Month, 1696. his eldest Son by his former Wife, named *Springett*, died at *Worminghurst* in *Sussex*, of a Consumption, in the 21st Year of his Age: A most hopeful and promising young Man; whose * Character being published (together with that of his Mother) in the Account before mentioned, we recommend to our Reader's Perusal.

This Year he published a Treatise, entituled, *Primitive Christianity revived, in the Faith and Practice of the People called Quakers*: A Book which rightly represented that People's Principles, and hath been serviceable to the Information of many.

G. Keith's separate Meeting at Turner's-Hall.

G. Keith's Confidence check'd.

At this Time, *George Keith*, having been disowned by the *Quakers* for his contentious and disorderly Spirit, kept up a Meeting with some Adherents at *Turner's-Hall, London*, where under the Name of Religion he foster'd Strife and Debate; sending out peremptory Challenges and Summons to the *Quakers* to dispute with him; and muttering up against them Quotations out of their Books, such as himself formerly could candidly interpret, and had successfully vindicated against other Opposers. To put a Check to his Confidence, by employing him to bear down the Batteries himself had rais'd, *W. P.* sets before him his own *Vindications* of the *Quakers* from those very Lies, when told by others, which himself had now lick't up afresh. This Book our Author entituled, *More Work for George Keith*. It has a suitable Preface, wherein he aptly describes the Man, and his self-contradictious Methods of Procedure.

1697.

He presents to the House of Lords a Caution about the Bill against Blasphemy.

There being about this Time a Bill depending in the House of Lords against Blasphemy: He presented to that House *A Caution requisite in the Consideration of that Bill*, wherein he advises that the Word *Blasphemy* be so explained as that no ambiguous Interpretation might minister Occasion to malicious or envious Persons to prosecute under that Name whatsoever they should be pleas'd to call so: After which the House thought fit to drop the Bill.

1698.

He sets out again from Bristol for Ireland: Writes an Answer to J. Plympton.

In the 2d Month 1698, he set out, together with *John Everot* and *Thomas Story* from *Bristol*, where he then dwelt, for *Ireland*. Some Time after his Arrival there, *John Plympton* the Tenacious Baptist Disputant, mentioned before, being at *Dublin* publish'd a Paper, entituled, *A Quaker no Christian*, To which *W. P.* replied under the Title of, *The Quaker a Christian*, and the more effectually to wipe away that *Adversarie's Aspersions* he also writ and dispers'd a Paper, entituled, *Gospel Truths held by the People called Quakers*, subscribed by himself and Three others of his Friends, and likewise repinted the 8th and 9th Chapters of his *Primitive Christianity revived*; which gave the People a general Satisfaction that *Plympton's Charges* were groundless.

His Services in Ireland.

* Ap. N. xxvii.

His Visit to the Bp. of Cork.

After this he travelled to other Parts of that Nation in the Work of the Ministry to the Edification of the Churches, of which himself gave some Account in an * *Epistle sent to the Yearly-Meeting* at London.

A short Time after being at *Cork* he visited the Bishop, and occasionally presented him with one of the forementioned Papers, call'd *Gospel Truths*, which he then seem'd to receive favourably, but afterward unexpectedly published some Exceptions against it in Print; to which *W. P.* after his Com-

ing

ing back to England the same Year return'd an Answer; being, *A Defence of a Paper, entituled, Gospel Truths, against the Exceptions of the Bishop of Cork's Testimony.*

The next Winter residing at Bristol, he, together with Benjamin Coole writ a Book, entituled, *The Truth of God, as held by the People called Quakers, farther cleared from Mistakes, &c.* A choice Piece, which was reprinted the next Year.

In the Year 1699 was a Dispute at West-Dereham in Norfolk, between some Clergymen and the Quakers, in which, the former, having mist their Aim, the Vain-Glory of a Conquest, grew angry: And in hopes of whetting the Magistrates Sword to cut asunder those Knots, themselves wanted Skill to untie, presented to the King and Parliament, a Book call'd, *A Brief Discovery, &c.* wherein they painted the Quakers as black as their own Robes: Upon which our Author published the following short Observations, viz.

It does not surprize us to be evilly intreated, and especially by those that have an Interest in doing it. But if *Conscience* prevailed more than *Contention*, and Charity over-ruled Prejudice, we might hope for fairer Quarter from our Adversaries.

But such is our Unhappiness, that nothing less will satisfy them, than breaking in upon the *Indulgence* that we enjoy; if they could persuade the Government to second their Attempts to a *New Persecution*. In Order to which, we perceive they have been hard at Work, to pervert our Books, violate our Sense, abuse our Practice, and ridicule our Persons; knowing very well with whom they have to do, and that the *Patience of our Profession is their Security in abusing of it.*

However, if it has Weight enough with our Superiors to expect a fresh Defence of our Principles and Practices, we shall with God's Assistance be ready for their Satisfaction, once more, to justify both, against the Insults of our Restless Adversaries: Who otherwise, we take leave to say, would not deserve our Notice, since we have already repeatedly answered their Objections in Print, and think it our Duty as well as Wisdom, to use the Liberty the Government has favoured us with, in as peaceable and inoffensive a Manner as may be.

In the Sixth Month this Year, himself with his Wife and Family took Shipping for his Province of *Pensylvania*, and on the Third of the Seventh Month following, from on Board the Ship lying in *Cowes Road* near the *Isle of Wight*, he took his Farewell of his Friends in an * Epistle directed To the People of God called Quakers, wherever scattered or gathered in England, Ireland, Scotland, Holland, Germany, or in any other Parts of Europe.

On the 9th of the same Month they set sail, and were near Three Months out at Sea; Providence by the Tediuousness of their Voyage protracting the Time of their Arrival, until the Danger of a *Contagious Distemper* then reigning in that Country, was over. Upon their Coming thither, they were received with the Universal Joy of the Inhabitants.

Being now determined to settle in his Province, he applied himself to the *Offices of Government*; always preferring the Good of the Country and its Inhabitants to his own *Private Interest*; rather remitting than rigorously exacting his *Lawful Revenues*: So that under the Influence of his *Paternal Administration*, the Province was in an easie and flourishing Condition: When some Persons here in England, taking Advantage of his Absence, were endeavouring to undermine both his and other *Proprietary Governments*, under the specious Pretence of Advancing the *Prerogative of the Crown*; and a Bill for that Purpose was brought into the *House of Lords*. His Friends, the Proprietors and Adventurers here, presently represented the Hardship of their Case to the *Parliament*, soliciting Time for his Return to answer for himself; and accordingly giving him a speedy Account how Matters stood, they press his Coming over forthwith; with which he seeing it necessary to

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comply,

1698.

He, together with B. Coole at Bristol, publishes a Book call'd, The Truth of God clear'd, &c. 1699.

A Dispute at West Dereham in Norfolk.

His Observations on the Norfolk Clergymen's Book.

He takes Shipping for Pensylvania.

* Ap. No. xxviii.

After a tedious Voyage he arrives there in Safety.

1700.

His paternal Administration of Government.

A Bill in the H. of Lords for dissolving Proprietary Governments.

1701.

comply, summoned an Assembly to meet at *Philadelphia*, to whom, on the 15th of *September* 1701, he made the following Speech, viz.

The Governour's SPEECH to the Assembly at Philadelphia.

Friends,

*The Governor's
Speech to the
Assembly at
Philadelphia.*

YOU cannot be more concerned than I am at the Frequency of your Service in Assembly, since I am very sensible of the *Trouble* and *Charge* it contracts upon the Country: But the Motives being considered, and that you must have met of Course in the next Month, I hope you will not think it an *Hardship* now. The Reason that hampers your Sessions, is the Necessity I am under, through the Endeavours of the Enemies of the Prosperity of this Country, to go for *England*, where, taking Advantage of my Absence, some have attempted by false or unreasonab! Charges to undermine our Government, and thereby the True Value of our *Labours* and *Property*. Government having been our first Encouragement, I confess I cannot think of such a Voyage without great Reluctancy of Mind, having promised my self the Quietness of a Wilderness, and that I might stay so long at least with you, as to render every Body entirely easie and safe. For my *Heart* is among you, as well as my *Body*, whatever some People may please to think, and no Unkindness or Disappointment shall (with Submission to God's Providence) ever be able to alter my Love to the Country, and Resolution to return and settle my Family and Posterity in it; but having Reason to believe I can at this Time best serve you and my self on that Side of the Water, neither the *Rudeness* of the *Season*, nor *Tender Circumstances* of my Family can overrule my *Inclinations* to undertake it.

Think therefore, (since all Men are Mortal) of some suitable Expedient and Provision for your Safety, as well in your Priviledges as Property, and you will find me ready to comply with whatsoever may render us happy by a nearer Union of our Intereits.

Review again your Laws; propose new Ones that may better your Circumstances, and what you do, do it quickly, remembering that the Parliament sits the End of the next Month, and that the sooner I am there, the safer I hope we shall be here.

I must recommend to your Serious Thoughts and Care, the King's Letter to me for the Assistance of *New-York*, with Three Hundred and Fifty Pounds Sterling, as a *Frontier Government*; and therefore exposed to a much greater Expence in Proportion to other *Colonies*, which I called the last Assembly to take into their Consideration, and they were pleased for the Reasons then given to refer to this.

I am also to tell you the good News of the Governour of *New-York* his happy Issue of his Conferences with the Five Nations of *Indians*, that he hath not only made Peace with them, for the King's Subjects of that Colony; but (as I had by some Letters before desired him) for those of all other Governments under the Crown of *England* on the Continent of *America*, as also the Nations of *Indians* within those Respective Colonies: Which certainly Merits our Acknowledgements.

I have done, when I have told you, that *Unanimity* and *Dispatch* are the *Life* of *Business*, and that I desire and expect from you, for your own Sakes, since it may so much contribute to the Disappointment of those that too long have fought the Ruin of our young Country.

The

The Assembly's Address to the GOVERNOUR.

May it please the Proprietary and Governour!

WE have this Day in our Assembly read thy Speech delivered (Yesterday) in Council; and having duly considered the same, cannot but be under a deep sense of Sorrow for thy Purpose of so speedily leaving us, and at the same Time taking Notice of thy Paternal Regard to us and our Posterity, the Freeholders of this Province and Territories annexed, in thy Loving and kind Expressions of being ready to comply, with whatsoever Expedient and Provisions we shall offer for our Safety as well in Priviledges as Property, and what else may render us happy in a Nearer Union of our Interests; Not doubting the Performance of what thou hast been so lovingly pleased to promise, do in much Humility, and as a Token of our Gratitude, return unto thee the unfeigned Thanks of this House.

The Assemblies
Address to the
Governour.

Subscribed by Order of the House,

Joseph Grawdon, Speaker.

The next Month he took Shipping for England, and safely arrived at Portsmouth, about the Middle of December; and the same Month came up to London: After his Return, the Bill, which, through his Friends Solicitations, had been postponed the last Sessions of Parliament, was wholly dropt, and no farther Progress made in that Affair.

His Return to
England.

About two Months after this viz. On the eighth of the Month called March 1701-2 K. William died; and the Princess Ann of Denmark, ascended the Throne, who began her Reign with Moderation and Clemency, and declared for maintaining the Act of Toleration. Our Author, being in the Queen's Favour, was often at Court, and for his Conveniency took Lodgings at Kensington; where he writ *More Fruits of Solitude*, being, a second Part of *Reflections and Maxims relating to the Conduct of humane Life*. After which he removed to Knightsbridge over against Hyde-Park Corner, where he resided for some Years.

K. William's
Death and
Q. Ann's Ac-
cession to the
Throne.

About this Time a Bill to prevent Occasional Conformity was brought into the House of Commons, on which Occasion he writ a Sheet entituled, *Considerations upon the Bill against Occasional Conformity*.

1702.
Occasional
Conformity
Bill.

In the Year 1703 he writ a Preface to a Book published by Dan. Philips, M. D. entituled *Vindiciæ Veritatis*, being a Defence of the Quaker's Principles, from the Misrepresentations of John Stillingfleet, a Clergyman in Lincolnshire: And in the same Year he published a Preface to a Collection of Charles Marshall's Writings, entituled *Zion's Travellers comforted*: And in the next Year, a Preface to the *Written Labours of John Whitehead*: all which the Reader may find in the Front of the Books they were designed for.

1703.
He publishes
Prefaces to se-
veral Books.

Anno 1705, he writ a short Epistle by way of Exhortation to his Friends the Quakers, being as follows, viz.

1704.
1705.

My Dear Friends!

HOLD all your Meetings in that which sat them up, the Heavenly Power of God, both Ministers and Hearers, and live under it, and not above it, and the Lord will give you Dominion over that which seeks to draw you again into Captivity to the Spirit of this World, under divers Appearances. That the Truth may shine through you in Righteousness and Holiness, in self denial, Long Suffering, Patience, and Brotherly Kindness, so shall you approve your selves the redeemed of the Lord, and

An Epistle to
his Friends
called Qua-
kers.

1705

his living Witnesses in and to an Evil Generation. So prays your Friend and Brother through the many Tribulations that lead to the Rest and Kingdom of God.

William Penn.

He again visits the Western Parts of England.

1706

He settles at Brentford.

1707

He is unhappily involved in a Suit of Law.

1708

In this Year he again visited the Meetings of his Friends in the Western Parts of England; where he had good Service, and his Testimony was effectual to the Information of many.

In the Year 1706, he removed with his Family to a convenient Habitation, about a Mile from Brentford, and eight from London, where he dwelt some Years; and frequently attended the Meeting at Brentford, which his Friends, as well for the Accommodation of his Family, as the General Service of their Persuasion, then first appointed to be held there once a Month.

In the Year 1707, He was unhappily involved in a Suit of Law with the Executors of a Person who had been formerly his Steward, against whose Demands he thought both Conscience and Justice required his Endeavours to defend himself. But his Cause, (though many thought him aggrieved) was attended with such Circumstances, as that the Court of Chancery did not think it proper to relieve him, wherefore he was obliged to dwell in the Old Bailey within the Rules of the Fleet, some Part both of this and the next ensuing Year, until such Time as the Matter in Dispute was accommodated.

1709.

His last Travels in the Work of the Ministry.

1710.

He removes to Rushcomb.

1711.

His Preface to John Banks's Journal the last Piece he Publish'd.

Now although the Infirmities of old Age began to visit him, and to lessen his Abilities of continuing his Service in the Work of the Ministry with his wonted Alacrity; yet he travelled, as his Strength and Health would admit, into the West of England, as also the Counties of Berks, Buckingham, Surry and other Places.

In the Year 1710, The Air near London not being agreeable to his declining Constitution, he took an handfom Seat at Rushcomb near Twyford in Buckinghamshire, where he had his Residence during the Remainder of his Life,

In the Year 1711, The Works of an Ancient Friend of his, John Banks, being ready for the Press, he dictated to a Person that wrote it from his Mouth (as he walked to and fro with his Cane in his Hand, and gave occasional Answers to other Matters intervening) the following Preface, which being the last Piece he published, and observable for its Concise and Pithy Expressions, we here insert;

The Preface to John Banks's Journal

Friendly Reader,

THE Labours of the Servants of God ought always to be precious in the Eyes of his People, and for that Reason, the very Fragments of their Services are not to be lost, but gathered up for Edification; and that is the Cause we expose the following Discourses to publick View: And I hope it will please God to make them effectual, to such as seriously peruse them; since we have always found the Lord ready to second the Services of his Worthies, upon the Spirits of the Readers, not suffering that which is his own to go without a Voucher in every Conscience, I mean those Divine Truths it has pleased him to reveal among his Children by his own blessed Spirit, without which No Man can rightly perceive the Things of God, or be truly Spiritually-Minded, which is Life and Peace. And this indeed is the only Beneficial Evidence of Heavenly Truths, which made that Excellent Apostle say in his Day, We know that we are of God, and that the whole World lieth in Wickedness: For in that Day, True Religion and undefiled before God and the Father, consisted in visiting the Fatherless and Widows in their Afflictions, and keeping unspotted from the World

World, not only a *Godly Tradition* of what others have enjoyed; but the *Experimental Enjoyment* and Knowledge thereof, by the *Operation* of the *Divine Power* in their own Hearts, which makes up the *Inward Jew*, and *Accomplish'd Christian*, whose praise is not of *Men* but of *God*: Such are *Christians* of *Christ's* making, that can say with the *Apostle*, *It is not we that live, but Christ that liveth in us*, dying daily to *Self*, and rising up through *Faith* in the *Son of God*, to *Newness of Life*, Here *Formality* bows to *Reality*, *Memory* to *Feeling*, *Letter* to *Spirit*, and *Form* to *Power*; which brings to the *Regeneration* without which no *Man* can inherit the *Kingdom of God*; and by which he is enabled in every *Estate* to cry, *Abba Father*: Thou'lt see a great deal of this in the following *Author's Writings*; and that he rightly began with a just *Distinction* between *True Wisdom* and the *Fame of Wisdom*, what was of *God*, and taught of *God*, and of *Man*, and taught by *Man*, which at best is a *Sandy Foundation* for *Religion* to be built upon, or rather the *Faith* and *Hope* of *Man* in Reference to *Religion*, and *Salvation* by it. And, oh, that none who make *Profession* of the *Dispensation* of the *Spirit*, may build beside the *Work of Jesus Christ* in their own *Souls*, in Reference to his *Prophetical, Priestly and Kingly Office*, In which *Regard* *God* his *Father* gave him as a tried *Stone*, *Elect* and *Precious*, to build by and upon: Concerning which great and *Glorious Truth*, we do most humbly beseech the *Almighty*, who is *God of the Spirits of all Flesh*, the *Father of Light and Spirits*, to ground and establish all his *Visited* and *convinced Ones*, that they may grow up an *Holy House* and *Building* to the *Lord*; so shall *Purity, Peace* and *Charity* abound in the *House* and *Sanctuary* that he hath pitched and not *Man*.

Now as to this worthy *Man*, the *Author* of the following *Treatises*, I hope I may without *Offence* say, his *Memorial* is blessed, having known him above forty four *Years*, an *heavenly Minister* of *Experimental Religion*, of a sound *Judgment* and pious *Practice*, valiant for the *Truth* upon the *Earth*, and ready to serve all in the *Love* and *Peace* of the *Gospel*. He was amongst the first in *Cumberland* that received the *Glad Tidings* of it, and then readily gave up, with other *Brethren*, to declare to others, what the *Lord* had done for their *Souls*.

Thus I first met him, and as I received his *Testimony* through the *Savour* of *Life*, so I was kindly accepted and encouraged by him in the *Belief* of the *Blessed Testimony* of the *Light, Spirit, Grace* and *Truth* of *Christ* in the inward *Parts*, reproving, instructing, reforming and redeeming those *Souls* from the *Evil of the World* that were obedient thereunto: Here he was a *Strength* to my *Soul*, in the early *Days* of my *Convincement*; together with his *Dear* and faithful *Friend, Brother*, and fellow *Traveller, John Wilkinson* of *Cumberland*, formerly a very zealous and able *Independent Minister*.

And as I hope this *Piece* of *Labour* of our *Ancient Friend and Brother* will find *Acceptance* every where among *God's People*. So I hope it will be more especially acceptable in the *North*, where he began and had his early *Services*; and in the *West*, where they were *Witnesses* of his *Care* to preserve good *Order* in the *Church*.

Now, *Reader*, before I take my *Leave* of thee, let me advise thee to hold thy *Religion*, in the *Spirit*, whether thou prayest, praisest, or ministerest to others; Go forth in the *Ability* *God* giveth thee, presume not to awaken thy *Beloved* before his *Time*; Be not thy own in thy *Performances*, but the *Lord's*; and thou shalt not hold the *Truth* in *Unrighteousness*, as too many do, but according to the *Oracle* of *God*, that will never *Leave* nor forsake them, who will take *Counsel* at it, which, that all *God's People* may do, is and hath long been the earnest *Desire*, and fervent *Supplication* of theirs and thy faithful *Friend* in the *Lord Jesus Christ*.

1712.

He is taken
with Apoplec-
rick Fits.

In the Year 1712 He was seized at distant Times, with three several Fits, supposed to be *Apoplectick*, by the last of which, tho' beyond all Probability or Expectation he survived it, his *Understanding* and *Memory* were so impaired as to render him incapable of *Publick Action* for the future: Nevertheless we shall continue our Annals to the Close of his Days, from the Accounts an *Intimate Friend* hath left of his *Condition* at the Visits he *Tearly* made him.

1713.

His Memory
Weak.

In the third Month 1713 The aforesaid Friend being at his House some Days, found him to Appearance pretty well in health, and *Cheerful* of *Disposition*, but *defective* in *Memory*, so that though he could relate many past *Transactions*, yet could he not readily recollect the *Names of Absent Persons*: nor could he deliver his Words so readily as heretofore; yet many *sensible*, and *savoury Expressions* came from him, rendring his Company even yet acceptable, and manifesting the *Religious Settlement* and *Stability* of his Mind.

1714.

His Health
much in the
same State as
last Year.

At a Second Visit made him in the Spring, 1714, He was very little altered from what he had been the last Year. The Friend accompanied him in his Chariot to *Reading Meeting*, where he spake several *Sensible Sentences*; but was not able to say much. At parting he took Leave of his Friends with much *Tenderness* and *Affection*.

1715.

His Memory
yet more defi-
cient.

In the Year 1715 His *Memory* became yet more deficient, but his Love to, and his *Sense of Religious Enjoyments* apparently continued, for he still often went in his Chariot to the Meeting at *Reading*, and there sometimes uttered short, but very *Sound* and *Savoury Expressions*. One Morning, while the Friend was at his House, being about to go to the Meeting, he expressed his *Desires to the Lord*, that they might receive some good from him. This Year he went to the *Bath*, but the Waters there proved of no Benefit to his long continued *Distemper*.

1716.

He was very
weak, and
could not
know his
Friends by
Name.

In the Year 1716, The said Friend and another went to visit him, at whose Coming he seemed Glad, and though he could not then remember their Names, yet, by his Answers, it appeared he knew their Persons: He was now much weaker than last Year, but still expressed himself sensibly at Times, and particularly took his Leave of them at their going away in these Words, *My Love is with you; The Lord preserve you, and remember me in the Everlasting Covenant*.

1717.

His Strength
of Body much
decayed.

In the 5th Month 1717 being the last Visit the said Friend made him, he found his *Understanding* so much *weakened*, as that he scarce knew his old Acquaintance, and his *Bodily Strength* so much decayed, that he could not well walk without leading; nor scarce express himself intelligibly.

1718.

His Death and
Burial.

After a continued and Gradual Declension for about six Years, his Body drew near to it's *Dissolution*; and on the Thirtieth Day of the fifth Month, 1718, in the Seventy Fourth Year of his Age, his Soul, prepared for a more *Glorious Habitation*, forsook the *decayed Tabernacle*, which was committed to the Earth on the fifth of the Sixth Month following at *Jordans* in *Buckinghamshire*, where his former Wife and several of his Family had been before interred.

The Conclusion.

As he had led in this Life, a *Course of Patient Continuance in Well-doing*, and thro' Faith in our Lord *Jesus Christ*, had been enabled to overcome the *World*, the *Flesh* and the *Devil*, the grand Enemies of *Man's Salvation*; he is, we doubt not, admitted to that *Everlasting Inheritance*, which God hath prepared for his People, and made Partaker of the *Promise of Christ*, Rev. 3. 21. *To him that overcometh will I grant to sit with me in my Throne, even as I also overcame, and am set down with my Father in his Throne*.

The End of the Author's Life.

A N
APPENDIX
TO THE
AUTHOR'S LIFE.

To the Lord Arlington.

No. I.

*A Letter to the
Lord Arling-
ton.
Life, p. 6.*

I Know none to whom this Paper may so properly be directed as thy self: For as thou art *Principal Secretary of State*, the Person to whom I surrendred my self, by whose *Warrant* I was committed, and who was pleased to come to this Place to take my Examination about a Note that was by some suspected to have dropt from me the Day of my Surrender; so the Great Civility I found, and Candid Promises thou wast pleas'd to give me, of thy Assistance, as well there as here, are great Encouragements not only to present thee with this *Brief Remonstrance*, which by the Mouth of one of thy Attendants may easily be run over, but to expect an Answer altogether suitable.

Truly were I as *Criminal* as my Adversaries have been pleased to represent me, it might become me to bear my present Sufferings, without the least Resentment of *Injustice done*: And to esteem a *Vindication of my Cause*, an *Aggravation of my Guilt*: But since it is so Notorious, that Common Fame hath maliciously belied me, and that from invincible Testimonies I stand not Guilty of what my Adversaries would have so peremptorily fastned on me, confessing that *Eternal Deity of Christ*: And what better Interpretation can be given of their *Zeal*, than meer Peevishness, and their great *Learning* than foul Ignorance. Strange, that Menesteem'd *Christians*, should seem to indefatigable in Writing, Preaching, and Discourfing down the Reputation of an innocent Man, by the most foul Aspersions, black Characters, and exasperating Imputations, that Spirits most incendiary could invent or collect; in a Word, to banish me the *World*, forbid me Heaven, and furiously denounce me sequestred of *All*, with the Reserve of *Hell* only, and there it self have entitled me to the last and most dismal Station. But what is more admirable, those very Persons have all this While mistaken the very Question, and in Reality have been accusing their own Shadows, making me suffer their Punishment, who least of all, sincerely, am concerned in their Heat. Others there be, I know, who

————— *Crimina Rafis*

Librant in Antithetis —————

can insinuate their Displeasure under more plausible Expressions,

————— *doctas posuisse figuras*

Laudantur —————

and consequently more securely to themselves, though less to me, may obtain their Ends: But to indulge those poor Pretences, and give Reception to those Threadbare and Hackney Phrases of *Seditious Fellow*, *Erro-*

neous Person, Fattious, and Troublesom to the State, under the Counterfeit of Illumination, &c. methinks needs not a Jury of Twelve to convict them of very great Indiscretion; as well as I am perswaded they have no Room with thee. However, mine Adversaries Ammunition hath been worse bestow'd than upon Woollacks, who have, alas, got to their old Whimfies of fancying Enemies in the Air, whercin they have been so hotly skirmishing, that hard it is to persuade them they only Dream, and make Reality of Fictions: My common Residence is on a more Solid Bottom: But as I am willing to believe had my Innocency been well observed, my Confinement should not have given so great an Approbation of their Impostures: So on the other Hand since they are unquestionably manifested to be such, and that the more moderate of the Authors have given their Retractions in publick Conversation, expressing their great Trouble to have so readily entertained and promoted such foul Aspersions, to the incensing of the Civil Magistrate against me; the Cause, I say, being thus remov'd, it is Time the undeserv'd Effect should cease, otherwise my Liberty seems to be sacrific'd to the Inordinate Passions of the most inveterate Part of a Faction, or strongly to confirm those in their Conjectures and Reports, who confidently have told it up and down, that my Restraint is not continued on any Religious Matter, but for some Points deeply concerning the Safety of the King, both most unworthy the Equity, Greatness, and Honour of Authority: But alas! Shall these impudent Forgeries, and malicious Aggravations, longer prevail against a Man that hath Broke no Law, despis'd no Government, dethron'd no Deity, subverted no Faith, Obedience, or good Life; but in Words and Actions hath incessantly endeavour'd the effectual Promotion of all.

What if I differ from some Religious Apprehensions? Am I therefore incompatible with the being of Humane Societies? Shall it not be remember'd with what Success, Kingdoms and Common-Wealths have lived under the Ballance of diverse Parties? And if the Politicks of the most Judicious and Acute Inquisitors after these Affairs are of any Worth, they are not at a Stand in delivering their Sense with great Sharpness, That it is the securest Prop of all Monarchical Governments. Let it not be forgotten, that under the Jewish Constitution, the utmost they required from Strangers, to entitle them to Freedom, was an Acknowledgment to their Noachical Precepts, (never denied by me,) nor was it better with them in latter Days, than whilst the Pharisees, Scribes, Essenes, Sadducees, &c. had the Free Exercise of their Consciences, all differing among themselves. Neither was it otherwise amongst the Infidels: Who knows not that almost every Family and Tribe in Rome, had its particular Sacra? Nay, the Egyptian Isis and Serapis, obtain'd a Place for publick Temples, and Divine Honours among those Wise People. Nor can I omit the great Candor of (that otherwise most inhuman) Tiberius to the Christians, who, if Eusebius Pamphilus be to be credited, not only made it Death for any to persecute the Christians, but had a rare good Opinion of CHRIST, and the Christian Faith, though both were so immediately destructive of his Religion and the whole World's. Nay, since the Christian Times, Who is not a Stranger to Ecclesiastical Story, and doth not know the Great Variety of Opinions that reigned in Egypt, Constantinople, Antioch and Alexandria, indeed, where not? Nor do I read it ever enter'd into the Hearts of any to molest them. And had not Secular Power been the Diana and Great Goddess courted by the Arrians and Anti-Arrians, they might have liv'd with great Security in their Sentiments, and not have troubled the whole World, and perplex'd themselves for so many Ages. And they who will reflect upon the Carriage of both those Parties, may find Reasons enough to dread the Apprehensions of a Faction, and palpably discover and read the Natural, but Fatal Consequences that unavoidably follow the Exaltation of a single Party, to the Detriment of others, rather than to keep a moderate and well-advised Ballance upon all. This Maxim Socrates Scholasticus reports to have been not unseen, nor wholly unpractis'd by

by the great Wisdom of the Emperour *Jovianus*, first suggested by his beloved Friend and Philosopher, *Themistius*, whose Time, though short, had a most differing Success from all that went before, or follow'd after him, and more than a little confirms my present Consideration. I shall omit the Recital of latter and present Testimonies: In *Europe* they are fresh, and in our Sight: It is not the Property of *Religion* to *Persecute Religion*; that scorns to employ those Weapons to her Defence, that others have us'd to her Depression. It is Her Priviledge alone to conquer naked of Force or Artifice: And that Person who hath not the Election of his Religion, hath none.

For my own Part, I know not any unfit for *Political Societies*, but those who maintain Principles destructive of *Industry, Fidelity, Justice*, and *Obedience*, in all Matters relative of them, (wherefore the *Romans* exil'd their *Mathematicos*) which neither my self, nor any *Quaker* living, can with any Shew of Reason be charged withal. But to conceit that Men must form their Faith of Things proper to another World, by the Prescriptions of Mortal Men, or else they can have no right to *Eat, Drink, Sleep, Walk, Trade, be at Liberty*, or *Live in this*, to me seems both ridiculous and dangerous. Since it is most certain, the Understanding can never be convinced by other Arguments than what are adequate to its own Nature; which Force is so remote from, that as it abundantly expresseth Passion or Ignorance in those who use it, so experimentally do we find, that it is not only unsuccessful, by confirming Persons that really have Reasons on their Side, but greatly obdures also the Unreasonable, who forget their own Weakness, by gazing on their Persecutors, being well assured, that whosoever is in the Right, he always is in the Wrong, that by *Club-Law* and *Corporal Extremities* thinks to illuminate and convince the Understanding: It may make *Hypocrites*, no *Converts*; and if I am at any Time convinc'd, I'll pay the Honour of it to TRUTH, and not to base and timorous Hypocrisy. Nor indeed are such Inquiries Material, as well as that it is unlawful to make so diligent Search for Conscience, and that in Case they find her without the Mark of publick Allowance, and that she pays no Custom, she must be there forfeited. For who loves to ask at any Shop of what *Religion* the Master is, and not rather what is his *Price* for this or that Commodity? It therefore greatly were the King's Interest to clear the Prisons of all Conscientious Persons, especially since Uniformity of Mind is not less impossible in all Punishments, than is exact Resemblance in Visage, and Men must be new made in both Respects, before they can be chang'd to gratify such Desires.

However my Case is singular, since wholly Guiltless of what was charg'd against me; and if the Observation of *Tacitus* on *Lingonius's* various Case be of any Force, who, though he did deserve Punishment inflicted, yet because it was done without Examination, and due Conviction, saith *Tacitus*, *He suffer'd unlawfully*. Then for a greater Reason must my Confinement seem injurious, who have been shut up above these Six Months, under a strict and close Imprisonment, from many common Comforts, and necessary Concerns of Life, without the least Formal Cause or Reason why exhibited against me, contrary, I conceive, to the *Natural Priviledge of an Englishman*.

My Hopes are, I shall not longer continue a Prisoner, meerly to assure the World I am not innocent of what in very Truth I am not Guilty, nor yet that Matters of lighter Moment be sought to prolong my Restraining, because as yet there is no Law to deprive an inoffensive *Englishman* of so great and eminent a Right as *Liberty*: Since this were too nearly to resemble the lamentable Case of the *Innocent Daughter of Guilty Sejanus*, who because the *Roman* Laws allow'd not Virgins to be strangled, was first deflowred, that she might be. My Life shall go before my Chastity, let Men contrive what they will. But above all, methinks the Name *Christian*, imports so Holy, so Just, and so Condescending a Disposition, that these Severities can have no Plea from such as have truly en-

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'titled themselves unto it. For my own Share, as it is my Principle (as I have declar'd) to live my self, and encourage others in the Pursuit of Just, Sober, and Industrious Courses (which are the true Grounds of all Civil Societies, and only Ways to their Prosperity) so in whatever I differ from the Publick Establishment, it shall never find me remiss therein.

'But I beseech thee to intreat the King on my Account, not to believe every Man to be his Enemy, that cannot shape his Conscience by the narrow Forms and Prescripts of Men's Inventions; and the Personal Obligations, besides the publick Respect that I owe him, but above all, the *Holy Forgiving Truth* I profess, will never admit of such a Thing; nor do we own One Principle that will not, instead of acting us to his Prejudice, at all Times in our Stations, fit us to dispute with any (in Civil Matters) the first Place of Obedience to his Commands, our Consciences being left unprescrib'd.

'To conclude: Since my Adversaries have overshot the Mark, that the Accusation is fictitious, and many of them have publickly retracted their first Opinions of the Matter, after so strict an Imprisonment, without any Legal Cause, or Just Procedure, contrary to the Privileges of every *Englishman*, as well as the Meekness, Forbearance, and Compassion inseparable from True Christianity; I think it's Time, and I desire I may be order'd a Release to follow my ordinary Employments; but if it should yet be scrupled, or denied upon the least Dissatisfaction unremov'd, I intreat the Favour of Access to the King, where I shall freely and justly answer to all such Interrogatories as may concern my present Case: Or if that will not be allow'd, that it would please thee to give me a full Hearing to all such Objections as may be thought to carry any Weight; that so if I must remain a Prisoner, it may be known for what; and in the mean Time that such Liberty may be granted me, as is Customary for other Prisoners to enjoy, after the first or second Month of their Imprisonment, the Season especially considered.

'I make no *Apology* for my Letter as a Trouble, the usual Stile of Suppliants, because I think the Honour that will accrue to thee, by being just, and releasing the Oppressed, exceeds the Advantage that can succeed to me: *Worthy and Generous Minds* gladly embrace Occasions to assist the *Helpless*, and then are most ready to afford them their Assistance, when nothing is to be got besides the *Hazard* of expressing it. And I am well assured the *Kindness* and *Justice* I shall please thee to employ on that Account, can never miss of a plentiful Reward from God, and Praise of all Virtuous Men.

1st of the 5th Month,
1669.

Thy True Friend, who suffers wrongfully, which the
Lord God forgive, if He so please,

W. P.

No. II.

A Letter to the
Vice Chancellor
of Oxford.
Life, p. 36.

To P. M. Vice-Chancellor of Oxford.

Shall the multiplied Oppressions which thou continuest to heap upon Innocent English People, for their Peaceable Religious Meetings, pass unregarded by the Eternal God? Dost thou think to escape His fierce Wrath and dreadful Vengeance, for thy ungodly and illegal Persecution of his poor Children; I tell thee, No: Better were it for thee, thou hadst never been born, Poor Mushroom, Wilt thou War against the Lord, and lift up thy self in Battel against the Almighty? Canst thou frustrate His Holy Purposes, and bring His Determinations to Nought? He hath decreed to exalt Himself by us, and to propagate His Gospel to the Ends of the Earth; therefore dread to obstruct His Mighty Work, and repent of thy proud, peevish, and Bitter Actings: If by any Means thou mayst be forgiven of the Lord, and find Mercy with the God of our Salvation; otherwise His Righteous Judgments will lay hold on thee, and thou shalt be made to know, that He, the Great Jehovah,

Rules

Rules amongst those of the Children of Men, whom thou robbest and persecutest, yea, the Laws of the Land will rise up in Judgment, in due Time against thee, to the disgracing and punishing of thee, and the Rest of thy Tyrannical Oppressing Brethren, who make your own Wills Laws to undo Persons, and whole Families by: Is this according to the Gospel, and Precepts, and Practice of the patient suffering Lamb of GOD, CHRIST JESUS, and His poor Disciples? Incarnate Devils do no worse.

O the piercing Lips of the Needy and of the Oppressed daily, because of these Things, verily they have entered the Ears of the Great God of Sabbath, and because thereof, do His Destroying Judgments impend this Voluptuous, Wanton, Evil World, afflicting the Innocent: And if thou goest on, and returnest not their own, whilst thou suffereest the Vain, Prodigal, and Lascivious to go unpunished there, thou shalt be overwhelmed with the Rest of that persecuting Cain-like Race, in the Valley of Armageddon, where God, the Righteous Judge, will plead with all Flesh.

This Reproof and Caution take from One, who is above the Fear of Man, whose Breath is in his Nostrils, and must one Day come to Judgment; because he only fears the Living God that made the Heavens and the Earth, the Sea, and the Fountains of Waters.

Oxford, the Ninth
Month, 1670.

William Penn.

To Dr. Hasbert, Physician at the City of Embden.

No. III.

Dear Friend,

I Have very often remembered thee in the deep Sense of that weighty Love of God, which His Heavenly Truth raised in my Heart to visit thee in; earnestly praying in Spirit, that thou might'st receive a clear Understanding of that Blessed Way of Life and Salvation, which he hath counted a Remnant worthy both to know and to suffer for in this Day: Glory and Everlasting Honour to His Most Holy Name. O my Friend, it is my Heart's Desire to the Lord, that He would preserve thee Simple, Upright and Constant in the Obedience to that Measure of the Heavenly Light, wherewith the God and Father of Light hath illuminated thee; and unto which thou art now turned, in which as thou abidest with thy Mind rightly exercised in the Fear and Dread of the Lord God, thou wilt be preserved out of the Vain Janglings of the angry, peevish, and perverse Professor, and kept clean from the Sins and Pollutions that are in the Prophane World. O, how many profess GOD and CHRIST, according to the Historical Knowledge of both, but never come to the Mystical and Experimental Knowledge of them: No, it is utterly impossible, that any Thing should bring to the Internal Knowledge, and Experience of the Work and Will of God, but the Light and Spirit only by an Inward Revelation and Operation: And such as intitle themselves to Christianity, whilst Strangers to the Terrors of the Lord for Sin, and to a Purgation from it, by the Fiery Trials of His Inward Judgments, as well as outward Tribulations (who is as Refiners Fire, and as Everlasting Burnings to all the Workers of Iniquity;) they are of the Synagogue of Satan, and Subjects of the God of this World, whose Throne is in the Hearts of the Children of Disobedience unto the Heavenly Light within: And therefore in the Name and Authority of the Lord God of Heaven and Earth, I testify, that the Way for every Man and Woman to come to God (whom Darkness can have no Access to, for to it is he inaccessible) is to bring his or her Deeds to the Light in him or her self, and see if they be wrought in God, or by Him: If they be, the Fire cannot consume the Pure Gold; if they be not, Judgment with the Light will pass on God's Behalf upon the Creature, from whence there is no Appeal, without due Repentance and turning to the Light, in it to walk in Thought, Word, and Deed, in which the Nations of them that be saved, must walk and live for ever.

*

X 2

And

A Letter to
Dr. Hasbert,
Physician at
Embsden.
See Life, p. 44.

No. III.

And because of the Righteous Judgment this Heavenly Light brings, (for, for Judgment is it come into the World) upon the Professor, that is at Ease in the outward Courts of Profession (that were given to the Gentiles to tread down, and which were left out in the measuring the Evangelical Temple of God) therefore is he so nettled, vext, and in Enmity, saying, You deny the Scriptures; you renounce Christ; you set up your own Works, and your Light is insufficient, with such like. O, but the Wise Man loves Reproof, and the Way thereof is Life to his Upright Soul: But this thou must expect from the Carnal, Fleshly, and Historical Christian of the Outward Courts, and Suburbs of Religion, who is an Enemy to the Spiritual Seed, that sees to the End of all Meats, Drinks, Washings, Figures, and Bodily Exercises: But as thy Mind is kept stayed upon the Light, thou wilt have a good Understanding given to thee, and a right Discerning, whereby to comprehend and confound all that which may let or stop, whether it be within, or whether it be without: For this know, that the very same Principle that gives Light, administers Strength, Knowledge, Life, Raiment, and all that shall or can be needed in the Spiritual Journey to the Eternal Rest: So, Dear Friend, unto that I recommend thee, beseeching thee to dwell in it, for by it are all Things, that are either Reproveable or Justifiable, made manifest, and whatsoever can be known of God (whom to know effectually is Life Eternal) is manifested within. And, O the Peace! O the Joy! O the Heavenly Refreshment that they Witness, that know a Passing, (not from one Form to another) but from Death and Darknes, unto Life and Light, and are in the Spiritual Travail from Egypt's Land, through the State of Condemnation for Sin (which is Moses in Spirit) unto Justification, through Life Eternal, which is the Gift of God by Jesus Christ. The Lord God Eternal preserve thee, and keep thee stayed in thy Mind out of all Wandrings, Doubtings or Murmurings, in Holy Faith, Resignation and Patience, till thou witnessest His Kingdom to be come, and His Will to be done on Earth as it is in Heaven; that so thou mayst be a Spiritual Candle in thy Place, giving Light in the Life of Righteousness, to the Eclipsing of all the dim Appearances of the Formal Righteousness, that is among the Carnal and Historical Christians there-away (who talk of Christ in swelling Words of Vanity, but leave the Cross behind) which they are to be convinced of, and condemned for by the Holy Paraclete, as well as for the grossest of their Iniquity, both being an Abomination to the Lord. And if thou dost freely give up, counting nothing dear, to answer the Lord's Heavenly Visitation of Love and Light unto thee, by living in the Cross to the Sin, Righteousness and Judgment that are of this World, and testifying to the Spiritual invisible Way of Salvation, as in the Light thou hast received, and yet mayst receive Experimental Knowledge, Glory, Immortality, and Eternal Life will be thy Inheritance, when Time shall be no more: Only this I would leave in Caution with thee, think not that thou hast attained all that in the Holy Vision of Light may be presented to thee, but rather in the Light wait to feel the Heavenly Power to arise, that is able to bring into the actual Enjoyment of those States; and when thou com'st thus Experimentally to know the Work of God wrought in thy self, thou canst with Boldness speak, as one knowing whereof thou affirmest, having tasted and handled of the Word of Life, whether as an Hammer, Fire, Sword, a Walser and Reconciler.

So the Lord God of His Remnant and Children of Light, yet more and more enlighten, confirm and preserve thee in, and by His Eternal Power to the End; for they, and they only, come to be saved. I am, in the Fellowship of the Light, and Way of the Cross of Christ,

My Love is to thy Wife, and Salute me kindly to those that were at Meeting when I was at Embden.

Thy Endeared Friend,

W. P.

P O S T S C R I P T.

Such as can be baptized with that Baptism, and drink of that Cup which JESUS was baptized with, and drank deeply of, such, and such alone, shall

shall Sit at His Right Hand in the High and Heavenly Place, which is an hard Saying to all the *Notional* and *Carnal Professors* of the World; but the *Children of Light* receive it with Thanksgiving, and sanctifie God in their Hearts. *Amen.*

To Justice Fleming, a Justice of Quorum, and Deputy-Lieutenant in Westmorland.

No. IV.

*A Letter to
Justice Flem-
ing in West-
morland.
Life, p. 46.*

THE Obligation, thy Civility laid upon the Person that is now my Wife, when in the North, Anno 1664, is, with her being so, become mine. Not to acknowledge, though I could never retaliate it, were a Rudeness I have not usually been guilty of; for however differing I am from other Men, *Circa Sacra*, and that World, which, respecting Men, may be said to *Begin when this Ends*, I know no Religion that destroys *Courtesie, Civility, and Kindness*, which rightly understood, are great Indications of True Men, if not of Good Christians: Certainly there is such a Thing as *Civil Uniformity*, where a Religious One may be inobtainable, and methinks there can be nothing more irrational, than to Sacrifice the Serenity of the one, to an adventrous (if not impossible) Procurement of the other. Let Men be Men before Christians, and not repute that the best Way of making them the last, which inevitably destroys the very Constitution of the first. *Natural Affection, Quiet Living, Honest Commerce*, and an *Exemplary Life*, so strongly plead for Toleration of Opinion, that where Opinion aims not at the *Destruction of Government*, 'tis high Pity, and not a little Injustice, to molest those that are so qualified: It is not my Purpose to dispute for *Liberty of Conscience*, but recommend it. Several Discourses are extant, which with me seem irrefutable. I hope the Unsuccessfulness of such Severity as hath been acted, will be an unanswerable Argument with them to leave it, with whom other Reasons would not prevail; though I cannot think, but a Person of those Parts, several have represented thee to have, would have been satisfied with less Cost of Controversy: For indeed there can be nothing more Irrational, than to fancy, that Eternal Penalties should work right Conviction, or Information upon the Conscience in the Understanding of any. Sure I am, it is beneath the *True Religion* to do so, as well as unbecoming one that has been observed to use that ill Argument against others.

But the Scene is chang'd, and from the Severity of *Magistrates*, we are fallen under the implacable Hate and Persecution of some *Co-Dissenters*. 'Tis for our Credit they quarrel us, especially that they begin: *Truth then best advocates her Innocence unto Mens Consciences, when it is most questioned: She loses nothing by being tried, but the Wolfs-Skin, the Wolf in Sheeps Cloathing, is wont to cast upon her*: And I no Ways doubt of that Success in our Undertakings for her Defence. An *Independent*, and an *Anabaptist*, both Preachers, have lately bedited us in *Three Discourses* they have publish'd against us, 'tis said with no small Applause; but then it is to be understood with our Enemies, or such as know us not; for them we have Charity; therefore have we writ; for truly neither is the TRUTH hurt in her self, nor are we brought into the least Doubt of our *Holy Faith* by them. Our *Unhappiness* is, we are not understood, and Envy takes great Care we should not: I have sent with this our Answers: Be pleased to accept and peruse them; I hope I need not say, impartially, to a Man of so much Wisdom and Prudence. I leave the Consequence with Almighty God, to whom we must all render *Our Account for the Deeds done in this Mortal Body, whether they be Good or Evil*. Excuse my Freedom, and accept my Acknowledgment of former Favour, and be assured it shall ever meet with a grateful Return from

No. V.

TO MARY PENNYMAN.

*A Letter to
Mary Penny-
man.
Life, p. 46.*

Rickmersworth, 22d of the 9th Month, 1673.

Mary Pennyman,

I Receiv'd a Letter from thee by the Hands of T. Mudde my Neighbour: What is of Weight therein, I shall, I hope, in Truth and Righteousness answer: *First*, Thou sayst that at the Reading of what I printed against thee (to thy great Scandal) thou felt'st that Love which could forgive as oft as I so writ: *I answer*, There was no Enmity in my Heart against thee, neither did I take my Aim directly at thee, or at thy Actions: I had the *Publick Adversary* in mine Eye, who could plead a Cause he once to my Knowledge scorn'd, only to abuse and scandalize me, my Wife and Friends. What I said, I will stand by in *God's Day*; but if thou canst forgive so well (which indeed is not hard where no Offence is committed) learn thy Husband to do so, who hath been a Reviler of *Friends* behind their Back, and a Promoter of the Book, *Tyranny and Hypocrisy detested*, &c. by contributing to the Accusations therein mentioned, as himself confessed to W. P. Tell me, *Mary*, is it more *Refined Quakerism* (I use the Word *innocently*, our Adversaries *reproachfully*) to strengthen the Spirit of the World against it, and pleasure those with Arrows against us, that hate us, as being *Quakers* at all? Answer me plainly. Is not the Devil in Professors, and Profane, joyed at it? And could thy Husband, with all his pretended *Innocency* and *Spirituality*, dip in the Dish with these *Ishmaelites* and *Philistines*? Is it to convert People to the TRUTH, to strengthen them with Accusations against the Professors of it, who have been old publick Opposers of both, and who make no other Use of such *Informations*, than to pierce and wound the Principle through their Sides that profess it, and in all Things answer it not, as my Book often hints? Ah! *Ham's* Spirit has entred him; my Soul with Brokenness wisteth, that he might not receive *Ham's* Recompence, if it be not too late, and the Lord so please. See what *Defenders* thou hast; is it for thy Religious Credit to be propt up by such as are kind for their own Ends, and shew that Froth, Abuse, and Envy, that their Books plentifully discover? It hath wounded your Cause abundantly with all sober-minded People. Do not therefore make me the Persecutor: Thou art not clear; and thy Husband has manifested his Rage against us, by Publick and Clandestine Opposition and Insinuation; and in the *Vision of the Infinite, Eternal, Almighty God*, I testify, that the Spirit in you which hath assaulted us, is one in the Ground, though not in the Appearance, with the Spirit of *John Faldo, T. Hicks, H. Hedworth, and F. Chadwell*; for you both drive to the same End, and you equally strengthen the Spirit of this World against us: And it is Sport to that Generation, when either of you bring forth any Thing against the People called *Quakers*.

Thou sayst, it was not in thee to desire any Mortal to plead thy Cause, and thou justifiest not the doing of it: But *Mary*, some Mortals, and no more, have done it; here is, I fear, Equivocation to boot. Thou didst not desire it, but *One Good Turn requires another*, says the Proverb. Thy Husband help'd, or clos'd with them for Matter of Accusation, thereby strengthening the Hands of the Common Adversary to lay Waste *God's Heritage*: For though he pretend to be the *True Quaker*, he helpt them that deny both the *True Quaker*, and his Principle, and have writ against, despised, and persecuted both. Oh! that God would be pleased to let him see this Great Evil that he is fallen into. Now, could they do less than become your Advocates, such as they are? But, why plead? Profane not that Scripture in thy Mind, as if the Earth helped the Woman: No, No; but the Dragon doth cast forth Waters, (the Multitude) to drown us, (if possible) the *True Church* coming out of the Wilderness; but blessed be the Lord, they cannot prevail, nor shall any Weapon formed against *Sion*.

Sion. Thou sayst, thou dost not justify it; but dost thou condemn it? By no Means; for then thy Husband will come under thy Censure, who, thou sayst, is *Innocent*, which if he be, no Body is *GUILTY*.

Thou wishest I had had no Provocation: O *Mary*, Glad would I be, if this were spoken sincerely: Thou must either have been ignorant of thy Husband's Help to this Work, or else thou hast writ equivocatingly, or thou must have repented of his meddling with it; since no Man or Woman can wish a Thing not to have been, which has been, and they accessory, without Repentance or Deceit, chuse thou whither. Again, thou sayst that thou art to be tried, if thy Contentment or Delight can be placed in that which is invisible only.

Mary, thou hast been a great Trial to some of us in some Sense, and hast imaginarily brought many needless ones (perhaps) upon thyself. We are not of thy Mind; thou art not so retir'd as thou wouldst have us believe. A Rich, Young, Neat, Sparkish Husband, is a certain Visible Thing, and his Credit in the World an Appendant; and I am of the Mind, to speak plainly, that a great Part of thy Delight is lodged in him: I will speak no more, lest it be reputed offensively said, I hope I have not in saying that. But thou sayst, He is an innocent Man, and biddest me have a Care how I speak, or affirm any Thing of him, for I must give an Account of it: So I must for what I affirm of thee or any else: Is there not a singular Exaltation here? How canst thou admonish me not to be puffed up, that hast so puffed up the poor Man, that he is ever and anon ready to be cracked? Thou hast wrong'd him by these Things: I testify in the *Truth of God*, that your Humility is feigned, and your Exaltation high, and thou hast enter'd that poor Man, and help'd to his being beguiled, by swelling him beyond his Place, as if he were some God on Earth; for which Seed of the Serpent, *J. P.* has a large Ground.

Mary, be not displeas'd that I am thus plain; I should play the *Hypocrite* with thee, if I writ not as I do: Thou canst gird thyself, and speak and write smooth and soft: I am another's, and I write and speak as I feel it, and not in demure Images; the Evil One hath that Way to make his Work go for God's, who will sometimes appear Mild to Bad as well as Good, and sooner enrag'd against the Good than Bad: I call to Mind thy secret Grudgings of old, against the Generality of *Friends* that laboured, more especially thy fair Carriage and backbiting Characters, thereby thou didst shut up thy Spirit from that Fellowship, which would have been a Strength and Preservation unto thee. Thy Husband may call to mind how he used to reflect in my tender Seasons, as to *TRUTH*, upon the most *Eminent Travellers amongst us*, enough to overset so small a Sail, in so *Great a Sea of Exercise as I was in*. I had writ to your Paper against *Quaker Preachers*, and my self in particular, three or four Sheets of you both, and your Carriage within and without to Friends and others; Certainly a Smart Rod; but I had Compassion; I stayed my Hand, if yet you would mend, little expecting the Second Part to the same Ungodly Purpose; but as yet it lies by me.

In thy Advice to me, that I should have a Care of the Knowledge that puffs up, I wish I may follow it to the End: Yet this I will say, That the Knowledge of God, from the Living Witness from Thirteen Years of Age, hath been dear to me: From Sixteen I have been a great Sufferer for it: At the University, by that *Inward Work* alone, I withstood many: I never addic'd my self to *School-Learning* to understand *Religion* by, but always, even to their Faces, rejected and disputed against it: I never had any other Religion than what I felt, excepting a *Little Profession* that came with *Education*: I had no Relations that inclined to so Solitary and Spiritual a Way: I was as a Child alone; yet by the *Heavenly Opening of the Scriptures to my Understanding*, and more *immediate Inspirations*, was I confirm'd, and abundantly comforted. I was a Secret Mourner by the Waters of *Babylon*, and underwent heavy Stripes from my Relations, (afterwards by them repented of) and that frequently, only for my *Inward*

Persecution's

No. V.

Persuasion's Sake, which was too strong for all Opposition or Allurements in the End. And though I was a While in the Midst of this World's Glories, both in this and other Countries, yet it was rather to know, that I might the better condemn them with a *Vanity of Vanities*; *All is Vanity and Vexation of Spirit*, than to sit down and to be married with them. At last my Soul meeting with TRUTH, that is, the Knowledge of that *Inward Tender Principle*, that ever inclined me to Righteousness, Mercy, and Peace, to be the *Truth in the Inward Parts*, that I was to have my Regard to, I embrac'd it with Gladness of Heart, though it was as sharp to me as a well-pointed Dart, because of Iniquity. So that *Mary*, the Knowledge that puffs up, I have never been much exercised in. 'Tis not Confusing Priests, Maintaining Truth, Sound Doctrines, that puffs up: No, I can live in Love with my Brethren, and think them, as the Apostle saith, *Better than my self*. But *Mary*, exalted Apprehensions of greater Light than others; larger Discoveries than others; more Self-Denial than others; Watching for others Infirmities; and judging common Decency and Conveniency as thou must know that thou hast done; This is the Pharisee, *I am Holier than Thou*: Here's the conceited, puffed up State, of which, O, that you both, and I, and All, may have a Care of, especially of the feigned Humility, for under that seeming Nothingness, lurks the greatest Exaltation; and such by crying down all Heighth, raise themselves up higher than ever, as if others were only fit to be pitied, themselves justified and commended. I say, have thou a Care of this, and thy Husband too; and do not thou Greaten him, to obtain thy own Ends on him; for some think thou hast betrayed much of the *Simplicity* that was once in him, through thy *Fair Speeches*, and unfit Applause.

O, remember your own Infirmities, and consider your Out-goings, and lay to Heart that deep Reproach you have brought upon the *Living God, His Way and People*; and let Sorrow take hold of you for these Provocations, if yet the Lord will forgive you. Truly, my Soul is deeply affected for you, and I could say, *O that these Things might never be laid to their Charge*! But this, I of a Truth know, that through deep Judgment upon that *Watching Judging Spirit*, that has rendred others worse, and your selves better than you are, you must come; or Remission and Lasting Peace you shall never witness.

Much I could say, but at this Time my Spirit is closed: Only had *John Pennyman* sought Peace and pursued it, he would never have busied himself so much in other Folks Matters, assumed the Office of an Inquisitor, abused Men behind their Backs, have blazed abroad some Miscarriages, to confirm Professors Envious Inventions: In short, have declined meeting *G. F.* since his Return, notwithstanding his Loving Invitation; and least of all, have upbraided and reviled him, in his Letter to *John Osgood*, about the Burial of his Child, since no Man was more willing to answer what he seem'd to desire, by giving his Judgment among others so freely and meekly in that Matter.

I could rejoyce to be Serviceable to you, though in the meanest Capacity, for your Restoration, if yet it may be: But for that Spirit which hath led you into that Distance from us, GOD that lives for ever, has both clearly and frequently satisfied my Soul, in the Wrongness of it, and that it is for Eternal Judgment. Thus in Plainness, Meekness, and a true Sorrowing Love for you, I conclude this Letter, who am

Thy True Friend,

WILLIAM PENN.

To all Suffering Friends in Holland, or Germany, particularly in Fredericksstadt, and in or near Dantzick.

No. VI.

Rickmersworth 1st of the 7th Month, 1673.

My Dear Friends,

IN God's Everlasting TRUTH, and that Heavenly Power, Strength and Dominion that stands therein, doth my Soul very dearly salute you all, who have tasted of the Invisible and Heavenly Life, that is made known unto that Residue of the Woman's Seed, who have been begotten into the Living Way of Light and Righteousness: Oh, pleasant are the Outgoings of the Lord to and in His Children, whose Minds are truly staid upon Him, and are freely resigned up into his All-wise Disposal, such shall abound in the Joy of God's Salvation, even in Sufferings, Persecutions, Tribulations, yea Deaths, and every Peril that may attend your most Holy Faith. Therefore, hold up your Heads, and be ye comforted, O little Flock, your Shepherd will not fly, though the Wolf come: Know your Shepherd, and dwell with Him; and He will bring you into sweet and green Pastures, in the Midst of your Enemies. Consult not with Flesh and Blood, to know what may be the Cause of your Trials, how you may shun them, or which Way you may keep Mammon and a Good Conscience too; but Eye the Lord, without whose Providence a Sparrow falls not to the Ground. No new or strange Thing can happen unto you: Dwell in the Faith that works by Love, and that will cast out all Fear, that begets any Staggering from your Holy Testimony: Remember that many Eyes are upon you, and as you acquit your selves in this Exercise that may quickly be suffered to come upon you, so will God's TRUTH be well or ill spoken of; for People will measure your most Holy Way by you. The Way they see not, you they will behold: What know ye but the Lord is now preparing and brightning of you for farther Service, both where you live, and in other Places: Oh! in the Light of JESUS, the Just Man's Path, Live and Walk, that to the End you may endure, so shall you glorify God, answer their Labours, who have travaill'd among you, and obtain unto your Selves Eternal Salvation. So, Dear Hearts, be still, quiet, and given up in Life and Death, God's Great Work is going on: He always comes upon the World in a Storm, and sometimes to his Children, that they may be the more weaned from the World, that People may be the more stirred up to mind them, and that Truth may be more effectually manifested through their Self-Denial, Patience, and Resolution. Stand then, be valiant and keep your Minds to the invisible Life, that in the Light is felt, and then I am perswaded, Neither Principalities, nor Powers, nor Life, nor Death, nor any other Thing, shall ever be able to separate you from the Love of God, that hath been and daily is revealed to you in CHRIST JESUS, the Lamb of God, and Light of the World.

A Letter of Consolation to Suffering Friends in Holland, Germany, &c. Life p. 46.

The God of all Peace, keep your Minds and Spirits in perfect Peace amidst the greatest Troubles and Disquiets from without, that you may finish your Testimonies with us, to His Eternal Praise that hath called us, who is over every Name worthy, even God blessed for ever. Amen.

Your Fellow-feeling Brother in the Unchangeable Truth,

W. P.

POSTSCRIPT.

TRUTH greatly prevails in these Islands, and grows daily famous over the Heads of its peevish Opposers: And Friends, that have heard lately of you, Travail and Sympathize with you: You are not alone, and he that is in you is greater than he that is in the World. Farewel.

Y

To

No. VII. *To the Little Flock and Family of God, the People whom He hath called and gathered to the Knowledge and Belief of His Everlasting Way to Life and Salvation.*

Of God beloved, but of Men traduced and spoken Evil of.

As also such as have of late any Desires begotten in them after His Eternal Truth, now residing in the United Provinces, Right Understanding, Sound Faith, and Perfect Obedience, with all Spiritual Blessings be increast amongst you, according to your several Necessities.

Dear and Well-beloved Friends !

A Letter to the Little Flock and Family of God in the united Provinces.
Life p. 47.

MY True and Tender Love in God our Life, who by the Power that raised our Lord Jesus Christ from the Dead, hath quickned us unto an Hope of Eternal Felicity, when Days, and Years, and Times shall be no more, do I at this Time salute you, and the Rest of Friends in all those Parts unto whom is the issuing forth of the Light and Love of God in an abundant Manner, that you may all receive *Plentiful Redemption*, and be refreshed in Him that is an *Everlasting Fountain*, that can never be exhausted; and for the Thirsty it is set open, that who want Inward Consolation and Satisfaction for their Immortal Souls, might be abundantly replenishd with the *Living Chrysal Streams* thereof: Blessed are they of the Father of all Blessings and Mercies that have their Eye turned unto Him, that watch and wait upon Him, who dare not to offend or grieve His Good Spirit that stands ready not only to *Convince the World of Sin*, and turn many into the Way of Life; but Seal all the Faithful unto the Inheritance of Eternal Life: That as you once bore the *Earthly Image* and wore the Beasts Seal in your Foreheads, so now you may daily Witness the Renewing of the *Heavenly Image* upon you, by the Power of the Lord, inwardly felt, and a Wearing of the *Lamb's Seal* in your Foreheads by the Spirit of our God.

Oh! be not scattered from this blessed Hope, nor let the Bawlings of some Thick, Carnal, Headwise Opposers, who are more in Word than in Deed, and only skill'd in Science falsely so called (for it is filled with endless Jangles and Debates) any whit move you, my Dear Friends, from your Holy Standing; neither the Reproaches of the Prophane, nor cruel Sufferings of some Persecuting Pharisees, nor finally, the falling-away, and Treacherous Apostacy of any *Judas, Demas, or Alexander the Copper-smith*; but as Pilgrims, estranged from the Life and Spirit of this World, who are embarked for a more durable Country and Building that is *Eternal in the Heavens*, pass away your sojourning here below in Fear and Trembling, in Diligence and Godly Conversation, that so the Gospel may be adorned, the Life and Power of Godliness shine brightly forth through those black Clouds, envious Men seek to obscure and eclipse the Beauty of your Principles and Practice with, and God shall have the Glory, and you shall be preserved to His *Eternal Kingdom*: And therefore, *My Dear Friends*, have a Care of the Snares the Evil One lays in the Spirit of this World, whereby to draw out your Minds from the Heavenly Watch, against that which makes not for God's Honour and your own true Peace: That no sluggish, negligent, or Earthly Spirit overtake you, since the Heavenly Visitation has reached unto you. Neither let *Vain Thoughts* or *unnecessary Disputations* be cherished, for none of those Things make for True Comfort in the Day of God. O that the Cross of Christ may evermore be precious among you: And you whom the Lord of late hath more particularly extended His Loving Kindness unto, leave the *Dead to bury the Dead*; part with all that you may have Eternal Life: Make no Bargains of Ease for your *Flesh and Blood*, which must never *Enter into the Kingdom of God*, and whose Consultings, if you yield to them, will run you into Eternal Perdition.

Blessed

' Blessed are the Poor in Spirit, for theirs is the Kingdom of God; and a Man is then so, when he hath parted with all for Christ's Name Sake. I mean not a comfortable Livelihood, as Popish Fryars do, that they may live on the hard Labours of other Men, That is at best but the outside of the Platter; but those Fashions, Customs, Pleasures, Honours, Lusts, &c. that are from below, and formed and brought forth by the Spirit of this World, unto which the Freeborn Children of God by the Eternal Spirit have been made Strangers, not touching therewith. O let not the Foolishness of the Cross be over-reasoned, cavill'd, and disputed; a Willing Offering, resigned Spirit and contented Bearer of the Reproach of Men for Conscience-Sake, such God loves and hath in great Regard: He is a sufficient Recompence; and every light Affliction He repays with a far more exceeding Weight of Glory, even that Pure Spiritual Glory, that was with the Father e're this World began.

' O prize your precious and High Calling, and diligently seek to make your Calling and Election sure, by working out your so great Salvation by the Power and Spirit of Jesus our Lord: And as many as are led by it, are Children and Heirs, yea Coheirs of that Life and Kingdom with him, which abideth for evermore. So the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, by his Holy Arm and Power compass you about, and have your Souls and Bodies in His Keeping, that in His Fear and Love you may live towards Him and one another the Remainder of your Days; So shall Honour ascend to Him, and His Peace like a River flow amongst you to your unutterable Rejoycing, World without End.

I am your Sensible, Tender, and Sincere Friend and Brother in the Everlasting Truth, to serve you to the utmost of my Ability therein,

*From my House at Rickmersworth,
in the Nation of England, the
4th of the 10th Month
S. V. 1673.*

W. P.

TO FRIENDS in Maryland.

No. VIII.

Dear Friends,

Though unknown to you in Body, yet well known in Spirit by that Eternal Living Union and Fellowship that the Light of the Lord Jesus Christ hath brought us into, which comprehends the World, the Life, Wisdom and Works of it, and reproves them all as degenerated from the Life of God, and the Common-wealth of His blessed Spiritual Israel: And Blessed will you be for ever, as you keep therein, for a growing up into Immortality, and the Life, Peace, and Joy that are Eternal, you will Witness more and more, which is the Heavenly Durable Treasure in the earthen Vessel. In the Living Sense of His Precious Truth, and Glorious Day of Light, Life, and Love, that has dawn'd and is breaking up clearer and clearer upon us, my Soul salutes you, the honest and faithful-hearted Friends of Maryland Plantation, wishing you the Encreases of God Day by Day to the building you more and more up into the Image that is Glorious, being the express Representation of Him that hath called you, to the Hope that gives Comfort in the Day of the Lord: Oh, My Dear Friends, up and Work for the Lord God, for the despised Light and Truth of JESUS in your Day, and let not us be less Vigilant, in the Tender, Diligent, Fervent Spirit for God, than the World is for their Mammon, that so we may appear Men for God, not for our selves, minding the Things of Christ and not our own, Phil. ii. 21. So shall God's Truth spread to the utmost Parts of the Earth, and the Heathen shall become the Inheritance of that True Light that lighteth every Man that cometh into the World.

*A Letter to
Friends in
Maryland.
Life p. 47.*

No. VIII.

‘ Dear Friends, It fell to my Lot to manage your Concerns with the *Attorney General* of the Colony, and the Lord *Baltimore* about Oaths: I obtain’d to *George Fox’s* Paper the Answer endors’d on the back-side. Now my Advice to you is to represent to them,

‘ *First*, That Oaths have risen from Corruption, that Falseness, Distrust, and Jealousies brought them into the World, as say *Polybius*, *Grotius*, *Bishop Gawden*, and others; and God having redeemed you to *Truth-Speaking*, the Cause is taken away, viz. *Falshood*, Therefore the Effect by Way of Remedy, to wit, *Oaths*, should cease.

‘ *Secondly*, *Christ* expressly forbids *Swearing*, inasmuch as He doth not only prohibit *Vain Swearing*, which was already forbidden under the Law, but that *Swearing* which the Law allowed.

‘ *Thirdly*, That ’tis not only our Sense: *Polycarpus*, *Ponticus*, *Blandina*, *Basilides*, *Primitive Martyrs*, were of this Mind, and *Justin Martyr*, *Cyprian*, *Origen*, *Lactantius*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Basilius Magnus*, *Chrysostom*, *Theophylact*, *Oecumenius*, *Chromatius*, *Euthymius*, *Fathers*, so read the Text, not to mention any of the *Protestant Martyrs*. Therefore should they be Tender.

‘ *Fourthly*, There is no Injury done to the Plantation to take your Words; if any, to you that suffer the same Penalty for a Lye which is only due to *Perjury*, and which the Law without your Consent does not inflict; your Caution and Pledge for *Honesty* is as large as he that swears; for, as *Truth-Speaking* fulfills the Law, so equal Punishment with perjured Persons, satisfies it.

‘ *Lastly*, That your Coming thither as to a *Sanctuary* makes it reasonable, that they should not drive you thence for meer *Conscience* so well grounded and confirmed by *Scripture*, *Reason*, and *Authorities*. Let your *Tea*, and *Nay* be all.

‘ The Lord *Baltimore* mentioned something about your allowing some small Matter for not performing *Martial Matters*: In that be Wise, Deliberate and Passive, only if they press too hard, interpose. I suppose they will be moderate in that and all other Cases relating to you, at least I was told and assured so.

‘ I have no more, but that Truth prospers in Meetings and out of them: Our Adversaries fall before us: And the sober People of these Three Nations are open to hear, and ready both to think, and speak well of the Way of the Lord. I sent you one of *Edward Burrough’s* Books, and two small ones of my own, as a Token of my Love, which accept. So the Lord God of Eternal Strength preserve us all, *Living*, *Fresh*, *Zealous*, and *Wise* in that which is pure of Himself, which He hath shed abroad in our Hearts, to his Eternal Praise, and our Everlasting Comfort, *Amen*, *Amen*, saith my Soul.

Your Friend and Brother in the Truth, and Cause of Christ Jesus, the
Light of the World.

W. Penn.

Anno, 1673.

No. IX.

To JOHN COLLEGES.

From my House in Rickmersworth, the 22d of
the 11th Month, 1673.

John Colleges,

A Letter to
J. Colleges.
Life p. 47.

‘ Although of all Times the present may seem improper for *Englishmen* and *Protestants* to open a Gap, or whet up an Edge to Controversy, yet since so publick an Occasion hath been given by thee (a Man, I hear, under the Character of a *Doctor of Divinity*) I hope, all sober People will have me excused, that I defend my self against such scandalous Attacks, so undeserved as well as unexpected on my Part, I intend nothing bitter, or
prolix.

prolix. What may yet be needful (if any Thing after the honest and full Answer already made) is briefly this:

First, Thou introducst thy Reflection with a Design to shew what Ignorance puts Man under the State of *Damnation*; and what *Knowledge* is necessary to *Eternal Life*: Let us see if that be followed honestly and clearly, and not made a pretext for undue Censure and publick Reproach.

The Matter insisted upon relating chiefly to us on this Occasion was, *That we in common with Socinians do not believe Christ to be the Eternal Son of God*, and I am brought for Proof of the Charge. To this hath been already answered that my Book call'd, *The Sandy Foundation shaken*, toucht not upon this, but *Trinity* and *Separate Personality*, &c. But this will not serve thy Turn, thou must both accuse us, and then Wring and Rack our Books to maintain it: I have two Things to do, first, To shew I exprest nothing that divested *Christ of His Divinity*; next, Declare my True Meaning and Faith in the Matter. I am to suppose that when any *Adversary* goes about to prove his Charge against me out of my own Book, he takes that which is most to his Purpose; Now let us see what thou hast taken out of that Book so evidently demonstrating the Truth of thy Assertion: I find nothing more to thy Purpose than this, *That I deny a Trinity of separate Persons in the Godhead Ergo What? Ergo, William Penn denies Christ to be the only True God; or that Christ the Son of God is from Everlasting to Everlasting, God*. Did ever Man yet hear of such Argumentation. Doth Doctor Collenges know *Logick* no better, but (which is more condemnable in a Minister) hath he learnt *Charity* so ill? Are not *Trinity* and *Personality* one Thing, and Christ's being the *Eternal Son of God* another? Must I therefore necessarily deny His *Divinity*, because I justly reject the *Popish-School-Personality*? This favours of such Weakness, or Disingenuity, as can never stand with the Credit of so great a Scribe to be Guilty of. Hast thou never read of *Paulus Samosatenus* that denied the *Divinity of Christ*, and *Macedonius* that oppugned the *Deity of the Holy Ghost*? And dost thou in good earnest think they were one in Judgment with *Sabellius* that only rejected the *Imaginary Personality* of those Times? Who at the same Instant own'd and confess'd to the *Eternity* and *Godhead of Christ Jesus our Lord*. It is manifest then that though I may deny the *Trinity of separate Persons in One Godhead*, yet I do not consequentially deny the *Deity of Jesus Christ*.

And now I will tell thee my Faith in this Matter, I do heartily believe that *Jesus Christ* is the *Only True and Everlasting God* by whom all Things were made that are made in the Heavens above, or the Earth beneath, or the Waters under the Earth, That He is, as *Omnipotent*, so *Omniscient* and *Omnipresent*, therefore *God*: This is confest by me in two Books, printed a little before the *Sandy Foundation shaken*, viz. *Guide Mistaken*, p. 28. and *Truth exalted*, p. 14, 15. also at large in my *Innocency with her open Face*. I think I have dealt very honestly with thee, I am sure to the Satisfaction of my own Conscience, and it is not my Fault, if it be not to the better Information of thine. But as thou confessest the Scripture hath no Word for *Trinity*, so thou undertakest to prove *Personality* from it, and callest it a Foundation. But certainly this retorts with great Sharpness upon thee, for, *First*, this being a Foundation, as thou say'st, it follows that there is a Necessity of it's being known and believed in Order to *Salvation*: But I do aver, *First* that there is no Scripture for it; next, That Ten Thousands, yea, Millions of People called *Christians*, neither do understand, nor (which is more) can understand any such Thing; so mean are their Capacities, and so intricate and obscure is the Thing it self. What dangerous Enquiry, and wanton Curiosity is that, which cannot set down with this Scripture Definition, *There be Three that bear Record in Heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Spirit*? It is more truly Religious, if not to deride, at least to reject *Human Inventions and Pagan Philosophy*, the chief Ingredients that make up the *School-Definitions*, and acquiesce

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in the naked Text of Holy Writ, unless the *Comment* were more clear and unquestionable: *Clear* it is not; and for *Unquestionable*, the present Protestant Nation call it *Popery*; as if it were an infallible Mark of sound Doctrine to cry up the Fallibility of all Doctrine: A Piece of new fashion'd Divinity, that is not two Removes from *Atheism*. Next thou say'st, There be *Three individual, intelligent, incommunicable, Substances*. I never heard that asserted so plainly before. It is so far from Proving what is laid down that it seems with me to overthrow it, for I can see no Difference between *idea* and *intelligible* Being, and Substance: 'Tis true, the Schools say, the *idea*, or *Being* is communicable, but the *intelligible*, or *Substance* is incommunicable; but the very arrant Nonsense of such cleaving of Atoms appears in this, That my *Substance* is as communicable as my *Being*, and this as *incommunicable* as that, for how can my *Being* be communicated and my *Substance* incommunicated. Never scorn *Transubstantiation* while thou canst call this a *Foundation* and a *Doctrine indispensable to Salvation*. The Confusion both ancient and modern *Doctors* have been brought into by their *Human Inquisitions* after this *Mystery*, sufficiently proves, how much better it is to let it alone, for they do but fool themselves in meddling, and more in determining about Things they are at last forced to say, *They do not understand*.

For Satisfaction, thou knowest, or ought'st to do, that it is a Term belonging to the Civil Law, and was never read in Scripture: I have this to say, that the Friend took me right, namely that I chiefly opposed the Impossibility of God's otherwise pardoning, &c. And thou showest great Acquaintance with some late Writers and such too as go for no small Divines, viz. Dr. Owen, R. Ferguson, and T. Vincent, (at least the two first) that make this the only Reason why I oppose all Satisfaction, because no Divine ever asserted the Impossibility, &c. and J. Owen assures thee, if thou wilt believe him, that Zarnonitus, Casmannus, Salinacius, Pareus, Piscator, Lubartus, Lucius, Camero, Voetius, Amaraldus, Placcus, Rivetus, Walaus, Thysius, Altingus, Maresius, Essanius, Arnoldus, Turretinus, Baxter, &c. went upon that very Hypothesis that is by me oppugnd and by thy self denied: J. Owen in his Epistle to His Doctrine of the Trinity and Personality and Satisfaction of Christ. He that would not have me mistaken on purpose to render his Charge against me just, whether it be so or no, may see in my Apology for the *Sandy Foundation shaken*, that I otherwise meant than I am charactered. In short, I say both to as this and the other Point of Justification, that Jesus Christ was a Sacrifice for Sin, that he was set forth to be a Propitiation for the Sins of the whole World, to declare God's Righteousness for the Remission of Sins that are past, &c. to all that repented and had Faith in His Son. Therein the Love of God appeared, that He declared His Good-Will thereby to be reconciled, Christ bearing away the Sins that are past, as the Scape-Goat did of old, not excluding Inward Work, for till that is begun, none can be benefitted, though it is not the Work, but God's free Love that remits and blots out, of which the Death of Christ and His Sacrificing of Himself was a most certain Declaration and Confirmation. In short, that declared Remission, to all who believe and obey, for the Sins that are past, which is the first Part of Christ's Work; (as it is a King's to pardon a Traytor before he advanceth him) and hitherto the Acquittance imputes a Righteousness, (in as much as Men, on true Repentance, are reputed as clean of Guilt, as if they had never sinned) and thus far justified; But the Compleating of this by the Working out of Sin inherent, must be by the Power and Spirit of Christ in the Heart, destroying the old Man and his Deeds, and bringing in the New and Everlasting Righteousness; so that which I writ against, is such Doctrine as extended Christ's Death and Obedience, not to the first, but this second Part of Justification; not the pacifying Conscience as to past Sin, but to compleat Salvation without Cleansing and Purging from all Filthiness of Flesh and Spirit, by the internal Operation of His Holy Power and Spirit: Concerning

cerning these two Points I refer thee to two Books written not long since by me, called *Quakerism a new Nickname for old Christianity*, and *Reason against Railing*, in which these Points are fully discussed: As also the *Divinity of Christ*, writ by G. Whitehead. Our unhappiness hath been that our Enemies have charged their oblique Consequences from our Principles back upon us for our very Principles; As thus, if we say that *The Scriptures are not able to resist a Temptation*, they will infer, That we deny the Scriptures to be any Means whereby to resist Temptation. And if we say, *That Good Works are necessary*, they teach, that we hold *Good Works Meritorious*. Lay this aside, and read us with a serious unprejudiced Mind, and I doubt not thou may'st yet be better satisfied of us: But if thou art not, and thinkest fit to tell the World so, remember, Thou wilt draw the Controversy upon thy own Head, which will be assuredly undertaken and closely followed by such of us as hope to acquit themselves, by God's Holy Assistance, with Success to the Cause they defend. So wishing thy better Information of the TRUTH of God, and greater Moderation, yea Love, toward them that profess it, even the *poor despised Quakers*, the Spiritual Christians of this Age, (for your outside ones make but up refined *Babylon*, the Mother of all Abominations, which now deluge *Christianity* so called) I remain

Thy Friend, W. P.

To J. H. and his Companions, Justices in Middlesex.

No. X.

Rickmersworth, the 31st of the 1st Month,
(called March) 1674.

BECAUSE you are Justices as well as Neighbours, and reputed Gentlemen; not only Civility, but Duty engages me to govern my self with all due Respect in this Epistle: Which, as it proceeds out of Love to your Persons, and that hearty Desire I have, your Actions may not fall short, of that Courtesy, Neighbourhood, Conscience and Fundamental Law that becomes every Man, much more a Gentleman, and be an Englishman, and a Justice too, but most of all a True Christian, to square himself by, rather than any sinister End. So I beseech you, give it your Perusal and serious Consideration: And then, if you please, afford me your Answer.

A Letter to certain Justices of the Peace in Middlesex. Life p. 47.

I offer'd, as you may remember, several Things, to abate your Proceeding with us at Ruslip, which then it did not please you to bear enough to embrace. Perhaps a Reiteration may conduce more to your Satisfaction; at least, it will acquit my Conscience; which, whatever you said, or think, is of great Value with me. And those that have known me better than you do, are not ignorant how much I have been thought to stand in my own Light, meerly to preserve that unblemish.

I told you then, that since you affirmed the Report of this Meeting to have reach'd you a Month since (which I think, was at least a Week before any such Thing was intended) it had been handsome and neighbourly, indeed but Natural and Just, to give us Notice of your Intentions: For in a County so quiet as this (as where is there now any Disquiet?) Who could have expected such a Sand or Rock to strike upon? Men use to provide Land Marks and such like Tokens for Caution, where Danger is, to prevent it. We never heard you to be severe; on the contrary, moderate; Men of more Candor than to express Severity, or extend the Letter of the Law upon your Neighbours.

For what else, I beseech you, can I call your sending for all that should meet there to appear before you, without any the least preceding Intimation of your Displeasure? Again, the Constable could give no Evidence of a Meeting, who left the People, some in the House, some in the Yard, some in the Orchard, and several walking in the Highway: No more Preaching or Praying then, where no People were. When you came, those that the Constable saw, were dispersed; and had been near an Hour; We thought the thing you only aimed

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at : finding some Five that remained, either at some Repast, or Discourse very remote from a Conventicle in your own Sense of the Word ; How fair an Opportunity, had you to clear your Hands as Justices and Friends, nothing offensive to the Law in your Hands, being present to you. Perhaps we expelled to hear you, that you were glad to find the People gone ; and that the Occasion of any Rigour, to you unpleasant, was removed, with, it may be, some gentle Caution for the future, that you might quit your selves, as well like Men in Power, as kind Neighbours. But truly, None of us, I dare say, so much as conceived one Thought like your Actions. Not that I think them the harshest that were ever shown ; by no Means, but exceeding our Expectations, the Circumstances considered, and the Door that was thereby opened, for you to get out at : Especially, when you would not take our Words to be gone, but after an untoward Manner, compelled us out. I farther urged the General Quiet of the Season, the Unpleasantness of these Things to the King, his absolute Renunciation of all such Proceedings that his Declaration ; was a great Instance : that though it be cancelled, yet not the Liberty, for the Quarrel lay not against the Indulgence, but the grant of it, formaliter. It was not by an Act of Parliament, and an ill president said the Parliament : I farther added that the Parliament had voted Indulgence to the King's Dissenting Protestant Subjects, and intended to ratify the former more firmly, at least to all Protestant Dissenters ; and that such we are.

I intreat you to peruse this short Discourse against the Papists, to say nothing of the vast Disparity, and Antipathy, of our Principles and Worship. To these latter Allegations, you singly and jointly answered, That the Act was in force by the Repealing or cancelling of the Declaration. True, Strictly taken : But don't you know, that there be many Acts never formally repealed, that obtain no Force among us ; but as much neglected as if they were abrogated by new Laws ? I much question if that very Law, by which the Protestants were burnt for their Noble Testimonies against Rome, were ever revoked. This might be sufficient to you, that the King dislikes it : that the Parliament declared their Readiness to repeal the Law that countenanceth it : That all are quiet : That the Reason of the Law ceasing ; the Law, as to its Execution, should cease also : That the King and Council in the Preamble to the Declaration, have disclaimed all Pretence, to better Settlements, by Severity upon Dissenters : That you have work enough to imploy your selves about, in first living, and then executing all Laws, that recover and preserve Morality, Mercy, Justice, Sobriety, and Godly Living. And lastly that you had nothing offensive to the Law before your Eyes, when you came among us.

I farther urged, Argumentum ad Hominem, The King's Power in Ecclesiastical Matters : That, if you acknowledged him, Head of the Church, it seemed somewhat unnatural, that any Members straggle from the Judgment and Direction from the Head. It was answered by one of you, and the best thing said, That the King was Head in Civils too, yet we would not forbear recovering a Debt by Law, though the King should interpose his Civil Headship, to prevent receiving it, or Words to that Purpose. I said then, and now more fully reply ; The Case is vastly differing, upon your own Principles. The Civil Government of England, depends upon Law grounded upon Sincerity, the Eternal Law : and it's not by the Antient and Fundamental Constitution allowable, that Meum and Tuum should be overruled by any Prince whatever. It is the Glory of the King of England's Government, that he is a Prince by Right, not Might, by Law, not Power. He has Power, but from and according to Law, not that he makes his Will and Power Law. This Right is agreeable to Humane Nature so called, and the Oeconomy which God hath imprinted upon it : But in Matters Ecclesiastical, you say, (if Old Protestants) That it is inherent to and inseparable from the Civil Magistrate, so soon as he professeth Christ, to be the Head of the Church, in his Dominions (upon the Strain of the Jewish Story, how reasonable so ever it be.) And upon this very Foot, was and is the English Reformation sett : where all Original Compacts, all Coronation Oaths, all fundamental Law, and Legislators too are set aside, For the King is not Constituted Head of the Church, by common Consent of
Lords

Lords and Commons, though thereby declared so, but by being a Christian King.

Again I distinguish between Laws; Some are fundamental, and these are durable, and indissoluble, some are circumstantial and Superficial; and those be alterable. By the first I mean all those Laws, that constitute the Ancient Civil Government of England, and which make up these two Words, English Men. By the Latter, I understand, all Laws suited to State, or National Emergencies, which are pro Tempore and away. They live as long, as the Reason of them lives, and then die oftentimes of themselves. These may be both Civil and Ecclesiastical. Civil, as the Act against Transporting Irish Cattle: A Famine repeals that, by the Ancient Law-Maxim: Cessante Ratione Legis, Cessat Lex. Ecclesiastical; as this in Question: They that made it, had Unity, Peace, and Plenty in their Eyes: It's found upon Tryal to increase Animosities, disturb the Peace, and lay wast honest and industrious Families. Thus much the King, whom you confess to be the Head of the Church, by the Advice of his Privy Council, Men, doubtless, Wiser than any of us, has almost in so many Words declared.

Further, let it be weighed, that we came not to our Liberties and Properties by the Protestant Religion; their Date rises higher. Why then should a Non-Conformity to it, purely Conscientious, deprive us of them. This or that Sort of Religion, was not specified in the Ancient Civil Government; though the Clergy twisted into the Great Charter: Yet let it be considered, that it was not intended, to deny others Liberty of Conscience; but to secure their Church, Properties, and Revenues, from the King's Seizure. The Nature of Body and Soul, Earth and Heaven, this World and that to come, differs: there can be no Reason to persecute any Man in this World, about any Thing that belongs to the Next. Who art thou (saith the Holy Scripture, in this Case,) that judgest another Man's Servant? He must stand or fall to his Master, the Great God. Let Tares and Wheat grow together, till the Great Harvest: To call for Fire from Heaven, was no Part of Christ's Religion, though the reprov'd Zeal of some of his Disciples. His Sword is Spiritual, like his Kingdom. Be pleas'd to remember, that Faith is the Gift of God, and what is not of Faith, is Sin. We must either be Hypocrites, in doing what we believe in our Consciences, we ought not to do; or forbearing, what we are fully perswaded, we ought to do. Either give us better Faith, or leave us with such as we have: for it seems unreasonable in you, to disturb us for this that we have, and yet be unable to give us any other. O ye do not to us as you would be done by: Can it become Protestants, to use that Severity to others, they once condemn'd in others. There can be no Pretence of Conscience, for limiting other Men's, that are Virtuous, and who wish you heartily well. Were we immoral, or did our Religion and Worship border upon an Impiety, we should blush to Apologize as we do. But being no ways Conscious of any Affinity with immoral Principles, or Practices; on the Contrary, knowing our selves to be better taught, by God's Grace, that leads to all moral and Holy Living, however different we may be in some particular Perswasions, We do take Confidence, to remonstrate our Case, and to intreat your serious Consideration of it, that we your Countrymen and Neighbours, may enjoy our selves in the Worship of Almighty God, with Quietness and Security. And I am well assured, it shall less repent you upon your Dying Bed, to have acted moderately, than severely. You cannot but know, how fallible Protestants acknowledge themselves to be in Matters of Religion, and consequently, with what Caution they should proceed against any about Religion. You also see how much more destructive Vice and Intemperance are to Body and Soul, than meer Opinion, and consequently, how much more Reasonable it is, to punish the One than persecute the Other. Think not, that meer Perswasion damns us, 'tis Sin whose Wages is Death: I love and honour all Virtuous Persons, that differ from me, and hope God will have Regard to every such one, according to Sincerity. And however it shall please you to deal with us, at this or any other Time, I pray God forgive you, open your Eyes, tender your Hearts, and make you sensible, how much more Moderation, and Virtue are worth your

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Study and Pursuit, than the Disturbance of Religious Dissenting Assemblies, that, so far as I know of them, desire to honour the King, Love their Neighbours as themselves, and to do unto all Men as they would have all Men do unto them.

Be pleased to accept this in good Part, and with the most favourable Construction, which becomes your Quality, and is but to do Right to his Intentions, that with good Wishes for you subscribes himself,

Your very true Friend,

William Penn.

P O S T S C R I P T.

I have sent you a Discourse against the *Papists*, and another of Liberty of Conscience: several Hundreds of which were presented to the House that Year it was printed.

I could produce a dozen Presidents to confirm this: and truly it looks hard upon your own Principles; That you should give your Servants Liberty to use their Discretion in Errands, or Constables in the Execution of their Trusts, provided they answer the Main End, which is, *Voluntas Magistri, Salusque Regis & Populi*, Nay that you can use sometimes a Prerogative your selves, & *relaxare Legem*, remembering doubtless that *summum Jus is summa injuria*, as the Old King said; And yet that you should not allow the King a Power to suspend the Execution of but a Temporary Law, When the Execution of it is impracticable, without destroying those very Ends for which it was first made. I beseech you, call to mind the Ancient Veneration of Protestants to Princes Prerogative in Ecclesiasticks, and their Principles about it. In the Reigns of H. 8. E. 6. & E. K. Ja. and particularly K. C. the First.

No. XI.

TO RICHARD BAXTER.

R. B.

11th of October, 1675.

A Letter to
R. Baxter.
Life p. 49.

I Have waited for an Answer, but find none: I think fit to tell thee, that if I am inform'd when thy Occasions will permit a Debate more Methodically, and like *True Disputation*, (which I judge more suitable before the same Auditory) I shall endeavour to comply, though I am not without weighty Affairs almost continually upon my Hand, to furnish me with an Excuse: I shall only add what I omitted in my last, that he that made me to say, *I would give all I had to him or them that wanted more than I*; when I said, *If there were any such Minister as preach'd the Gospel freely, making True Conscience of taking Hire, that wanted*; if I had but an Halfpenny, *He should have a Farthing*. He that makes refusing Payment of Monies borrow'd, and Tithes, as equally Sinful; nay, counts it Thievery: He that makes me to reject owning Christian Doctrines, because I said, *'Twas not a Conformity to any meer Catalogue of Doctrines, that was enough to Salvation*; and that takes no Notice of my saying, that I meant it not of the Apostles Creed, nor the commonly believed Articles; but the Matters controverted by the Worthy Warriors, as R. B. calls them: He that makes me to say, *The World was always worse under a Clergy*, (though Christian, for so he owns it) *than without one*; that only made it comparatively as bad, and explain'd what I meant by Clergy, viz. *A Man-made, and Mercenary Ministry*: And from thence infers, that I think the World, at least since Christ's Time, was without a Ministry, because without such a Clergy: And that after all, he that reproach'd me with Folly, Weakness, Disability, Ignorance, &c. (though in Contradiction to himself) saying, *The Man, the Man*; and, at last, *The Devil* (but in as much Contempt and Prejudice as he could :) He, I say, that can do, and has done these Things, is farther from a *Just and Christian Spirit*, than

' than *Dan* was from *Beerſheba*. I would have *R. B.* know, that had I deſign'd to take Advantage, and turn the Meeting into *Burleſque*, I could have render'd him more ridiculous, than, I fear, *His Principles of Love* would have born; his whole Diſcourſe furniſhing me with ſo much Ignorance, real or deſign'd, let him take his Choice. I pray God give thee Repentance and true Love, that thou may'ſt lay down thy Head in Peace, ſo wiſhes

Thy Sincere Friend,

W. P.

No. XI.

TO RICHARD BAXTER.

No. XII.

R. Baxter,

I Have received a Letter from thee of the 10th Inſtant, juſt now, being the 11th, and about Six at Night: In the firſt Place it looks like a Deſign, I mean not to meet me; though it be to offer a Meeting, ſuch an one as it is. For by the Date, it was, for ought I know, a Night, and almoſt a Day, coming leſs than Two Miles. A Man that had not read thy Principles of Love, and heard the Diſpute, would think that this Letter lay Leager at Rickmerſworth, by Order, till I ſhould be gone to London: But I am more Charitable: I am not ſo ſuſh of my Time, nor ſo ill diſpos'd of, that I ſhould leave London, my Conſcientious Employment for the Relief of poor Sufferers; and ſeveral Appointments not in my Power to undo: To ſay nothing of my own Worldly Concerns that are great; to ride down to Charlewood but for Two Hours Talk with *R. B.* The Beginning of this Unhappy Epiſtle tells me, If I have not yet enough; Of what? Railing, Slanders, Interruptions, dirty Reflections. Yes, too much, had *R. B.* pleas'd: But of Reaſon, Good Language, Order, and Perſonal Civility, little or none fell from *R. B.* I affirm.

A ſecond Letter to *R. B.* Life p. 49.

Well, but my Vain Oſtentation of my Forwardneſs to another Meeting, ſhall be no Cover to my Shame. I thought I had been ſhameleſs: There is Hopes of me I ſee. But, *R. B.* why aſham'd? For thy Senſeleſs, Headleſs, Tailleſs Talk? I profeſs, I was more than aſham'd, for I was grieved that my laſt kind Letter had no better Succeſs. I perceive the Scurvy of the Mind is thy Diſtemper; I fear it's incurable. I would ſay, I had rather to be Socrates at the Day of Judgment, than *R. Baxter*; but that he would tell me that I am nearer A-kin to Heathens than Chriſtians; and the Truth is, than ſuch meerly Nominal Ones, I deſire to be. I reſuſe not thy Neighbour's Houſe, ſince invited to it. Thus much at preſent, from

Thy Friend, W. P.

TO RICHARD BAXTER.

No. XIII.

Richard Baxter,

THOUGH thou haſt reprobatd the *Quakers* and their Religion, with what Envy and Strife thou art capable of, accompanied with the indecent Carriage of thy Landlord, (a manifeſt Breach of thoſe Laws of Conference thou waſt ſo preſic in making) and that this Entertainment is doubtleſs Argument enough of an infirm Cauſe, and of as virulent and imperious a Behaviour; yet the Spirit of Chriſtianity in us, inclines us to offer thee another Meeting, both to ſhow that we are not afraid of our Cauſe, or thy Abilities: And to prevent thoſe tedious Harangues, and almoſt unpardonable Eviſions and Perverſions thou waſt guilty of; and which we were obſtructed from diſcovering in any quick Returns, leſt we ſhould be clamour'd againſt as Interrupters, and Violators of thoſe Rules mutually agreed upon: We deſire therefore another Meeting, and that it may be on the 7th Inſtant, about Eight in the Morning: The Matters we offer to debate, are

A third Letter to *R. B.* Life p. 49.

No. XIII.

- Concerning 1. *The True and False Ministry.*
 2. *The True and False Church.*
 3. *The Sufficiency of the Light within all Men to Eternal Salvation*; and what else it shall please thee to add.

‘ And to render this desired Conference more distinct and intelligible, with Respect to a particular Discussion of Things, we offer this Method, First, *That some One of the aforementioned Particulars be thoroughly debated, before any other of them be insisted on.* Secondly, *That Two or Three on each Side shall have Liberty to speak, but so as but One only at a Time.* Thirdly, *That there shall be a strict and close keeping to the Matter in Hand, as may well be, to prevent impertinent Preachment, and trifling Excursions, to shun the Matter, and evade the Dint of Argument, and this to be inviolably observed on both Hands.* Fourthly, *That so doing, there shall be no Interruption on either Side.* Fifthly, *Name what Place thou pleasest, but that which I am forbidden.*

‘ To all which we desire thy Return by this Bearer, to

Thy Friend,

W. P.

P O S T S C R I P T.

I hope at the End of this Conference, we may have a little Time, to debate the Merits of *John Faldo's* Cause, and thy Subscription, at least, in a few Particulars.

No. XIV.

A fourth Letter to R. B. Life p. 49.

TO RICHARD BAXTER.

R. B.

‘ THE Paper it pleas'd thee to put into my Hand at our Parting, I have at last got Time to peruse: And I will assure thee, 'tis not Two whole Days since my many Occasions would give Leave to consider it. The Civility and Kindness I receiv'd from thee at our Conference, have prevail'd with me to overlook the Asperity of it; though, if I speak for my self, I am not apt to exact the uttermost Parting, or make the worst Use of Men's Infirmities. There appear'd Matter of great Advantage against a Man that had ever been Author of any Defence of the Principles of Love: Yet, it so happens, that the Objections, over and above the Mode of making and managing them, are very slight; and, if I mistake not, (I am sure I would not) more than $\frac{1}{2}$ is granted: So that I could not see any Ground for that Severity from the Person most of all concern'd, much less from an unprovok'd Stranger. But that which heighten'd my Wonder, was to see thy Name to a late Epistle, recommending of *J. F's* Book; that seems so much to rate at us for Sharpness: I hope thou wilt not be displeased with this Freedom.

‘ Herewith I return thy Paper, and this in Answer to what's Material in the Objection: That, *by the Spirit's being the Rule*, I understood what the Apostle did, when he said, *That as many as are led by the Spirit of God, are the Sons of God.* And if I am to be censured that I write not more Philosophically, the Apostle must keep me Company. I did not mean, that all Instruments or Means are always excluded; only that under the Gospel especially, the Spirit by the Holy Inspirings of it, in a more immediate Manner than formerly, was eminently the Rule of the Saints; as under the Law, the Law writ on Stone; under the Gospel, the Law writ in the Heart; and that this was the General Evangelical Rule. When I am better inform'd, I shall believe, and write better, till then, I must do as I can; and I see nothing in that Paper, to induce me to any Alteration of my Creed.

For

‘ For what I understand by *Light*, I need only say, that not one of my Arguments is so much as attempted, at least, as laid down by me; and in a manner, all is granted me, beside what thou mistakest me in. I am chid for not distinguishing upon the Term, *Light*; truly, I deserv’d it, had not my Adversary taken the Term for granted, as I understood it: And what Need there was I should turn *Critic* upon the Term agreed upon, thy Reprehension has not afforded me *Light* enough to see: I all along shew, I meant not the *Sun* in the *Outward Firmament*, the meer *Knowledge* of Man, or *Capacity* to receive *Knowledge*, as *Constitutive* of a *Rational Creature*, but the *Internal Sun* of *Righteousness*, by which the Soul receives *Divine Understanding*: And mine Opposer I had to do with, gives his Suffrage to this Thing; for he was a *Socinian*, one that believes in the outward *Sun*, and but too largely of Man’s meer *Natural Faculties*, and but too meanly of a *Divine and Supernatural Light*, as necessary to Man’s *Eternal Felicity*: Which I conceive to transcend the *Light* of Birds, Fishes, &c. by them, in my Apprehension, frivolously objected.

‘ Thy Hing at my Attempt to prove Man enlightned, from *John* 1. 4, 9. hits me not in the least: For I affirm from these Words, that it is not any *Light* (as thou wouldst make me only to intend, and limit my Argument in) that is *Constitutive* of Beasts or Men, as such in an abstracted Sense; but something transcending and *Supernatural*, as some speak: For Man is a Man before that *Illumination*, as *Drusus* well observes.

‘ Again, thou art by much too severe in straining these Words, *The Light must give True Sight*; as if I meant, that every Man to whom God offer’d this *Light*, had *True Knowledge*, whether he would or no: For to that Stretch thou bringest it. The like about its Sufficiency, as if it were sufficient to contend, without Man’s Regard of it: No such Matter: ’Tis so in it self, but not in Men without their Assent, as thou confessest.

‘ I see nothing offer’d in this Paper, that I could not, with as good Reason, produce against the Holy Scripture it self. It lies most upon the Question, *If you mean so*, I deny it: *If so*, I grant it; when, alas, I most ly intend, what thou grantest: And can see no Cause given by that Discourse for any such Objection, unless that a *Noted Presbyterian*, as Men call him, has got my Book, and I was to be lessen’d by any Artifice, where I had any Interest, especially if it was thought to prevail.

‘ I shall conclude with this Assurance, that if the Civility and Kindness of our late Meeting, had not been with some more than ordinary Satisfaction remember’d by me, I had made more Use of thy Name than I have done, both in my late Answer to the Epistle before-mentioned, and in this Paper: But, methinks, it is so desirable for Men to confer with Reason and Modesty, that I rather chuse to beseech People into that *Commendable Disposition*, than to raise their Passions by an early Aggravation of their Miscarriages. I am, in very much Love,

Thy Assured Friend, W. P.

TO RICHARD BAXTER.

R. Baxter,

‘ I Have received a long Letter from thee, which I shall answer with what Brevity I can. The first Part contains an Evasion of a Meeting; the last, a Repetition of thy old resuted Clamours; and both wrapt up in Terms only fit for the *Devil*. Such is the Sweetness of thy Nature, and the Great Charity of thy *New-Modell’d Religion*. But, to the first Part, thy Words are these, *I shall stand to the Offer I made of another Day’s Conference; but not at your Time nor Rates*. But who concluded thee? Not I. ’Tis true, I offer’d these Things; but so as I left Room for Exceptions. Yet, why should not I have the giving the Laws of the second, when thou hadst the giving the Laws of the First Conference? ’Twas my Turn

A fifth Letter to R. B. Life p. 49.

No. XV.

in Equity. But thou art Weak and full of Pain; if so, God help thee: I can't say so of thy Cause, tho' it's more infirm.

Well, but thou canst not meet me this Week, because of Preaching the next Lord's Day. When then? After it I shall be ready. What Day? The first Opportunity. Who shall judge of that? It is not at my Command: Nor mine, thou hast told me already. How must I ask for Richard Baxter? Where must I find him? When will he be at Leisure to make Good his false Insinuations against the Poor Quakers? In this Wood he leaves us, or rather hides from us: And then tells the lamentable Story of being driven from Books, House, Goods, &c. O Richard Baxter, is this a Time to draw Diabolical Pictures of the Poor Quakers? To render them hateful, and their Religion accurs'd; and that in the Face of the Magistracy, whilst thou complainest of Persecution for thy Dissent from others: Where is Sweetness, Meekness, and Charity now?

However, if I were R. B. no Man should go to Prison for me, as one, he says, has done for him; nor should it be a Troubled Pulpit, but a Troubled Conscience, that should make me fly. Go to London, and go to Jail, if that must be the Consequence; and learn Charity by Bonds, and thou wilt perhaps practice it better when at Liberty.

Well, but thou sayst, I have a designing, wrathful, persecuting Spirit in me. How am I designing? By coming so near to Dinner-Time, as thinking I could not have held out Fasting till Night. What a prodigious Design was this to blow up Richard Baxter! But did he really think I could stand him so long? Doubtless his Disciples (especially above other Gifts in that of Patience) fancied nothing less, than that we, like poor Self-condemn'd Mortals, should cry out, Men and Brethren, What shall we do to be Saved? But to help R. Baxter's Perception, (that is as dim here as his Eyes, or his Notes were t'other Night) I will inform him that I came late from London the Night before the Conference, and knew no more of the Hour, than the unborn Child. Nay, in the Letter sent from London about the Meeting, no Time was so much as mentioned: What a designing Man was I all this While?

Well, but I am Wrathful: Why? Because I take so much Pains, and am so Zealous in discovering and reprehending his, and his Brethren's Cruelty to us. And in what, Persecuting? In Writing bolder against it (without Vanity I say it) than any Man in England: Witness my several Pieces to the Parliament; and that impartially; while R. Baxter and his Brethren, are for casting us and others to the Dogs, by a Comprehension, leaving us under the Clutches of Merciless Men. Thus much to the first Part of thy Letter.

To the second, which contains Two Sides and a Quarter, and all upon this Strain: What Hope can I have of a Man, that will say, and unsay, that hath a Spirit that judges the Ministry that labour'd Twenty Years ago, &c. I shall by Retortion and Inversion, as also by some additional Exceptions, give, I hope, a full and convincing Return.

What Hope can I have of him that subscribes a Book of foulest Charges against an whole People, that I have Cause to believe he never read; and yet justifies it. He that authorizes Quotations he never compar'd, and justifies Consequences that he never examin'd. He that says, We deny the Holy Scriptures to be any Means of Good, when we maintain the contrary: That we set them and the Spirit in Opposition, who affirm their exact Unity in Testimony. What shall we say of him? And what is he, that makes us deny Christ, His Manhood one while, and His Godhead another while, and that says, We despise, reject and deny His Transactions at Jerusalem, for Man's Salvation; when our Writings plentifully mention them with Honour. He that says, we Deny the Ministry, because we deny theirs: Yea, thrice over in the Debate (tho' I warn'd him of it as a gross Abuse) instead of proving the Ministry of himself and his Brethren to be the True Gospel-Ministry. He that makes us to Deny a Gospel Church which we believe: He that charges us with making our Souls God, and so our selves

selves God : He that renders us to deny *Heaven* and *Hell*, *Rewards* and
 ' *Punishments*, and gives those Things under his Hand, as the Doctrines and
 ' Principles of the *Quakers*, that are not to be found in any of their Writ-
 ' ings ; nay, that are confess'd to be but Consequences of his, or his
 ' Friends drawing, never consented to, agreed, or acknowledged by us ; but
 ' detested and abominated. He that will recommend them after being con-
 ' futed, at least answered, without reading our Justification, which was
 ' either by downright Denials, as in some Cases ; or clear Distinctions, as
 ' in other Places. He that shall maintain another's Allegations and Citati-
 ' ons, out of Men's Books, that are plainly false and forged : Again, he
 ' that shall begin a Dispute between *We* and *You*, and shall require what
 ' the *You* are, and refuse to tell what the *We* are. He that shall charge his
 ' Opposer with studying before hand, that never thought what to say,
 ' whilst himself has writ his *Matter*, and therefore contended for his *Me-
 ' thod*, because else he had been at a Loss. He that turns Disputation into
 ' Preaching : He that evades Answers, and runs all into Reflections, or Per-
 ' versions. He that counted us no *Christians*, though he allowed us to be
 ' *Papists*, yet neither said, in what ; nor disprov'd our Confession. He that
 ' made us to deny any Ministry, but that of the Spirit in us, only to our
 ' selves individually ; though we prov'd particularly the contrary ; and that
 ' never takes Notice of it, but perseveres with dreaming Repetitions. He
 ' that made me to say, *I cared not a Farthing for Christ's Church*, that on-
 ' ly said it of a persecuting, mercenary, adulterated, divorced Church : He
 ' that represented me to *Cry down Christ's Ministry*, that only decry'd a Per-
 ' secuting Bloody-Minded Clergy, full of Temporising and Flattery. He
 ' that made me to accuse *Marshall, Edwards, &c.* of sawning upon *O. Crom-
 ' wel*, that only mention'd them, as some of those that cried, *Down with
 ' Baal's Priests, &c.* on the one Side, and that most bitterly withstood the
 ' *Independents, &c.* as Schismatics on the other ; calling upon the Civil
 ' Magistrate to sweep the Land of them, on purpose to give Proof of *Sour
 ' Presbyterian Charity*. He that charges Schism upon us, and is by his sepa-
 ' rate Meeting, and flying for doing so, a *Detested Separatist* himself. He
 ' that cries *Us* and *We*, taking in *Protestants* of all Sorts, and *Papists* too,
 ' under some Christian Qualifications, but leaving us out ; that has abetted
 ' the Beginning of these Troubles, that are charg'd with *Sedition* and
 ' *Schism* : He that had the Confidence to say, *He and his Friends had no
 ' Hand in Separation or Persecution*, nor daubing of the Powers ; who writ
 ' *An Holy Common-Wealth* to an *Usurper* to practice, and raise his New Mo-
 ' narchy upon ; and that has preach'd up the Use of Civil Power to restrain
 ' Consciences, and countenance Severity upon *Thomas Goodier*, so as he had
 ' been kill'd but for Lord *Satisbury* ; and whose Brethren said at *Manchester*,
 ' *Let's Blow up this Quaker, at G. Booth's Rising* ; and cried, *Banish them* ;
 ' and for the Children, *Do as the Irish did* ; my Witnesses are near. He
 ' that cries up the Ministry of 1655, for the best in the World ; and when
 ' put close to it, runs off, and quits the Field ; and of above 9000 Preach-
 ' ers, with 1800 ; Were the 1800 the Ministry, and not the 9000, and did
 ' none of those call *Oliver, Moses*, the Light of their Eyes, and Breath of
 ' their Nostrils : And *Richard*, the *Joshua*, that was to lead them to the
 ' Holy Land ? Did none of these flatter the Powers ? Persecute Dissenters,
 ' and force their Maintenance ? He that calls *this*, taking a malicious Ad-
 ' vantage of the Times, when, God knows, I was griev'd to mention it ;
 ' but driven to it by such extravagant Praises of them as being of the best ;
 ' which, I think, in a Sense the corruptest ; and to show it, I must tell
 ' their Story. He that calls the Law which forces Maintenance from Peo-
 ' ple to a Ministry they own not, one of those Laws of the Land that is a
 ' *Rule of Property*, and yet decries the Law that distrains for Religious
 ' Meetings, as against Property.

' He that makes us deny any *Christianity* at all to be in any but our selves ;
 ' that infers from our Words, that all else are *Antichristian*, but our selves,
 ' &c. because we acknowledge this Way to be more excellent, which has
 ' given

No. XV.

‘ given Life to our Souls, and in which we have found the Redeeming Power of CHRIST in our Souls, which we never felt under other Ministries, and in other Ways.

‘ He that from our declining the Fashions and Customs of the World, in *Pure Conscience to God*, calls it the only Token of our esteeming our selves Christians : And that says, we go out of one Extream into another.

‘ He that chargeth us with maintaining *Papery*, and yet counts the *Papists Christians*, whilst he denies us to be such, at least, questions it.

‘ He that admires not *Particular Instances* to conclude against *Generals* ; and himself draws Reflections from *J. Naylor*, upon the whole Body called *Quakers*, and their Faith.

‘ He that chargeth me with Believing, and bids me Repent of what never was ; but what, if it were, I told him, I utterly detested ; and that after he was told so, yet sums up his Discourse in the same Terms, without proving *his Accusation*, or taking any Notice of *my Abhorrence* of any such Thing as that he charged. And he that can make a People Guilty of such Folly as *J. N.* might commit, when they Solemnly, and in Print, Renounce and Censure it. He that finds Fault with aggravating Evil against Persons, as a Way that tends to destroy Love ; and yet practises it by a dull and envious Repetition of Stories thrice over, not at that Time to be particularly disprov’d. He that makes it a Mark of a *False Church* in us, that we contradict and write one against another, (which is still false, we never did so) and yet justifies the *Episcopals*, *Presbyterians*, *Independents*, and *Baptists*, that have done the like, and continue to do so. He that pretends they are all his Brethren, (and the *Papists* too, for he calls them *Christians*) which must be by being born of one Stock ; and yet say, *That this Spirit of Schism, this Rending Spirit, that leads into these perverse Ways, began with those that cried, Down with Baal’s Priests, &c. descended thence into the Settaries, that is, Independents*, (for so the *Presbyterians* call’d them) *from them to the Anabaptists, so to the Ranters, and then to the Quakers*.

‘ He that can justify a Man, in calling the *Quakers* Light within, *A Sinful, Sordid, and Corrupt Thing*, and yet appeal to it in Print, and say, *It’s but what we have of him and his Brethren*. He that reproves us for Railing, that defend our selves in Scripture Terms rightly applied, as we offer to prove ; to both use it, and abet it in others. He that can call a Man *Brother* one Hour, and *Devil* the next ; first *Extol* and *Hosanna*, then *Debate* and *Crucifie* ; bid me, *Get me behind him*, and *God Rebuke me*, as if I were a Devil. He that can do all these Things, I hope, I may say, is so far neither a *Good Man*, a *Charitable Man*, nor a *Fair Disputant*. And whether *R. Baxter* be not this very Man, I leave it with him seriously to consider, as he will answer the Great GOD at His Tribunal.

‘ Ah ! Do do not so harshly represent, nor cruelly Characterize a poor People, that are given up to follow the Leadings of that *JESUS*, abundance of you have long told us, has stood even all Night at the Door of our Hearts knocking, that he might come in, whose Pure Spirit and Fear we desire to be subject to, and wait upon God, when together, in True Silence, from all Fleishly Thoughts, that we may feel our Hearts replenish’d with his Divine Love and Life, in which to forgive our *Opposers*, and those that *Spitefully use us*. In which dear Love of God, *Richard Baxter*, I do forgive thee, and desire thy Good and Felicity. And when I read thy Letter, the many Severities therein could not divert me from saying, that I could freely give thee an Apartment in my House, and thy Liberty therein ; that I could visit, and yet discourse thee in much Tender Love, notwithstanding this hard Entertainment from thee. I am, without harder Words,

Thy Sincere and Loving Friend, W. P.

To

To the PRINCESS and COUNTESS at Herford
in Germany, 1676.

No. XVI.

JESUS be with your Spirits, the Immaculate Lamb of God, and Glorious Light of the World, His Pure Spirit redeem you from the Evil and Ignorance that are in it, and replenish you with His Everlasting Righteousness, whose End is Peace and Assurance for evermore.

Noble of this World, but more Noble for your Enquiry after the TRUTH, and Love to it, the Fame whereof hath sounded to the Ears of some of us in this Island, whom God hath made both his certain Witnesses and Messengers, through many and great Tribulations: *Eternal, Heavenly Praises to His Holy and Powerful Name, who Lives and Reigns over all Principalities, and Powers, and Thrones, and Dominions for ever.*

I have had you, *Worthy Women*, often in my Remembrance, with that Honour which is not of this World; even then, when my Soul has been in its purest Retirements, not only from all Visibles, but from their very Ideas in the Mind, and every other Imagination; resting with the Lord in his own Sabbath, which is the *True Silence* of all Flesh indeed, which profits above the Formal Christian's Bodily Exercise. And in these Heavenly Sequesterations of Soul, and True Resignation unto the Divine Will of my Father, have I taken a most clear Prospect of you, and every Circumstance that may be fit for me to know; *Your Education, your Quality, your Dignity, the Envy of the Clergy, the Fury of the Rabble, and the Strength and Power of Temptation*, arising from all these Considerations, if possible to smother your Blessed Beginnings; and as so many *Bands of Soldiers*, employed and commissioned of their *Great Prince of Darkness*, to watch, and hinder JESUS from rising in you. In a weighty Sense of all which, my Heart opens itself unto you in God's Counsel, after this Manner: Be Faithful to that you know, and Obedient to that which God by the Light of His Son makes manifest in your own Consciences. Consult not away the Pure and Gentle Strivings of the Holy Ghost; Drown not His *Still Voice* with the Crowd of Careful Thoughts, and Vain Contrivances: Break not the bruised Reed, neither quench the Smoking Flax in your selves. O, if you truly love JESUS, hear him: And since it hath pleased God in some Measure, as with *Paul*, to reveal His Blessed Son in you, consult not with Flesh and Blood, that are below the Heavenly Things; for that inherits not the Kingdom of God: But with *Sincere Mary*, from a deep Sense of the Beauty, Virtue and Excellency of that Life, that is hid with *Christ in God*, wait out of all Cumber, free from that running, willing, sacrificing Spirit that is in the World, in the Pure Obedience, Humiliation, Godly Death or Silence, at the Feet of JESUS, chusing the better Part, which shall never be taken from you: And JESUS will be with you, He will shed His Peace abroad in the Midst of you, even that which flows from the *Chrystal Streams of Life*, that arise from under the *Throne of God*. Prepare, prepare to meet the Lord; for assuredly JESUS is risen, the Faithful and True Witness; and he is come in *Ten Thousands of His Saints*, to judge this Fallen Christian World. He that was Dead during the *Times, Time, and Half a Time*, is now alive, and lives for ever: Nor shall Hell, Death, or the Grave, get the Dominion any more; but *Life and Immortality shall spring as the Morning without Clouds*. The Set-time of the Father is come; and all Faces shall gather Paleness, yea, and all Knees shall smite and bow, and Tongues shall confess to this his Appearance; some to Joy, others to Misery: Ages and Generations have not known him; the Earth has been cover'd with *Violence, Oppression, Uncleanness, Rewards, Gifts, Blood, Wrath, Malice, Pride, Covetousness*: Yet God protest, and Christ confess: A Glorious Church, a Pom-pous Worship, and as much Religion (such as it was) as the World could hold: But, O the *Idolatry*! O the *False Witness*! O the *Blasphemy* and

His Letter to
the Princess
Elizabeth of
the Rhine, and
Anna Maria
de Hornes,
Countess of
Hornes.
Life p. 503

No. XVI. *Lying! O the Prophaneness of those, and these Days! And why? Because their Hearts thirsted after their Carnal Pleasures, more than after the Living God. Their Care was, and is after what they shall eat and drink, and put on, the Old Heathen Life, and not after the Kingdom of God, and the Righteousness of it: That JESUS, the true Saviour, the immaculate Son of God, who by doing His Father's Will, faithfully and patiently, even unto Death, left us an Example, that we should follow his Steps, and not live unto our selves. And this is the abominablest Idolatry, that of the Soul to any other Object, than the Lord and God of the Soul. This is to set up something as God, over All that is called God, debasing, slighting, grieving, and quenching the Holy Spirit in the mean while. O, how few think of this detestable Idolatry! Here is the First Commandment broken; how then can People expect to have Eternal Life? But all the Commands are broken: For God did not only prohibit Idolatry, which is worshipping another God; but worshipping the True God, vainly, falsely, with a vain Mind, after an unprofitable Manner, which is an un sanctified Frame of Soul. And how has Christendom taken God's Name in vain, and worshipped God in vain! What Good is come of the Ages of Worship? What Lusts are overcome? What Evil repelled? Have not all Manner of Abominations reign'd? Has not the Truth been held in Unrighteousness? And have not Generations blest God with their Mouths, wherewith they have presently curst Men? Have not Violence, Avarice, Oppression, Cruelty, Pride, Passion, Wrath, Envy, Vain Sports, Pleasures and Delights, fill'd the Earth, under all the Profession that has been made of Christ and God? Has he that has named the Name of Christ, or that has called himself by that Name, departed from Iniquity? O, No; it may be truly said, that such have sought the Lord in vain. Why? Because not as Jacob's Seed, who was a plain good Man, but of Rebellious Esau's Stock. You ask, and you have not; Why? Says James, Because you ask amiss. They sought in a wrong Nature to feed the Lusts of the same. Though they ask, they never receive; and though they knock, it will never be opened unto them: Such can never find; For all Worship toward God must stand in the Name and Nature of JESUS, or will never pierce the Heavens. It will be in vain, it will profit nothing. So that this Command is also broken. To say nothing of the frequent Use of the Name of God, about every Trivial Thing in common Conversation: O God! O Lord Jesu! and such like; for which, among other Things, the Lord God will pour out of the Vials of his Wrath upon the Nations: O blessed are they that fear always, and remember that severe Saying of Jesus, That every idle Word that Men shall speak, they shall give Account thereof in the Day of Judgment, Mat. xii. 36.*

Next, the True Sabbath is neglected: For the Gospel-Day is the *Spiritual Sabbath*, the Day of Redemption, Deliverance, and Salvation: They have Sinned away this Day, doing their own Works, when they should have been at the True Fast, the Mystical Abstinence, and humbled into the Grave, doing the Works of God: Yet talk of being freed from under the Law, and under Grace, while they live without Law, Grace, Christ, and God in the World, being led, not by the Spirit of God, No, that's *Enthusiasm, Fanaticism, Familism, Quakerism, &c.*) but by their own Wills, Lusts, Interests, and unregenerate Appetites.

Rebellion has cover'd the Earth: For there has not been an Honouring of their Father and their Mother; for they have rejected the Commands of their Father casting his Law behind their Backs, not glorifying Him as God their Father, when they knew Him: And they have disregarded the Advice of their Mother, the true Primitive Church that was redeemed with the Precious Blood of the Lamb of God that taketh away the Sins of the World, and that washed her and purged her, not leaving in her either Spots or Wrinkles: For so he presented her to God His Father, so that she put of her old Conversation, which was after the Fashions and Customs of this World, that She might be adorned with the Robes of Righteousness: Fine Linnen, white, the Mark of Innocence: Fitly trim'd for the Delight of her Beloved,

Beloved, her *Jefus*, her *King*, her *Lawgiver*, her *Maker*, and her *Husband* too, in whose chaste Embraces ſhe lives, his unſpotted dear *Spouſe* for ever. Now, what's a *Church*; but the redeemed Flock, Family, Houſhold or People of God? If then the *Church of Chriſt* muſt be pure, the Members that conſtitute that *Church* muſt be pure: Not by a vain and fictitious Imputation; but a Solid and Real Purgation, Redemption, and Salvation unto Righteouſneſs. For Faith in *Abraham* was a Righteous Act of Obedience in his Soul; therefore God imputed Righteouſneſs unto him: And bleſſed are his Spiritual Off-ſpring for ever, whoſe Faith overcomes, and is not overcome of the World. For thoſe are falſe Faiths, forc'd and imaginary Conceits, that cleanſe not, which true Faith doth; that Works by that Love which conquers the World, and loves God above all: The Highway to Eternal Life. So here the World hath been in the Breach of another Command, *They have diſhonoured their Father and Mother*, and therefore have their Days been few in the *Land of the Living to God*.

But the Chriſtian World ſo called, hath been defiled by Cruelty even to Blood: *Thou ſhalt not Kill*, ſaith the Lord: Little did ſome of the *Jews* think that they broke this Law, when they killed the *Prophets*, and ſtoned them that were ſent unto them: But what ſaid their Children? Did they ſpeak after the ſame Note? No: *Had we lived in the Days of our Fathers*, we would not have done as they did; and alas! They did worſe. Where it's worth obſerving; That, when the Devil hath perſecuted Holy Men to Death, and that the Way, to wit, Death, by which he hopes to bury all with them, is the Way by which their Doctrines and Endeavours ſhine more conſpicuouſly, and convincingly to others; he turns Proſelyte too, and ſays, theſe were good Men alſo, and puts his Followers upon ſetting up the Lamentation for the Loſs of thoſe pious Men (which, alas, he murder'd) and of their Words, and exteriour Forms patches he up a *Viſible Religion*; and then ſits he as God, or like God in the Hearts of Men and Women. So that he will be viſibly for Religion when he can no longer hinder. But this is to make him the greater Deceiver, and to paſs the more unqueſtioned and unſuſpected.

This Lamentation for the murdering of the *Prophets*, Admiration of their Works, and Building and Adorning of their Sepulchres, baſted the Judgment of Weak and Simple People: But eſpecially deceived the Multitude; and rendred the *Crucifixion of Jeſus* more Eaſie and Tolerable: *Stephen* followed, then *James*, and ſoon after that Time the bitter Perſecution of the *Chriſtians*: But by that Time Kings receiv'd *Chriſtianity*, Eaſe, and Plenty flow'd in; who ſo *Pompous*, *Magnificent*, *Gay*, *Worldly*, as *Chriſtian Biſhops*, their *Churches*, *Officers*, and *People*? Self-denying *Jeſus* loſt in the Crowd; the true Life of Religion expired, and Zeal extinguish'd; Diviſions ariſen, and one Biſhop againſt another, even to Death: Nothing but *Flattery*, *Hypocriſy*, and *Conformity* could well tell how to live in the 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, and 16th, Centuries, and ſo to our Days. Now the Rivers of Blood ſpilt by *Jews* and *Heathens* become a great ſwelling Sea by *Chriſtian*, or rather *Antichriſtian Perſecutions*: Now 'tis that all Councils and Synods are conven'd in Deſign, held in Faction, and broke up in ſelf-Intereſt. No Liberty of Conſcience in thoſe Days; no one muſt dare to buy or ſell Civilly, or Spiritually, but they muſt firſt have the Mark of that Church and State: O monſtrous Degeneracy! Here is Chriſt again crucified in the Streets of *Sodom* and *Egypt*, in the Hearts and Lives of the Sons and Daughters of Men. So that here are not only *Thousands of Martyrs of Jeſus*; but *Jeſus* the Lord, once more martyr'd, the True and Faithful Witneſs: And they have in all Ages hired, and ſet Soldiers, who are Killers by Profeſſion, to watch againſt His Riſing. Now is the Church in the Wilderneſs, the Place of Obſcurity and Shelter: This was the Winter-Season, the Time of Sackcloth and Aſhes: Now all were merry, ſending Gifts one to another, in their Revels and Maſquerades over the ſlain Witneſs of the Lord: Here is the Bloodieſt, and therefore the Woſulleſt of all Murders.

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But this is not all, they proceed to the next Commandment, *Thou shalt not commit Adultery*. And this they have fearfully broken; for *Christendom* so called hath committed *Adultery* most notoriously; and consequently broken God's Holy Law: For Alas! Alas! Has she not forsaken the Everlasting Fountain, the Spring of Immortal Life, that is pure for ever, and hewn out to her self Cisterns that will hold no Water? Has she not deserted her First Love, and her first Works? And has she not flung her self into the Embraces of another *Lover*, whereby she has divorc'd her self from the *Living God*, and joyn'd to an *Apostate Spirit*, by whom numerous is her unclean Issue, and many are her Abominations, that she has brought forth, even such of them, as were neither known to *Jew* or *Heathen*? This is she that hath committed *Fornication*, with all the Powers upon the Earth, whom she hath bewitch'd to her *Cap*, and her *Bed*.

But the Day of the Terrible Vengeance of God is come and coming, in which she and her Gallants and Merchants shall come to Judgment: And the Remnant of the True Woman's Seed that has been sojourning as poor Pilgrims in the desolate Wilderness with her, are come forth leaning on the Breast of her Beloved, to whom she has been, though a poor and banisht, yet a Faithful Spouse, during this long and tedious Reign of *Antichrist*, the *Whore*, *Beast*, *False Prophet*, and *Dragon*, which is the *Devil*: And because her dear Husband is *King of Kings*, and *Lord of Lords*, and has all Power in Heaven and Earth, and that it becomes her to be, if his Wife, a *Glorious Queen*; therefore hath he ordained that she shall no more sit as one desolate, and forsaken, clothed in Sackcloth, which is the Garment of Heaviness: But shall be crowned with the Stars, clothed with the Sun, and the Moon shall be under her Feet, that is, the changeable World, with all its Temporary Glory shall be her Foot-stool. Then needs must she be exalted above the *Whorish Woman*, whose highest Throne was but the True and Heavenly Woman's Foot-stool. In this Day *Judah* shall dwell safely, and *Israel* shall be glad.

But we must not stop here, for the Priests have been like to *Troops of Thieves* by the High-Way-side, that have robbed by Consent, and like *Priest, like People*: For first, it has been the Practice of the Clergy of all Lands, to insinuate themselves by their Policy and Flatteries, into the Favour of the Princes of this World, and thereby procured to themselves *large Taxes* on the People; not only to their better Maintenance, but to their being upheld in Worldly Pomp and Grandeur, and the amassing of base Treasures to them and their Temporal Kindred, for which there is neither Precept nor Example in *Holy Scripture*, unless it be, that the *False Prophets* were wont to prepare War of old against such as refused to *put into their Mouths*, that is, to incense the Civil Magistrate against them as Enemies to the Government, his Religion establish'd by Law. O! But the *False Christian* has herein transcended all former Ages! How many Millions have they got, nor for feeding, but starving the Souls of Millions? And that which greatly aggravates their Sin, is their Forgery, alledging the Authority of Heaven by a meer Counterfeit Commission; impiously using God's Name, to palliate their Design; and by the Credit His Excellent Name has with the Works of His Hands, to obtain to themselves an almost infinite Wealth.

But this is not all the Robbery I charge *Christendom* with; For they have both *Priest* and *People* been Confederate with the grand Robber, the Devil, in robbing God of His Honour, and Prerogative, which is the Hearts and Affections of the Sons and Daughters of Men: For when the great Creator made His first Settlement upon Man and Woman, He gave them the Earth here, and the Heaven hereafter, for their Inheritance, and that to them and their Heirs for ever. Providing always, that they gave this *Acknowledgment* to their great Lord, that *their Hearts should be His*, a small and reasonable *Chief-Rent*: But they rebelled, and so forfeited their Right, and came under the Curse, from whence Christ came to deliver their Offspring: Some were restored; 'twas His Work to do so, and to build up the waste Places. But not many Ages an *Apostacy* comes, not as 'at unawares, or by Chance;

Chance; 'twas foreseen, its Beginnings, Continuance and End. During this Apostacy, the Devil has sat as God, and therefore is called the God of this World, and Prince of the Power of the Air, that Rules, Where? In the Saints; in the Sanctified; no such Matter, Where then? In the Hearts of the Children of Disobedience, that obey not the TRUTH as it is in Jesus.

Thus hath God been robbed of His Honour, Propriety and Prerogative, and they have been given to another than the only True and Living God. Some have made over their Hearts to worldly Honour and Preferment: Others to earthly Riches: Others to Pleasures: Others to Uncleanneſs: Others to their Outward and Temporal Comforts: O! Many Ways there are to forget the Lord.

But the Robbery ends not here; Man loseth his own Soul: And what can he give in the dreadful Day of Account *in exchange for his poor Soul?* People have sold their Birthright for a Mess of *Pottage*: They have robbed themselves of their own Peace; and of their Eternal Inheritance with God, when Time shall be no more. Which leads me to the next Commandment, as amply broken as any of the Rest, *viz. Thou shalt not bear false Witness against thy Neighbour.* For alas! There has been no true one born by *Christendom*, since the Primitive Days: And how should she? Since she has slain the Faithful and True Witness, and crucified Him in her Streets: Nay, and done her Endeavour to root out all his Friends and Brethren, yea, if possible to extinguish the very Life of the Son of God in all that live upon the Earth. Nor could she compass all these Tragical Designs, had she not made use of *False Witnesses*. For she has been occasioned to hire People to swear Lies, in all Ages, against the Witnesses of *Jesus*, as the *Jews* did to *Jesus*, and His Disciples.

When did the *Imprison, Banish, Kill*; but under the Notion of *Schismatick, Heretick, Blasphemer, Enemy to God, Christ, and Holy Church*, with the like Pretences? Is not this to give *False Witnesses* against innocent Neighbours? But this is not all which proves the Breach of this Commandment; the whole Life of *Christendom* does it too amply and too lamentably: For are they not *False Witnesses*, who affirm Things they never saw, and make Profession of Things they don't know? If so, when did *Christendom* See, Taste, and Handle of the Word of Eternal Life, which she verbally professeth, which is as a *Fire, an Hammer, an Axe, a Two-edged-Sword, the Word of Regeneration, of Reconciliation, and of Patience, an Holy Light and Lamp* to the Soul; which brings me to the last Head, being the Substance and Matter of it, *viz. The Blasphemy and lying of Christendom, so called.*

This great Beast rose out of the Filthy Sea, the Corrupt Ages of this World, long after the Primitive Times; hath *Heads*, which is, Perfection of Wit and Policy; and *Ten Horns*, that is, Mighty Power: Has had and yet hath the Name of Blasphemy writ upon all his *Heads*; that is, a Profession of God in Words, whilst He is deny'd in Works; the grand Destructive *Atheism* of the World: It is the *Blasphemy* of all *Blasphemies*, to call God Father, when born of the Devil: What, to entitle the pure God to such an impure Offspring? To live in the Vanities and Pleasures and Lusts of this World; and yet to say, *Is not God our Father, and is not the Lord on our Side?* No, He is of purer Eyes than to behold Iniquity, much more than to own the Children of Sin, or to have Communion with them: *What hast thou to do to take my Name into thy Mouth; that hatest to be reformed? Though thou cryest I will not hear, and though thou callest I will not answer.* Behold, I will make them known to be of the Synagogue of *Satan*, that say, *They are Jews and are not.* And this is the greatest of all Lies, the Lye that is in the Right Hand, the Place of greatest Strength and Esteem; Religion and Worship: To say they are Christians, and are not: To profess Christ in the History, and crucify him in the *Mystery*. To confess to his *Outward Coming*, and resist his *Inward Appearance* in themselves. To keep the Day of His *External Birth*, while they make merry over Him, *Slain and Crucified* in their own *Heathenish Hearts*. Rebelling against His Light in their own

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Consciences, which is Christ's Day to them, and Christ is God's Everlasting Day. O what will be the End of such! *Ye uncircumcised in Heart and Ear, ye do always resist the Holy Ghost, as did your Fathers, so do ye:* And yet call your selves the Seed of *Abraham* and Children of God, but love and chuse a Murderer and *Barabbas*, rather than CHRIST, the Son of the Living GOD. Oh! What more abominable Lye can be told than this? And will not all such be shut out among them that work, and make a Lye: If they embrace not the Day of their Visitation, and come to the Truth; and by it be made free from every evil Way.

This is that *Great Iniquity* which has prophaned the Holy Place. That *Cursed Abomination*, which stood so long till it hath made desolate the—Place which God hath sanctified for Himself, the Hearts of the Sons and Daughters of Men; the First and Last *Living Temple of God*: Every Beast of Prey, every unclean Bird has taken up their Dwelling there, inso much that God has been like a Stranger to the noblest Part of the Workmanship of His own Hands.

And though the Lord has not left Himself without Witnesses in any Age; yet they were so few, and most of them, though accepted according to their Day and Work, yet so short as to the Main Work, that a Remnant can say, when the Lord first opened the Eyes of their Understanding, the World lay in a great Heap of Wickedness, Vanity, and Confusion: All following the Desires of their own Hearts, to gratify the Lusts of the same, living vainly and wantonly upon the Earth: Yea, the whole Earth looked like one great Wilderness, full of Briars and Thorns, Birds and Beasts of Prey.

And when God poured out of the Spirit of Judgment and of Burning upon us, not only making us sensible of His Holy Terrors in and for our selves, but of that Day of Fiery Trial he would suddenly overtake the World withall: *Our Faces gathered Paleness, and our Knees smote together: Our Hearts fainted: Our Lips quiver'd and our Bellies trembled: And all that we might Rest in the Day of Trouble.*

But while we were under the Lightning and Thunders, and great Earthquakes, Wars, and Rumours of Wars, such as had not been since the Foundation of the World, as to us. For the *Sun became darkned, and the Moon was turned into Blood, and none of the Stars of the Night appeared*, while our Agonies took strong Hold upon us, and we were in the Extremity of our Pains: O the Gazing-Stock that we were made to all, yea, Spectacles to God, Angels and Men: Some said, we were bewitched: Others, that we were strongly possessed of the Devil: All astonish'd: *Parents* beating and disowning of their Children: *Children* insulting over their Parents: *Masters* evilly entreating of their *Servants*: *Servants* abusing of their *Masters*: The *Husband* using Violence to the *Wife*: The *Wife* becoming strange and unnatural to her own *Husband*: And all most cruelly vexed, abused and tormented by the Magistrates, through the Wicked and Unwearied Instigations of the Priests of all Sorts, by *Fails, Dungeons, Whippings, Stocks, Pillorys, Plunders, &c.* O the Calamity! O the bitter Distress of that Day! And though we were but few in that Day, and very low, poor, and even despicable in our own Eyes; yet were we exceeding Strong and Valiant in the *Lord Jehovah*; our *Everlasting Strength*. For our Inward Man daily renewed, and we greatly loved one another: But never till now did we truly know what CHRIST was, either in *Conception, Birth, Reproaches, Sufferings, Death, Resurrection, or Ascension*; a Mystery to the whole Christian World at this Day, who are not turned to the Light of Jesus in their own Consciences.

And as in the Holy Watch we kept, not being stagger'd at the Reproaches of the Men of this World, but with *Moses* chusing them, rather than the Treasures and Pleasures of *Egypt*, where our Dear Lord lay crucified. We exceedingly grew in the Grace and Favour of God, and we were very tender by any wandering Thought, much more by any evil Act to grieve this *Holy Spirit*, or *Babe of Righteousness*, born in our selves, whom we desired should Reign, being overcome with Joy that He was born that brought Life with Him to our immortal Souls. And after we had staid at *Jerusalem* the City

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of our God and King, to receive His Instructions, Commission, and Authority, abroad we went upon the *Pourings out of His Holy Spirit*. And we went in the Name and Power of our God, to declare of His Judgments, and to tell of His Terrible Day, to call all to Repentance, and to prepare to meet the Lord, to make ready the Way of our God, who was coming to lay *Judgment to the Line, and Righteousness to the Plumbet*; to examine, sift, and winnow the Sons and Daughters of Men: To Judge in Righteousness, who will not be deceived by vain Shews of Religion: For he is a Jealous God of His Honour; and His Glory will He give to no Man, neither will He acquit the Guilty, or punish the Innocent.

But after this breaking forth of ours, and publishing our Message to the World, especially to Professors; the *Scribes* and *Pharisees* take the Alarm, they finding their *Call, Qualification, and Credit*, and which is most of all in their Eye, their *Maintenance*, brought in Question, and their whole Kingdom shaking: *Man made Ministry*, being proved insufficient; *forced Maintenance Antichristian*; and that no Man could know, much less preach, *Divine Things* without *Divine Revelations*, and *Inspirements*: And that no Man was a True Christian, much less a True Minister, that was not born of Water and the Spirit, the Fire and Holy Ghost: They raged greatly, dispatch'd their *Sauls* to *Damascus*, to the Rulers of the Nation, crying, *Help, Help*, or Religion is lost, and the Kingdom of Christ will go down; behold great Deceivers and Seducers, and false Prophets; Antichrists are risen, as was prophesied of, to come in the last Days: Now they are come, bestir your selves, make Laws, catch them, whip them, imprison them, banish and burn them.

And truly, they lay in wait for Blood, and several of us were tried for our Lives for Blasphemers, haled out of their Synagogues for our pure Testimonies sake, some crying, *Knock the Rogues down: They are Witches*, said others, *Devils*, said others, *We have a Law, and by our Law they ought to Die*.

They never wanted false Evidence to produce, as well as that we were frequently made Offenders for our True and Savoury Words, whether in Reproof or Exhortation utter'd, with our Lives in our Hands in Obedience to the Heavenly Vision. No Justice, no Mercy: If we escaped the *Multitude*, the *Magistrate* had the Stocking, imprisoning, or Whipping us; if we escaped the *Magistrate*, the *Multitude* at the instigation of the *Priests* fell like so many greedy Wolves or hungry Tygers upon us, beating and kicking and dragging of us, till some Part of our Flesh has been like a Jelly, often breaking our Heads and Bones; and some they have murdered by the like barbarous Usage: Not daring all this while either to flee the Place, or return them one railing Accusation; committing our lamentable Cause to God alone, to plead our Innocency, having no Helper in the Earth.

Nor were these Things all our Sufferings, or the Depths of our Tribulations: By no Means; for the sharpest of our Trials were from Men of a Religious Profession, whose Hearts contrived Mischief, and their Tongues and Pens utter'd it with all Manner of Slander and Contradiction; inasmuch that when we were not in the Hands of the *Magistrates* or *Multitude*; we were almost perpetually employed in Disputations and Conferences Personal, or by Writings: On which Occasion the World loving its own, we had great Difficulty and Wrong; such Perversions of our Words and Sayings, such Flouts and Jeers, such Interruptions and Noises, as would have been abhor'd of sober *Heathens*.

However, we bore it all through the Holy Patience of Jesus; and in the End of these Encounters, with *Ephesian-like-Beasts*, we rarely mist of some gained to the Faith: And finding at long Run, that they could neither wrangle, slander, nor persecute us out of that Testimony we had born for the Living God, and perceiving that the *Multitude* began to flagg, and would no longer be the Instruments of their Cruelty, taking Notice of our great Increase notwithstanding all these Oppositions; as also seeing that some of their own Kindred and Acquaintance were converted, whom they

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always confessed to be more religiously addicted than themselves, and that this Change augmented both their Virtue, and their Tender Love to their Kindred; many gave over this Way of Proceeding; and some moderate Respite we had for a Time: But Persecution by Fits; that is, as at any Time the *Clergy* has prevail'd with the *Civil Magistrate*; and because most, if not all, other Ways of Non-Conformity hide and slink, using their Politicks for Self-Preservation; and that we cannot desert our Standard or Testimony, (since 'twere to be accessory to the Prevalency of Darkeness) therefore hath Suffering been our Lot above all other *Non-Conformists*: As our Nation can Witness.

But blessed be the Name of the Everlasting God, who hath been as a *Pillar of Fire by Night, and a Pillar of Cloud by Day, and a Rock in a weary Land, and a pure Spring by the Way-side*; and has sustained us by the Invisible Cordials of His own Love, Life, Peace and Joy; and in the Ark of His Eternal Testament preserv'd us, making good to us what He promised of Old, That the *Old Lions should be hungry, and the young Lions should lack their Food, and the Youth should faint; but they that waited upon the Lord, and trusted in their God should renew their Strength: And no good Thing would be withheld from them: They should walk and not be weary; they should run, and not faint.* Yea, he often compassed us about with many and precious Promises, and great was our Resolution for the Lord; That, with *Habakkuk* we could say; *Though the Fig-Tree shall not blossom; neither shall Fruit be in the Vines, the Labour of the Olive shall fail, and the Fields shall yield no Meat; the Flock shall be cut off from the Fold, and there shall be no Herd in the Stalls; yet we will rejoice in the Lord, we will joy in the God of our Salvation: The Lord God is our Strength, and He will make our Feet like Hind's Feet, and He will make us to walk upon the High Places;* and that hath He done many a Time to our Astonishment: For He hath given us Power from on High to bind *Kings in Chains, and Nobles in Fetters of Iron, to tread upon the Necks of our Enemies, and to possess the Gates of them that once hated us: O I could write a Volume of the Judgments and Mercies and Faithfulness of the Lord; who hath kept us, increased us, confirmed us, protected us and comforted us to this very Day: For which Thousands are the Souls and Spirits, that Day and Night in White Linnen, the Raiment of the First Resurrection, Bow and Reverence, Honour, and Praise, Glorify and Exalt Him, that sits upon the Throne, and the Lamb who is worthy for ever.*

But much of that Wonderment, Suffering and Reproach is over; the Rigour of our Enemies abated; and the Blessed LIGHT and TRUTH in the Conscience becomes valuable in the Esteem of many, and the sincere Followers of it greatly respected; and that by Persons of very great Quality. And tho' the Laws, Oaths, and other Customs of our Country restrain Men of Authority from entirely falling in with us, or conferring any secular Employments upon us; yet have they with great Importunity sought to us in their own Personal, and Family Concerns, and reposed all Trust and Confidence in us. And blessed be the Lord, who hath kept us in the Way of Integrity, and that has so marvellously turn'd the Hearts of the Great Ones of the Earth, insomuch, that we can say; When those that would be thought as the *Heavens* have sought our Destruction, the *Earth*, meer Worldly Great Men have often help'd the *Woman*, and saved us from the *Raging Envy* of the *Scribes and Pharisees: Blessed be the Name of the Lord our God, who is a God like unto Him?*

And furthermore this know: Now that God hath made this Passage in the Land of our Nativity, and cast his firm Anchor of Hope in the Souls of many Thousands in this Island. He will suddenly break in upon the Nations about us; and all these Distresses, that now are in the Bowels of *Europe*, are to prepare the Way of the Lord. God will thin the People: He will pinch, pine, and wither Countries; and into Confusion shall *Europe* run more and more: And when their Distress is complete, then shall they cry early and earnestly after the Lord. And welcome, O beauteous shall the Feet

Feet of them be, that bring Glad Tidings to the Weary, and the Distressed; and when *Europe* is brought so low as to see, *There is no Helper in the Earth*, then shall Heaven be in Request; and to Heaven shall her Inhabitants look; and from thence shall he come into their hungry Souls, whom they have look'd for.

And this is the Word of the Lord, that lives in my Soul to you: *The Lord whom you look for, shall suddenly come to His Temple*, even your Hearts. O prepare, prepare; make ready; watch unto his Appearing in you, to make you a *Fir Habitation for His Holiness to dwell in*. Let him have your whole Hearts; let the *Mangers* be for the *Beasts*, and not for the *Babe of Glory*, whose very Birth brings *Glory to God on High, Peace on Earth, and Good Will towards Men*.

Yet Sorrow goes before, and will gird all Nations; for in that Day, when they shall see whom they have pierced, all *Kindreds, Tribes, and Families* shall mourn, as one would Sorrow for one's Firstborn, and be in Bitterness as for one's Only Child. And with such shall it be well; for to them will it be not only a Day of Visitation, but Redemption.

But Wo unto the *Idol Shepherds*, in that Day, who have fed themselves and not the Flock; who have run, and God never sent them; and cried, Thus said the Lord, and God never spake to them; and that have prey'd upon the Flock, and prepared War against those that in *Conscience* could not put into their *Hireling-Mouths*: That have been the great Emisaries of the False Prophet; and to all that commit Sin with Greediness, and will have none of the Lord nor of the Knowledge of His Ways: But, with the Priests and Rulers of this World, that have drunk deep Draughts of the Blood of the *Saints*, and *Martyrs of Jesus*, from the Eyes of such shall Repentance be hid in that Day, and their Tongues will be scorched with the Heat thereof; and they will utter *Blasphemies* against the *Most High*, and their End will be Eternal Perdition.

And behold I stand at the Door and knock, saith the Lord God, I am ready to be revealed. It shall not be said, *The Father's have eaten your Grapes, and the Children's Teeth are set on Edge*: But thus saith the Lord, *Every Soul shall bear His own Burden*, and for the Iniquity that he hath done, shall he die; unless he die to Sin by unfeigned Repentance: For my swift Witness, who is Faithful and True, is arising, and by him will I plead with all Flesh.

Wherefore, Wo to all the Inhabitants of the Earth that have cast my Law behind their Back, and grieved my *Holy Spirit*: That have taken Counsel and not of me, and that have forgotten me Days without Number. That have lived wantonly upon the Earth, and consumed their Days in Pleasures: That have multiplied Sacrifices unto me; but have not hearkened unto my Word: That serve me with their Lips, while their Hearts are far from me. That offer unto me *Incense*, and yet oppress the Holy One of *Israel* with their Iniquities; my Soul loaths your Assemblies, and your Sacrifices are an Abomination unto me.

O Repent, Repent, Turn unto me, why will you die, that I may give you Life: Obey the Light of My Son in your Hearts, and ye shall yet Live before Me.

And all you that separate your selves from the Multitude, in whom my Spirit has been stirring, but have quencht it with your own Stirrings, and have made a Fire of the Sticks that you have gathered; and that compass your selves about in the Sparks of the Fire that you have kindled, (which is not the Fire that comes from Heaven) Behold, *This shall you have at my Hand; you shall all lie down in Sorrow*.

Wherefore Hear and Live: My Sacrifice is in mine own Spirit; whose Motions do thou wait for in the Silence of all Flesh; and give up thy self in Obedience unto the same, and I will touch thy Heart with a Coal from my own Holy Altar; and a Living Sacrifice shalt thou offer unto me on my Sabbath-Day, in which thou shalt rest from thy own Works, and therein shall

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my Soul be delighted; and thou shalt Rejoyce before me : For with me the Lord, is Everlasting Wisdom, Strength and Refreshment.

This is the Ancient Way of the Lord, This is the Path of our God. To you I write, *Worthy and Great Women*, that you may walk in it, and be of that Number, which at this Day, (wherein one cries, *Lo here*, another *Lo there*;) may lay hold on the Skirt of the *True Jew*, the Spiritual Circumcision, revealing himself, it may be, but as a Day of small Things at first in your Souls, that you may see him, the only Rock to build upon, that your Peace may be great in the Lord; when Troubles are round about you. For by that shall the begotten of God be known, and eminently discovered in the Days of Universal Calamity: Tranquillity, Patience, Faith and Perseverance, shall conspicuously shine in their very Countenances.

Something rose in my Heart, to write of my own Convincement to you, with what Entertainment I received from Kindred, Acquaintance, Rulers, &c. The many Circumstances belonging to my Conversion and Travail, which, though inferior to your *Quality*, might not be ungrateful or unserviceable to you. But I see, it's not to be this Season, besides, I have been very large already, yet all along in Obedience to the Love and Life of my God in my Soul, being herein acted beside all Regard to Worldly Method, Phrase, or Contrivance, unworthy of them that take in Hand to write of *Divine Things* at the Will and Appointment of God.

I commit and commend you to the *Word of Jesus*, nigh in your Hearts, In the holy Watches of it, to be kept and preserved, that the Evil one touch you not: And that this Holy Word which is Christ, the Son of the Living God, may be brought forth in you, have room in your Hearts to live and grow, till you are replenish'd therewith. A great Mystery it is, but very true, and to the Children of Light very plain; That he that brings us forth into the Regeneration, is brought forth in us, The Church is born of Christ, and Christ is born of the Church: Wherefore the *Apostle* wrote to the *Galatians* that he *travailed in Birth again till Christ was formed in them*: and what is this *Virgin Church* but so many *Virgin Members*, that being overshadowed by the *H. Ghost* conceives, and in the fulness of Time brings forth this Glorious *Man-Child*, that is to rule the Nations.

Wherefore in that pure *Virgin Life*, live; where the sweet Overshadowings of the holy Life of Jesus are felt, that you may continually bring forth Fruits to the Honour and Glory of the Name of the Lord: which is the Way to your Eternal Peace.

I have but one Thing more, and I take my Leave of you at this Time, And that is, Remember the *Poverty, Simplicity, Self-Denial, Patience, and the Cross of Jesus*: I beg of you, by all that is dear and Sacred to you: Shrink not at his *Baptism*, neither so much as temper with any Latitude, that would evade his *better Cup*. Let not his *Vinegar* and *Gall* be unpleasant, nor his *Crown of Thorns* troublesome: nor last of all, let not his *Nails and Spear* be terrible to you, For they that will not forsake him in his *Agonies*, but be the Companions of his *Tribulations*, and cheerfully lay down their Life and die with him to the World; They and none else, shall rise with him in the *Newness* of Life: and ascend with him to his Father, by him to be glorified with that Glory, which he had with his Father, before the World began.

Unto which Kingdom God Almighty conduct you, through this Earthly Pilgrimage, *Amen*.

Yours in that Love and Life, which reigned, before Sin or Death had a Being.

W. P.

A Sum-

A SUMMONS, or CALL to CHRISTENDOM: In
an earnest Expostulation with Her, to prepare for the Great and Notable Day of the Lord that is at the Door.

A Wake, O Christendom! Awake, and come to Judgment, for the Great and Notable Day of the Lord is drawing apace upon thee; prepare to meet him, thou and thy Children, for the Hour of his Judgment hasteneth upon you, as Travail upon a Woman with Child, in which all your Works shall be tried, and that by Fire, For the Day of the Lord shall burn as an Oven, and all the Proud, and all that do wickedly, shall be as Stubble. Yea, by Fire and by Sword will the Lord God Almighty plead with all Flesh; with all fleshly Worshippers and Workers, who live after the Flesh, to fulfill the Lusts thereof: And with the Spirit of Judgment, and the Spirit of Burning, that is, with Spiritual Judgment and Burning, will he visit all Ranks and Regions upon the Earth: Yea, his holy Terrors shall take hold of the *Rebellious*, and Anguish and Distress shall fill the Souls of the Guilty. The Faces of Nations shall gather Paleness, and their Knees smite together, because of the Anger of God, that is kindling against them, and his fierce Wrath, that is revealing from Heaven against all the Ungodly, but more especially against the Children of the *Myssery of Iniquity*: 'Tis in this Day that the Kindreds of the Earth shall mourn with a great Lamentation.

O Christendom! Thou hast long sate as a *Queen*, that should never know Sorrow; Great have been thy Pretences, and large thy Profession of God, Christ, Spirit and Scriptures; Come, let me expostulate with Thee and thy Children, in the Fear and Presence of him, that shall bring every Word and Work to Judgment. God is Pure, and the pure in Heart only see him: Now, are you pure? Do you see him? God is a Spirit, and none can worship him aright, but such as come to his Spirit, and obey it: Do you so? Christ is the Gift of God, have you received him into your Hearts? Does he rule there? Then have you Eternal Life abiding in you: If not, you are not true Christians. The Spirit of Truth leadeth into all Truth, and the Children of God are born of it, and led by it. But are you led into all the holy Ways of Truth, born of this Eternal Spirit? Then you follow not the Spirit of this World; nor do your own Wills, but the Will of God. You profess the holy Scriptures; but what do you witness and experience? What Interest have you in them? Can you set to your Seal they are true, by the Work of the same Spirit in you, that gave them forth in the holy Ancients? What's David's Roarings and Praises to thee, that livest in the Lusts of this World? What's Paul's and Peter's Experiences to thee, that walkest after the Flesh?

O you, that are called Christians, give ear a little unto me, for I am preft in Spirit to write to you: Read with patience, and consider my words; for behold, what I have to say unto you concerneth your Eternal Good.

G O D hath so loved the World, that he hath sent his only begotten Son into the World, that those that believe on him, should have Eternal Life. And this Son is Christ Jesus, the true Light, that lighteth every one coming into the World; and they that abide not in him the Light, dwell in Darknes, in Sin, and are under the Region and Shadow of Death: Yea dead in Sin, and see not their own States, neither perceive the sad Conditions of their own Souls. They are blind to the Things of God's Kingdom, and unsensible of true and Spiritual Life, and Motion, what it is, to live to God: And in that State, are alienated from God, without true Judgment and living Knowledge; and under the Curse. For in Jesus Christ, the Light of the World, are hid all the Treasures of Wisdom and Knowledge, Redemption and Glory; they are hid from the Worldly Christian, from all that are captivated by the Spirit and Lusts of the World: And whoever would see them, (for therein consist the Things, that belong to their Eternal Peace) must come to Christ Jesus the true Light in their Con-

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Christendom.
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sciences, bring their Deeds to him, love him and obey him; whom God hath ordained a *Light to lighten the Gentiles*, and for his *Salvation to the Ends of the Earth*. *Light and Salvation* are joyned together, and none can come to *Salvation*, but as they come first to the *Light*, and submit to the *Manifestation* of it, which leadeth to *Salvation*. For the *Nations of them that are saved*, shall walk in the *Light of the Lamb*, Christ Jesus. *Light and Justification* are also joyned together: *If we walk in the Light, as God is in the Light, the Blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all Sin*. And *Light and Life Eternal* are joyned together: *For in the Word* (that was with God in the Beginning, and was God, by whom all Things were made, that were made) *was Life, and the Life was the Light of Men*. And this is the *Testimony of Jesus, I am the Light of the World; he that followeth me, shall not abide in Darknes, but have the Light of Life*; Yea, it is *Eternal Life*, to believe in him, in Christ the *Light*, to receive, embrace, and to follow him. And that was the *true Light* (saith the same beloved Disciple) *which lighteth every Man, that cometh into the World*. Now this *Light* shineth in *Darknes*, in the Children of *Darknes*, in their dark Hearts, in their black Souls, and defiled Consciences, but in this *Darknes* they comprehend it not. Neither can Man know the *Nature and Benefit* of it, whilst he rebelleth against it; For the *Virtue and Excellency* of it is shut up and hid from the *Children of Disobedience*. To as many as received him of old, gave he *Power* to become the *Children of God*; and they that did his Will, knew his *Doctrine* to be of God, and of *Power and Efficacy* to their *Salvation*.

But this is the great *Condemnation* of the *World* at this *Day*, that though God hath sent his *Son* a *Light* into the *Hearts* of all *Men and Women*, to manifest and reprove their evil *Deeds*, and to save them; yet they love *Darknes*, they love the *Lusts and Imaginations* of their vain *Hearts*, better than this holy *Light*, that is given unto them for *Salvation*: They chuse *Barabbas* rather than *Jesus*. Yea they have set up other *Lights*, than Christ Jesus, *God's great Light*; and other *Prophets* than *Christ*, *God's great Prophet*; and other *Priests* than *Jesus*, the *High Priest* of the *New Covenant*: But they are *dark Lights, false Prophets, and blind Priests*. All that came before me, saith Christ, are *Thieves and Robbers*: And all that *Pray, Preach, Sing, Worship, &c.* and not by the *Light and Spirit* of *Jesus*, they go before Christ, before Christ cometh, before he prepareth their *Hearts*, and toucheth their *Lips* with a *Coal*, from his *Heavenly Altar*; and perform *Worship* in their own *Will, Time and Power*, and stay not for his *Leadings*. And therefore all such rob *Christ* of his *Office*, who is the *Leader* of the true *Christians*; their *Heavenly High-Priest*, to anoint them, and offer up their *Sacrifice* to God for them; and *Prophet*, to let them see and know by his *Light*, in their *Hearts*, what they ought to do according to the *New and Everlasting Covenant*; *I will write my Law in their Hearts; and put my Spirit in their inward Parts, and they shall be all taught of me, saith the Lord*.

Now this is the *Question* to the whole *World* called *Christians*: Do you see with this *Divine Light*? Have you searcht your *Hearts* with it? And are you anointed by this *High-Priest* with his *holy Unction*, that leadeth into all *Truth*? Doth this *Heavenly Prophet* give you *Vision*, and reveal the *Father* to you? Is he your *Eye, your Head, your Wisdom*? Do you live, move, and have your *Life and Being* in him, in *Praying, Preaching, and Singing*, yea, in your whole *Conversation*? Are you renewed into his *Life and Image*? And have you heard his *Voice*, and seen his *Shape*? Are you *Witnesses* of his *holy Rebukes, his pure Judgments, the Shame and Death of his Cross*? Is he the *Fountain* of your *Knowledge*? The *Author* of your *Faith*? O consider! Are you of those, that have Spoke with *Jesus*? That have been taught in the *School of his holy Cross*? *Students* in his *Heavenly Academy*? O have you drunk of his *Cup*, and been baptized with his *Baptism*? Tell me in the *Fear* of the *Lord God*, you that call your selves *Christians*, doth he go before you, and lead you, as a *Master* teacheth his *Disciples*, and a *Captain* lead-

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eth his *Souldiers*? And do you follow him in all the weighty Things of this Life? And doth he order your Minds, and rule your Affections? If not, you are *Thieves and Robbers*; for you rob *Christ* of his Office. For God hath appointed him to be the *Leader and Ruler* of all People; yea, 'tis God's Decree; and those that he leadeth not in their Thoughts, Words and Works, shall never come to God: for all must come to God by him, that is, by his *Light*, and *Spirit* ruling in their Hearts, which sanctifieth, regenerateth, and converteth the Soul to God.

And the Cause of the *Confusion* and *Contention*, that is about Religion, in Europe, at this Day, is, that Men have deserted this true *Light* and holy *Spirit*, and so are degenerated from the Life and Power of pure and unspotted Religion, and have attempted to comprehend *Christ's* Doctrines without *Christ's* Light, and to know the Things of God, without the *Spirit* of God. And being thus Miserably erred by wicked Works from the one *Spirit* of Truth, they have wandered into the fallible *Conceits* and *Opinions* of Men. And in this State one Party hath contended against another: From Words they have fallen to Blows, and the Strongest hath oppressed the Weakest. And not knowing what Spirit they were of, have called *Light*, *Darkness*, and *Darkness*, *Light*; putting the *Sheep's-Skin* upon the *Wolf*, and the *Wolf's-Skin* upon the poor *Sheep* of *Christ*, endeavouring by carnal Weapons to enforce their Opinions, and to extort Conformity, by Worldly Laws and Punishments, to their Perswasions. All this is out of the *Light*, Life and Doctrine of *Christ Jesus*, and in the Spirit of *Darkness*, *Confusion*, *Strife* and *Blood-shed*, which are of the *Devil*. All which *Babel* must and shall come down by the *Light*, *Power* and *Spirit* of *Jesus* now rising in the World; and Hell, Death and the Grave, shall not be able to hinder it: For the set Time, the appointed Time of the Father is come, and the Judgment is begun.

O ye, that are called *Roman-Catholicks*, tell me, are you truly *Catholick*, that is, of an *Universal Spirit*? Then you will not persecute, but love all, and be tender to all. Are you truly *Roman*, and *Successors* of that *Ancient Apostolical Church*? Then you walk not after the *Flesh*, but after the *Spirit*, yea, the Spirit of *Christ* dwelleth in you, and you are led by the *Spirit* of God, and can call him *Father* in Truth and Righteousness, and the *Word* of God in the Heart is your Teacher, and not the Traditions of Men; For so the *Romans* of old Time were instructed. O consider, if you are true *Successors*, you must follow them in the same Nature, Spirit and Life; For in that only standeth the *Christian Succession*, to wit, in *Christ*: And every *Branch*, *Person* or *Church*, that abideth not in this great *Vine*, is rejected for the Fire. Therefore deceive not your selves, as the *Jews* of old did, with crying, *The Temple of the Lord, The Temple of the Lord*; and saying, *We have Abraham to our Father, and to us belong the Fathers, Covenants, Law, Priesthood, and Chair of Moses*: For as the Apostle said of old, so say I to you; *His Servants you are, to whom you obey, and He that committeth Sin is of the Devil*. So that *Christ's Successors*, are they, that take up his Cross, follow him, and that abide in his holy Doctrine, that keep his Commandments, and themselves unspotted from the World. And those that follow the *Lust* of the Eye, the *Lust* of the *Flesh*, and *Pride* of Life, are not of *Christ*, nor of the Father, but of the *World*; Subjects to the Prince of the Power of the *Air*, and *Successors* of *Sodom, Gomorrah, Egypt, Tyre, Sidon*, and persecuting *Jerusalem*; and not of the harmless self-denying, holy, Suffering Spouse of *Christ Jesus*, that is ruled in all Things by her Husband, her Head, her Lord. O search and try with the *Light* of *Jesus*, if you are not degenerated from Primitive Simplicity, and Purity? For great are the Abominations of all *Seits*, that flow like a Deluge throughout your *Countries*! Repent, and turn to the *Ancient Apostolical Spirit* and Life, that you may enter into the Rest of God.

O you that call your selves *Evangelicks*, or *Gospellers*, are you *Evangelical*? Are you saved from the *Lusts* and *Pleasures*, and dead *Worshippers* of the World by the mighty Power of God, which is the *Gospel*, and led by
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an *Evangelical Spirit*? If not, you are not yet *Redeemed*, you are not yet under *Grace*, which is the *Gospel-State*: For you are not taught by it, but *rebel* against it; how then are you true *Gospellers*, Men of *Gospel-Liberty*, Men of Deliverance and Redemption; to whom Immortality is brought to Light, (as it is to all, that truly know and receive the blessed *Gospel*) that are yet Subjects and Servants to *Sin*? How can you sing the *Song* of the *Lamb*, that are not delivered by the *Lamb*; but by your vain Conversations crucifie the *Lamb*, and do despite to the *Spirit of Grace*, and that every Day? The true *Gospellers* are those, that receive the *Angel's Message*, who is the great Preacher of the Everlasting *Gospel*, viz. *Fear God, give Glory to his Name, for the Hour of his Judgment is come; and no more worship the Beast*. Do you fear God in Truth, and in Sincerity? Then are you fearful of offending the Lord, and tender of God's Glory; then are your Hearts kept clean, then are you wise to *Salvation*; and so you can glorifie God indeed: otherwise your Prayers and Praises are not *Evangelical* in God's Sight.

But tell me, O ye *Gospellers*, is the *Hour* of his *Judgment* come to you? Is it begun at your Houses yet? How do you feel it? Hath it broke your Hearts? Hath it contrited your Spirits? Have ye known the Godly Sorrow? The Chastisements of the Lord, and Kebukes of the Almighty? Hath his pure Eternal Word divided yet betwixt your Soul and Spirit, the Joynts and Marrow? Have you ever been weary and heavy laden with Sin; Hath it been a Burden to you? Did you ever cry out, in the Agony of your Spirits yet, *Men and Brethren what shall we do, to be saved?* O! who shall deliver us from the *Body of Sin* here, and the Wrath to come! (The Travel of the holy Ancients;) if not, you are yet strangers to *Christ* and his *Kingdom*: And if you die in that State, where he is gone, you shall never come. For *Sion*, God's City, must be redeemed through Judgments, and her Converts through Righteousness: Yea the *House of God* cannot escape it; wherefore, said one of old, If Judgment begin at the *House of God*, where shall the *Sinner and Ungodly* appear? O *Wo* to them, that live without the Judgments of the Lord! *Wo* to them, that cast his Reproofs behind their Backs, and live in Earthly Pleasures, satting up themselves in their Lusts and Pleasures, as for the Day of Slaughter, and treasuring up Wrath against the Day of Wrath. O the *Ancient Saints* lived not thus; they wrought out their Salvation with *Fear and Trembling*; yea, they gave all Diligence, to make their Calling and Election sure: Which way do you work out yours? *Habakkuk*, that holy Prophet, his Lips quivered, and his Belly trembled, that his Soul might rest in the Day of Trouble: Is this your State? Or, are you not rather *Worshippers* of the *Beast* at this Day, Lovers of the *Worldly, sensual, voluptuous Life*, walking in the Lusts of the Eye, the Lusts of the Flesh, and Pride of Life; Like *Rebellious Israel* of old, forgetting God, Days without Number? But this know, that all that forget God, shall be turned into Hell.

Oh! what is become of the *Fatherly Visitation* made to your Progenitors, those good Beginnings sown in *Persecutions* and *Martyrdoms*? Have you answered the *Loving-Kindness* of God therein? Have you advanc'd in the *Way of Righteousness*? Are you become an holy Nation, and a peculiar People to God, Zealous of good Works? But have you not betaken your selves to the *Wisdom and Learning* of this World, to make *Ministers*, and deserted the *Spirit of the Lord*, and fled to the Power and Policy of this World, to defend and protect you, and not to the Name of the Lord, which hath always been the strong Tower of the *Righteous*? Nay, are you not divided one against another, and turned *Persecutors* for Religion, your selves, denying that *Liberty* to others, you took for your selves? Ah! Where is the Royal Law of *Doing as you would be done unto*.

Thus have you decayed and degenerated into a *Worldly Clergy*, and a *Carnal People*, holding and maintaining Reformed Words, in an unreformed Spirit, Yea, are not the same Evils, *Pride, Passion, Malice, Wars, Bloodshed, Persecution, Deceit, Fleishly Lusts, Wantonness, vain Pleasures and Sports,*

Sports, yea, all Manner of Worldly-mindedness to be found in you, that were in the Persecutors of your Fore-fathers, and against which your most serious and best Ancestors faithfully testified? So that the Difference now is about Words and Sentences, and not about the Life, Nature and Spirit of *Pure and Undeified Religion*: And Men are to be known now by their Denominations and Subscriptions to certain Human Creeds, Man-made Faiths and Forms, and not by the Spirit and Image of Christ Jesus, by the Nature of the True Sheep, and by that Holy Unction, that was the Bond of the Heavenly Fellowship of the Saints of Old.

And you, that are called *Reformed*, with the rest of the Subdivided *Seets*, What better are you for your Names? Are ye Regenerated yet? Are you *Reformed* from the Lusts of the Eye, the Lusts of the Flesh, and the Pride of Life; from the *Devil* and all his Works? Are you born of the incorruptible Seed, that liveth and abideth for ever? And are you come out of the Corruptible Things, and doth Christ lead you? Is the Government of your Souls upon His Shoulders? Tell me, is it the *New Birth*, that which is born of God through many Tribulations, the *New Man* Created in Christ Jesus, that calleth God *Father* in your Prayers, and that maketh Mention of him in your preachings? Or is it the *First Birth of the Earth*, *Earthly*, the old Man, the corrupt and unregenerated Nature, that which is born of the Flesh, that is to say, of the Seed of the Evil One, the Father of all the Fleishly Lusts, Inventions, Imaginations and Traditions of Men, that taketh Pleasure in the vain and wicked Sports and Pleasures of this Apostate World, that forget God, and turn his Grace into Wantonness; reproaching, nick-naming, and persecuting the Children of Regeneration, with scornful Names and cruel Punishments, calling God Father as the *Jews* did; and Crucifying Christ afresh by a vain Conversation at the same Time.

O you degenerated *Christians* of all Sorts, yea, all the several *Seets* in *Christendom*, that have deserted your first Love, and degenerated from the Life and Power of *Primitive Godliness*, with the Light of Christ Jesus in your Hearts examine your selves. God hath lighted your Candle, search and try your selves; see how it standeth with you as to your Eternal Condition, before you go hence, and be no more in this World. Consider, Are you in the True Faith of Christ or no? For without True Faith none can please God; and without pleasing Him no Man can be saved. The Devils believe, yea, and tremble too; that is more than Thousands, called Christians, do, and so far they are short of the very Devils. Have you Faith? Let's try it in the Name of God. *What is it for Faith? Doth it overcome the World? Doth it live, and depend upon God? Can it forsake Country and Kindred? Turn out Ishmael? Offer up Isaac? Live a Pilgrim, a Stranger in the World? Doth it work by that Love, which can forsake all for Christ's Name's-Sake? Doth it fight against the Devil? Resist his fiery Darts? Overcome his Assaults and Temptations? And finally, purifie the Soul to God's Use?* Is this your Faith, O you carnal, outside Christians? No such Matter; for you live in the Flesh, fulfilling the Lusts thereof; and your Care is, what you shall eat, drink, and put on, and how you shall get the Mammon, Friendship and Glory of this World. Examine your selves, and prepare, for the Day of the Lord hasteneth upon you. And have a Care, lest you partake of the Plagues that God hath prepared for *Babylon*; she that calleth herself the *Lamb's Bride*, and is an Harlot, committing Fornication throughout all Nations and *Seets*, that is, those that by a *Lying Spirit*, have had their Hearts seduced from God and His Holy Fear, yet in Words profess'd to be his People; who call themselves *Jews*, but are not; *Christians*, and are not, but of the Synagogue of Satan; being Strangers to the *Circumcision in Spirit*, and the *Baptism that is with Fire, and with the Holy Ghost*: With *Fire*, to consume the Fleishly Nature; and with the *Holy Ghost*, to beget the Heavenly Nature in Man. O the Downfall of this Great City, and the Desolation of this False Church through all the *Seets* in *Christendom*, is come and coming! Yea, in one Day shall it be accomplished, even in the Day of the Appearance of Christ, who is the *Second Adam*,

No. XVII. *Adam*, the Lord from Heaven, who by the Brightness of his Coming, and by the Breath of his Mouth in the Hearts of Nations, shall reveal, and destroy this Great Antichrist, this Man of Sin, in *Man*, that sitteth in the Place of God, yea, exalted above all that is called God, requiring Conformity to all his Inventions and Injunctions upon Pain of Life, Liberty and Estate: Nor are any suffered to Buy or Sell in this Great City, but such as will Receive his Mark.

Wo to you all in the Name of the Lord, that call God your Father, and are not Born of him; that name *His Name*, and hate to be Reformed: That call *Jesus* Lord, and not by the *Holy Ghost*; who take *His Pure Name* into your Mouths, and depart not from Iniquity. I say to you on God's Behalf, as God said to the *Jews* of old; your Prayers, your Sacrifices, and your Solemn Assemblies, &c. in an unconverted State, are Abomination to the Lord. No Matter for your Names, your Pretences, your Creeds, if you live without *God in the World*; that is, without His Holy Awe in your Hearts, without a Divine Sense of His Presence in your Souls, and know not that Godly Sorrow, that worketh unfeigned Repentance, the only Way to Eternal Life. Your Worship God loatheth: A Dog's Neck, Swine's Blood, Yea, to bless an Idol, or kill a Man, is altogether as acceptable with the Lord. O! God is wroth with the feigned Worships, as well as common Ungodliness of the World: Come to Christ's Spirit, be led of it, and do not your own Wills, but the Will of Christ Jesus; and then you shall know the True Worship. For the True Ministry and Worship of God stand not in the Will, Wisdom, or Appointment of Men, nor can they be performed by unregenerated Men; but in the Leadings of His Eternal Spirit, by whom all the Faithful offer up themselves, an acceptable Sacrifice to God, not to live unto themselves, but to him that hath purchased them. 'Tis true, Christ Jesus died for the *Ungodly*, but not that they should continue *Ungodly*, but take up His Daily Cross and follow Him. Christ (saith Peter) suffered for us, leaving us an Example, that we should follow His Steps: As He was in this World, so we should be, not conformable to the Rudiments, Fashions, and Customs of this World, that pass away; but transformed and renew'd in our Minds by the Grace that he hath given us: Which Grace bringeth Salvation to all that obey it, teaching such to deny all Ungodliness, and Worldly Lusts, and to live Soberly, Righteously, and Godly in this present Evil World: Because without Holiness, none shall ever see the Lord: That is God's Decree.

Wherefore be you not deceived, O you Formal and Titular Christians; God will not be mocked: Such as you Sow, such shall you Reap at the Hand of the Lord; Yea, for every idle Word shall you give an Account in the Day of Judgment. Think not with your selves, you have Christ to your Saviour, and you are reconciled to God, through Christ, and that God looketh not upon you, as you are in your selves, but as in Christ; whilst you walk not after the Spirit, but after the Flesh: For the Wages of Sin is Death; but the Gift of God is Eternal Life, through Jesus Christ our Lord: To whom? Nor to them that despise His Light in their Hearts, that grieve His Spirit, and by a Worldly Conversation go on to Crucify him; and who follow not Jesus in the Way of Tribulation and Regeneration. God is of Purer Eyes than to behold Iniquity; and he looketh upon Men and Women to be, what they really are, and not what they imagine themselves to be: Behold he cometh, and his Reward is with him, and he will reward all according to their Works. Sinners, while such, can no more come into Christ, than into God; for God is in Christ, and Christ is in God: Christ is Holy, Harmless, Pure and Undeified, and separate from Sinners. And if ever you would have God look upon you to be in Christ, you must come into Christ: And you can never come into Christ, the New and Heavenly Man, that is undeified and separated from Sinners, till you come out of Sin, and the Author of it, the Devil, the Old Man of Sin, and leave your Wicked Deeds of Darkness.

Therefore be ye separate from every evil Way: Christ, the Immaculate Lamb of God, came not only to save Men from Wrath, but from Sin, which

is the Cause of Wrath. Behold the Lamb of God, saith John, which taketh away the Sin of the World : Not their Sin that will not believe in him, but the Sins of those that are weary and heavy laden, that wait, hunger, thirst, and cry for his Salvation; whom God hath given for a Light to lighten the Gentiles, and for His Salvation to the Ends of the Earth. O you that are called by his Sacred Name, Repent, Repent ! Prepare, Prepare to meet the Lord, who is coming in the Way of his Judgments to visit the Inhabitants of the Earth; and put away the Evil of your Doings, and turn to him, that he may receive you.

But *Wo* in the Name of the Lord, to all that Rebel against the Light of Christ Jesus, who serve another Master, and follow another Captain, and obey the Prince of the Power of the Air, who reigneth in the Hearts of the Children of Disobedience. Yea, *Wo* unto all, who are covered with a Covering, and not of my Spirit; that take Counsel, and not of me, saith the Lord : Who gather Sticks, and kindle a Fire of their own, and compass themselves about in the Sparks, which they have kindled; for this shall they have at my Hand, *They shall lye down in Sorrow.*

Wo from God to all the Will-Worshippers, who Worship, but not in the Spirit and in the Truth; their Worship is not available. He that *Worships* God aright is turned to the Spirit, and is taught and led by the Spirit. And such as have received the Spirit of Christ, are not led by their own Spirits, nor by the Spirits of this World, nor according to the Inventions and Traditions of Men : Neither do they Conform themselves to the Customs and Fashions of this World, nor will they bow to the Glory of this World, or the God of it. But having seen Him, whom they have pierced with their vain Conversation in Times past, they mourn, and are in great Bitterness, because they have done Despite to His Holy Spirit of Grace, that strove so long with them for their Redemption. And being called by his Spiritual Call in their Hearts, to come out of Babylon, the great City of Will-Worship, Confusion and Darkness, that is in the Earth, do cheerfully resign up all to follow him in the Narrow Way of Self-Denial, as His Holy Disciples did of Old. And such have learned by good Experience, that *Without Christ they can do nothing* : Tho' in these Days scarcely any Thing is done with him, or by him. For he is resisted in his Spiritual Appearance in the Consciences of those, that make a Profession of him with their Mouths, and therefore he doth not many mighty Works in them : Yea, he is smitten, spit upon, crown'd with Thorns, pierc'd and crucified of all false Christians, through their Rebellion and Wickedness.

O *Wo* from the Great and Just God, that made Heaven and Earth, upon all People, that work Iniquity, and forget God ! *Wo* to you Kings and Princes, that have Crucified the Lord of Life and Glory; yea, you have Crucified him in your selves, and helpt to Crucifie him in others : He lyeth slain at this Day in your Streets. For you have not Ruled for God, as you ought to have done, but for your selves, to please your own Lusts; and have not fought the Glory of the Lord, nor the Prosperity of his Work in the Earth, so much as the Greatness of your own Names, and to enlarge your Worldly Dominions, often oppressing the Poor, and persecuting Conscientious Dissenters; but suffering almost all manner of Vice and Vanity to go unpunish'd. How doth the Lust of the Eye, the Lust of the Flesh, and the Pride of Life reign in your Territories ? Are not your Courts the very Schools of Vanity, and Nurseries of Worldly Lusts and Pleasures, which War against the Soul, and lead to Eternal Destruction ? O ! You have much to answer for before the Great God, at the Day of his Terrible Tribunal, who have Power in your Hands to chase away Wickedness, and to reform the World. It is written, *A King upon his Throne of Judgment scattereth all Evil with his Eye* : O ! that the Kings and Princes of the World knew this Throne of True Judgment ! That they had this Godlike Majesty, that they would purge their Lands of Evil-Doers, that they and their People might escape the Wrath and Vengeance of God, that is ready to be poured forth upon them !

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And *Wo* to you Nobles of the Earth, that spend your Estates in Pleasures, and your Days in Vanity, that, like those of old, *Drink Wine in Bowls, and stretch your selves upon Couches of Ivory: That invent Musical Instruments for your Mirth, but remember not the Afflictions of Joseph, neither consider of your latter End.* What Pride, Lust and Excess lye at your Doors! What Spoil and Waste do you make in the World! You live as if you should never die, caring only what you should eat, what you should drink, and what you should put on; how you should trim, perfume, and beautifie your poor Mortal Selves, and at which Plays and Sports you should divert and spend away that troublesome and melancholy Thing, called *Time*, (as you esteem it) instead of *Redeeming the Time*, because the Days are Evil, and preparing for the Eternal Judgment. *Is this the Way to Glory? Did Jesus give you this Example? O! He is Crucified by these Things! This is far from the True Nobility and Christian Honour that cometh from above.*

Wo to you Judges of the Earth, who pervert Judgment for a Reward, that oppress the Poor, and despise the Cause of the Needy, who regard the Mighty and the Rich in Judgment, and delay Justice for the Fear or Favour of Man. That subject the Laws to your Wills, and Righteous Rules to your Passions and Interest. Repent, and be Just, for God the Just God, the Great Judge of Heaven and Earth, shall Judge you all according to your Works: And dreadful shall that Day of his Reckoning and Tribunal be, to all the Workers of Iniquity: *But especially to Unjust and Corrupt Judges.*

And *Wo* to you Lawyers, that refuse no Cause for Money, but will plead even against Law, Truth and Justice for Advantage, teaching your Tongues to Advocate for a Lye, and your Mouths for Gain, to plead the Cause of Unrighteousness; raising unreasonable Wealth unto your selves, by the Folly, Ignorance and Contention of the People. *O the Equivocation, Deceit, Falshood, and Iniquity that is in your Profession, in which you let your Consciences out to Hire at every Summons, for all Sorts of Causes: Infomuch, That 'tis the Money, and not the Cause that prevaileth. And the worst Cause most commonly is most desired, because the Client, doubtful of his Success, is usually the most Liberal to you.* This also is for Judgment.

And *Wo* to you Merchants and Traders, that have not the Lord's Fear before your Eyes, whose God is Gold and Gain, that neither Buy nor Sell with Regard to his Just Principle in your Consciences, that use vain and deceitful Words, and that are not come to the Just Measure, and the Righteous Balance, but use Frauds for Advantage: That neither Eye the Lord's Providence by Sea, nor his Care by Land; but Day and Night cast about, how to raise to your selves a great Name and Estate to exalt your Nests, and rank your Families among the Rich, and the Noble of the Earth! *The Lord will also plead with you: Repent, and Fear before God.*

Wo to you Farmers and Countrymen, that reward the Lord Evil for Good, who giveth you Increase of all Things in their proper Seasons, yet you discern not his Hand, you regard not his Care; you live without God in the World: Yet no Life is fuller of the Lord's Providence, who preserveth and prospereth your Flocks, who increaseth your Wine, your Corn, and your Grass; instead of remembering his Goodness with Reverence, and in your Harvests praising him with Fear, you Sacrifice to your Lusts, and rejoyce only in your Fulness; making Merry at your Harvests, without the Fear of God, or looking to him, that giveth you to Increase. *Repent, and Fear before the God of the whole Earth.*

But above all others. *Wo* to you Scribes, Pharisees and Hypocrites, you Priests and Pastors, who have taken a Charge that God never gave you; who run, and be never sent you; who say, *Thus saith the Lord, and be never spoke to you, or by you.* That steal the Words of the Prophets and Apostles, and with them, make Merchandize to the People, not knowing the Pure Word of God in your Hearts, to be as an Hammer, a Fire, a Sword, to destroy Sin, and to purge, redeem, and reconcile you to God; but boast in other

other Mens Lines, and speak Things made ready to your Hands : *That teach for Hire, and Divine for Money*; who seek Honour of Men, and love the uppermost Places at Feasts. Who speak Peace to the Wicked, and Sow Pillows under their Elbows for Reward : Pleasers of Men, more than Pleasers of God. *Wo* to you in the Name of the Lord, that *Counterfeit his Commission*, and deceive the People, requiring their Money for that which is not Bread, and their Labour, for that which doth not profit : At your Doors lyeth the Blood of Souls, in which you have Traded. *O you Physicians of no Value*, whom have you Cured ? Where is the Seal of your Ministry ? *Is it not an abominable Cheat, that you take Money to Cure, yet cannot Cure ; that have no Medicine to Cure ; and, at last maintain, that the Disease is incurable ?* You are they, that will neither enter into the Kingdom your selves, nor suffer others. For whenever we have seen your *Delusions*, and deserted your *Assemblies*, presently a *Pacquet of Letters* must be sent to *Damascus* : The Magistrate must be called upon to be Jailer and Hangman for the Priest. What Wars, Changes and Persecutions ever befall the World, since you had a Being, in which you have not been at *Head or Tail* ? O your Practices shall more and more come to Light : And the Day hasteneth, that your very *Name and Calling* (as now held) shall be had in Abhorrence by the Nations. O you numerous Off-spring of the *Great False Prophet, that hath been a Liar from the Beginning* ; hereby is it known that God hath never sent you, *that you have not Profited the People* ; they are God's Words by the Prophet *Jeremy*. Weep and howl, for the Day of your great Calamity hasteneth upon you ! Your Father and Mother are come into Remembrance before the Lord, the Hour of their Judgment is at the Door. God will fill you the Cup of his Fury, you shall drink it at his Hand.

O ! I cannot but cry aloud to you all, of all Ranks and Qualities, from the Highest to the Lowest, that walk not after the Spirit, but after the Flesh, daily fulfilling the Lusts thereof ; That you would Repent, and be Saved. O how hath *Christ's Religion* been Prophaned, and His Holy Name Blasphemed by the Lewd Life of Profest Christians ! The very Heathens are scandaliz'd, and the Nations round about have you in Scorn and Derision. *Arise, O God, for thy Name's Sake ! O what Tremendous Oaths and Lyes ! What Revenge and Murders, with Drunkenness and Gluttony ! What Pride and Luxury ! What Chamberings and Wantonness ! What Fornications, Rapes, and Adulteries ! What Masks and Revels ! What Lustful Ornaments, and Enchanting Attires ! What Proud Customs, and Vain Complements ! What Sports and Pleasures ! What Plays and Romances ! What Intrigues and Pastimes ! Again, What Falseness and Treachery ! What Avarice and Oppression ! What Flattery and Hypocrisie ! What Malice and Slander ! What Contention and Law-Suits ? What Wars and Bloodshed ! What Plunders, Fires and Desolations !* And 'tis not only committed by Christians in general one against another, *But by Christians of the same Faith, Self and Church one against another ; praying to the same God to destroy one another ; and Singing Psalms to God, when they have wickedly destroyed one another. O the Rapes, Fires, Murders, and Rivers of Blood, that lye at the Doors of profest Christians ! If this be Godly, what's Devilish ? If this be Christian, what's Paganish ? What's Anti-christian, but to make God a Party to their Wickedness ? O Profanation ! O Blasphemy !* What need is there of any other Demonstration, that *Christendom* is foully Apostatized from the Doctrine and Example of *Christ Jesus*, and his True Followers, who saith, *If ye love me, keep my Commandments. By this shall all Men know that ye are my Disciples, if ye have love one to another. And John saith, Whosoever doth not love his Brother, is not of God, and whosoever hateth his Brother, is a Murderer ; and ye know, that no Murderer hath Eternal Life abiding in him.* And it is not to be supposed, that they kill one another in Love : For Murder is not the Effect of Love and Brotherly Kindness, but of Malice, Envy, and Revenge. *O Christendom !* How art thou and thy Children degenerated from God, and fallen from the Doctrine of Christ, whose Holy Name thou professest ! Thou art become a City full of

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Uncleanneſs, committing Whoredom under every Green Tree ; following other Lovers than J E S U S, whoſe Spouſe thou profeſſeſt to be. O thou Rebellious City, thou Cage of unclean Birds, thou and thy Children have filled the Earth with the Stink of your Abominations !

O how expert have you been in theſe Impieties ! How Ingenious to work Wickedneſs, and how Fruitful in your Inventions to gratifie the Luſt of the Eye, the Luſt of the Fleſh, and the Pride of Life ! O how hath the Heathen Nature, as an Evil Leaven prevailed, and Leavened the great Body of Chriſtians at this Day, as if the End of Chriſt's coming into the World, had been to furniſh us with a New Profeſſion, but not to give us a New Nature ; to learn Men to Talk, and not to Live ; to cry *Hosanna*, but in Works to Crucifie him. What did the Heathens, that Chriſtians have not done ? Yea, the ſame Luſts, Vanities, and Impieties, that reigned among them, are to be found improv'd among Chriſtians. So that 'tis *Paganism made Free of the Chriſtian Profeſſion, or Heatheniſm Chriſtian'd* : And not to conform to the Heathen in the Chriſtian, is not to be a Chriſtian, but an Heathen. O the Ignorance as well as Wickedneſs of the preſent Chriſtian World ! Verily, the Chriſtian Life is oppreſt under this Maſs of Darkneſs and Impiety, found in the Converſations of *Apoſtate-Chriſtians*, even as Chriſt was grieved and burdened with the Darkneſs and Obſtinacy of the *Apoſtate-Jews*. And as the Hard-heartedneſs of the *False Jews* Crucified him outwardly, ſo hath the Hard-heartedneſs of the *False Chriſtians* Crucified him inwardly : Which hath fulfilled what is Recorded in the *Apocalypſ*, viz. *That the Lord was Crucified in Sodom and Egypt Spiritually ſo called : For the False Chriſtians are the Spiritual Sodom and Egypt, who love and live in Sodom's Sins, and Egypt's Luſts and Pleaſures*. Yea, they are of the Race of them that Stoned the Prophets, and Crucified the Lord of Glory : Of the ſame Nature and Spirit. O the Blood of Jeſus lyeth at their Doors ſhed, ſpilt, and trod under Foot of them, and will one Day cry for Eternal Vengeance againſt them, if they Repent not with unſeigned Sorrow, and turn to the Lord with their whole Hearts : Certainly, Wo, Anguiſh and Tribulation ſhall be their Portion for ever ! That which they have grieved, ſhall grieve them ; and that which they have bruised and reſiſted, ſhall rejeſt and torment them ; yea, it ſhall be a never-dying Worm, and an endleſs Pain to them. O *Wo* to the Worker of Iniquity in that Day ! *Wo* to the Slothful Servant ! *Wo* to the Mockers and Scoffer ! *Wo* to the Drunkard and Unclean Perſon ! *Wo* to them that ſpend their Days in Vanity, and their Life in Earthly Pleaſures ! *Wo* to the proud Pharifee, and diſdainful Scribe ! *Wo* to the Fearful and Unbelieving ! *Wo* to Idolaters and Lyars ! Yea, and *Wo* from God to all the Cruel Perſecutors of the Innocent Lambs and Sheep of Jeſus, for their pure Conſcience to him ! For they ſhall have their Part in the Lake, that burneth with Fire and Brimſtone, which is the *Second Death*.

O that you might eſcape this great Damnation ! And I teſtifie to you in the Word of the Lord, that God giveth unto you all a Day of Viſitation, in which you may eſcape the Wrath to come. For this End, God hath ſent his Son a Light into your Hearts ; 'tis He, which manifeſteth all your Thoughts, Words and Deeds unto you ; 'tis He, which checks and reproveth you ; yea, 'tis He, which expoſtulateth and ſtriveth with you ; 'tis He, that knocketh at your Doors, and awakeneth you to Judgment : Who condemneth every unfruitful *Thought, Word and Work* in you. Repent, I exhort you, turn to him, hear his Voice, and harden not your Hearts ; *But while it is to Day, and the Light ſhineth, and the Spirit ſtriveth*, O humble your ſelves, hear his Judgments, love his Reproofs. And though his Word be as a Fire in your Hearts, and though you are even *ſcorched* within you, becauſe of the Heat thereof, yet bear the Indignation of the Lord, in that you have ſinned againſt him. Wait, watch, and walk in the Light of the Lord Jeſus, that in his Blood you may feel Remiſſion of Sins, and Sanctification unto Life Eternal : That you may no more walk after the Fleſh, to fulfil the Luſts thereof, but in the Spirit of Holineſs ; that you may be

Sealed

Sealed unto the Day of Redemption. O the Peace, the Joy, the Pleasure, and the undeclarable Comfort, that is daily met with in the Holy and Righteous Way of the Lord. No. XVII.

O this riseth powerfully in my Soul, that his Form hath no Comeliness in it, that will please Flesh; his Way and Worship is most remote from it. Flesh and Blood have no Share in his Worship; the Will and Runnings of Man have no Part in his Way. 'Tis neither at the Mountain, where one Sort runneth; nor at *Jerusalem*, whither another Sort goeth; but in Spirit, within the Vail, hid from Flesh and Blood: Yea, there it is, that his Worship is known and performed. Any Form is more pleasant than this: His Visage is more marr'd, than any Man's. All *Will-worship*, all *Human Invention*, findeth Acceptance, where He cannot find a Place to lay his Head on. O this is a bitter Cup to the Creature; few will drink it! They are hard to be perswaded to sit still, and patiently to wait for the Salvation of God, to let him work all their Works in them and for them. They know not what it is, to have the *Mouth in the Dust*, to have all *Flesh Silent before the Lord*, that the Voice of God may be heard; that he may prepare them, and that the Will of God may be brought forth in them. O this Mystery of Iniquity, how hath it wrought, and how doth it yet work! It claimeth a Right to the Living Child; but she hath no Right to it: She is felt, the Womb of Death, and can bring forth no Living Fruit to God. All Nations have drunk her Cup: But the Hour of her Judgment is come. She is seen, disvailed, and condemned by the *Living Spirit of God*, that is felt, and received, and obeyed by a *Remnant*, who are gathered from the Mouths of *Idol-Shepherds*, and all the *Errings and Strayings of False Prophets*, that have no Vision; and are come to the Lord, to know his Law in their Hearts, and Fear and Spirit to be in their inward Parts, and are taught and led by him. And these follow the Lamb, and are his Host this Day, that Fight under his Banner with his Holy Testimony, against the *Whore, False Prophet and Beast*. And behold they shall prevail: For greater is he that is in them, than he that is in the World.

O this is a great Mystery, but a greater Truth: *Moses*, the Servant, is externally more comely than he: Yea, the Prophets were as pleasant Singers, and as delightful Instruments of Musick; their Visions, Sight, and Glorious Prophecies of the last Days, and New-Covenant Times, were (says one of them of old) as a pleasant Song: But the SON, the Substance, when he came, no Beauty, no Excellency, no Comeliness. What's the Matter? The Way is Narrow for Flesh and Blood; there is a Cross must be taken up, a bitter Cup drunk, and a Baptism, yea, of Blood gone through. Man must die to his own Will, Affections, Imaginations, and Carnal Conceptions; he must wait and watch, yea, continually: His own Religion and Righteousness is as odious as his Sin and Iniquity, yea, in a Sense more dangerous. 'Tis no Outside will do; not that which pleaseth the busy, active Will and Mind of the Creature; that gratifieth the External Senses, that have prevailed against the Soul: O no, 'tis an hidden Life, an hidden Temple, an hidden Worship, and that in God's Time; yea, an hidden Manna, an hidden Supper, not discernable by the vain Senses of this World. Of this Tabernacle is *JESUS* Builder; of this Covenant and Worship is he Author; of this Altar is he Priest: To this did he gather his of old, and to this is he gathering the Nations. And the Bride saith, *Come*, and the Spirit saith, *Come*; and he saith, *Come*: And blessed are they that *Come*, and See, how Good He is.

But such, who like *Sodom* of Old, go on to grieve the Spirit of the Lord, to rebel against His Light, and vex God's Just Lot, that liveth in the midst of them, persisting in their Lusts and Abominations, God's Angel shall smite them with Blindness: The Day of their Visitation shall pass away, and the Forbearance of God shall be at an End, and Fire from Heaven shall devour them. Which with my Soul I fervently and tenderly desire you may all escape, whom God hath taught to hate your Sin, deny your Glory, and separate from

No. XVII. from all your false *Worships* by his own Light, Spirit and Truth, and to follow his dear *Son* in the Way of Regeneration, whose Love to me hath taught me to Love all Mankind, and to seek their Salvation.

Amsterdam, the 20th of the
8th Month, 1677.

W. Penn.

No. XVIII. *Tender Counsel and Advice, by Way of Epistle to all those who are sensible of their Day of Visitation, and who have received the Call of the Lord, by the Light and Spirit of His Son in their Hearts, to partake of the Great Salvation, where-ever scattered throughout the World; Faith, Hope, and Charity, which overcome the World, be multiplied among you.*

An Epistle to
all those who
are sensible of
the Day of
their Visitation
Life p. 109.

My Dearly beloved Friends.

WHO are sensible of the Day of your Visitation, by the Light of the Lord Jesus in your Hearts; and who have gladly received the Holy Testimony thereof, by which you have beheld the *Great Apostacy*, that is in the World, from the Life, Power and Spirit of God, and the *Gross Degeneracy*, that is amongst those called Christians, from the Purity, Self-denial, and Holy Example of Christ Jesus, and his Primitive Followers; and how Pride, Lust and Vanity reign, and how *Christendom* is become a *Cage of unclean Birds*: Who have mourned under the Sense thereof, and have cried in your Souls, *How long, how long, O Lord God Holy and True, wilt it be, ere thou takest to thy self thy Great Power, and Reignest!* To whom the World is become a Burden, and the Vanities and Glory of it but *Vexation of Spirit*: Who despise the Things that are seen, which are *Temporal*, for the Sake of the Things that are not seen, which are *Eternal*: Whose Eyes look through and beyond Time and Mortality, to that Eternal City, whose Builder and Maker is GOD: Whose daily Cries and Travails are to follow JESUS in the Way of *Regeneration*; to live as *Pilgrims* in this World, for the Sake of that Glory, which shall hereafter be Revealed, that can never fade away, that you may attain unto the Eternal Rest of God: To you, *my dear Friends*, to you it is, that the God and Father of Him that was dead, and is alive, and liveth for evermore, *Christ Jesus, the Faithful and True Witness*, who hath loved and visited my Soul, hath now moved upon my Spirit to write, and visit you with this *Epistle*. Receive it then, and with it the *endeared Salutation* of that Love and Life which are not of this World, but overcome the World. Great and frequent are my Travails for you, that you may persevere, and not faint, but endure to the End; that you may obtain that Glorious Salvation and Redemption, that is in Christ Jesus. Yea, for this are my Knees bended before the God of the Spirits of all Flesh, that you may be entirely kept; *that you may so run, as you may obtain; and so fight, as you may overcome*; that an Immortal Crown and Kingdom may be your Portion, when all Sins and Sorrows shall be done away.

And that this you may do, hear my *Exhortation* to you in the Spirit of Truth. Dwell in the *Sense* that God hath begotten in your Hearts *by the Light and Spirit of His Son*, who is now in you, reconciling you unto himself. Watch, that this blessed Sense be preserved in you, and it will preserve you. For where the Holy Sense is lost, Profession, even of the highest Truths, cannot preserve against the Enemies Assaults; but the Gates of Hell will prevail against them, and the Enemy's Darts will wound them, and they will be carried again captive by the Power of his Temptations. Wherefore, I say again, Live and Abide in that Light and Life which hath visited you, and begotten an Holy Sense in your Hearts, and which hath made Sin exceeding sinful to you, and you weary and heavy-laden under the Burden of it: And hath raised in you a *Spiritual Travail*, Hunger and Thirst after

after your Saviour, that he might deliver you: That ye might be filled with the Righteousness of his Kingdom, that is without End.

Dear Friends, God hath breathed the Breath of Life in you, and in measure you live; for dead Men and Women do not Hear, or Hunger, or Thirst; neither do they feel Weights and Burdens as you do. The Day of the Lord is dawned upon you, and it burneth as an Oven; you know it; and all Works of Iniquity are as Scrubbe before it: You feel it so, they cannot stand before the Lord: His Judgments take hold of them, and consume them. O love His Judgments! That with those of old you may say, *In the Way of thy Judgments, O Lord, have we waited for thee; the Desire of our Soul is to thy Name, and to the Remembrance of Thee. With our Souls have we desired thee in the Night, yea with our Spirits within us will we seek thee early: For when thy Judgments are in the Earth, the Inhabitants of the World will learn Righteousness.* Part, part with all, *My dear Friends, that is for Judgment, let Him arise in your Hearts, that His and your Enemies may be scattered: That you may witness Him to be stronger in you, than he that is in the World.* If the Desire of your Soul be to his Name, and the Remembrance of him, you will love his Judgments, and abide there the Days he alloweth for your Purification. Behold his blessed Visitation is upon you: His Angel hath saluted you, and His Holy Spirit hath overshadowed you: He hath begotten Holy Desires in you, I pray that they may never be extinguish'd, and that you may never faint. Wherefore look to Jesus that is the Author, that he may be the Finisher. I Testify for God, *He Has appeared to you; yea, He hath said to you as to Andrew, Philip, &c. Follow me: And I say unto you, follow Him: Come and see where He dwelleth; do not lose Sight of Him, let Him be lifted up in you, and your Eye be to Him: Who, where-ever He is lifted up, draweth all such after Him.* And this is the Reason, why People are not now drawn after Christ, because *He is not lifted up in their Hearts, He is not exalted in their Souls; He is rejected, oppress'd, crucified, and Buried; yea they have rolled a Stone upon Him, and set Guards, that He should not rise in them to Judge them.*

But blessed are you, whose Eyes have seen one of the Days of the Son of Man: Blessed are You, at whose Doors He hath knocked, to whose Hearts He hath appeared, who have received His Holy Visitation, who believe it is He, and not another; and therefore have said in your Hearts, with *Nathaniel* of old, *Thou art the Son of God, thou art the King of Israel;* and with *Thomas*, *My Lord and my God.* O what have you, *my Dear Friends*, to do, but to keep with Him for ever! For whither should you go, the Words of Eternal Life dwell with Him? He is full of Grace, and full of Truth, and of His Fulness ye have received Grace for Grace. And this is that Grace which bringeth Salvation to all that receive it, embrace it, and will be Led by it. For it teacheth such, as it did the Ancient Christians, to deny all Ungodliness, and the World's Lusts, and to live soberly and godly in this present evil World, looking for that blessed Hope, and glorious Appearing of the great God, and their Saviour Jesus Christ, who hath given Himself for them to deliver them from all Sin, and to redeem them from all Iniquity. You know that you are bought with a Price, now you feel it, and in measure discern the Preciousness of that Price which hath bought you, namely, the Life of the Dear Son of God. Grieve not His Spirit that is ready to seal you to the Day of your perfect Redemption: But give up your Bodies, Souls and Spirits to His Service, whose they are, that they may be order'd by Him to His Glory.

I write not to you as to the World, for you are called out of the World, by Him that hath overcome the World; that as he is not of this World, so you may not be of this World. Come then out of it more and more, out of the Nature, out of the Spirit, out of the Fruits, and out of the Fashions of the World! They are all for the Fire. Christ said, The World loveth its own. Search with the Light of the Lord Jesus, what there is in you, that the World owneth and loveth: For that is its own. And consider what it is, that the World is offended with: Not with that which cometh from it self,

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They that have been truly with Christ, are quickly discovered, they cannot be hid. So it was of old; the *Jews* said of the Disciples, *these Men have been with Jesus*; their Speech and Carriage bewray'd them; their outsidcs were not like the outsidcs of other Men; they were *not currant with the Fashions and Customs* of that Time. Nor can they that have been with Jesus, conform to the vain Fashions and Customs of this World; wherefore be not you, in any sort, of this World, but give Diligence to make your Holy High Calling and Election sure: For many are called and few are chosen; and the Reason is, they are *slothful Servants*, they hide their Talent in a Napkin, *neglect* the Day of their Visitation, and work not out their Salvation with *Fear and Trembling*: And then the Night overtaketh them, in which they can never work the *Works of Repentance*; and the Things that *belong to their Peace* are hid from their Eyes for ever.

But the Lord forbid, *that it should be so with any of you!* No, no, I hope yea, I believe better Things of you. And I am assured, that as you keep your Hearts chastly to the Light and Grace, that with which you have been visited of the Lord, you shall be kept to Eternal Salvation. For they are saved, that walk in the Light: Into the Light the Enemy cannot come; for the Light is Christ Jesus, and the Enemy hath no Part or Place in Him; he is driven out from the Holy Place by Transgression, and he is now a *Fugitive* from Heaven; but he goeth up and down the *Earth*, seeking whom he may devour, whom he can *catch* and carry away with his Baits and Snares.

Wherefore, Wo to the Inhabitants of the Earth, that is, the earthly Inhabitants, such as love and live in the *Earthly Nature*; for all such shall be a Prey to him, he shall have Power over them, and keep up his Kingdom in them. But those that receive and abide in Christ Jesus, *the Light, Life and Truth*, are out of his Reach; they are in the Munition of Rocks, under the Pavilion of the Lord, in the safe *Ark* of the Most High God. However, he is permitted to tempt and try, till the Time shall come, that he is not only trodden under Foot, but also bound and cast into the Lake, *that burneth with Fire and Brimstone*. And he is the greatest *Enemy* to those that turn their Backs upon him; wherefore he watcheth to surprize them, that he might take them at unawares, and triumph over their Failings. And for that Reason Christ Jesus preached the *Watch* earnestly, and with Repetition to his Disciples.

Now my *Dear Friends*, there be several Things (or, the *Enemy* in several Appearances) will attend you in this holy March, you are making to the *Eternal Land of Rest*; of which I would caution you, that you may, none of you, make Shipwrack of any of those *Holy Beginnings*, you have experienced by the Light and Spirit of the Lord. Beware of *vain Thoughts*, for they oppress and extinguish the true Sense. These vain Thoughts arise from the Enemy's Presentations of objects to the Mind, and the Mind's looking upon them, till they have made their Impressions upon the Mind, and influenced the Mind into a Love of them. This is a false Liberty, a dangerous, yea, a destructive Liberty, to the *Holy Sense* that God hath begotten in any. For as this is not received but hindered by such Thoughts, so it is not improved, but destroyed by them. The Divine Sense in the Soul is begotten by the Lord: 'Tis his Life and Spirit, his holy Breath and Power, that quickneth the Soul, and maketh it sensible of its own State, and of God's Will; and that raiseth fervent Desires in it to be Eternally Blessed. This is that which Satan rageth at; he feareth his Kingdom, he findeth that he is come that will cast him out of his Possessions. He cryeth out, *Why art thou come to torment me before my Time?* He is the Father of Vain Thoughts, he begetteth them in the Mind, on purpose to draw off the

the Mind from that Sense, and to Exercise it in Variety of Conceptions, in a Self-liberty of Thinking and Imagining concerning Persons and Things. Here he offereth his Baits, and layeth his Snares; and never faileth to catch and defile the unwatchful Soul.

Now, if you should say, *What are these Vain Thoughts?* I tell you, my Friends, All those Thoughts and Conceptions, that either bring not Real Profit to the Soul, or that Grieve, Hurt, or Oppress that Holy Sense, which is begotten of God in the Soul. And that by which Thoughts are to be examined, is the Light of CHRIST JESUS: For as *That which may be known of God is manifest in Men, for God hath shown it unto them*, as saith the Apostle Paul to the Romans; *So all Things that are reprov'd, are made manifest by the Light*; for *whatsoever maketh manifest, is Light*, saith he to the Ephesians. By this Light of Christ Jesus examine your own Thoughts; see whence they rise, from whence they come, and what they tend to. O Friends, here is a Mystery; and the Evil One worketh here in a Mystery! For where he cannot prevail to draw out the Mind from its sensible Habitation to embrace his Representations of old Lufts and Pleasures, that are wicked in themselves, he will present you with lawful Objects, your *outward Enjoyments, Business and Calling*, and steal in upon your Minds in the Croud of these Lawful Things, and there lay his Snares, hid and covered, and at unawares catch you.

My Dear Friends, Blessed are they that see Jesus their Captain, going before them, and Counselling and Leading them in all their outward and lawful Concerns, that they offend not. For, *My Friends*, this know, you may unlawfully think of Lawful Things, either in Thinking on them *unseasonably*, mark that, when your Souls should be wholly retired, and exercised in the Lord's Light to feel His Presence, in which is Heavenly Life: Or in thinking on Lawful Things *carelessly*, not with Regard to your Guide: He that hath bought you throughout with his own precious Blood, that he might have the Government of your *Bodies, Souls and Spirits*; that is, of your bodily Concerns, as well as of the Things Relating to your Souls and Spirits. This prevents much Harm and Mischief in Business and Families, and preserveth the Divine Sense that God hath begotten, and the Creature in it: So that its Fellowship and Peace with the Lord runneth as a River, it is not stopp'd or hinder'd by the Designs of the Enemy. Or lastly, in thinking on Lawful Things *excessively*, too much, more than is needful, without Limits, thereby gratifying the fleshly Mind, which is Enmity with God, and that Sense which he begetteth in the Soul. O the Mountains that are raised, by such vain Thoughts, betwixt God and the Soul! How doth the Soul come under an Eclipse, lose Sight, and at last all Sense of the Living God, like Men drowned in great Waters? And thus many have lost their Condition, and grown unsensible: and then questioned all former Experiences, if they were not meer Imaginations; till at last they arrived at *Atheism*, denying and deriding God and his Work, and those that kept their Integrity: For whom is reserved the Blackness of Darkeness for ever, unless they timely and truly Repent.

But when this subtle Enemy of Man's Salvation seeth that he cannot make you bow to the Glory of this World, that all his Snares that he layeth in the Things that are seen, which are Temporal, are discovered and broken; and that your Eyes are directed to those Things that are Eternal, then will he turn *Accuser*. He will aggravate your Sins, and plead the Impossibility of their Remission: He will seem to act the *Advocate* for the Justice of God, that he might cast you into Despondency, that you may doubt of Deliverance and Salvation. Many are the Thoughts, with which he perplexeth the Sons and Daughters of Men: But this know, that he was a Liar from the Beginning. For the Lord doth not visit the Souls of any to *destroy* them, but to *save* them. For this End hath he sent his Son a Light into the World; and they that bring their Deeds to it, are not of the Devil, who hateth the Light. Neither doth the Lord cause People to *Hunger* and *Thirst* after him, and not fill them with his good Things.

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Be assured, *my Friends*, where-ever the Lord hath begotten Desires after him, and where-ever Sin is become exceeding sinful, yea, a Burden to the Soul, *the Devil's Kingdom is shaken*, the Prince of this World is begun to be *judged*, and God is at Work for the Redemption of that Soul. Hearken not to the Voice of the *Serpent*, for that lost your first Parents their blessed Paradise: And with the same Subtle and Lying Spirit he would hinder you from returning into Paradise. But when he is herein disappointed, he shifteth his Temptation, and presenteth another Temptation, *viz.* That though you have begun well, yet ye will never be able to hold out to the End. *That the Temptations are so many, and the Enemies so strong, they are not to be overcome by you*; and that it were better, never to profess such high Things, than to fall short of them; this will but bring Reproach to the Way, and the People of it. Again, that 'tis *Curiosity, and Spiritual Pride, and Conceitedness, for you to be thought better than others*, with the like Suggestions, on purpose to stagger your Resolutions, and weaken your Faith. Ah! He is a Devil still, a Liar, and a Destroyer: Look not to him, but keep to Jesus, who hath called you. Keep but your Eye to Him, of whom the *Brazzen Serpent* in the Wilderness was a Figure, and he shall cure you of all Diseases, of all Wounds and Stings of *Serpents and Scorpions*, &c. that may attend you in the *Wilderness-Travail*, which is the Hour of your Temptation. God is exalting him, *in you, a Saviour*; there is he manifested, *viz. to destroy Sin*. Yea, *stronger is he that is in you, than he that is in the World*: He is able to bind the *strong Man*, and cast him out; do but believe truly in him, and cleave to him. Remember there were *evil Spies* of Old, those that brought false Intelligence, that *Canaan* was a pleasant Land, *but the Way impassable*; but the Faithful enter'd and inherited. Keep therefore in the Righteous Life of Jesus, and walk in his Holy Light, and you shall be preserved *through all Exercises and Difficulties* unto the *Eternal Canaan*, the Land of Rest. Neither wonder at these Things, *that Temptations attend you, or that the Lord tryeth and proveth you*, it is the Way of all that are gone to God, for even Jesus was tempted and tryed, and is therefore become our Captain *because he overcame*. Neither be ye cast down, because the Lord sometimes seemeth to hide his Face from you, that you feel not always that Joy and Refreshment, that you sometimes enjoy. I know what Work the Enemy maketh of these *Withdrawings* of the Lord. Perhaps he will insinuate, That God hath deserted you in his Displeasure, *that you must never expect to see him, that he will never come again*: And by these and the like Stratagems, he will endeavour to shake your Faith and Hope, and distract you with Fear, and to beget great Jealousies and Doubts in you; and by Impatience and Infidelity, frustrate your good Beginnings. But though David said of Old, in the Distress of his Soul, *One Day shall I fall by the Hand of Saul*, yet he overcame him, and had the Crown. Yea, the Lord Jesus himself cryed out in the Agony of the Cross, *My God, My God, why hast thou forsaken me!* Nevertheless he gloriously Triumph'd over all, and led Captivity captive, for the Joy that was set before him: Which Joy is before you; it is the Mark of the Price of your Great and Holy Calling. Wherefore faint not, neither murmur, if your Spiritual *Moses* seems to withdraw a while from you. Do not you *make Images in his Absence*, neither wax Wanton; but possess your Souls in holy Fear and Patience, waiting with Holy Reverence and Diligence for his Appearance, who is your victorious Leader.

All these Things are for your Good, that *Proud Flesh* may be debased, and that the Soul may be redeemed. Wherefore bear the Hand of the Lord; whom he loveth, he chasteneth; his Anger lasteth not for ever, but his Mercies endure for ever. Shrink not from the pure Operations of his holy Word, let it divide asunder *between the Soul and Spirit, the Joynts and Marrow in you*; suffer your Right Hands to be cut off, and your Right Eyes to be pluck'd out, that do offend, let not the Pain scare you. O bear the pure Searchings of this Heavenly Word! Yea, if your Minds be stay'd in it, you will find it to be a Word of Patience, which will keep you; for all

all Virtue is in it. Keep it, and be still: It is good, said one of Old, *that a Man should both hope, and quietly wait for the Salvation of God. Yea, it is good for a Man that he bear the Toak in his Youth* (this is your Youth) *and fuch an one fiterb alone, and keepeth Silence, because he hath born it upon him.* Ah blessed are they that bear this Holy Yoak, who are come to this Silence, who dye daily; that not they, but Chrifft may Live and Rule in them; therefore hear him, and take up his Crofs, and follow him. Follow him, keep him Company, he hath beaten the Path, and trod the Way, ftart not afide at his Cup, neither fhun his Baptifm: Go with him to *Caiaphas*, to *Pilate*, and to the Crofs; dye with him to the World, and you fhall rife with him unto Life Eternal. Honour, Glory and Immortality are at the End of this Holy Race! O that you may run it with Chearfulnefs and Perfeverance!

But this is not the utmoft Stratagem of the Enemy; he hath yet a more plaufible, and a more dangerous Device, wherewith to deftroy the holy Senfe that God hath quickened, where he feeth thefe Temptations refifted, and that he cannot hinder a Religious Work in the Soul, by any of his Baits taken from the Things that are feen; and that is, *his drawing you into Imaginations of God, and Chrifft, and Religion*; and into Religious Duties, not in God's Way or Time; nor with Chrifft's Spirit. Here he is tranfformed into the Appearance of an Angel of Light, and would feem *Religious now, a Saint; yea, a Leader into Religion*, fo that he may but keep him out of his Office, *whoſe Right* it is to Teach, Prepare, Enable, and lead his Children with his holy Power and Spirit. Yea, if he can but keep the Creature's Will alive, he knoweth there is a ground for him to work upon; a Place that he can enter, and in which his Seed will grow. If this *Will* of Man be ftanding, he knoweth that the Will of God cannot be done on Earth, as it is done in Heaven. O this Will is God's Enemy, yea, the Soul's Enemy; and all *Will-worship* arifeth hence: Yea, it is the Off-fpring of the Serpent and of the Will of Man; and it can never pleaſe God. Let all beware of this; *God is a Spirit*, and he will be worſhipped in his *own Spirit*, in his *own Life*. The Worſhip of God ſtandeth in the *Will of God*; and is not brought forth of the Will of the Fleſh, or of the Will of Man. Remember that the Word came not to *Eſau*, the *First-birth*, the *Hunter*, that ſtayed not at Home; but to *Jacob*, the *plain Man*, *he that dwelt in Tents*; to him came the Word of the Lord, that dwelt in a *ſtill and quiet Habitation*. For in the true ſilence is God's Word heard, into which the *Hunting Nature* of *Eſau*, the *First-Birth*, can never come. It can never *ſtand ſtill*, and therefore it can never ſee the Salvation of God. Againſt this Nature watch, and know *Jacob*, that *inherits the Birth-Right*; the Election of God (though now a *Worm*) to *wreſtle and prevail*. The *Worm Jacob*, is *Israel* a Prince, to whom belong the Statutes and the Ordinances. *The Word came to Jacob, and the Statutes to Iſrael*: Here is Dominion, Government, Exaltation: This is the Lot of *Worm Jacob*. Wait therefore, *till the Angel move upon the Waters*, before you ſtep one Step. Are ye Followers of the Lamb, that hath viſited you, the Captain of your Salvation? Run not in your own Wills, wait for his Word of Command, do nothing of your own Heads and Contrivings, yet do all with Diligence that he requir-eth. Remember what became of them of Old, that offered *false Fire*; O ſtay till a Coal from his holy Altar touch your Hearts and your Lips. Jeſus told his Mother at the Marriage in *Cana in Galilee*, *His Hour was not yet come*: He rejeſted the *Will* in her, and ſtaid, till his Time was come, that is, his Father's Time, *in whoſe Hands are the Times and Seasons*: Whoſe Will he came to do, and not his own: Leaving us therein a bleſſed Example, *that we ſhould alſo follow his Steps*, that is, not to attempt to perform even Things of God in our own Wills, nor out of God's Seafon and Time, which is the beſt: For in his Seafons, *he is with us*; but in our own Seafons and Wills *he withdraweth himſelf from us*. And this is the Cauſe, that the Nation's Worſhippers have little Senſe of God in their Hearts, and that

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My dear Friends, As you would enjoy God's Presence, Love and Life, and be acceptable with him, wait in his holy Light and Spirit that hath visited you, against these *Stratagems of Satan*, and *Wake not your Beloved before his Time*: Watch against the Will, that Instrument of Satan, and Enemy of God's Glory, and your own Comfort. Let it be Bridled, Subjected, and kept under Christ's Yoke, yea, subdued, that the Will of God may be done in you and by you, which bringeth *Glory* to the Lord, and Eternal Peace to the Soul. One Sigh, rightly begotten, out-weigheth a whole Volume of *self-made Prayers*: For that which is born of Flesh, is *Flesh*, and reacheth not to *God's Kingdom*, he regardeth it not; and all that is not born of the Spirit is *Flesh*. But a *Sigh*, or a *Groan*, arising from a living Sense of God's Work in the Heart, it pierceth the Clouds, it entereth the Heavens; yea, the *Living God* heareth it, his Regard is to it, and his Spirit helpeth the Infirmary. He loveth that which is of himself, and hath Care over it, *though as Poor, as Worm Jacob*. For the *Cries of the Poor, and the Sighings of the Needy will I arise*, saith the Lord: *The Poor in Spirit*, that have parted with all, that they may win Christ; that need him only, and seek him above all: Who have no Helper in the Earth, but have denied all earthly Helps, that he might bring and work their Salvation for them. And as you are not to run in your own Wills, nor to offer up Sacrifices of your own preparing, so have a Care how you touch with those that do; how you bow to their Wills, and join with their *Sacrifices*. For all these Things greatly help to extinguish the *Divine Sense* begotten in your Hearts by the Word of Life. And as you are faithful to the Light and Spirit of Christ, which giveth you to discern and relish between that which standeth in your own Will, and the Will and Motion of the Spirit of God in your selves; so will you by the same Light discern and savour between that which proceeds from the Will of Man, and the Will and Motions of the Spirit of God in others; and accordingly either to have, or not to have Fellowship with them: For what hath *Light* to do with *Darkness*? Or what hath *Spirit* to do with *Flesh*? Or what hath *Life* to do with *Death*? For the *Grave cannot praise thee, O Lord; Death cannot celebrate thee: They that go down into the Pit cannot hope for thy Truth*. The *Living, the Living, he shall praise thee, as doth my Soul this Day*. This was the Testimony of the blessed Prophet *Isaiah*, and it standeth true for ever. According to the Prophet, *Thou hast ordained Peace for us, for thou hast wrought all our Works in us*.

Wherefore I exhort you in the Spirit of TRUTH, and in the Counsel of the GOD of TRUTH, keep in the *Divine Sense* and Watch, if you would endure to the End in the Will of God. And I say again, *Touch not with Man-made Ministers, nor Man-made Worships, let their Words be never so true: 'Tis but Man, 'tis but Flesh, 'tis but the Will; and it shall have no Acceptance with God*: O this is the *Golden Cup of the Whore*, that is gone from the Leadings of the Spirit, with which the Nations are defiled; have nothing to do with it. Keep to Christ Jesus, God's great Light, follow him, as he shineth in your Hearts, and ye will not walk in *Darkness*, but have the *Light of Life*; not of *Death* to Condemnation, as in the World; but unto *Life*, which is *Justification and Peace*. And remember that nothing bringeth to Christ, *that cometh not from Christ*. Wherefore all Ministry that cometh not from Christ, God's great Prophet and High Priest to all True-born Christians, cannot bring People to Christ. Man only gathereth to Man, to hear and believe in Man, and depend on Man: And if the Church of *Corinth* sought a *Proof* of Christ's Speaking in *Paul*, that had begotten them, and had wrought the Signs and Works of an Apostle in them; how much more Reason have you to demand a *Proof* of Christ's Speaking in the Priests and Ministers of this World, who have not wrought the Signs and Works of Apostles or true Ministers? And by what should you try them, but by the *Light and Spirit of CHRIST* in you? Yea, 'tis Christ Jesus in you, that giveth you to savour, if others speak from Christ in them.

them. And this the Apostle referreth the *Corinthians* to, for a *Proof* of Christ's speaking in him : For nothing leadeth to God, but that which came from God, even Christ Jesus the *Son of God*. O let him be your *Vine*, and know him to be your *Fig-tree* : Sit under his holy Teachings, whose *Doctrine* shall drop as Myrrh upon your *Souls* : He will feed you with the *Bread of God*, that cometh from Heaven, that feedeth and leadeth them thither that feed upon it : And He is that Bread.

Therefore *Wait* and *Watch* unto his Daily and Hourly Visitations to your *Souls*, and against all the Approaches of the Enemy, that so he may not take you at Unawares ; but that you may be preserved from the Power of his Darts, and the Force of his Temptations, by the *Holy Armour of Light*, the Defence of the *Faithful Ancients* : If you be willing and obedient, you shall eat the *Good of the Land*. Now is your *Day*, now is your *Time* ; work while the Light is with you ; for the Night cometh, in which none can work : Not only the Night of Eternal Darkness to the Wicked ; but the Night of Death unto all : For in the Grave there is no Repentance, neither can any Man there, work the *Works of God*. You know the *Foundation* : Is he *Elect* ? Is he *Precious* to you ? Have ye chosen him ? Yea, I am satisfied you have : See what you build upon him. Have a Care of *Hay, Straw, and Stubble* ! Have a Care of your own *Wills and Spirits* ! Labour not for the Bread that perisheth, as all the Bread of Man's making doth : But labour you in the Light and Strength of the Lord, for the Bread that never perisheth, that Bread that cometh from Heaven, that nourisheth the *Soul* in that Life that is *Heavenly*, that is hid with Christ in God, the Root and Father of Life ; that of this *Fountain* you may drink, that is clear and pure, that cometh from the *Throne of God*, and of the Lamb, and not of the muddy Puddle of Man's Invention. There is a Bread that perisheth, and there is a Drink that perisheth ; and Wo to them that feed thereon, for their *Souls* shall perish also, if they Repent not. But there is a Bread that never perisheth, and there is a Fountain that springeth up unto Eternal Life, and Blessed are they that feed and drink thereof ; for they shall have Eternal Life with God. This is that which only satisfieth what is *Born of God* ; it will feed on no other Bread, nor Drink of no other Water. I cannot but warn you all that are come to the Lord's Day, that you cease from all other Food, from Man and Man's Will and Invention ; for that stifleth the Divine Sense ; that overlayeth and killeth this Heavenly Birth. There are no *Grapes* to be gathered of *Thorns*, nor *Figs* of *Thistles* : Keep to your own Vine and Fig-tree, CHRIST JESUS ; sit under him, that you may eat of his Fruit, which is the Fruit of Life, the hidden *Manna* ; hid from the Nature and Spirit of this World, a *Mystery* thereunto. Two Things consider ; First, you must wait till the *Manna* cometh ; and then you are not to be idle ; you are to work ; and next, as it daily cometh, so it must be daily gathered and fed upon : For the *Manna* that was gather'd yesterday, will not be Food for to Day ; it will not keep for that Use. And as it was outwardly, so 'tis inwardly. Time past is none of thine : 'Tis not what thou wast, but what thou art ; God will be daily look'd unto. Didst thou eat Yesterday ? That feedeth thee not to Day : Therefore JESUS taught His Disciples, and us in them, to pray for our daily Bread ; for the Present Suffenance, and to look no farther, but depend upon the Lord, and Live by Faith in Him, that raised up JESUS from the Dead, so that the Time to come is no more ours, than the Time past can be recalled.

Wherefore, Blessed are they, that Fear the Lord, and confide in Him, they shall never be confounded : They shall lack no good Thing ; for the Lord loveth Israel, he is Good unto Israel, and all that are of an upright Heart ; whose Hearts look up to Heaven, and not down to the Earth ; neither Love nor Live in the vain Lusts of the World : Such shall abide in His Holy Tabernacle, such shall dwell in His Holy Hill, even they that walk uprightly, that work Righteousness, and speak the Truth in their Hearts ; in whose sight a vile Person is contemned, but who Honour them that Fear the Lord.

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O my dear Friends, I know experimentally, that this is hard to Flesh and Blood ; that which is Born of the Corruptible Seed ; but that can never enter into the Kingdom of God : That must be Crucified by Christ, that hath Crucified Christ : *Blood requireth Blood.* Wherefore give that which is for the Famine, to the Famine : For the Fire, to the Fire : And for the Sword, to the Sword. Let all the Sinful Lusts be famisht, let the Stubble be burnt, and the Corrupt, yea, and the Fruitless Tree that cumbreth the Ground, be Cut down and cast into the Fire. Let the Work of the Lord be done in you ; let him purge his Floor, and that thoroughly ; that you may come out as *Pure as Gold Seven Times Tried*, fitted for his Use that hath chosen you ; that you may bear his Mark, and wear his Inscription, *Holiness to the Lord* ; so you will be Vessels of Honour in his House. Therefore I say, let your Houses be swept by the Judgment of the Lord, and the Little Leaven of the Kingdom *leaven you in Body, Soul, and Spirit, that Holy Temples you may be to His Glory.* This I know, is your Desire, that are on your Travel to this Blessed Enjoyment.

Well, you believe in God, believe also in Christ the Light that hath visited you : And if you truly believe, you will not make Haste : You will not make Haste out of the Hour of Judgment ; you will stay the Time of your Trial and Cleansing, that you may be as I said, *As Pure as Gold Seven Times Tried ; and so receive the Lord's Mark and Stamp, his Image and Approbation ; that you may be his throughout, in Body, Soul, and Spirit ; Seal'd to Him in an Eternal Covenant.*

Dear Friends, Gird up the Loins of your Minds, watch and hope to the End ; be not slothful, neither strive ; despond not, nor be presumptuous : *Be as Little Children ; for of such is the Kingdom of God.* Dispute not, neither consult with Flesh and Blood : Let not the Prudence of this World draw you from the Simplicity that is in Christ Jesus. Love and obey the Truth ; hide his *Living Word* in your Hearts, though it be as an Hammer, a Fire, a Sword, yet it reconcileth, and bringeth you to God, and will be sweeter to you that love it, *than is the Honey, and the Honey-Comb.* Fear not, but bear the Cross, yea, without the Camp, the Camp of this World's Lusts, Glory, and False Worship. But this know, when the Enemy cannot prevail by any of these Stratagems, if you resist him, *as the God of this World's Glory, the Prince of the Air, and the False Prophet*, then he turneth Dragon ; then he declareth open War ; then you are Hereticks, Fanatics, Enthusiasts, Seducers, Blasphemers, unworthy to live upon the Earth. But in all these Things rejoice, and be exceeding glad, *for great shall be your Reward in the Kingdom of the Father.* What if your Parents rise up against you ; if your Brethren betray you ; if your Companions desert and deride you ? If you become the Song of the Drunkard, and the Scorn and Merri-ment of the Vile Person ? Yea, though the Powers of the Earth should combine to devour you, let not your Hearts be troubled. *Shun not the Cross, but despise the Shame, and cast your Care upon the Lord, who will be afflicted with you in all your Afflictions : In the Fire he will be with you, and in the Water he will not forsake you.* O let your Eye be to him, whose Name is as a strong Tower, the Sanctuary of the Righteous in all Ages ; that you may be able to say in your Hearts with David of Old, *The Lord is my Light and my Salvation, whom shall I fear ? The Lord is the Strength of my Life, of whom shall I be afraid ? Though an Host should encamp against me, my Heart shall not fear ; though War should rise against me, in this will I be confident. One Thing have I desired of the Lord, that will I seek after, that I may dwell in the House of the Lord all the Days of my Life, to behold the Beauty of the Lord, and to enquire in his Temple. For in the Time of Trouble he shall hide me in his Pavilion, he shall set me upon a Rock. When my Father and my Mother forsake me, then the Lord will take me up. I had fainted, unless I had believed to see the Goodness of the Lord in the Land of the Living. Wait on the Lord, be of Good Courage, and he shall strengthen thine Heart. Wait, I say, on the Lord.*

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O my dear Friends, let it be your Daily and Hourly Work to wait upon God. How often does *David* speak of *Waiting upon God*? He felt the Sweetness of it; therefore retire into your Holy Chamber: Be still, and the Lord will speak comfortably unto you. Blessed are they, that wait upon him; whose Expectations are only from him. *For though the Youth shall faint and be weary, and the Young Men shall utterly fail, They that wait upon the Lord, shall renew their Strength, they shall mount up with Wings as Eagles, they shall run and not be weary, they shall walk and not faint.* I waited said David, *patiently* for the Lord, and be inclined unto me, and heard my Cry. And this was his Testimony, *Behold, the Eye of the Lord is upon them that fear him, to deliver their Soul from Death, and to keep them alive in Famine: For the Lord is nigh unto them that are of a Broken Heart, and saveth such as be of a Contrite Spirit; David knew it, therefore he could speak it.*

O my dear Friends, who are compassed about with many Tribulations; the Lord God, your Staff and Strength, is near you to sustain you. Have ye born the Holy Reproach of Jesus, and despised the Shame of his Cross, and did he ever desert you? Be not cast down, though to the Eye of Reason there seemeth none to help, no, not one to save: Though Enemies within, and Enemies without, encamp themselves about you; though Pharaoh and his Host pursue you, and great Difficulties be on each Hand of you, and the dismal Red Sea be before you, stand still, make no Bargains for your selves, let all Flesh be silent before the Lord, and *His Arm shall bring you Salvation.* Yea, when you are ready to go down into the Pit, that your Throat is dry with crying, and your Eyes seem to fail with waiting, *His Salvation shall spring as the Morning; because his Mercies are to all Generations, and that the Seed of Jacob never sought his Face in vain, The poor Man cryeth, saith David; What poor Man was this? He that is poor in his own Eyes, that hath no Helper in the Earth but God. This poor Man cried, and the Lord heard him, and saved him out of all his Troubles. Our Souls, said the Righteous of old, waited for the Lord, for he is our Help, and our Shield for ever.*

Wherefore my Dear Friends, be not you discomfited, for there is no New Thing happened unto you: 'Tis the Ancient Path of the Righteous: *For thy Sake, says David, have I born Reproach; I am become a Stranger to my Brethren, and an Alien unto my Mother's Children. When I wept, and chastened my Soul with Fasting, that was to my Reproach. I made Sackcloth also my Garment, and I became a Proverb to them: They that Sit in the Gate, speak against me; and I was the Song of the Drunkards. Save me, O God, for the Waters are come in unto my Soul: And the Water Floods are ready to swallow me up. They persecute him, whom thou hast smitten; and they talk to the Grief of those whom thou hast wounded. Do you not know this, Dear Friends? Are not your Tears become a Reproach, your Fasts a Wonder, your Paleness a Derision, your Plainness a Proverb, and your Serious and Retired Conversation a By-word? Yea, when the Lord hath wounded, have not they also grieved? And when the Lord hath smitten you, have not they mocked? But this was David's Joy, The Lord is my Shepherd, I shall not want: He restoreth my Soul, he leadeth me in the Path of Righteousness for his Name's-Sake; he maketh me to lie down in Green Pastures: He leadeth me beside the Still Waters. Yea, though I walk through the Valley of the Shadow of Death, I will fear no Evil; for thou art with me, thy Rod and thy Staff comfort me: Who was the Comforter and Preserver of Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego, that refused to obey the King's Command against the Commandment of God: They would not bow to his Image; but rather chose the Fiery Furnace, than to commit Idolatry, or bow to another Thing, than to the Living God. Did not we cast Three Men into the Midst of the Fire? said Nebuchadnezzar, Lo I see Four Men loose, walking in the Midst of the Fire, and they have no Hurt: And the Form of the Fourth is like the Son of God. O my Friends, the Fire obeyeth him, as well as the Winds and Seas: All Power is given to the Son of God, who is given to you for*

No. XVIII. your Salvation. Well, *Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego*, the King calleth out of the Fire, and they have no Harm; though the mighty Men that cast them into the Fiery Furnace, were consumed. The God of *Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego*, is magnified by the King's Decree; and *Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego*, are by the King Highly Preferred. Here is the End of Faithfulness; here is the Blessing of Perseverance: God will bring Honour to his Name, through the Patience and Integrity of his People.

And it was this Son of God that preserved *Daniel* in the Lyon's Den; it was his Voice, that *David* said, *Divideth the Flames of Fire; he rideth upon the Winds, he sitteth upon the Floods. The Voice of the Lord is Powerful; the Voice of the Lord is full of Majesty: They that trust in Him shall never be confounded. Blessed are they whose God is the Lord: For He is a present Help in the Needful Time of Trouble. The Angel of the Lord encampeth round about them that fear him, and he delivereth them. O taste, and see, that the Lord is Good: Blessed is the Man that trusteth in him. O fear the Lord, for there is no Want to them that fear him. The Young Lyons shall lack, and the Old Lyons suffer Hunger; but they that seek the Lord, shall not want any Good Thing. Many are the Afflictions of the Righteous, but the Lord delivereth them out of them all; for the Lord redeemeth the Souls of his Servants, and none of them that trust in him, shall be made desolate.*

For which Cause, my dear Friends, cast away every Weight, and every Burden, and the Sin that doth so easily beset you. Neither look at the Enemy's Strength, nor at your own Weakness; but look unto *JESUS*, the Blessed Author of your Convincement and Faith: The Mighty One, on whom God hath laid Help, for all those that believe in his Name, receive his Testimony, and live in his Doctrine; who said to his Dear Followers of Old, *Be of good Cheer, I have overcome the World: Fear not, little Flock; it is your Father's good Pleasure to give you the Kingdom: And they that endure to the End, shall be saved. I will not leave you Comfortless*, said he, *I will come to you; he that is with you, shall be in you.* This was the Hope of their Glory, the Foundation of their Building, which standeth sure. And though Sorrow cometh over Night, yet Joy shall come in the Morning. *Ye shall Weep and Lament*, said Jesus, *but the World shall Rejoice; and ye shall be sorrowful, but your Sorrow shall be turned into Joy*, and their Rejoicing into Howling. *And Lo I am with you to the End of the World.* Be ye therefore encouraged in the Holy Way of the Lord; wait diligently for his daily Manifestations unto your Souls, that you may be strengthened in your inward Man, with Might and Power, to do the Will of God on Earth, as it is done in Heaven. *O watch, that you enter not into Temptation: Yea, Watch unto Prayer, that you enter not into Temptation, and that you fall not by the Temptation.* Christ said to Peter, *Canst not thou watch One Hour?* Every one hath an Hour of Temptation to go through; and this is the Hour that every One is to Watch. *JESUS*, the Captain of our Salvation, was under great Temptations; *He was Sad unto Death; He did Sweat Drops of Blood; but He Watch'd, He Pray'd, He Groat'd, Yea, He Cry'd with Strong Cries: But through Suffering overcame: And remember how in the Wilderness he was Tempted, but the Angels of the Lord ministred to him. So they that follow him in the Way of the Tribulations and Patience of his Kingdom, God's Angel shall minister unto them all: Yea, He will keep them in the Hour of Temptation: He will carry their Heads above the Waves, and deliver them from the devouring Floods.*

Wherefore finally, my Friends, I say unto you in the Name of the Lord, *Be of Good Cheer! Look to JESUS, and fear not Man, whose Breath is in his Nostrils: But be Valiant for the Truth on Earth. Love not your Lives unto the Death, and you shall receive a Crown of Life and Glory; which the God of the Fathers, the God of the Prophets, the God of the Apostles, and the God of the Martyrs, and True Confessors of Jesus; yea, the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, shall give unto all those that*
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keep the Pure Testimony of His Son in their Hearts, and Patiently and Faithfully endure to the End. No. XVIII.

Now to Him that is able to keep you from falling, and to present you Faultless before the Presence of His Glory with exceeding Joy: To the only Wise God, our Saviour, be Glory and Majesty, Dominion and Power, both now and ever. Amen.

I am your Friend that Sincerely Loves you, and earnestly Travails for your Redemption,

William Penn.

To all those Professors of CHRISTIANITY, that are externally separated from the Visible Sects and Fellowships in the Christian World (so called) where-ever Hidden or Scattered, True Knowledge, which is Life Eternal, from GOD the Father, through JESUS CHRIST, be increased. No. XIX.

Friends,

THE First Adam is of the Earth, Earthy; the Second Adam is the Lord from Heaven, the Quickning Spirit: What is born of Flesh, is *Flesh*, and cannot enter into the Kingdom of God. So far can the Spirit of meer Man come, and no farther; but what is born of God, does inherit Life Eternal. All you therefore, who are *Exalted* in your Speculations, and re-find in your Apprehensions, and Ideas of God, of Christ, of the Spirit, and of the Secrets of the Heavenly Kingdom, *examine* and *try*, by the Light of the Lord Jesus, whether you have received your Knowledge from God, or from Men; and (when taken in the *Best Part*) whether it is more than the New Wine in the Old Bottles, which cannot endure, nor stand in Judgment. Consider if it be not the bare, or meer Man, that speaks of Godly Matters, what he has heard, or read of others Labours, rather than the Overhadowings and Operations of the Holy and Eternal Spirit of Christ in your selves.

Hereby shall you know, whether your Knowledge of God, is True, or not, *viz.* If you are Redeemed by his Righteous Judgments, working out all the Tin and Dross that have been in you, and brought to the Silence of all Flesh, that has no Right to speak in Man, for it knows not the *Things of God*.

Friends, I am pressed by the Good Spirit of God, to ask you, Whether the Prince of this World is *fully* and *wholly* judged in you? Is he beaten off of *False Righteousness*, as of *Sin*? For when he cannot prevail with the Creature to submit to him, then he tempts it to take upon it to govern and guide it self, that it should not be taught by Christ, and that his own Kingdom of Darkness should not be thereby overturned at once.

And therefore deceive not your selves, O my Beloved Friends! Is the Glory of the World wholly set aside in you? Is it at once judged, and under your Feet? If the Spirit of Jesus fully Reigns in your Hearts, then are you not Conformable to any of the *Evil Fruits*, Inventions, and Fashions of this World, but are *inwardly* and *outwardly* gathered to the Spirit of Jesus, and the dark World is trodden under your Feet in all its Appearances; yea, then you are *Valiant for the Cause of God upon Earth*; your *Candles* are in their *Candlesticks*, and not under the *Bed or Bushel*.

But Oh! Is this so? Take Heed, for that Life is now risen which you cannot deceive, but it will raise you in all your Performances, and judge Righteous Judgment. I ask a second Time, in the Fear and Name of the Holy God, (who is a Consuming Fire against all that which is Counterfeit, and not True) is the Prince of this World judged? As a *Devil*, as a *Dragon*, as a *Prince of the Air*, a *False Prophet*, yea, as one appearing some-

To all those Professors of Christianity, that are externally separated from the Visible Sects in the World.
Life, p. 109.

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times like an *Angel of Light* too? For this Man of Sin, and of Perdition, has also his *Visions, Knowledge, Faith, Signs, Miracles*; yea, *Quakings* too, yet not like those that are *Born of God, and are Inspired, and Actuated by His Holy Spirit*.

But Ah! Are you come so far, that you feel that all Flesh is Silent before the Lord? For that is the Time when God should speak, and Men should hear what he says. I say, is *Adam* Silent in you? Is the Spirit of Man Silent in you? Is thy Soul, O Man! *Passive and Quiet*, retired from all *Images, Ideas, Figures, or Self-Apprehensions*, that thou may'st hear and discern what God, through his Son, will speak unto thee? He who is the Blessed Teacher, that taught *Adam* in Paradise, the *Good Jews* under the Law by his Angels and Prophets; and does yet teach all True Christians under the Gospel, through *His Beloved Son, who is the Glorious Sun and Light of the World, and Fulness of all Dispensations to Mankind*.

I say once more, in the Fear of the Lord, *Friends*, judge, walk up to what you have attained, and reach not beyond your own Experience, neither Glory in your own *Strength, but in the Lord*: Do not hold the *Truth in Unrighteousness*, like as all those do, who walk not after the Spirit, nor are made sensible, through the Work of it; and who make not Profession thereof. And therefore hear me once more, I beseech you: Are you got beyond your own Thoughts? Have you found Ease and Peace through Christ in your own Consciences? Do you keep the Holy Watch against the Enemy in all his Appearances, whether Selfishness, or Sinfulness? Forwardness, or Backwardness in Duty? Have you conquered that Part, or hasty Birth, which ascends like an Eagle, and hovers in the Air, but pitches no where that is truly profitable to the Soul? Is the Eye of the *Vulture* blinded, that would peep and spy into the Path of the Righteous, which is kept close from all the Birds of Prey, but open to the Dove? Ah! Is that which delights to comprehend and know more, than that which is obtained through daily Obedience? Is that aspiring Serpent seen? I say, is that Enemy seen and judged? And that through Christ, the *Great Prophet of God in you*, to whom all Judgment is committed? If so, you are safe: But if not, then shall your Work suffer *Great Damage* in the Fiery Day of the Lord. And besides, I say, have you received your Knowledge by the Death of the Cross? And have you seen your selves lost without Christ, and risen with Him? Then have you cast away your *Grave Clothes*, and are clothed upon with Immortality, with the *Fine Linnen, and Raiment of Saints*, which is the Portion of all the Redeemed of the Lord through Judgment, and His Blessed Converts through Righteousness, as it was with the Holy Fathers of Old: Can you say in Truth, and in Righteousness, that you are Redeemed with the same Judgments, and Converted through the same Righteousness as they were, and that the same Pure and Spiritual Judgment has been the Beginning of your Knowledge and Experience? If not, then 'tis all wrong, and you must begin again: For one Stone must not stand upon another in that Building, which stands in the Oldness of the Letter, and not in Newness of the Spirit: Conviction, Redemption, and from an Earthly Sensual, a Superfensual Life, are the great Business, and must be wrought by *Fire*, called the *Baptism of Fire and the Holy Ghost*. Wherefore deceive not your selves, God will not be mocked: Come to the Fire, and try your Works. Are they wrought in God, by and after Him, His Mind, and Will, or of Self-Imitations and Imaginations that cannot profit the poor Soul? If after God's Mind and Will, there is an End of the *Faiths, Worships, Lusts, Glory, and Customs* of this World, and the Root they spring from, is cut down, with all its Branches, Fruits, and Leaves, that have shown themselves, more or less, under the great Apostacy that has spread over the World, and *Christendom* more especially.

Examine, *my Friends*, and try this Holy Guide in your Hearts, by the Word of the Lord, which is dividing asunder between the *Soul and Spirit* and the *Joints and Marrow*, and is a *Discerner* of the Thoughts and Purposes of the Heart: For the *Heart is desperately Wicked, who can know it?* Yea, the

the Secrets and Treasures of Unrighteousness live in it. Examine therefore thy self over and over, by the Light of the Lord, and let his True Judgment take Place, that which comes from him, to whom the Father has committed all Judgment, as well as all Power.

I have a Godly Jealousie about many of you, whether your Knowledge does not exceed your Experience, at least, your Obedience, and whether you feed not your selves with that Bread that perishes. Beware therefore of that Tree whose Knowledge *Adam* purchased with the *Loss of Paradise*; for that is the Way never to come into the Paradisical State again. I feel I must say to some of you, *Come down, Zaccheus, come down.* You that find your selves to be of low Statures, and therefore mistrust lest the Multitude should hinder, or hide the Lord from you, whose All-seeing Eye and Presence beholds all Things; and therefore resort to the High-Tree; that is, to high Notions, that you may see, or behold him as he is. I say to you, *Come down*, for Salvation is not to be found there: No! No! For it is nearer to you, it is even come to your own Houses: Yea, to your Hearts; there stands Christ your Salvation at your Doors, knocking; let him in, for he comes to take away the Sins of the World, and restore poor Man to God again. He whom God has set to be a Light to the Gentiles, and a Leader to the People, and to be his Salvation to the Ends of the Earth: Therefore I recommend unto you, that you be not offended at the Meanness of his Appearance; for his Day is a Day of small Things, even as the smoking Flax, and the bruised Reed.

And this therefore ariseth powerfully in my Soul, to speak unto you; that he appears not in the Form of Beauty, which is pleasing to the Flesh; and that his Way and Worship is separated from such in the greatest Measure. Flesh and Blood have no Part in his Service, and the Forwardness, Runnings and Willings of Men, have no Place there: For it is neither upon this Mountain, whither one Sort runs, nor yet at *Jerusalem*, nor in the Privy-Chamber, where another Sort are seeking; but in the Spirit of God, the True Worship of God is known and performed. Every *Form* is more acceptable than his: No Man's Face or Visage, being more marr'd or disfigur'd than his: All voluntary Humilities and Worships of Men, and every Human Tradition or Invention of Men, has a fairer Show, and a more grateful Appearance than His, of whom it is said, *He has not a Place whereon to lay His Head.* This is a bitter Cup for the Creature, and there are but few who will drink it; for it is a hard Matter to bring Men thereunto, viz. To sit still, and with Patience wait for the Salvation of God, and deny all Self-Activities, and Contrivings, and so let him Will and Work, all their Works in and for them. They know not what it is to put their *Mouths in the Dust*, and *all Flesh* to be Silent and abased before the Lord: that he alone may be exalted, and his Voice heard, that he may prepare them to do his Will in their Earth, as it is done in Heaven. Ah! How has this Mystery of Unrighteousness wrought, and how does it work yet? Boasting that the Living Child belongs to her; but it is feigned, because it is the Womb of Death, and cannot bring forth any Living Fruit unto God. All Nations have drank too much of this Cup; but the Hour of this False Spirit's Judgments is now come, and it is *seen, revealed and judged*, through the Living Spirit of God, which is felt, received, and obeyed, by a poor People, whom God has delivered out of the Mouths of the Idolatrous and Superstitious Shepherds, and False Prophets, who have no Vision themselves, but who *Write*, Preach, and Pray against it, and persecute those that Assent to and Profess it, as the Gospel Priviledge and Dignity, who are come to the Lord, and know his Law written in their Hearts, and his Fear placed in their inward Parts, and that are taught and guided by Him. These follow the Lamb, and hear his Voice, and are the Host of the Lord, in this our Day, who Fight through their *Holy Testimony* under his Banner, against the *Mystical Harlot*, the *False Prophet*, and the *Beast*. And, behold, they shall obtain the Victory: For He that is in them, is *stronger* than he that is in the World, that Fights against them.

No. XIX.

Gen. 2. 9

Luke 19. 5

Rev. 3. 20
John 1. 29.
Acts 13. 47

Zech. 4. 10

Lam. 3. 29

No. XIX.

And though this be a great Mystery, so it is, notwithstanding, a greater Truth; to wit, That *Moses* the *Servant*, is externally fairer than *CHRIST*; Yea, the Prophets themselves spake as so many Delightful Singers, and like those that play upon pleasant Instruments of Musick: For their *Revelations, Visions, and Glorious Prophecies* of the Latter Days, and of the Times of the New Covenant, were, as one of them said of the Children of that Generation, *like a Pleasant Song*. But when the *SO N*, the *Substance* came, it was *without Beauty, without Ornament, and without any External Excellency*; which is to say, no Formality, no Observations in Meats and Drinks, or Holy Days, Surplices, Altars, Vestments, Offerings, &c. Instead of which, a strait Way to Flesh and Blood, a Cross to Self-Love, and a Holy Watch, are instituted and recommended by Example, as well as Precept; which is a bitter Cup, or Draught, for all to drink that will go to Glory; Man must die to his own Will, Inclinations, Imaginations, and Fleshly Concoits: He must constantly Wait and Watch. Now his *own* Worship and Righteousness are as odious to him, as his Sin and Unrighteousness were before: For it is not an External Matter, nor an External Running, or Doing, that can Profit: Nor is it that which pleaseth the Busic Brain, and the nice Phantasia of the Creature, because while all those Things have been stroking the Mind of the Creature, they have been Warring against the Soul: But it is a secret Life; a secret Temple; a secret Service, and that in God's due Time; yea, it is a secret Manna, a secret Supper, which cannot be understood by the vain Sects of this World. And Jesus is the *Builder* of this Tabernacle; He is the *Author* of this Covenant and Service: He is the *High Priest* of this Altar. Hereunto he has gathered those his Ancient People, and hereunto he gathers the Nations in these our Days. The *Bride* says *Come*, the *Spirit* says *Come*, and *He* says *Come*, and Blessed are those that *Come*, and see how Good He is to those that Love and Fear Him: For all Crowns must be laid down at his Feet, to him that is Meek and Humble, and rides upon an *Ass*, and upon the Sole of an *Ass*, the most contemptible of all Beasts: Since God has concluded that He should be glorified, and that *Hosanna* and *Glory* belongs to him for ever. He shall humble the Proud, and exalt the Humble; Yea, he shall lay the Mountains low, and exalt the Valleys; to wit, the Poor in Spirit, to whom the Kingdom of God belongs.

And therefore do not think your selves rich, like the Pharisees, for you must know this, that a *Camel shall more easily pass through the Eye of a Needle, than a Rich Man shall enter into the Kingdom of God*. But come to the Seed of God, sown in all your Hearts, for therein *must all the Nations of the Earth be blessed*, for whose Sake, forsake all visible Things, bow down before it, cleave to it with your whole Hearts, and learn thereof; for it is Incorruptible: that you may thereby be instructed, and born again, that you may be as *little Children*, who do not argue with their Father, but love, believe, and follow him in all Obedience and Faithfulness, and to such belongs the Kingdom of God. To these God reveals his Secrets; Wherefore the Lord Jesus Christ has said, *I thank thee, O Father, Lord of Heaven and Earth, that thou hast hid these Things: What sort of Things? The hidden Things of the Kingdom of Heaven; From the Wise and Prudent, and that thou hast revealed them unto Babes; Even so, Father, for so it seemed Good in thy Sight: For out of the Mouths of Babes and Sucklings hast thou ordained Strength, or, thou hast perfected Praise: Whereas in God's Presence no Flesh shall boast*.

My Friends, disquiet not your Selves to comprehend Divine Things, for they that do so, are of the Flesh: But wait in the Stillness upon the God of all Families of the Earth, and then shall you have a true Feeling of him, and of that which feeds the Soul, and gives the Saving Knowledge, *viz.* That Knowledge which is Everlasting: this Knowledge remains, and stands fast: likewise Peace, and everlasting Assurance goes along with it.

For this I Testifie unto you, from the Lord, that the Fowls of the Air, and the Imaginations of Flesh and Blood, are the greatest Enemies of your Souls,

1 Pet. i. 23;

Mat. xi. 25.
26.

Psalm. 8. 2.

Souls, and of your Progress in the Way of the Lord. The first hath often stolen away the Seed, as soon as it was sown, instead of which it ought to take Root, and Spring up. And hereby the Visitations of the Lord are of no Effect, and your Souls, remain weak and feeble, and the other hath suppressed the Seed, after it hath sprung up. O the fine Imaginations of the Wisdom of this World! the Fear of Man, and Earthly Prudence, this comes not from the Heavenly, saving, and living Knowledge; neither can it ever bestow it upon you: But true Knowledge makes Courageous and Diligent before the Lord, and those that are so, are Noble in their Testimony, Patient under Afflictions, Steadfast and Cheerful under Persecutions. This is the Way of the only true God, whose Name be glorified to all Eternity.

Ye then, that have a true Sight of a better Hope, and of a more lasting Habitation, who in the Singleness of your Hearts, thirst after the true and living Feeling, and Knowledge of God; which are like a poor Dove without Comfort, and as a solitary Pelican in the Wilderness, who truly seek after the Beloved of your Souls, but have not yet found him: Be still, O ye tender People! and know that he is God. Who? He that searcheth the Heart, that trieth the Reins, that setteth the Thoughts of Men in Order before their Eyes: In this Stillness shall ye hear him, who *will teach* you where to find that which you seek for; Yea, it is He, for he alone can do it, who manifesteth himself to you. *Mary* fought Jesus, and thought it was the *Gardener* when she saw him; She asked Jesus for Jesus; But when he said, *Mary*, she answered *Master*, and through that Word her beloved Master, Jesus, revealed himself, and demonstrated that he knew her, and that gave her to know him; for alas! he whom you seek is near you; Yea, in the Midst of you: It is he that knows you, and calls to you, and tells you whatever you have done, whether it be Just, or Unjust: and it is he that pronounceth Judgment against those that walk after the Flesh, but speaketh Peace and Joy to those that walk after the Spirit. And therefore, do not slight his Appearance, but live humbly, and then you shall see him whom you wait for, swiftly come, and make himself known to you.

My Beloved, seek not the present Ease, or Pleasures of the Flesh, and fear not Man but God. Hear me, O my Friends, for the Lord God hath sent me unto you, in this Epistle, take heed that ye outrun not your selves, in Inward Visions, and Openings of the Heart, and that you feed not your selves with the Knowledge of the same: for this is not that Knowledge, which is Eternal Life: although many, and more especially in *Germany*, have lost themselves thereby: for When they have received inward Manifestations from God, they were not humble and low, but were exalted in their own Minds, above the daily Cross; which Cross is Death to that which prides it self, with these Visions, or Manifestations, and have been elevated above the Simplicity of Obedience, in a bare Profession of the same.

O the Subtilty, of that cunning Enemy of Souls! This, this hath put a Stop to the Work of the Lord; for they have not known the Travail, the Death, and the first Resurrection, but without Experience lived slightly in the delightful Representations, and Manifestations of the same; hereby are come forth whole Generations of exalted, Spiritual, and high strained Notionists, who despising the Gross Impiety, and dark superstitious Contrivances of Sects, are in the mean while entertained by the Enemy, (who is provided with all Manner of suitable Bait) with those Likenesses and Representations of *Truth*; they dream of Meat, and the Feast of Tabernacles, but when the Day of the Lord is at Hand, which is to awaken them to rise to Judgment; behold, then they are empty and hungry.

And therefore take great Heed to follow the Lord, and worship him, Adore him, and not the Image, thou thy self hast made. Don't make Calves out of Jewels, which thou hast brought out of *Egypt*. Don't bow down thy self before thy Old Experiences, but behold the Arm that has helped thee, and that God who has often delivered thee. Blessed are those who are kept by him in the daily Sense of his Preservation, for their
Hearts

No. XIX.

Hearts will not run after other Gods. Remember that the Manna descended from Heaven daily, that it daily must be gathered and eaten; and that the Manna that was gathered Yesterday, cannot serve to Day for Food. Now as it is in the Natural, even so is it in the Spiritual. And therefore the Lord Jesus has taught his Disciples to pray for their daily Bread; for he is daily with his People, and he goes before them: Therefore let no Body look backwards, and adore what they have known; but look forward, on Jesus, the Author of the true Faith, who is Mighty to finish what he has begun; because he has not only brought, and delivered his People out of Egypt; but he is likewise their Spiritual Moses, who has led them through the Wilderness; he goes before his Sheep, and gives them Everlasting Life; namely, to those who hear and follow him; but when Men are negligent in hearing Christ, then they work for themselves upon their old Experiences, and *beho to themselves Cisterns that can hold no Water*. Here Death prevails, and here Death talks of the Fame of Wisdom; and with this Knowledge they feed themselves, and not on the Tree of Life.

Take ye Heed, *my Friends*, for great is the Mystery of Unrighteousness, but the Light of Jesus Christ discovers the same; and therefore remain in this, and from it expect your daily Bread, daily Knowledge, daily Wisdom, and daily Strength; take no Thought for the Morrow, for Sufficient unto the Day is the Evil thereof.

And thus lives the Seed of Faith, the True Spiritual Generation of the believing Abraham, that daily eat of the hidden Manna, which descends every Day from Above, and that is hidden from the World, and its Wisdom.

Wo unto them from God, who make, and adore Images, as well of Things in Heaven, as upon Earth, wherefore examine, and try your selves by the Light of the Lord Jesus Christ, who alone gives the true Understanding, what your Knowledge is, for the Knowledge that is Everlasting Life, is a lively Sense, Enjoyment, and Possession of Things, which we see inwardly; and into this Man of himself can by no Means come by all his Strivings: But this is only obtained by Judgments, deep Humiliation, Patience, daily Watching, and by bearing the Cross of the Lord Jesus Christ, and that not only against Satan, but also against our own Selfishness.

And I Testifie, that he who attains his Knowledge another Way, is a Thief and a Robber; for Christ is the Door, and through Him all must enter; nay, through Him Only we can come to God; namely, by faithfully receiving him into the Heart, and embracing Him; first, as a Light discovering corrupt Nature, with all its evil Fruits; then as a Judge, condemning the same to the Death of the Cross; that such may come to die with Him to the Spirit of the World, and to the bad and vain Fruits of it; as also to the Spiritual Powers in high Places, and finally to know Him as the Resurrection and Life, and as one, who raiseth the Soul, by the same Power whereby God the Father has raised Him from the Dead.

And here is the Pure and Living Knowledge obtained, this is to know, and to put on Christ, and through Him to come to God, and to enter through the strait Gate; the strait Gate, that is too narrow for Flesh and Blood, and all that is not born of the Eternal Spirit is Flesh, and shall wither away as Grass before the Glorious Sun of Righteousness, which is now arisen, for his Work alone can undergo the Judgment, and endure the Trial; namely that which is born of him, which is not by the Will of Man in his own Time, nor by his Running and Willing; but by the Will of God, and by the Holy Overshadowing of his Pure Spirit. And this know, that God doth not overshadow the Adulterous, but the Chast Virgin Mind. Who has Ears, let him hear, this alone it is, which can conceive, and produce that Knowledge which is Everlasting Life; and all other Knowledge at the highest, is not higher than the Golden Head of that Image, which by that small Stone cut out of the Mountain, without Hands, shall be broken into Pieces, that

that is without all the Arts, Sciences, Labour, Industry, Wisdom, Will, or Mind of Men.

Nay, it must be broken. because it has no Feet, on which it can stand, nor *Foundation* that can endure the *Proof*; and therefore enquire into the *Foundation* you build-upon, which I beg for God's Sake. Is it upon the Chief Corner Stone? Upon the Stone which is Elect and Precious? Is it upon Christ the True Rock? Against whom, nor against any one who truly depends upon it, shall the Gates of Hell prevail? See then if the Gates of Hell, in several Things, do not prevail over you, as well as over the great Body of false Christians? Have you not about you the Mark of the Nature of the World? Do you not bow before any of its Customs? Make a Search with the Candle of the Lord Jesus, that he has lighted within you; whereby you shall see all the Fruits you produce; namely, the Nature of them, and to what they tend; to wit, if they are of the Nature, and tend to the Lust of this *World*, or of the Nature of *God*, and to his Will, for all true Christians ought to conform themselves unto His Will, in all Things, that whatsoever they do, may tend to the Praise, and *Glory of the Lord*, their blessed King and *Law-giver*.

And therefore live ye low and humble, to that which has visited you; be like Worm *Jacob*, let the Lord awake you, but dwell you in the Tents: Don't build *Babels*, for they must be broken; remember that humble and little *David* obtained the *Kingdom*, whose Trust was only in the Name of the Lord, and his Delight was in meditating in the Pure Law of His God.

This is the Visit of my *Life* and *Love* to you, O ye scatter'd and hidden Ones, lift up your Heads, and behold your Shepherd, and your Saviour; turn ye to him, follow him, and live with him; Let him lead you to the Place where he feeds, and where he makes his Flock to rest at *Noon*, for by his Eternal Light and Spirit has he gathered (from off the barren Mountains, and from the Idolatrous Shepherds) a Flock, which he hath led to the Fold of Rest, through many and great Tribulations; and he who remains firm and immoveable is the true Rest, *viz.* Jesus Christ, and there is no other. Therefore it is said that the true Church coming up from the Wilderness, leans upon the Breast of *JESUS CHRIST*, her Beloved, her Lord, and her Husband, who is her Strength and Stay; and all those who lean upon another, will fall in the Wilderness, and never come to the Rest of the Lord.

Therefore lean ye upon no other, but *adhere* unto Him; wait, watch, and walk in his *Holy Light*, which he has sent to *Lead* you out of Darkness, and therewith you will be enabled to know him, from whom it comes, and whom you seek, for the Nations, who are to be saved, must walk in the Light of the Lord: And the Time comes, and now is, that we shall have no need of the Sun, nor Moon, nor Stars, but the Lamb of God, that was slain, and now lives shall be the Light and Life of all true Christians here and hereafter.

These Things were laid upon me by the Lord Jesus Christ, who is the Faithful and True Witness, to write to you, and to bear Witness of His Kingdom and Appearance, that ye might seek, so that ye also may find, and that ye should be ready to enter in with him to the Everlasting Supper, and to the Rest which he has prepared for those, who love him, and follow him in the Way of Regeneration, not loving their Lives unto Death, for his Glorious Name and Testimony's Sake, to whom my Soul does humbly render Honour and Praise, and in Communion with his whole redeemed Family upon Earth, I ascribe all Honour, Power, and Dominion now henceforth and for evermore, *Amen*.

W. Penn.

No. XX.

A Tender Visitation, in the Love of God, that overcometh the World, to all People in the High and Low-Dutch Nations, who Hunger and Thirst after Righteousness, and desire to know and worship God in Truth, and in Sincerity; containing a plain Testimony to the Ancient and Apostolical Life, Way and Worship that God is Reviving and Exalting in the Earth, in His Spirit and Truth.

FRIENDS,

A Tender Visitation in the Love of God.
Life p. 109.
John 4. 23, 24

IN that Love wherewith God the Father of all Mercy, and our Lord Jesus Christ hath Loved and Visited my Soul, I likewise Love and Visit you; wishing in the same Love That you, with all the Saints might come to Experience, what is the Knowledge, Faith, Hope, Worship and Service, that is of, and from God, and which alone is truly acceptable unto Him: And that you might so run, that you may obtain: And that you being armed with the Spiritual Weapons, may so fight, as you may gain the Prize, and inherit the Crown: So that the Great God, the Lord of Heaven and Earth; He who shall Judge the Quick and the Dead; He may be known by you, to be your God, and you may know your selves to be his Children; born not of *Blood*, nor of the *Will of the Flesh*, nor of the *Will of Man*, but born again of his *Holy and Incorruptible Seed*; by the Word of God, born of his *Spirit*, and joyned unto Him in an Everlasting Covenant; That, while you live here, you may not live to your selves, but to the *Glory of God*: And when you have finished your Course here below, you may lay down your Heads in Peace, and enter into Everlasting Rest with the Faithful; here all Tears shall be wiped away from your Eyes, and everlasting Joy and Gladness shall be the Portion of your Inheritance.

John 1. 13.
and 3. 6.
1 Pet 1. 23.

Rev. 21. 4.

Let me therefore, *Friends*, speak freely, and be open-hearted unto you, and consider you my Words in the Fear of God, for I am pressed in Spirit to write to you.

I. *First*, Have you all turned your selves to God, who was the Teacher of *Adam*, while in his Innocency; who was the Teacher of the *Israelites*, through his Prophets, and of the *True Christians* through his Son Jesus; thro' whom he speaks his Will in the Hearts of all true Christians: If not, then are you yet erring from his Spirit, and going astray from the Lord, who is the Teacher of the New Covenant.

Heb. 1. 2.

II.

Secondly, Know you the *End and Design* of the Coming of Christ? Are you come to an Inward Experience of what the same is? Hearken to the Words of his Beloved Disciple, who has said, *For this Purpose the Son of God was manifested, that he might (put an End to Sin, and) Destroy the Works of the Devil*. Do you know this by your own Experience? Ah! Deceive not your selves; Where, pray, does Sin Dwell? And where are the Works of the Devil? Are they not in the Hearts of Men and Women? Is not that the Seat of *Wickedness*, the Tabernacle of *Sin*, the Temple of the *Devil*? Have not Men there worshipped his Spirit? Have not Men there bowed down before him? And are not all such born of his evil Seed? Must not Christ, who is the *Seed of God*, bruise his *Head*, there destroy his Work, and take his Kingdom from him? The Soul, which by Satan is defiled, and kept in Captivity, must not Christ redeem it, purify it, and save it? That it may be changed, and seasoned with the Divine Seed, and so come to bear the holy Image of the same; to that End, that Christ may come to dwell in a *Pure Heart*, and that God may be worshipped in his own *Evangelical Temple*, in his own Spirit in Man and Woman? What of these Things are you truly come to know? And what have you yet felt hereof? Christ is therefore come into the World, even, for that very End is he called *JESUS*, viz. That he should *Save his People from their Sins*: And to that End has John directed all to him, by these Words, *Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the Sin of the World*.

1 John 3. 8.

Rev. 13.

Mat. 1. 21.

John 1. 29.

Lock

Look now to your selves; O Inhabitants of *Christendom*! Whether he has taken away your Sins, and what those Sins are: Examine and try your selves by his Holy Light, from what evil Things you are now redeemed, which you were before subject unto; for Christ saves no Man from the Wrath of God, whom he hath not first redeemed from Sin: For, *The Wages of Sin is Death, and whatsoever Men sow, that they shall reap, in the Great and Last Day of Judgment.*

To whom then do you Live; My Friends, and in what Life? Do you live in the Life of God and Christ, Wherein the Saints of Old did live, whose *Lives were hid with Christ in God*; and who did live, because *Christ lived in them*? Is the Old Wine, and also the Old Bottles put away? Is the Old Man, with all his Deeds put off? The old Evil and Corrupt Ground, which brings forth all Evil and Corrupt Fruits; Is that burnt up by the Fire of God? For *his Word is like a Fire*; The Old Heavens, the Old Service of God, Peace, Gladness, and the Old Worship, which altogether are as dead in the Fallen Nature, are they rolled up as a *Scroll, and Vesture, and melted through the strong Heat of the Burning and Judging Spirit of God*? Are you become as *New Bottles*, which receive the *New Wine* of the Kingdom of God, which endures for ever? Have you, my Friends, put on the *New Man, which after God is created in Righteousness, and in true Holiness*? Can you feel that there is brought forth in you the *New Heaven, and the New Earth*, wherein Righteousness dwelleth? Consider, you, who truly and sincerely seek to know the Lord, and his Works in you, and Spend not your Money for that which is not Bread, nor your Labour for that which satisfieth not, nor will profit any Thing in the Day of Account; that your Souls be not deceived, but that you may be saved in the Day of the Lord.

Come you that are weary and heavy Laden, and you that Hunger and Thirst after Righteousness, and desire to walk in the Purity and Righteousness of the Saints: Be it known unto you, that Jesus Christ, who can Discharge, Ease, Help, and Save you all, he is near you, and stands at the Door of your Hearts, and that he waits to be Gracious to you; he Knocks, that you may open unto Him: It is he who has visited you, with his Saving Light, whereby he has manifested your State and Condition to you, and begotten an Holy Feeling in you; whereby you are become weary of your Evil Doings, and raises up a Holy Thirst in you after better Things. Now then, if you desire, and expect ever to be filled, and satisfied from him, then must you receive Him as he is Revealed, and as his Holy Will is made known in your Hearts; and keep your selves under his Holy Judgments and Reproofs: For the Reproofs of Instruction are the Way of Eternal Life. Love therefore, that which Reproves you for Evil, and turn from those Evils, for which you are Reproved; For *Zion shall be redeemed through Judgment, and her Converts with Righteousness*. Love, I say, the Judgments of Christ, and submit thereunto, and wait for him, to feel him yet more and more, that you thus may say, with one of Old, *In the Way of thy Judgments, O Lord, have we waited for Thee*: And, *with our Souls have we desired Thee in the Night Season; and with our Spirits within us will we seek Thee Early*: For when thy Judgments are in the Earth, the Inhabitants of the World will learn Righteousness: For Judgment, said Christ, *am I come into this World*: That is, as an Holy Light, to make Manifest; and as a Righteous Judge, to Condemn all Unrighteousness of Men: And all those that Love his Reproofs, and willingly suffer his Chastizings, and Fatherly Rebukes, they shall see Judgment brought forth unto Victory, and that the Prince of this World, the corrupt Root, the corrupt Nature, Ground, or Origin, in you, as well as the Evil Fruits, and Ungodly Works thereof, shall be judged. And when this is done, and is fulfilled, then you shall know what it is to sing his High Praises in Truth and Righteousness: Then you shall come to sing the Song of the Lamb; and know, that you, by that Lamb are Redeemed and Saved.

But it may be some will ask, Who is able to perform so great and blessed a Work? Fear not, you that seek the Kingdom of God; and his Righteousness,

No. XX.

Rom. 6. 23.

Col. 3. 4.

Jer. 23. 29.

Eph. 4. 24.

Isa. 55. 2.

Rev. 3. 20.
Isa. 30. 18.

Prov. 6. 23.

Isa. 1. 27. and
4. 4.

Isa. 26. 8. 9.

John 9. 39.

Mat. 12. 20.

Rev. 5. 9.

No. XX.

Psal. 89. 19.

Eph. 4. 30.

Eph. 5. 13.

Mal. 3.

2 Theff. 2. 8.

Isa. 10. 17.

Rom. 8. 14,
37.Titus 2. 11,
12.

2 Cor. 12. 9.

Isa. 52. 11.

Prov. 8. 1,
&c.

Jer. 2. 13.

III.

Gal. 1. 1.

Mat. 28. 19.

Acts 1. 4, 5,

8.

1 John 1. 1.

ness, with all your Hearts : For God has laid *Help* upon one that *is Mighty*, viz. upon Jesus Christ, and he shall make your Sins known unto you, and Redeem you from all Unrighteousness, if you will walk in his Light, as his beloved Disciple speaks, saying, *If we walk in the Light, as he is in the Light, we have Fellowship one with another, and the Blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth us from all Sin.* And therefore, Friends, If you will be Saved by the Blood of Christ, then must you leave and forsake all which the Light of Christ does condemn in you ; yea, you must watch against your own Thoughts, Words and Deeds, that you at unawares may not be overcome by the Enemy of your Souls : For he comes as a *Thief* in the Night to destroy you. Do not Live, nor Act so as to Grieve the *Holy Spirit of God* ; but turn your Minds from all Evil, in *Thoughts, Words, and Deeds* ; yea, if you love the *Light of Christ*, then bring your Deeds every Day to the *Light*, and see whether they are wrought in God, or no : For all Things that are Reproved, or Justified, are made manifest by the *Light* ; for whatsoever doth make manifest *is Light* ; and that *Light burns as an Oven against all Unrighteousness* ; yea, it is like a *Refiner's Fire* : For it is the Fiery Part of the Baptism of Christ, and therefore it is called the *Brightness of His Coming*, the *Consuming Spirit of His Mouth*, whereby that Wicked One shall be revealed, and burnt up, and rooted out ; the Thorns and Briars shall be burned up and devoured, and the Filthiness both of *Flesh and Spirit* purged away. If now your Sins are become a Burthen to you ; if you thereby are wearied, and if you heartily desire that they may be weakened in you, and at last conquered also ; then let the *Holy Watch of Jesus* be sincerely and earnestly kept in your Hearts ; which *Watch* is in the *Light* ; for in *Darkness* is no safe nor true Watching. Watch therefore with the *Light of Christ*, wherewith you are enlightened ; Watch (I say) against every unfruitful *Thought, Word, and Work* of *Darkness* : Stand upon your Guard in the Blessed *Light*, and be you armed therewith, like the Saints of Old, that you may discern the Enemy, and resist him, when, and howsoever he does appear and approach unto you ; that so he may not overcome you ; but that you may obtain Victory over him : For when he sees his Allurements ineffectual, his Snares discovered and broken (as this is done in the *Light of Christ*) then is he weakened in his Attempts, and your Souls grow stronger to resist him, until at last he be wholly defeated and conquered : For this was the Way of the Ancients, who were more than Conquerors, who walking after the *Light and Spirit of Jesus*, were Redeemed from Condemnation, which will come upon all those that Live after the *Flesh*. O this *Light* and this *Grace* bringeth *Salvation* ! For it teacheth us to deny *Ungodliness, and Worldly Lusts*, which bring Condemnation, and to Live *Soberly, Righteously, and Godly in this present World*. And this is the only Living Way to the Everlasting Rest and Peace of God. This was the Teacher of the Saints, this was *Paul's* Refuge and Comfort in his greatest Temptations. *My Grace* (said the Lord) *is sufficient for thee*. And as it has been in Time past, so is it in this our Day, to all them that come to receive it, embrace it, and love it, and who are willing to be guided by it, and follow it ; and to them said the Lord, *Depart you from all Evil Ways, from all vain Uses and Customs, and from the Vanities of this World*. Receive you my Counsel, which is the Living Oracle, or the Voice of God, and the Fountain of all Wisdom ; and do not hew out to your selves *Cisterns, Broken Cisterns, that can hold no Water*.

Thirdly, Are your Preachers and Teachers sent by God, or by Men ? How are they come to be your Teachers ? Consider of this Seriously : Are they of those that have accompanied with Jesus ? Are they Instructed and Sanctified by him ? Are they born again ? Have they received their Commissions, and are they sent forth by him ? Are they True and Faithful Witnesses ? Have they *heard, seen, tasted, and handled* that which they speak and deliver unto you ? Is it the Living Word which they Preach unto you ? Or do they by their own Spirit, and Understanding, in their own Time and Will, explain and interpret those Matters, which the Saints of Old, and the Primitive

mitive Christians spake forth as they were moved by the Holy Ghost? If it be so, then have they not received such Work, or such Victory, through the Holy Spirit in themselves, as the Saints had Experience of.

Fourthly, Do your Preachers turn your Minds to the Light of Christ, (that is, the Life in Him) which *shines in your Hearts*; which alone discovers *Sin to the Creature*, and shews every Man what the Lord doth Require of Him? Do they direct you to that Light which did lead the Saints of Old; and, by their *Believing in the Light*, made them *Children of Light*; wherein the Nations of them that are Saved shall walk? Do they turn you, (I say) to this Light, to this Grace and Spirit in your selves, which cometh by *Jesus Christ*? Does your Knowledge, Feeling, Experience and Worship, consist in the Revelations and Works of this Blessed Principle of God's Begetting in you? So that your Faith and Hope consist not in Words only (though they may all be True in Words) nor in the Education of an Outward Religious Perswasion by Vain Teachers; but that your Faith and Hope are grounded, and builded upon the *Power of the Living God*, who gives Victory over the World, unto all those, who, in their Hearts, *Believe in the Light of Jesus*: And this Blessed Hope, *Purifies the Heart*, and *Fortifies the Soul*.

Fifthly, When you come to your Meetings, both Preachers and People, what do you do? Do you then gather together Bodily only, and kindle a Fire, compassing your selves about with the Sparks of your own Kindling, and so please your selves, and walk in the *Light of your own Fire*, and in the Sparks which you have kindled; as those did in the Time of Old, whose Portion it was to *lye down in Sorrow*? Or rather, Do you Sit down in True Silence, resting from your own Will and Workings, and *Waiting upon the Lord*, fixed with your Minds in that Light, wherewith Christ has *Enlightened* you, until the Lord *Breaths Life* in you, *Refresheth* you, and *Prepares* you, and your Spirits, and Souls, to make you fit for his Service, that you may offer unto Him a Pure and Spiritual Sacrifice? For *That which is Born of the Flesh, is Flesh*; and he that Soweth to his *Flesh, shall of the Flesh, Reap Corruption*: For *Flesh and Blood cannot Inherit the Kingdom of God*: But he that Soweth to the Spirit, shall, of the Spirit, *Reap Life Eternal*, through Christ who has Quicken'd him.

What have you felt then, my Friends, of this Work in your Hearts? Has Christ there appeared? What has he done for you? Have you bowed down before him, and received him in your Hearts? Is He *formed* in you? Do you Live *no more*, but does Christ Live in you? For if you know not Christ to be in you, then are you yet *Reprobates*, though you confess him in Words: As the Apostle said of Old.

All you therefore, that Hunger and Thirst after the Righteousness of God's Kingdom, which is an Everlasting Blessed Kingdom, *turn in*, my Friends, and come to Christ, who stands at the Door of your Hearts and Knoeks. He is the *Light of the World*, and it concerns all true Servants of the Lord, to direct all Men to this Light; else have they not a right Discerning, nor True Sight or Taste of the Things of God, viz. To turn Men from *Darkness to Light, from the Kingdom of Satan, to the Power, and Kingdom of God*; from the Dark Inventions, and Humane Traditions of Men, to Christ, the great *Light of God*, the *High Priest*, and *Holy Prophet*, whom all Men must hear, and out of whose Mouth, the Law of the Spirit of Life must be received. By this he judges Men in Righteousness, and in him are hid all the *Treasures of Wisdom and Knowledge*. This is the High-Priest of all True Christians, and their *Chief Treasure*.

Happy therefore are all those that receive him in their Hearts, those that know him to be their *Light*, their *Guide*, their *King*, their *Law-Giver*, their *Bishop*, and their *Heavenly Shepherd*, who follow him through all Things, and through all Persecutions, and Sufferings, and that steadfastly love his Cross (the Power of God) and with all Gladness embrace the Reproach thereof; who have experienced, that *without* Christ they can do *nothing*; and therefore wait for his *Divine Power*, Strength and Wisdom, to Govern and Guide them: For such can receive no Testimony from any

No. XX.

2 Pet. 1. 21.

IV.

Acts 26. 18.

Micah 6. 8.

John 12. 26.

Rev. 21. 23;

24.

1 John 5. 4

V.

Isa. 50. 10

Lam. 3. 25;

26, 28.

John 1. 9.

John 3. 6;

Gal. 6. 8.

1 Cor. 15. 50;

Gal. 4. 19;

2 Cor. 13. 5;

Rev. 3. 20;

Rom. 8. 2;

Col. 2. 3.

John 15. 5;

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1 John 2. 20.

Preachers, except that Testimony which is given from the *Holy Union*, in and through them; because Men, without Christ, can do nothing, as he has said: For Men cannot Preach, Men cannot Pray, Men cannot Sing as it ought to be; yea, Men, without Him, can do nothing to the Praise and Glory of God: For it is only the Son of God that glorifies the Father thro' his Children.

John 6. 38.
3. 11.

1 John 1. 3.

John 10. 27.

Jer. 23. 30.

And therefore let him kindle the Fire with the Pure Coals from his Holy Altar; and do you not offer to him in your Self-will: No, Jesus did not do his *own Will*, but the *Will of his Father*. So let us not do our *own*, but *His Will*; he has done nothing but what his Father had made known unto Him; and we must all Witness what Christ has declared unto us, and what he has wrought in us, or else we should be false Witnesses. *Woman*, said Christ to his Mother, *mine Hour is not yet come*: So that he did wait his Father's Time, in whose Hands the Times and Seasons are: We must *Wait*, but God *Orders*, and Happy are those who do his Will. *My Sheep*, said Christ, *hear my Voice, and follow me*; but they will not hear the Voice of *Strangers*. Now those that Speak, if their Voices and Conversations are not with the Life, the Power, and with the Spirit of Christ, they are strange Voices; (I pray you observe well) and Christ's Sheep will not sit under *such Voices*, nor under *such Shepherds*; who do but *Steal* the Words of the Prophets and Apostles, but do not experience them, nor Succeed them in their Spirits and Conversations; for Christ's Sheep do discern those that *so Teach*, from *Him*, for He has given them that Spiritual Gift to *see* them; which is not to be had, nor found in the Crafty Wisdom of the World, with all its Humane Learnings, Arts and Sciences; but stands in the innocent Nature of the *True Sheep*; and for them it is like *Natural*, viz. Souls that are become Harmless, and are arriv'd at the State of a *Little Child*; for to such doth God Reveal his Secrets; because, by the Work of Regeneration, they are become his own Begotten; and to such belongs the Kingdom of God, and the Knowledge of the Mysteries thereof.

John 10. 4.

John 10. 1. 8.

1b. 17. 3.

Pf. 85. 8.

Phil. 3. 10. 11.

2 Tim. 1. 10.

John 1. 29.

and 1. 12.

1 John 5. 19.

Wherefore, Pray take Notice, how it is with you, Is Sin Revealed? Yes: Through what? By the *Light of Christ*. But is Sin likewise judged? Have you submitted your selves to *His Light*? And are you therewith United? Is your Old Self-Righteousness thereby judged? And are thereby all your false Judgments judged? Is the Prince of this World judged in you? Does Christ *go before you*? And does He give you *Eternal Life*? Examine and search your selves, for thus he deals with his Sheep: *I go before them, they follow me, and, behold, I give them Life Eternal*. Does Christ go before you, and lead you in all your Worship, which you do as your bounden Duty to God? Do you wait for his Leadings? Is it the Religion of Christ, wherein you Walk? Read His Holy Sermon on the Mount. Or else, do you *go before him*, and do you *Climb up another Way*, before he Stirs in you, before he Moves you, before he gives you Power and Ability to approach his Throne? Ah! True Silence before the Lord, is better abundantly than *forward Prayers*, and *Self-willed Offers*, or any Traditional and Formal Performances: For consider, that it is *Life Eternal to know God*. Now, no Man can know him, who has not heard his Voice: And no Man can hear his Voice, who is not Silent in himself, and waits not *Patiently* for him, that he may *hear what God will speak to his Soul*, through Christ Jesus, the Great, Holy, and Heavenly *High Priest* of God, to Mankind, who is the Heavenly Prophet also, unto all them that Believe in His Name. But, my Friends, Do you know the *Fellowship* of his *Holy Life*, of his *Blessed Cross*, *Death*, and *Resurrection*? Do you confess him inwardly in your selves, as well as outwardly before Men? If so, then has he given you *Life Eternal*. Again, if you feel not in you, *Life and Immortality*, brought to *Light*, then are you yet in your Sins, and know not the *Lamb of God, who taketh away the Sin of the World*. For *as many as Received him, to them gave he Power to become the Children of God*. And they know by the Witness of God in themselves, that they are of God, as said the beloved Disciple *John*, *And the whole World lieth in Wickedness*.

Beloved

Beloved Friends, Beware therefore of *Idoltry*, and *worshipping of Images*, I mean the Worship of *Inward Images*, which is an *Inward Idoltry*; for if you shew a great Aversion against all outward Idoltry, yet if you Worship God after the Imaginations you have of God, and which you conceive in your own Minds, without the Inspiration of the Almighty, you worship Images of your own Framing, and so come to commit Idoltry. And therefore take Heed that your Worship does not consist in your own Imaginations, and Self-Conceits of God; and do not bow down to such, (which is indeed to your selves) and then think, or presume that you are bowing down to God and Christ; when, on the contrary, it is nothing else but a meer Picture of your own making. And this is the great Abomination and Loss of poor *Christendom*, viz. That the Spirit which deceives Man, sits in the Place of God, and is Worshipped as God, by those that know not the True and Living God, who is as a Consuming Fire, and as Everlasting Burnings in the Soul against Sin, Righteousness, and Judgment of the World.

Dan. 12. 11;
2 Thess. 2. 4.

John 16. 8.

Now he that revealeth the Father, is the Son, the True Light: For he has said, *No Man knoweth the Father, but the Son, and he to whom the Son will reveal him.* How, has Christ revealed the Father unto you? Are you come to Jesus? If so, then you have known the Godly Sorrow, the True Mourning, and that Repentance which Men need never to repent of: But if you have not known this Day of Judgment and Contrition, then are you not come to Christ. Wherefore come you to Jesus, viz. To his Appearance in you, by his Divine Light and Spirit, which every Way discovers, and judges the World's Nature, Spirit and Image in you: For to Him is all Judgment committed, and he will reveal the Father; yea, he that has seen the Son, has likewise seen the Father; for He is in the Father, and the Father is in Him. If now the Manifestation of Jesus in you, as well of the Father, as of the Son, is the *Foundation* of your Knowledge, so that God and Christ, *whom to know is Life Eternal*, are become the Holy Object of your Worship; then are you real Worshippers in his Spirit and Truth; then are you come out from the Workmanship, from the Will and Imaginations of your own Spirits, and from all Human Worship, and are come to the Worship of the Spirit of the Living God, and to live in him, be led and moved by him in all Godly Performances, for the *Spirit of Man* only knows the *Things of Man*, but the *Spirit of God* knows and reveals the *Things of God*. And this Worship of his Kingdom and Church, has Christ raised up again in these our Days, which was set up by Christ Sixteen Hundred Years ago. And in this Worship have the True Followers worshipped the *Father*, before the great Apostacy, from the Spirit and Power of the Lord, broke in upon the Primitive Ages of the Church: And after such a Glorious Manner shall it be restored; yea, so it is already with many Thousands, whom God, through the Appearance of Christ in the Heart, has gathered, both in our, and other Countries, whereby he has judged them as Men in the Flesh (in their *Fleshy Lusts*, in their *Fleshy Worships*) that they might live unto God and Christ, who quickned them by the Death of the Cross, and justified them as Men in the Spirit risen from the Dead.

Mat. 11. 27.

John 14. 10;
11.

John 4. 24

1 Cor. 2. 11;
John 4. 23.

Glory be therefore to God, who Lives and Reigns on High, that *That Dark and Sorrowful Night* is vanishing, and that the Sun-rising of the Eternal Day, has already appeared, and is arising more and more over the Nations in the World; in which Day, *Babylon, the Mother of Harlots*, [*False Worshippers*] shall come in *Remembrance*, before the God of the whole Earth, viz. That *Babylon*, which has followed *Merchandizing with the Scripture*, and with the *Souls of Men*, and has *Persecuted* the Spiritual Seed, the Children of God, and faithful Witnesses of Jesus; (although Cloathed in *Sackcloth*) because they would not receive *her Mark*, and *her Fine Linnen too*, nor submit to her *Fleshy Birth, Invention, Profession, Worship and Dominion*.

Rev. 16. 19

18. 13

11. 3

13. 16

This *Babylon*, lives but too much yet in every one, of all Sorts of People, or Professors, by whom the Truth is held in *Unrighteousness*; when they see not through the Light of the Spirit of Christ, and when their Knowledge and Worship of God, is not received and performed, by that same blessed

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bleſſed Spirit; There, I ſay, is *Babylon*, that is, *Confuſion*: *Oh, come out of her my People!* ſaith the Lord, *and I will receive you.*

Iſa. 30. 1.

He that calls God his Father, and is not *born of God*; he that calls Chriſt Lord, and not *by the Holy Spirit*; but mean while is ſerving another Maſter: Thoſe, that attribute to themſelves, the Words of the *Regenerated*, their Revelations and Experiences, when they are yet *Unregenerated*, and have no Part therein, but endeavour in all theſe Things, to make themſelves a fair Covering: They ſhall experience in the Day of the Lord, that it ſhall profit them Nothing: For, *Wo to thoſe*, ſaid the Lord, *that cover with a Covering, and not of my Spirit; that take Counſel, but not of me.* Let therefore, all thoſe that are yet in *Babylon*, haſten out of her ſpeedily, and you that are in the *Suburbs* of that great City, haſten you away; yea, make haſt, with all Speed! Prepare your ſelves to meet the Lamb, your Bridegroom; who comes now to you (who are *Mourning, Hungring, and Thirſting* after Him) to lead you out of your bewildered States, to his ſaving Light, and bleſſed Appearance: for now he ſees you, and now he calls you, and knocks at your Doors to come in unto you: And therefore open ye unto Him, and let Him in; Let Him no longer lye in the Manger, nor at your Doors; but rather give Him your Hearts, and let him *Reign* over you as a King, for he has bought us with his own *Precious Blood*, and is therefore Worthy that we ſerve and honour Him, and that he *Reign* over us; and that he be our King and Law-giver, who gave his own Life for us, *that we ſhould not periſh, but have Everlaſting Life in Him.* He has laid down his Life for you, and can you not lay down your Sins for his Sake; yea, for your own Sakes? Conſider that he deſcended from the Glory of his Father, to bring you to Glory; and can you not depart from the *withering* Glory of this World, that you may inherit his Glory, which is Everlaſting? It is that Wrong, falſe ſelf in Man which only hinders it, it is *that* only which objects againſt it, that conſults, and endeavours to avoid the Croſs.

Luke. 2. 7.

John. 3. 16.

This *Self*, has in all Times been deſirous to be in great Eſteem, and has therefore, in all Ages, hindred Men from Doing the Will of God on Earth, *as it is in Heaven*: But where *Self* is diſannulled, and Men have had no great Eſteem for the Selfiſh Part, but have humbled themſelves to the Death of the Croſs of Chriſt, that he might deliver them from the *Wrath to come*, and give them an *Inheritance in the Kingdom of his Father*, there the Will of God will be done on Earth, as it is in Heaven, and therein will the Heavenly Father be glorified. On the contrary, thoſe that live in Sin, they are in Communion with the Devil, and drink his Cup of Unrighteouſneſs: which, however it is ſweet in the Mouth, is afterwards bitter in the Belly. And though it be ſweet here for a Time, it ſhall afterwards be crabbed and diſtaſtful. Again, the Cup of Chriſt is *here* bitter in the Mouth, but ſweet hereafter in the Belly: Here *ſour*, but hereafter *pleaſant*: You, ſaid he, *ſhall weep and lament, but the World ſhall rejoice*: but obſerve the End hereof, *your Sorrow ſhall be turned into Joy*, but their Rejoycing into Weeping.

John. 16. 20.

Cant. 8. 5.

Jer. 17. 5.

And this is therefore the Word of Truth, No Man ſhall enjoy the Cup of Bleſſing, or drink out of the Cup of Salvation, but he that has firſt drank of the Cup of Tribulation; he that has firſt known his Fellowſhip with the Sufferings of Chriſt, and of his Holy Myſtical Croſs: for thoſe that ſuffer with him, ſhall Reign with Him, and *No Croſs, No Crown*.

Lean then upon his Breſt, for ſo does the *Bride in Spirit*. Truſt in Him, and not in Man, nor in your ſelves, for he will guide you beſt, becauſe he is given you of God, to be your Heavenly Guide. And if it ſhould be in a way under the Croſs, (which Way is proper to Him) yet, 'tis notwithstanding, a Way of Joy, and Pleaſantneſs, and all his holy Paths, are Peace to thoſe that love Him. O therefore, feel his holy Drawings, and wait in his Light upon his Holy Movings in your Souls! *Stand ſtill and ſee his Salvation wrought in you, by his own Arm*: that you may know him to be Jeſus indeed; viz. *A Saviour*, as well from your Sins here, as from the *Wrath to come*; and that he may preſerve you from Vain Thoughts

Exod. 14.
13, 14.

Thoughts, vain Words, and vain Conversations, yea, from the voluntary Worship of this World, and from the slavish Fear of Man; To the End, that he may work his own Work in you, and make you conformable to his own blessed Image; and that you may be made free by the Lord, through the Power of his Everlasting Gospel, which is now again founded forth by his own Angel, to the Inhabitants of the Earth, calling with a loud Voice, *Fear God, and give Glory to him, for the Hour of his Judgment is come.* And you must feel this Judgment in your Hearts, that the Prince of this World, with all *his Evil Seed*, with all *his wrong Plants*, and *Appearances*, may be judged in you; and that you may be *Witnesses* upon Earth for God, and the Lamb, that sits upon the Throne, against all *Darkness* of Men and Devils; nay, against Death, Hell, and the Grave; and that God may bless you, with all Sorts of Blessings in Christ Jesus.

But yet I find my self pressed in Spirit, to give you one Warning more, *viz.* That you would not longer use vain Words, (though true in themselves) because they are worth nothing, for they take God's Name in vain, that use it without Life and Power: And I intreat all those that endeavour to know God, and come up to the true Life of his Dear Son, that you make no Profession of Worship, without the Feeling, Preparing, and Ordering of the true and overcoming Power of God: for such Worship is not of God, and such Professors are *Poor, Lean, Naked and Miserable* People; yea, they are only as Chaff among the Corn: And therefore beware you of that Woman *Jezebel*, the *false Prophetess*, of whom the early Christians were warned, who has the *Words*, but not the *Life* of the Son of God: Her Preaching tendsto Death, she makes a Talk of the Sound and Fame of Wisdom (but will not afterwards harbour her, when she cries in her Streets) she awakens none, she brings no Man to God; she does not build up in the Heavenly Work, nor administer the right Spiritual Bread to the Soul: For Christ only is the Bread which gives Life Eternal, and those that will eat of this Bread, must first come to Him; let Him into their Hearts, as Lord and Master, to provide and order his, to his Praise, and as such must he be received, when he appears in their Souls, even as a Refiner's Fire, and as a Fuller's Soap, to Purifie and Refine from all Unrighteousness; yea, to reveal unto Men their Sins, and destroy the same with the Brightness of his Coming, and with the Spirit of his Mouth, in which no Deceit is found. He is that Light in the Brightness of his Coming, which you must love and whose Testimony you must keep, and he is the quickning Spirit, whose Breath of his Mouth revives the Soul, and destroys the Sin that slays it: for all those that come to receive him in this Office, in this Way, and in this Work, shall also know, that he is the *Lamb of God, which taketh away the Sin of the World*, the Spiritual Passover, the Heavenly Bread, the true Vine, which bringeth forth the New Wine of the Kingdom, the blessed Olive-Tree; yea, the Tree of Life, and Eternal Salvation, which grows in the Midst of the Paradise of God, whose Leaves are for the Healing of the Nations.

This is a Salutation to you all, from the Holy and fervent Love which God has poured into my Heart and Soul; who am in a Travail to help the Nations to be gathered to Christ, the Light and Salvation thereof, that Zion may be the *Joy* and *Jerusalem* the *Praise* of the whole Earth. Amen, Amen.

To the Children of LIGHT in this Generation, called of God to be Partakers of Eternal Life in JESUS CHRIST, the Lamb of GOD, and Light of the World.

My Endeared Friends and Brethren,

MANY Days and Weeks, yea, some Months bath my Heart been heavy, my Soul unusually sad for the Sake of this Nation, the Land of our Nativity! For I have not only long beheld with a grieved Eye, the many Abominations

No. XX.

Rev. 14, 6.

7.

Mat. 15, 13;

Rev. 2, 29;

John 6, 32;

33, 35, 51.

Mal. 3, 2;

John 1, 29.

1 Cor. 5, 7.

John 6, 51.

15, 1.

Rom. 11, 24.

Rev. 2, 7.

Isa. 60, 3.

Ibid. 62, 7.

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To the Children of Light, &c.

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Abominations and gross Impieties that reign therein, the Lusts, Pleasures, Wantonness, Drunkenness, Whoredoms, Oaths, Blasphemies, Envy, Treachery and Persecution of the Just; but for some Time I have had a deep Sense that the Overflowing Scourge of God's Wrath and Indignation was just ready to break out upon the People, Confusion, Amazement and Misery! The Weight of which hath caused me to cry within my self, Who shall save us? Who shall deliver us? Are there none to stay the Stroke? To blunt the Edge? To stop the Fury, and intercede for the People, and mediate for this poor Land, that the LORD may not utterly depart, and take His Glory and His Name from it, and make it a Desolation for the Wild Beasts of the Field, and Fowls of the Air; a Land of Judgment, and not of Promise; of Curses, and not of Blessings.

My Friends, Whilst the Sense of this Distress, that is coming as a Dreadful Visitation from the Hand of the displeased God, upon this ungodly Land, to Stain its Glory, bring down its Pride, and Punish its Forgetfulness of the Lord, and His many Deliverances, lay so heavy upon my Spirit, the Lord presented before me all the Truly Conscientious, and Well-inclined People in these Nations; and more especially You, His Despised, but Chosen Generation, for whose Sake He would yet have Mercy. And, in the Midst of His Judgments, This I received for you from the Lord, as his Holy Will and Counsel; and it often sprung in my Heart, with a very fresh and strong Life,

TO THY TENTS, O ISRAEL!
TO THY TENTS, O ISRAEL!

GOD is thy TENT: To thy GOD, O Israel!

Prepare, O Friends, to stand in this Day before the Lord (that is in the first Place) for ye shall also have your Exercise: Yea, Great is that Work which we have to do for the Lord, by his powerful but very peaceable Spirit; for God will by all these Hurries, Confusions and Vexations that are at the Door, drive People from their False Gods, and bring them Home to HIMSELF. He will throw down Wickedness, and establish Righteousness; He will waste Sin, but Truth shall grow. He will debase the Mountain of Empty Profession, but the Mountain of His Holiness shall be exalted. He hath determined to raise up, and renovate the Seed of Light, Life and Truth in the Hearts of People; Holy Patience, Meekness, Wisdom, Love, Faith, Purity, and Perseverance (so much wanting in the World) shall be seen to dwell in it, and only to come from it. And my Witness is, that ye are the People, through whom this Heavenly Seed of Righteousness must clearly and stedfastly so shine unto others, in these Uneven and Rough Times that are come, and coming, as that your Heavenly Father may be Glorified by you.

Wherefore, in the Name of the Lord, be ye all discombred of the World, and discharged of the Cares of it; Fly as for your Lives from the Snares therein, and get you into your Watch-Tower, the NAME of the LORD! Which is not a Dead Name, or a meer Literal Name; but a Living, Spiritual, and very Powerful Name; a Strong Tower indeed, yea, an invincible Fortrefs, where dwell ye with God, and in him who speaketh Peace to his Children, and ordains Quietness for them that trust in him. He will make you to lie down safely, even then when Darknes and Confusion shall be thick about you; yea, ye shall Live in the Fire, that will consume the Stubble of the World, and your Garments shall not be so much as singed; for the Son of God, whom the Flames, as well as Winds and Seas, obey, will be in the Midst of you.

Next, Friends, this know, We are the People above all others, that must stand in the Gap, and pray for the putting away of the Wrath, so as that this Land be not made an utter Desolation; and God expects it at our Hands. Prepare ye therefore to meet and sanctifie the Lord in his Coming and Judgments! Why stand any of you gazing? Let none gaze or look out, I beseech you, that is the Enemy's Work to weaken you within; but be ye retired, be ye centered in the Eternal One, and meditate upon the Lord, and his Living

Pure

Pure Law, that ye may be Wise in Heart, and Travel in Spirit for this poor Land, and that for Enemies as well as Friends. The Lord is ready to bear you for this People, when ye are ready to interceed: And I testify, Abraham is amongst you, God's Friend, and His Just Lot too; yea, Jacob that prevailed; and One that is Greater than All, JESUS, the Lamb of God, whose Blood speaketh better Things than that of Abel, in whom is the Mediation and Atonement. Be therefore encouraged to wait upon the Lord, and to bow before him, and humbly to meditate in the Life of JESUS with him: I know he will put it in your Hearts so to do, if ye wait upon him; for he will not cast off this Land, as he did Sodom; he hath a Right Seed, a Noble People in it, that he hath and yet will gather: Many Sheep there be, not yet of our Fold, whom he will bring in, and the foul Weather and the Storms will but help to drive them Home to JESUS, the Living and True Witness, and Light within, that he whom God hath Ordained to Reign, may be Great in them.

And lastly, My Dear Friends and Brethren, By how much this Day draws nigh, by so much the more do ye stand loose in your Affections to the World, but fast in the Faith: and assemble your selves together, and let God arise in you, and his Power and Spirit of Life among you, that ye may not only wrestle, but in the End prevail, that it may be seen that Salvation is of the Jews, the Jews inward, in Spirit and in Truth: And truly the Time hastens, that Ten shall take hold of the Skirt of such a Jew, and they shall be saved. But Wo to the Hypocrite in that Day, the Formalist, the Jew Outward, the Circumcision in the Flesh, and Fleishly Christian, that cannot resist the Temptations of this World, the Temporizer, One that Runs with the Tide, he will be divided: For there will be more Tides, more Interests on Foot at once, than One; wherefore Perplexity will take hold on him, his Policy will be confounded; he will not know what to do to be safe, nor what to join with; this Double-Minded Man will be unstable in his Counsels and in his Affections, his Sandy Foundation will be shaken. Therefore, as I said, Wo to the Hypocrite, and to the Covetous Man too, for his God will fail him; the Thief, the Moth and Rust, will invade his Bags, and surprize his Treasure: His Anguish will be great in this Day; but my Dear Brethren, as the Power and Spirit of our Lord God will preserve and establish us, if we sincerely and entirely confide therein, and that above our Solicitation, or Need of Carnal Consultations or Contrivances, which we have therefore laid aside; so shall it vindicate us in due Time, in the Eyes of all Nations, and present us a People owned, beloved and protected of God, in whom we have firmly believed. Nor is this Presumption, as some may think, who being not so well acquainted with that Entire Resignation, and Supreme Faith, (of which JESUS is the Author, that removes Mountains into the Sea) conclude from meer Natural and Human Considerations against us; yet we know him in whom we have believed; and the same that hath Cured us of our Diseases, the same said unto us, Arise, and walk in this Way of Faith; trust in me, and not in another. And truly, this is much of that Wonder, which Men shall have in their Minds and Mouths about us in these Latter Days, in Troubles not to be dejected, and in Jeopardies not to be concerned to make to our selves Defences; as the Lillies that neither Toil nor Spin, yet seed and grow, so we may both be preserved, and become Victorious, without Worldly Force or Projections; for we must shew our selves to be that Little City and Hill of God, that hath only his Salvation for our Walls and Bulwarks; by whom he will renown his Arm, and magnifie his Power above the Arts and Contrivances of Men. Our Weapons, and our Armour is Spiritual; it hath prevailed, and it will prevail, if we keep in the Faith which was first delivered to us: A Blessed Shield, by which the Just Live.

And therefore, My Dear Friends, let us be careful not to mingle with the Crowd, lest their Spirit enter us, instead of our Spirit entering them, and we thereby come to fall into the same Temptations they are liable to, of Fear, and flying to the Hills and Mountains to protect them, confiding in the Arm of Flesh to deliver them, No, no; they must come to us, we must not go to them. Yet can we not be unsensible of their Infirmities, as well as we shall not be free from some of their Sufferings; we must make their Case as our own, and tra-

No. XXI.

vel alike in Spirit for them as for our selves. Let us stand in the Counsel of our God, and he will make us Preachers forth to them of the Works of his Divine Power, and the Virtue of that Faith which comes from Heaven; yea, he will make us as Saviours to the People, that they may come to know the Holy Law and Word of the Lord (their Creator) in their Hearts, and have their Minds and Souls turned to him, and stay'd upon him, that Iniquity may no more abound, nor Ungodliness find a Place: But that in Truth, Righteousness and Peace, they may be Establish'd, and the Land keep its SABBATH to the Lord for ever! Then shall God lift up the Light of his Countenance upon us, and water us from Heaven, and bless us with all Temporal and Spiritual Blessings; and we shall be yet called, THE ISLAND SAVED BY THE LORD. Amen, Amen.

This was upon my Soul from God to you; I could not Visit you all with a distinct Message upon many Accounts: Besides, the Time is short, and the Confusion appears to me to be at Hand: Therefore have I sent it by Way of Epistle, with the Brotherly Salutation of unfeigned and unalterable Love to you All, in your respective Meetings and Families. And the Lord God of our Visitation and Redemption, stir you up to these Things, and keep us all in his Holy Fear, Wisdom, Love and Patience, through all those Travels and Exercises to the End of our Days; that having finish'd our Testimonies, our Heads may go down to the Grave in Peace, and our Souls be received into the Rest which is reserved for the Righteous with God, and with his Blessed Lamb for ever.

I am Your Brother and Companion through the many Tribulations of our Day and Testimony,

Worminghurst in Suffex, the 4th
of the 9th Month, 1678.

William Penn.

I desire that this EPISTLE may be read in the Fear of the Lord in your several Meetings.

No. XXII.

A Preface to a Book presented to the King, Lords, and Commons in Parliament Assembled; Entitled, The Case of the People called QUAKERS stated in Relation to their late and Present Sufferings, Especially upon old Statutes made against Popish Recusants.

A Preface to
a Book of Sufferings, upon
Statutes made
against Popish
Recusants.
Lisc. p. 126.

IT is not unknown that many and various have been our Sufferings, not only since the King's Restoration, but also under the late Revolutions of Government, in which Time, we have with a constant Patience, as well undergone the Temporary Laws, designed against us, as such also, which some of the Magistrates have strained, to answer their Desires in Punishment: And we can say, that the Bitterness of our Portion, has not been the Effect of a Turbulent or Riotous Conversation, for that is well known to our Neighbours to be peaceable, and inoffensive, but for Religious Dissent, in conscientiously worshipping the God that made us: and for this many of us have been exposed to Whipping, Stocking, Beating, Wounding, Imprisonment, Spoiling of our Goods, and Banishments; and many suffered Death in stinking Goals, Dungeons, and otherwise; and more particularly, by two Acts of Parliament, directly made against us, by the Name of Quakers, not Popish Recusants, the one in 14th Car. 2. Cap. 1. and the Other, in 16th Car. 2. Cap. 4. empowering the Magistrates, to Fine, Impison and transport us for our Meetings, whereupon a great Number lost their Lives by close Imprisonment, and Banishment, besides the excessive Spoil and Havock that has been made upon many Innocent and Industrious Families, in rending away their Goods and Livelihoods by mercenary Informers, upon the late Act against Conventicles, 22th Car. 2. Cap. 1. Howbeit we cannot attribute the whole Blame to the Laws, designed against us, or the Statutes in Force, but much to the Severe or Partial Execution occasioned (as was the Complaint of Justin Martyr of Old in his Apology, for the Christians, among other Causes, says he) By the Wicked Promoters and Informers, who for Lucre Sake, to have the Possessions of the Christians,

were

were the more ready to accuse them, to have the Spoil of their *Goods*. So that against whomsoever, or whatsoever, a Law is made or provided, that may concern *Religious Matters*, we have generally found our selves chiefly pickt out for the Grand, if not the only, *Offenders*.

And as a Proof thereof, many of us are now daily exposed to utter Ruin in our *Estates*, upon the Prosecution of the Statutes 23 *Q. Eliz. cap. 1.* and 29 *Q. Eliz. cap. 6.* made against *Popish Recusants*, by Colour whereof, and of the Statute of 3 *King James cap. 4.* Two Thirds of our Real *Estates*, &c. for four or five Years last past, have been, and are yet daily seized into the King's Hand; and against many of us are *Processess* made out of the *Exchequer*, twice Yearly, to collect the Rents; for which the Bailiff seldom takes less than double, their Distresses frequently amounting to more than the Yearly Value of the whole *Estate*, to the impoverishing of many industrious Families, and wasting of their *Estates* and Livelihoods: A Catalogue of some Particulars whereof, herein after follow: And others of us the mean While are prosecuted, imprisoned, and spoiled by *Merciless Informers*, for 20 *l. per Month*, by the Statute of the 35th of the same Queen, *cap. 1.*

For these Things have we sought to the King in Council for Redress, who was pleased there to express his Sense of the *Unreasonableness of such Prosecutions*, as did also others of the Lords of his Council, but referred us to the Parliament for Relief of this our Grievance, as the most proper Place to have an effectual Redress: In Ohservance whereof, we made our Application to the House of Commons, of the late Long Parliament, who, in a Committee, then examined by Witneses and Records, the Truth and Justice of our Complaint, and the Reasonableness of our Allegations to distinguish our Selves from *Popish Recusants*, and had true Resentments thereof, but before they could yeild us any Relief, were prorogued and soon after dissolved.

We also represented our Case, to the succeeding *Parliament*, who were pleased to insert a Clause in a *Bill*, then before them (which past the *House of Commons*) to distinguish between *Papists*, and *Protestant Dissenters*, which would have tended to Redress our Grievances, but that *Parliament* being also prorogued, before the said *Bill* had past it's last Customary Reading in the *Upper House*, we are left under the said heavy Pressures, continued Seizures and Distresses, and not only so, but by the Execution of the said *old Statutes of Q. Elizabeth, &c.* and the 3. *Jac.* are rendered as *Popish Recusants*, which we really are not, being also distinguished under the Name of *Quakers*, by the aforesaid Acts of Parliament, made against us. Wherefore notwithstanding, your other Great Affairs, we cannot but at this Time, in true Christian Humility, desire you to take this Case of our grievous Sufferings also into your serious and weighty Consideration, allowing us that *Justice*, as to be considered under a Distinction from *Popish Recusants*, and that you would please to yeild us such *Relief* herein as God in his *Counsel* shall direct, and you in *Wisdom*, shall see meet and Expedient.

Signed on Behalf of many Hundreds of the same People, who lie under present Suffering, by,

London, the 26th of the
8th Month, 1680.

William Penn, and Fifteen others.

A Preface to a Book, entituled, *A particular Account of the Late and present great Sufferings and Oppressions, of the People called QUAKERS upon Prosecutions against them, in the Bishop's Courts*, Humbly presented to the serious Consideration of the *King, Lords, and Commons*.

No. XXIII.

A Preface to a Book of Sufferings, upon Prosecutions, in the Bishop's Courts.

Life p. 120.

EVER since we have been a People, dissenting from the Publick Worship of this Kingdom, we have greatly sought and desired to live peaceably, in the Exercise of our tender Consciences, towards God and

No. XXIII. Man. And we call *God Almighty to witnes*s, that such our Dissent, from the Practice and Ceremonies, of the *Church of England* has not been, as some have judged, the Effect of a Singular or Wiltul Spirit, but our Sincerity to God and true Religion; Many People of *England*, have good Experience of it. Nevertheless, we have been for near Twenty Years last past, severely prosecuted by some of the *Clergy*, and by Writs, *De Excommunicato Capiendo*, thrown into nasty Goals and Holes, where some have lost their Lives, others have been kept in a lingering Imprisonment, from their Wives and Families; A Punishment, not much Inferior to Death, and these troublesome Suits and Proceedings against them, have been chiefly for not going to the *Church* (so called) and not paying to the *Repairs* of the same, and some for *small Tythes*, to the Value of *Eighteen Pence, Two Shillings*, and sometimes less, as in the Relation following, will more particularly appear.

Now we desire you to judge, whether these Cruel and Uncharitable proceedings, of these *Clergymen*, towards us, are consonant with the Practice of the *Ministers of Christ*, in the Primitive Times, or answer that Meekness and Christian Spirit, manifested by them, in *Instructing those that opposed*, and not seeking to destroy and ruin them, and their Families, because they could not receive their Doctrine.

And farther, we desire you to consider, when we are first cited to the *Bishop's Courts*, although we do appear and are willing to manifest our Innocency, yet because we do not see a Proctor, or do refuse to swear to our Answer, no Notice is taken of our Appearance, but we are soon after excommunicated, and then thrown into a Noisom Gaol, and there we must lie unbailable, (how long the Lord God that is holy and true only knows) and in the Mean Time, what a Condition the poor Family is in at Home, you may well consider. And whether those Actions do not greatly tend to grind the Face of the Poor, which was an Evil complained against, by the Righteous, in all Ages, and we hope will be considered and redressed by you.

And we pray, that the Lord may incline your Hearts, to read and consider the following Accounts, and to afford the *Sufferers* some speedy Relief, that they and their Families may not be utterly destroyed.

Presented to you on the Behalf of the Sufferers, by us,

London, the 15th of the
9th Month, 1680.

William Fenn,
And Twenty more.

A Preface to a Book entituled, *A brief Account of some of the late and present Sufferings of the People called QUAKERS for meeting together to worship God in Spirit and Truth, upon the Conventicle Act, with an Account of such who died Prisoners from the Year, 1660, for several Causes.*

To the KING, LORDS, and COMMONS in Parliament Assembled.

No. XXIV.

*A Preface to
a Book of Sufferings,
upon the Conventicle
Act.
Life p. 120.*

THE daily Accounts we receive of the great Oppressions of our Friends in several Counties, upon the Prosecution of the Statute 22 Car. 2. cap. 1. entituled, *An Act to prevent and suppress seditious Conventicles*, constrain us yet farther to make our Complaint to you, hoping, that upon your Weighty Consideration thereof, some Way to relieve us may be found by You. In the Perusal of the following Accounts you may see what Destruction and spoil hath been made upon our Estates within these Two or Three Years last past, many poor Families being wholly ruined, and Tradesmen that helped to employ and relieve others, are now so impoverished, that they are fain to shut up their Shops, and be helped themselves; and the Industrious and Laborious are become a Prey to the Rapine of dissolute, idle Informers, and others; who after they have devoured all they could find in one County, have gone to the next, hunting from Meeting to Meeting

Meeting, nothing satisfying them, till they have devoured all our outward Substance: All which Oppressions we have endured with much Patience and Long-suffering, knowing, that our assembling is in *Good Conscience* toward God, and that we have always endeavoured to exercise a *Conscience void of Offence toward Men*; and in such Case where we could not obey what the Law of Men required, we have yielded our selves patiently to suffer the Penalties inflicted on us, and have never plotted nor contrived to disturb the Peace of the Kingdom, or sought Revenge under our Sufferings, though they have extended not only to the Spoil of our outward Estates, but to Imprisonment, Banishment, and Loss of Life it self, and that of some Hundreds of us since the *King's Restoration*, as in the Relations following will particularly appear, and that chiefly for our peaceable Meeting together to worship God, a Duty so incumbent upon us, and so conscientiously performed by us, that if the Law had been made to take away our Lives, as it was to destroy our Estates, we could not have forborn our Assembling together, except we should have been Treacherous to God and our own Consciences.

And farther, We desire you to consider the Inequality of the aforesaid Act: The Mercenary *Informers*, who swear against us, gain Part of our Estates to themselves, and we are convicted by the Arbitrary Determination of one *Justice of the Peace*; who in our Absence is both *Judge and Jury*; And whatever wrong is inflicted on us, our Appeal must not lye in any other Court, but only before the Parties themselves complained of to do us Wrong, who are many Times *Judges* in their own Cases, the *Furies* being overaw'd by them, so that they are afraid to speak their own Reason and Sense, but forced to bring in such a *Verdict* as pleaseth our *Judges*; which Proceedings are conceived to be expressly against the *Constitution* of our *English-Government*, and the *Ancient Fundamental Laws* of the Kingdom, which did expressly forbid the Seizure of Men's Liberties and Estates, without a *Lawful Judgment* of their *Peers*.

How repugnant these Severities inflicted upon us are to the *Indulgence* formerly promised to us by the King, you may judge, when you call to remembrance the many Declarations he was pleased formerly to make, for *the Liberty of Tender Consciences*, that should not disturb the Peace of the Kingdom. And also we shall leave it to your impartial Judgment, whether we have done any Act or Thing whereby we have justly incurred the Forfeiture of such *Indulgence*.

If the Lord shall put it in your Hearts to relieve us from these our great Oppressions, we humbly propose to your Consideration the Repeal of the Statutes 22 *Car. 2. Cap. 1.* made against *Conventicles*, and the Statute of 13th and 14th *Car. 2.* by which last Statute so many of our Friends suffered Imprisonment till Death for conscientiously refusing to swear in any Case, and for their peaceable Meeting to worship God.

Signed on the Behalf of the Sufferers, by us,
William Penn, and Sixteen others.

London, the 20th Day of
December, 1680.

To the Friends of God in the City of Bristol.

This sent to be Read among them, when assembled to Wait upon the Lord.

No. XXV.

My beloved in the Lord!

I Do herewith send amongst you the Dear and Tender Salutation of my unfeigned Love, that is held in the Fellowship of the lasting Gospel of Peace, that has many Years been preached and believed amongst you, be-
 speaking the God and Father of this Glorious Day of the Son of Man, to encrease and multiply his Grace, Mercy and Peace among you, that you may be Faithful, and abound in every good Word and Work, doing and suffering what is pleasing unto God, that you may prove what is that Good and Acceptable and Perfect Will of God, which becomes you to be found daily Doing, that so an Entrance may be administred unto you abundantly into

His Letter to
the Friends of
God in the
City of Bri-
stol.
Life p. 122.

No. XXV.

into the Kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, that is an Everlasting Kingdom. My beloved Brethren and Sisters! Be not cast down at the Rage of Evil Men, whose Anger Works not the Righteousness of God, and whose Cruelty the Lord will limit. Nothing strange or unusual is come to pass, it makes well for them that Eye the Lord in and through these Sufferings: There is Food in Affliction, and though the Instruments of it cannot see it, all shall work together for Good to them that fear the Lord: Keep your Ground in the TRUTH, that was, and is the *Saints Victory*: They that shrink go out of it; 'tis a Shield to the Righteous: Feel it, and see, I charge you by the Presence of the Lord, that you turn not aside the Lord's End towards You in this Suffering, by consulting with Flesh and Blood in ~~missing~~ your *Adversaries*, for that will load you. Keep out of base Bargainings, or Conniving at fleshly Evasions of the Cross. Our Captain would not leave us such an *Example*: Let them shrink, that know not why they should stand, we know in whom we have believed: He is Mightier in the Faithful to suffer and endure to the End, than the World to persecute: Call to Mind those *Blessed Ancients*, that by Faith overcame of Old, that *endured cruel Mockings and Scourgings, yea, moreover Bonds and Imprisonments, that accepted not Deliverance (to deny their Testimony) that they might obtain a better Resurrection: They were stoned; they were tempted, they were sawn asunder, they were slain with the Sword; but ye have not to resist unto Blood, and it sufficeth, I hope to You, That the Lord knoweth how to deliver the Godly out of Temptation, and to reserve the unjust unto the Day of Judgment to be punished, when it may be truly said, it shall go well with the Righteous, but very ill with the Wicked: The Lord God by His Power keep your Hearts living to him, that it may be your Delight to wait upon Him, and receive the Bounty of His Love, that being fed with His Daily Bread, and drinking of his Cup of Blessing, you may be raised above the Fear or Trouble of earthly Things, and grow strong in Him who is your Crown of Rejoycing, that having answered his Requirings, and walked faithfully before Him, you may receive in the End of your Days the welcome Sentence of Gladness: Eternal Riches are before you, an Inheritance incorruptible: Press after that Glorious Mark: Let your Minds be set on Things that are above, and when Christ that is the Glory of His poor People shall appear, they shall appear with Him in Glory; when all Tears shall be wiped away, and there shall be no more Sorrow or Sighing, but they that overcome shall stand as mount Sion that cannot be moved.*

So, My Dear Friends and Brethren, endure, that You may be saved, and you shall reap if you faint not. What should we be troubled for? Our Kingdom is not of this World, nor cannot be shaken by the Overturning here below. Let all give *Glory to God on High*, live peaceably on Earth, and shew *Good-Will to all Men*, and our Enemies will at last see, they do they know not what, and Repent, and Glorifie God our Heavenly Father. O! Great is God's Work on Earth. Be universal in your Spirits and keep out of all Straitness and Narrowness: Look to God's Great and Glorious Kingdom and its Prosperity: Our Time is not our own, nor are we our own: God hath bought us with a Price, not to serve our selves, but to glorifie him, both in Body, Soul, and Spirit; and by bodily Sufferings for the TRUTH, he is Glorified. Look to the accomplishing of the Will of God in these Things, that the Measure of Christ's Sufferings may be filled up in us, who hear about the *Dying of the Lord Jesus*; else our Suffering is in vain: Wherefore, as the Flock of God, and Family and Household of Faith, walk with your *Loins girded*, being sober, hoping to the End for the Grace and Kindness which shall be brought unto you at the *Revelation of Jesus Christ*, to whom You and Yours are committed: His precious Spirit minister unto You, and his own Life be shed abroad plentifully among you, that you may be kept blameless to the End, I am

Your Friend and Brother in the Fellowship of the Suffering for the TRUTH, as it is in JESUS.

Worminghurst the 24th of the
12th Month, 1681.

William Penn.

An

An ACCOUNT of the Blessed End of Gulielma Maria No. XXVI.
Penn, and of Springet Penn, the Beloved Wife, and Eldest Son of
 WILLIAM PENN.

*Printed for the Benefit of his Family, Relations, and particular Friends in
 Memory of them, and the Lord's Goodness to them.*

An ACCOUNT of the Blessed End of my Dear Wife
 Gulielma Maria Penn.

The Memory of the Just is Blessed. Prov. x. 7.

MY Dear Wife, after Eight Months Illness (though she never perfectly recovered her Weakness the Year before, which held her about Six Months) departed this Life the 23d of the 12th Month, 1693-4. about half an Hour past Two in the *Afternoon*, being the Sixth Day of the Week, and the Fiftieth Year of her Age, and was sensible to the very last.

During her Illness she uttered many Living and Weighty Expressions, upon diverse Occasions, both before and near Her End. Some of which I took down for mine and her Dear Children's Consolation.

At one of the many Meetings held in her Chamber, we and our Children and one of our Servants being only present, in a tendering and living Power she broke out as she sat in her Chair, *Let us all prepare, not knowing what Hour or Watch the Lord cometh. O I am full of Matter! Shall we receive Good, and shall we not receive Evil Things at the Hands of the Lord? I have cast my Care upon the Lord, He is the Physician of Value; my Expectation is wholly from Him: He can raise up, and he can cast down.* A while after she said, *Oh what shall be done to the Unprofitable Servant? At another Meeting, before which much Heaviness seemed to lie upon her natural Spirits; she said, This has been a Precious Opportunity to me, I am finely Relieved and Comforted, Blessed be the Lord.* At another Time, as I was speaking to her of the Lord's Love and Witness of His Spirit that was with her, to give her the Peace of Well-doing, she returned to me, looking up, *For, said she, I never did, to my Knowledge a wicked Thing in all my Life.*

To a Friend aged 75 Years that came to see her, she said, *Thou and I, to all Appearance are near our Ends: And to another about 65 Years Old, that came also to see her, she said, How much older has the Lord made me by this Weakness, than thou art? But I am contented, I do not murmur; I submit to His Holy Will.*

In the Strength of her Fits and Vapours, she said, *'Tis the great Goodness of the Lord, that I should be able to lie thus still. He is the Physician of Value to me, can I say: Let my Tongue set forth His Praise, and my Spirit magnify Him whilst I have Breath. O I am ready to be transported beyond my Strength. God was not in the Thunder, nor in the Lightning, but He was heard in the still Voice.* She did at several Times pray very sweetly, and in all her Weakness manifested the most equal, undaunted and resigned Spirit, as well as in all other Respects. She was an excellent Person, both as Child, Wife, Mother, Mistress, Friend, and Neighbour.

She called the Children one Day when Weak, and said, *Be not frightened Children, I do not call you to take my Leave of you, but to see you, and I would have you walk in the Fear of the Lord, and with His People in His HOLY TRUTH, or to that Effect.*

Speaking at another Time solemnly to the Children, she said, *I never desired any great Things for you, but that you may Fear the Lord, and walk in His TRUTH, among His People, to the End of your Days, &c.*

She would not suffer me to neglect any Publick Meeting, after I had my Liberty, upon her Account, saying often, *O go my Dearest! Don't hinder any Good for me. I desire thee go: I have cast my Care upon the Lord: I shall see thee again.*

About

*An Account
 of the blessed
 End of Guli-
 elma Maria
 Penn.
 Life p. 141.*

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About Three Hours before her End, a Relation taking Leave of her, she said again, *I have cast my Care upon the Lord: My Dear Love to all Friends, and* (lifting up her dying Hands and Eyes) *pray'd the Lord to preserve them and bless them.* About an Hour after, causing all to withdraw, we were half an Hour together, in which we took our last Leave, saying all that was fit upon that solemn Occasion. She continued sensible, and did eat something about an Hour before her Departure; at which Time our Children, and most of the Family, were present. She quietly expired in my Arms, her Head upon my Bosom, with a sensible and devout Resignation of her Soul to Almighty God. I hope I may say, she was a Publick as well as Private Loss; for she was not only an *Excellent Wife, and Mother*, but an entire and constant *Friend*, of a more than common Capacity, and greater Modesty and Humility; yet most equal and undaunted in Danger. *Religious* as well as *Ingenuous*, without Affectation. An easie Mistress, and good Neighbour, especially to the *Poor*. Neither lavish, nor penurious, but an Example of Industry, as well as of other *Virtues*: Therefore our great Loss, though her own *Eternal Gain*.

Sorrow and Joy, in the Loss and End of Springett Penn.

An Account
of the blessed
End of Springett
Penn.
Life p. 144.

MY very Dear Child and Eldest Son, *Springett Penn*, did from his Childhood manifest a *Disposition to Goodness*, and gave me Hope of a more than ordinary *Capacity*; and Time satisfied me in both Respects. For besides a good Share of *Learning* and especially of *Mathematical Knowledge*, he shewed a Judgment in the Use and Application of it, much above his Years. He had the Seeds of many good *Qualities* rising in him, that made him beloved, and consequently lamented; but especially his *Humility, Plainness, and Truth*; with a *Tenderness, and Softness of Nature*, that, if I may say it, were an Improvement upon his other *Good Qualities*. But though these were no Security against *Sickness and Death*, yet they went a good Way to facilitate a due Preparation for them. And indeed the good Ground that was in Him shew'd it self very plainly sometime before his Illness: For more than half a Year before it pleas'd the Lord to visit him with Weakness, he grew more retired, and much disengaged from *youthful Delights*; shewing a remarkable *Tenderness in Meetings*, even when they were silent: But when he saw himself doubtful as to his Recovery, he turn'd his Mind and Meditations more apparently towards the Lord; secretly (as also when they were in the Room that attended upon him) praying often with great *Fervency* to the Lord, and uttering very many *Thankful Expressions and Praises* to Him in a very deep and sensible Manner. One Day he said to us, *I am resigned; what God pleases, He knows what's best. I would live if it pleas'd him that I might serve Him: But, O Lord, not my Will, but thy Will be done.*

One speaking to him of the Things of this World, and what might please him when recovered; he answered, *My Eye looks another Way where the truest Pleasure is.* When he told me he had rested well, and that I said it was a Mercy to him, he quickly replied upon me, with a serious, yet sweet look, *All is Mercy, Dear Father, every Thing is Mercy.* Another Time when I went to Meeting, at parting, he said, *Remember me, my Dear Father, before the Lord: Though I cannot go to Meetings, yet I have many good Meetings; the Lord comes in upon my Spirit; I have Heavenly Meetings with Him by my self.*

And not many Days before he died, the Lord appearing by His Holy Power upon his Spirit, when alone, at my Return, asking him how he did, he told me, *O I have had a sweet Time, a blessed Time! Great Enjoyments: The Power of the Lord overcame my Soul: A sweet Time indeed!*

And telling him how some of the Gentry that had been to visit him, were gone to their Games, and Sports and Pleasures, and how little Consideration the Children of Men had of God and their latter End; and how much happier he was in this Weakness to have been otherwise educated, and to be

be preserved from those Temptations to Vanity, &c. he answered, *It is all Stuff, my Dear Father : It is sad Stuff. O that I might live to tell them so!* Well my Dear Child, I replied, Let this be the Time of thy entering into secret Covenant with God, that if he raise thee, thou wilt dedicate thy Youth, Strength and Life, to Him, and His People, and Service : He returned, *Father, that is not now to do ; it is not now to do ;* with great Tenderness upon his Spirit.

Being ever almost near him, and doing any Thing for him he wanted or desired, he broke out with much Sense and Love, *My Dear Father, if I live I will make thee amends.* And speaking to him of Divine Enjoyments, that the Eye of Man saw not, but the Soul made alive by the Spirit of Christ, plainly felt ; he, in a lively Remembrance, cried out, *O I had a sweet Time Yesterday by my self ! O the Lord hath preserved me to this Day ! O blessed be His Name ; my Soul praises Him for His Mercy ! O Father it is of the Goodness of the Lord that I am so well as I am !* Fixing his Eyes upon his Sister, he took her by the Hand, saying, *Poor Tishe, Look to good Things, poor Child, there is no Comfort without it. One Drop of the Love of God is worth more than all the World. I know it ; I have tasted it : I have felt as much or more of the Love of God in this Weakness than in all my Life before.* At another Time as I stood by him he looked up upon me, and said, *Dear Father, sit by me, I love thy Company, and I know thou lovest mine ; and if it be the Lord's Will that we must part, be not troubled, for that will trouble me.*

Taking something one Night in Bed, just before his going to Rest, he sat up, and fervently prayed thus : *O Lord God, thou whose Son said to his Disciples, Whatever ye ask in my Name, ye shall receive ; I pray thee in His Name, bless this to me this Night, and give me Rest, if it be thy blessed Will, O Lord !* And accordingly he had a very comfortable Night, of which he took a thankful Notice before us, next Day.

And when he, at one Time, more than ordinarily, expressed a Desire to live, and entreated me to pray for him ; he added, *And, Dear Father, if the Lord should raise me and enable me to serve him, and his People, then I might travel with thee sometimes, and we might ease one another* (meaning in the Ministry :) He spoke it with great Modesty : Upon which I said to him : *My Dear Child, if it please the Lord to raise thee, I am satisfied it will be so ; and if not, then inasmuch as it is thy fervent Desire in the Lord, He will look upon thee just as if thou didst live to serve Him, and thy Comfort will be the same : So either Way it will be well. For if thou shouldst not live, I do verily believe thou will have the Recompence of thy Good Desires, without the Temptations and Troubles that would attend, if long Life were granted to thee.*

Saying one Day thus, I am resolved I will have such a Thing done ; he immediately catch'd himself, and fell into this Reflection, with much Contrition, *Did I say, I will ? O Lord, forgive me that irreverent and hasty Expression ! I am a poor weak Creature and live by thee, and therefore I should have said, if it pleaseth Thee that I live I intend to do so, or so ; Lord forgive my rash Expression.*

Seeing my present Wife ready to be helpful and do any Thing for him, he turned to her and said, *Don't thee do so, let them, don't trouble thy self so much for such a poor Creature as I am.* And taking Leave of him a few Nights before his End, he said to her, *Pray for me, Dear Mother, thou art Good and Innocent, it may be the Lord may hear thy Prayers for me, for I desire my Strength again, that I might Live, and employ it more in the Lord's Service.*

Two or Three Days before his Departure, he called his Brother to him, and looking awfully upon him said, *Be a good Boy, and know, there is a God, a Great and Mighty God, who is a Rewarder of the Righteous, and so he is of the Wicked, but their Rewards are not the same. Have a Care of idle People, and idle Company, and love good Company, and good Friends, and the Lord will bless thee : I have seen good Things for thee since my Sickness, if thou dost but fear the Lord : And if I should not live (though the Lord is All-sufficient) Remember what I say to thee, when I am dead and gone : Poor*

No. XXVI. *Child, the Lord blefs thee, come and kifs me!* Which melted us all into great Tenderness, but his Brother more particularly.

Many good Exhortations he gave to some of the Servants, and others that came to see him, that were not of our Communion, as well as those that were, which drew Tears from their Eyes.

The Day but one before he died, he went to take the Air in a Coach; but said, at his Return, *Really, Father, I am exceeding weak, thou canst not think how weak I am:* My dear Child, I replied, thou art weak, but God is strong, who is the Strength of thy Life: *Ay, that is it,* said he, *which upholdeth me.* And the Day before he departed, being alone with him he desired me to fasten the Door; and looking earnestly upon me, said, *Dear Father, thou art a Dear Father, and I know thy Father, come let us Two have a little Meeting, a private Ejaculation together, now no body else is here. O my Soul is sensible of the Love of God!* And indeed a sweet Time we had, like to precious Ointment for his Burial.

He desired to go Home, if not to live, to die there, and we made Preparation for it, being Twenty Miles from my House; and so much stronger was his Spirit than his Body, that he spoke of going next Day, which was the Morning he departed; and a Symptom it was of his greater Journey to his longer Home. That Morning he left us, growing more and more sensible of his extrem Weakness, he asked me, as doubtful of himself, *How shall I go Home?* I told him, in a Coach; he answered, *I am best in a Coach.* But observing his Decay, I said, Why Child? Thou art at Home every where, *Ay,* said he, *So I am in the Lord.* I took that Opportunity to ask him if I should remember his Love to his Friends at Bristol, London, &c. *Yes, Yes,* said he, *my Love in the Lord, my Love to all Friends in the Lord:* And Relations too; He said, *Ay to be sure.* Being asked if he would have his Als's Milk, or eat any Thing; he answered *No more outward Food, but Heavenly Food is provided for me.*

His Time drawing on apace, he said to me, *My Dear Father, kifs me, thou art a dear Father, I desire to prize it: How can I make thee amends?*

He also called his Sister and said to her, *Poor Child, come and kifs me,* between whom seemed a Tender and long farewell. I sent for his Brother that he might kifs him too, which he did: All were in Tears about him, turning his Head to me, he said softly, *Dear Father, Hast no Hope for me?* I answered, *My Dear Child, I am afraid to hope, and I dare not despair;* but am, and have been resigned, though one of the hardest Lessons I ever learned. He paused a while, and with a composed Frame of Mind, he said, *Come Life, come Death, I am resigned: O the Love of God overcomes my Soul!* Feeling himself decline apace, and seeing him not able to bring up the Matter that was in his Throat, some Body fetcht the Doctor, but so soon as he came in, he said, *Let my Father speak to the Doctor, and I'll go to sleep;* which he did, and waked no more; breathing his last on my Breast, the 10th Day of the 2d Month, between the Hours of Nine and Ten in the Morning, 1696, in his One and Twentieth Year.

So ended the Life of my Dear Child, and Eldest Son, much of my Comfort and Hope, and one of the most Tender and Dutiful, as well as Ingenious and Virtuous Youths, I knew, if I may say so, of my own Dear Child; In whom I lost all that any Father can lose in a Child, since he was capable of any Thing that became a Sobet Young Man; my Friend and Companion, as well as most Affectionate and Dutiful Child.

May this Loss and End have its due Weight and Impression upon all his Dear Relations and Friends, and those to whose Hands this Account may come, for their Remembrance, and Preparation for their Great and Last Change; and I have my End in making my Dear Child's thus far publick.

WILLIAM PENN.

An

An EPISTLE to the Yearly-Meeting at London.

Lamb's-Town in Ireland, the 2d of the 4th Month, 1698.

Dear Friends and Brethren,

IT is not the least of our Exercises that we are thus far outwardly separated from you at this Time of your Holy and Blessed Solemnity : But because we have great Reason to believe it is in the Will of God, we humbly submit to His Ordering Hand, and with Open Arms of Deep and Tender Love, embrace you, Our Living, and our Loving Brethren, who are given up to serve the Lord in your Generation, and that have long preferred Jerusalem, and the Peace and Prosperity of Her Borders, above your Chiefest Joy. The Salvation of our Endear'd Brotherly Love in CHRIST JESUS, is unto you, desiring that He may richly appear among you in Power, Wisdom and Love, to guide your Judgments, and influence your Spirits, in this Weighty and Anniversary Assembly, that so nothing may appear, or have Place among you, but what singly seeks the Honour of the Lord, the Exaltation of His Truth, and the Peace and Establishment of His Heritage. For this, Brethren, you and we know, has been the Aim, End, and Practice of those whom the Lord hath made willing to forsake and give up all for His Name's-Sake; and through various Exercises and Tribulations, yea, in the Way of the Daily Cross, and through the Fight and Baptism of manifold Afflictions, to have their Conversation, and Sojourning here below upon the Earth, in Fear and Love, looking for their Reward in the Heavens that shall never pass away, who have not been lifted up by Good Report, nor cast down by Evil Report, from their Love to the Lord and His Precious TRUTH; but hold on their Way, and whose Hands being clean of Evil Things towards all Men, have waxed stronger and stronger in the Lord. Wherefore, Dear Brethren, let us all be found in the same Steps, and walking the same Way, not being High-minded, but fearing to the End, that we may serve up our Generation in Diligence and Faithfulness, and so enter into the Rest that God has reserved for His True Travellers and Labourers in his Vineyard.

And now, Dear Brethren, know that the Lord hath brought us well into this Kingdom of Ireland, and given us many large and Blessed Opportunities in several Parts, Meetings being crowded by People of all Ranks and Perswasions, especially at Dublin, who, for ought we have heard, have given the TRUTH a good Report, and indeed the Lord has mightily appeared for His own Name, and owned us with a more than Ordinary Presence, suitable to the Occasions, and made very heavy and hard Things easie to us, because of the Glory of His Power, with which he assisted us in our Needful Times, for which our Souls bow before him, and bless, reverence, and praise, His Holy and Worthy Name. So that Dear Brethren, we have Good Tidings to give you of TRUTH's Prosperity at large, and more especially in the Churches, having had the Comfort of the General Meeting of this Nation, consisting of many Weighty Brethren and Sisters, from all Parts thereof, which was held in the City of Dublin in much Love, Peace and Unity for several Days; wherein we had Occasion to observe their Commendable Care, for the Prosperity of the Blessed TRUTH, in all the Branches of its Holy Testimony, both in the General, and in the Particular, improving the Good Order practised among the Churches of CHRIST in our Nation.

Indeed their Simplicity, Gravity, and Coolness, in managing their Church Affairs; their Diligence in Meetings, both for Worship and Business; their Dispatch in ending Differences, and Expedients to prevent them, but especially their Zeal against Covetousness, and Indifferency in Truth's Service, and Exemplary Care, to discourage immoderate Concern in Pursuit of the Things of this Life, and to excite Friends to do Good with what they have, very greatly comforted us. And in the Sweet and Blessed Power of CHRIST JESUS, the Meeting ended, and Friends departed. The Lord grant that you may also see of the Travail of your Souls, and End of your Labour, and

An Epistle to
the Yearly
Meeting at
London.
Life, p. 144.

No. XXVII. *Service of Love, who seek not your Own Things, but the Things of Jesus Christ, in this your Solemn General Meeting.*

And, Dear Brethren, we must tell you, *here is Room enough for True Labourers in God's Vineyard, and cannot well forbear to recommend the Service of Truth in this Nation, to your Serious Consideration, if haply the Lord may put it into the Hearts of any Faithful and Weighty Brethren, to visit it in the Word of Eternal Life; for we cannot but say, The Harvest appears to us to be great, and the Labourers in Comparison but a few: So in that Love which many Waters cannot quench, nor Distance wear out of our Remembrances, and in which we desire to be remembred of you to the Lord of our Household, We Dearly and Tenderly Salute and Embrace you, and remain*

Your Loving and Faithful Brethren,

William Penn, John Everott, Thomas Story.

P O S T S C R I P T.

Friends here have been Zealous and Liberal in Printing and Re-printing, and freely distributing great Quantities, and to very good Purpose, of several Books and Papers writ in Defence of TRUTH, and for Information of the Simple and Mis-informed, which we hope will also fall under your Consideration.

No. XXVIII.

An EPISTLE of Farewell, to the People of GOD called QUARERS, where ever Scattered or Gathered, in England, Ireland, Scotland, Holland, Germany, or in any other Parts of EUROPE.

An Epistle of Farewell to the People of God called Quarers, &c. Life, p. 145.

MY Dearly Beloved, and Highly Esteemed in CHRIST, our Heavenly Head; the Living and Good Shepherd of the Sheep, by whom we have been found out (One of a Family, and Two of a Tribe) and made One Holy Flock and Family unto Him, in this Day of his Spiritual and Glorious Appearance: *Grace, Mercy and Peace, yea, His Peace, which the World can neither give you, nor take from you,* be plentifully multiplied amongst you from Day to Day; that an holy, harmless, and faithful People you may be, yielding to the Lord the Fruits of his Goodness, by a *Circum-spect and Self-denying* Conversation to the End.

And now, *My Dear Friends*, whom I know and love, and you also whom I truly love, tho' I do not know Personally, nor may be so known of some of you, since it has pleased the Good and All-wise God to order my Course from you, so that I cannot Visit you, as I have often desired before I left you, This therefore is to be my *Brotherly Farewell* unto you. And surely my Soul is bowed in humble Petitions to Israel's God, the True, and Living, and Powerful God, *That it may be well with you all here and for ever.* And, my Dear Brethren, this is certain, if you *Do Well*, you shall certainly *Fare Well*; and in the End of all your *Trials, Troubles, and Temptations*, it shall be said unto you, *Well Done, Good and Faithful Servants, Enter ye into the Joy of the Lord.* O it is that which Crowns the Work: Not Saying but Doing: We must not only Begin, but End Well; and hold out to the End: *Not be of those who are weary of Well-doing, but who follow the Lord fully, as Caleb and Joshua did in Old Time, and are famed for it.* So that tho' God has appeared to us, and given us many and undeniable Testimonies that it was *He*, and not another, who reached our Hearts, and touched our Consciences, and brought us to Confession, yea, and forsaking too, of that which offended him, in great Measure, Blessed be his Name, yet we are not to stop, or take up our Rest here: *We must Watch still, Pray still, Fight still, that Good Fight of Faith, till we have overcome the Enemy of our Souls:* And even then must we *Watch and Pray*, and that to the End of our Days; that we may not lose that *Crown of Glory, which God the Righteous Judge, shall give to all those that love his Appearance, overcome, and persevere to the End:* For be assured we shall *Reap if we faint not:* But we shall faint, if we wait not upon God, who alone is the Strength of his People.

This

This, *My Dear Friends*, is that which lies with greatest Stress upon thy Spirit; *Watch to your Daily Preservation*, and be not satisfied unless you feel it. *Sufficient is the Day for the Evil thereof*, said our Blessed Lord. God is not wanting: He that long stood at the Door of our Hearts, under our Impenitency in Times past, till his Locks were wet with the Dew, and his Hair with the Drops of the Night, till we were awakened out of our Carnal Security, and came to Judgment in our selves, unto unfeigned Repentance, to be sure he is not weary of waiting to be *Gracious* now to his poor People; especially if they are *Poor in Spirit, and hungry and thirsting after Righteousness*; and are not fill'd, overlaid, and choak'd with the Cares and Incumbrances of this World. No, *He was ever Good unto Israel, yea, unto all that are of an Upright and Clean Heart*: Wherefore, Brethren, let your Eye be to the Lord, and wait often upon him; walk with him, and dwell with him, and he will walk and dwell with you: And then no *Weapon form'd against you*, be it in Particular, or in General, shall prosper; that is, not finally. It may perhaps Try you, and Bruise your Heel, as it did your Lord and Master's, but it shall never finally Prevail against you, if you keep the Eye of your Minds to him, and have Faith in him, who saved Daniel in the Lyon's Den, and Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, in the Fiery Furnace, and has upheld us to this Day under various Afflictions.

And tho' Balaams there are, that may be hired by the Balaks of our Age, to Curse our *Israel-Family* of God, of which some of us have been very sensible, yet this we know, *The Son of God is among us*, who commands the Fire and the Water, and the Winds as well now as then: And there is no Incantment against Jacob, or Divination against Israel, that can prosper. And who knows but even some of these present Balaams may yet live to say, before they dye, as others of them have done since we were a People, *How Goodly are thy Tents*, O Jacob! *How Pleasant is thy Dwelling-Place*, O Israel! But then Friends, we must keep our Tents, we must be a Retired and a Peculiar People, and dwell alone. We must keep above the World, and clear of the Spirit of it, and those many Trifles, Cares and Troubles that abound in it, with which but too many have visibly wounded and pierced their own Souls.

Beware of this in the Name of the Lord, and do not *Tempt God*; it is in Christ ~~ye~~ have Peace, in the World is the Trouble: Keep therefore in him who has called himself (and we have found him so) *the Way, Truth, and Life*; and you shall live because he lives: He the Root, you the Branches, by whom you will be kept Green and Fruitful, bringing forth the Fruits and Graces of the Holy Spirit, in all your Converse, and Commerce, that it may be seen and said, *God is with you, and amongst you*. O! Let Humility, Charity, Meekness, and Self-Denial, shine amongst you; so will you come to Sir, as did the Primitive Christians, *in Heavenly Places in Christ Jesus*, and be preserved through the Noise, Snares, and Hurry of this present Evil World.

Much I could say, for my Heart is open, and full too of Divine Love and Matter to you; but Time fails me; therefore feel me, *My Dear Friends*, in that Love of God which is over Sea and Land; where Distance cannot separate, or Time decay, nor many Waters quench. In which Love I Embrace and Salure you all, with the Kiss of our Heavenly Fellowship, which the Lord hath given us in the Blessed TRUTH. And my strong Desires are to him, that we may maintain our Blessed Relation by the same Means, by which we came at first into it, viz. *The True Fear and Love of God*; which did not only make us Careful not to offend him, but also to be willing to *For sake all Things* that came in Competition with him, or our Duty to him.

Oh let this Chast Fear and First Love abound amongst you, my Beloved, in Christ, our Blessed Light and Life; or you will Decay, Wither, and Dye to God, and your Good Beginnings; which God Almighty forbid.

I know there is a *Serious and Diligent People* amongst you, who do not only know when Good comes from the Hand of the Lord, but wait upon him for it, and that Daily; that their Souls may be strengthened in the Way and

No. XXVIII.

and Work of the Lord : And these can no more live without his Presence, *His Mystical and Hidden Manna*, in their Spiritual Journey, to the *Eternal Canaan of God*, than outward Israel was able to live without *Manna* in the Wilderness, in their Journey to their *Temporal Canaan*. And I beseech my God and my Father, and your God and your Father, *My Dear Brethren*, to attend all these Holy Waiters upon him with the *Good Things of His House*, and Daily make them *Glad in His Holy House of Prayer*.

But the Condition of some, who pretend to follow *CHRIST*, yet are afar off, affects my Spirit ; for they know little of these Enjoyments, and hardly *Eat so much as the Crumbs which fall from Christ's Table*, and seem to satisfy themselves with a *Meer Convincement of the Truth*, or, at best, *With a Bare Confession to it*. Who taking up with a formal Going to Meetings, and hearing what others have to say, of the Work and Goodness of God in and to them, *They shun the Daily Cross of Christ* : Whereby they should *Dye Daily to their Earthly Wills and vain Affections*, and *Overcome the World, the Flesh, and the Devil*. Oh ! These are still their own, and not the Lord's ; and gird themselves, and go *Whither, and do What they list* ! For which Cause they are *Lean, Barren, and Unfruitful* to God, and to their own Souls ; and Worship him in the *Form only*, and not the *Power of Godliness* ; such must needs be *Weak in Faith, ready to slip and start aside at every Windy Doctrine, or Sensual Temptation*.

Oh ! My Dear Friends, let me prevail with you in this my *Farewell* to you, to turn your Minds *inward*, and wait to feel your Redeemer, and meet him in the Way of his Righteous Judgments ; for there is no Redemption but *through Judgment*, nor Conversion, but *through Righteousness*. Come and be Baptized by Christ ; He will Baptize you with his *Fire and Holy Ghost*. He will Scower and Rinse you ; for, believe me, *His Fan is still in his Hand*, and he will, if you will let him, *thoroughly purge his Floor*, viz. *Your Hearts, and make all Things Clean and New there*, by his Spirit and Power. So will you come to find your Interest in Christ, *as you feel His Workmanship and Interest in, and over you*. And as you thus come to be related to Christ, the *Heavenly Head*, (by knowing him to be *Head in you*) so will you come to be related to his Body, the *Church*, and see your *Proper Membership and Service therein* ; which I pray God effect, to his Glory, and your Comfort.

And now to the whole Family and Flock of *GOD*, in this *European Part of the World*, of the same Communion, according to the Dispensation of God, be they *High or Low, Young or Old, Rich or Poor, Wise or Simple, Strong or Weak, Male or Female, Bond or Free*, I send this *Parting Salutation*, of my most Dear Love in the *TRUTH* ; beseeching you all to have *Me and Mine in your Remembrance*, not only when upon the *Mighty Waters*, but when in the *Solitary Deserts of America*, if it please the Lord to bring us safe thither : For I am not above the Love and Prayers of *My Dear Brethren*, knowing I need them, and have often found, by Good Experience, *That they avail much with the Lord*.

I must leave you, but I can never forget you ; for my Love to you has been, even as *David's and Jonathan's*, above the *Love of Women* : And suffer me to say, That, to my Power, I have from the first endeavoured to serve you (and my poor Country too) and that at my own Charges, with an upright Mind, however mis-understood and treated by some, whom I heartily forgive. Accept you my Services, and ever Love and Remember, *My Dear Friends and Brethren*, your Old, True, and Affectionate Friend, Brother, and Servant, in Christ Jesus,

Cows, Isle of Wight, weighing Anchor,
the 3d of the 7th Month, 1699.

William Penn.

TRUTH Exalted:

In A Short, But Sure

TESTIMONY,

Against all those

Religions, Faiths, and Worships,

That have been formed and followed in the

Darkness of Apostacy:

A N D

For that GLORIOUS LIGHT which is now
Risen, and Shines forth, in the Life and Doctrine

Of the Despised

Q U A K E R S,

A S T H E

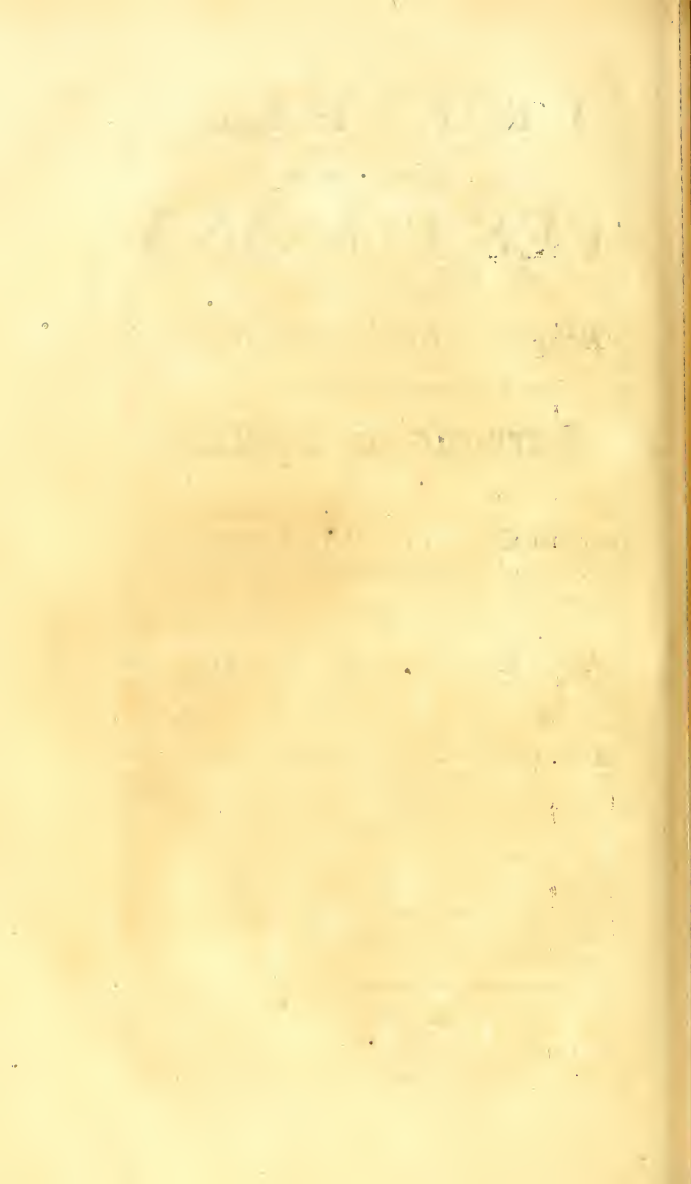
Alone Good Old Way of Life and Salvation.

Presented to *Princes, Priests, and People*, that they may
Repent, Believe, and Obey.

By WILLIAM PENN, whom Divine LOVE constrains
in an Holy Contempt, to trample on *Egypt's Glory*, not fearing
the *King's Wrath*, having beheld the MAJESTY of HIM who
is Invisible.

L O N D O N:

Printed by the Assigns of J. SOWLE. 1726.



TRUTH Exalted, &c.

TO

Princes, Priests, and People.

JEHOVAH, the Everlasting Power, that spans out the Heavens with His Span, and measures the Waters in the Hollow of his Hand, before whom all Nations, Tongues and People, are less than the Drop to the Ocean, or the Sand to the Sea-Shoar; who said, *Let all Things be*, and they were, and by the same Word of his Might, preserves them to this very Day, is Holy, Merciful, and Just; and, as the most excellent Part of the whole Creation, made He Man, *the Image of Himself*, by investing him with that Righteous Principle, and Innocent Life, which gave him Dominion and Authority over all his Works, allowing him to eat of every Tree, saving that of the *Knowledge of Good and Evil*, of which if he did Eat, he should certainly die.

1668.

Life p. 5.

Happy had it been for *Adam* and his Posterity, had he obeyed Gods Commands; but Transgression by Disobedience getting Entrance, he soon died to his Innocent State, in which God created him, and became alive in the Dominton Sin had over him, being now as one without Law, in whose fallen State all Nations have been, and are, (let their Professions seem never so great, and their Sacrifices never so many) that live in the Disobedient Nature, and so Strangers to that Immortality and Life Eternal, the *First Adam* became dead and darkened to by his Transgression, and which the *Second Adam* raises to the Knowledge and Possession of, by the *Power of His Quickning Spirit*; yet where the Devil (that subtil Serpent) hath not totally extinguished the Notion of a God, and the Necessity of his being worshipped; it has been rather his Interest than Dis-service, to put the selfish Part of the Creature upon Sacrificing, wickedly insinuating that none can be freed from Sin, and that the performing of Rites, Duties, and Ceremonies, is all God requires, and what is necessary to procure Acceptance with him. Thus 'twas that murdering *Cain* became a Sacrificer, whose Sacrifice God rejected, because offered in the Fallen, Unrighteous, and Accursed Nature.

Such also were those Generations who drew near to God with their Lips, and to whom he said of old, *To what Purpose is the Multitude of your Sacrifices unto me? I am full of Burnt-Offerings, bring no more vain Oblations; Incense is an Abomination unto me; the New Moons and Sabbaths; the Calling of the Assemblies I cannot away with, it is Iniquity; even the Solemn Meeting: I am weary to bear them; and when you spread forth your Hands, I will hide mine Eyes; yea, when you make many Prayers, I will not hear, your Hands are full of Blood: Wash you, make you clean, put away the Evil of your Doings, &c.* Isa. i. 11, 12, 14, 15, 16.

Therefore O ye *Princes, Priests, and People*, the Solid, Necessary, and Weighty Question I have to ask you all, in the Dread and Fear of the Everlasting, Holy, Lord God Almighty, (by whose Eternal Spirit the Sense of your present State and Condition I perfectly have received) is this: What Nature, what Heart, what Spirit, and what Ground is it in which your Religions, Faiths, Works, Words and Worships stand and grow? Is it the Divine, not the Fallen Nature? Is it the Broken, not the Stony Heart? Is it the Contrite, not the Formal Spirit? Is it the Gospel increasing Good, not *Old Adam's* corrupt, thorny Ground? For this know, that no Performances but by clean Hands, and a pure Heart, from whence Evil Doings are put away, can give Acceptance with the Pure God.

1668.

Come, answer me first, you *Papists*, whose Popes for many Hundred Years have sat exalted in the Hearts of Nations, (God's Temple) above all that is called God : What Scripture ever made a Pope, or gave Authority to any one to lord it over the Consciences of others, since Christ enjoyns that Christians should be Brethren ? And by what Warrantable Tradition can he make, dispose, and depose Civil Empires ? Whence came your Creeds, but from factious and corrupted Councils, dyed in the Blood of those who refus'd Conformity ? What Scriptures of the Holy Prophets, and Apostles, or any Tradition for the first Three Hundred Years, mention a *Mass-Book*, speak of *Peter's Chair*, and a *Successive Infalibility*, or say a *Wafer is Corporally the Flesh, Blood and Bones, which suffer'd without Jerusalem* ? And where did they teach to adore Images, consume many Thousands and Millions in building, carving, and painting outward Temples, after *Jerusalem* (the Type) was destroyed, whilst Thousands of poor Families languished through extream Poverty ? When did they enjoyn Baby-Baptism, Churching of Women, Marrying by Priests, Holy Water to frighten the Devil, Hallowing of Bells to scare evil Spirits, making and worshipping of Crosses, erecting of Altars ? And where did they command Bowings, institute Musicks, appoint Holy Days, Canonize Saints, chaffer and merchandize about Indulgences, Pray for the Dead, Preach, or Write for a Purgatory ? And what Book, or Chapter, in the Old or New Testament, mentions the Degrees of *Popes, Cardinals, Archbishops, Deans, Prebends, Jesuits, Franciscans, Dominicans, Ursulines, Capuchines, Benedictines*, with other such like *Lazy Nuns and Fryers*, for the Edification of Christ's Church ? But above all, when and where did they authorize, or indulge your Cruel, Persecuting, Whipping, Racking, Inquisition, Murdering Spirit ? Whose Popes, Faith, Church-Government, and whole Religion, were founded, and are maintained by inhumane Blood-shed, as your own Histories plainly manifest. *Who gave Life to these Things but the Devil, who was a Murderer from the Beginning ?*

Mat. 15. 9.

Thus have you *Papists*, through many Generations, Received for Doctrine the Precepts of Men, who for much speaking, and sacrificing of your own Inventions, expect to be heard, whilst in the lustful, wanton, ignorant, and killing Nature, which has been always shedding the Precious Blood of those whom God in every Age raised to testify against your Superstitions and Will-Worships : Therefore WOES from God Almighty to that *Romish Whore*, who has corrupted the Nations, and sits upon a *Scarlet Coloured Beast full of Names of Blasphemy, Drunk with the Blood of Saints, and Martyrs of JESUS ; the Hour of her Desolation is nigh, and in the Cup which she hath filled, shall it be filled unto her double ; for strong is the Lord God of Hosts who judgeth her.*

Rev. 17, 3,
4, 6.
Chap. 18. 6, 8.

AAs 7. 52.

Come now, you that are called *Protestants*, however denominated or distinguished, who profess the Scriptures for the Rule of Life and Doctrine, stand your Trial by them ; and first those who are called *Episcopalians*, who date your Religion from the Martyrs : That those who first protested against the Darknes and gross Idolatry of the Popish Antichrist, were directed thereto, and supported therein, by the mighty Power of God, is not denied ; and that the Seals of Blood they set to recommend their Testimonies to Posterity, are with us in high Esteem, I openly affirm and declare : But that you of the Church of England (who now persecute us) have any more to do with them than had the *Jews and Pharisees*, who Crucified the Lord of Life, with Abraham, Moses, and the Prophets, is as positively disowned : For as they were out of the Life and Spirit of those Holy Men, (though building and garnishing their Sepulchres, and making great Profession with their Words) inasmuch as that they slew those whom God sent in the Same Spirit, to preach a farther Glory, and to discover a more excellent Way ; so are you out of the Power and Spirit your Fore-fathers lived and died in, professing their Words, but persecuting the same Spirit in others, and crucifying it in your selves : No Wonder therefore you have made so little Progress since the first Dawning of Reformation, being not yet got out of the Borders

Borders of *Babylon's* Form, and altogether in her lustful, proud, persecuting, and wicked Nature: For have not you, *Protestant Princes*, condemned that in others, which you have and do allow in your selves, contrary to your Fore-fathers Protestations? Did you not return severe Persecutions, not only upon the Heads of the *Roman Catholics* in Queen *Elizabeth's* Time, who esteemed it Antichristian in them; but even your *Fellow-Protestants*, who through Zeal for God, declared against your Backslidings? Witness her Severity, and what followed in the Reigns of *James*, and the deceased *Charles*, but more particularly the many Thousands now of late that have been club'd, bruised, imprisoned, exiled, poisoned to Death by stinking Dungeons, and ruined in their outward Estates, contrary to Law, Christian or Humane: Therefore well may I take up the Lamentation and Reproof that was of old, *Ye make Offenders for a Word, and lay a Snare for him that reproveth in the Gate: Ye turn aside the Just for a Thing of nought, and lay Burthens upon the Backs of the Righteous, whilst Evil Doers pass unpunished: You store up Violence in your Palaces, and many are the Oppressed that are amongst you? Yet do not your Priests prophesie smooth Things, that sew Pillows under your Arms, and cry Peace? Who provoke you to slay those, by executing cruel Acts, that should not Die, and Preach Safety to them that should not live, like Greedy Dogs, Shepherds that cannot understand, they all look for Gain from their Quarters; they Teach for Hire; they Divine for Money, and You all judge for Rewards; for all which Abominations God is departed; Vision is ceased, the Sun is gone down over you, and your Day is turned into thick Darkness: Therefore it is you deny the Necessity as well as the present Enjoyment of Revelation to any, though without it, as Christ saith, *No Man can know God, whom to know is Life Eternal*; and place the Ground of Divine Knowledge in Human Arts and Sciences, that thereby you may ingross a Function to your selves, and keep up your Trade of Yearly Gain upon the Poor People; Preaching Sin for Term of Life, thereby rendring invalid the *Glorious Power of the Second Adam*, and indulging People in Transgression; though *He that committeth Sin is of the Devil, and without Holiness none shall see God*; Ministers he never sent, but were Commissionated by Men, void of the Holy Ghost, and therefore ye profit not the People; a Badge inseparable to Lying Prophets, who run in their own Name.*

Isa. 29. 21.
Amos 3. 10.
Jer. 23. 17.
Ezek. 13. 19;
20.
Isa. 56. 10, 11.

Mic. 3. 5, 6.
11.

John 17. 3.

1 John 3. 8.
Heb. 12. 14.
Jer. 23. 32.

Come and tell me now, *Ye of the Church of England*, that say the Scriptures are your Rule, where do they own such Persecutors, False Prophets, Tythmongers, Denyers of Revelations, Opposers of Perfection, Men-pleasers, Time-Servers, Unprofitable Teachers (Witness the Abominations of the Land) Extollers of Humane Learning, as the only Way to know God; Admirers of Universities, (Signal Places for Idleness, Looseness, Profane-ness, Prodigality, and gross Ignorance;) and where do we find the Prophets, Apostles, and Servants of the Lord, to Live in Worldly Pomp, possess Hundreds and Thousands a Year, be called Lords of their Brethren, and exercise Civil and Spiritual Jurisdiction over the Bodies and Souls of Christians in their Days? Whence came your Forms of Prayers, and Church-Government, from the Scriptures of Truth, and the Practice of the Primitive Christians, or the Mass-Book, and Popish Canons? Where is it that Mass-Houses are called Churches? And what President do you find for Litanies, Responses, Singing, Quiristers, Organs, Altars, Bowing, Surplices, Square Caps, Hoods, Rochets, Fonts, Baby-Baptism, Holy Days, (as you call them) with much more such like dirty Trash, and foul Superstition? Are these your Scripture Doctrines, and this the Spiritual Worship of the Holy J E S U S, His Apostles, and the Ancient Christians? Stand up and answer me, *Ye Members of the Church of England*; but are they not the Offspring of that Idolatrous Popish Generation, amounting at best to Will-Worship, which is abominable to the G O D of Heaven, who is now breaking forth in Vengeance, to thunder down and consume all the fair Buildings, and pleasant Pictures of *Babylonish Inventions*? Therefore from you may I expect an Answer to the Question I ask'd the *Romanists*, In what Na-

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Ad's 19. 2. 3.
4, 5.
Col. 3. 2.

Iſa. 5. 11, 12.
Amos 6. 3, 4,
5, 6.

ture and Spirit is it, *O Princes, Priests, and People*, you hold and profess Religion, and Worship towards God? Is it the Divine and Heavenly One, which is Pure and Perfect? Are you Baptized by the Holy Ghost. and with Fire; Crucified through the Daily Cross to the World; Born again, and your Affections set on Things Above? But alas Poor Souls! Are you not at, *Have Mercy upon us Miserable Sinners, there is no Health in us*, from Seven to Seventy? And as in Truth it is to the Shame of Religion, and Destruction of Humane Society; How do you abound in Evil? Equalizing, if not outstripping *Papists and Heathens* (against whom you protest in Words) in all Kinds of Impiety: Therefore, *Wo unto you Protestants, that are mighty to drink strong Drink, that give your Neighbours Drink, and put the Bottle to them that they may be Drunk; that put far away the Evil Day, and cause the Seat of Violence to come near; that lie upon Beds of Ivory, and stretch your selves upon your Couches; that Eat the Fat of the Flock, and Drink the Sweet of the Vine; that anoint your selves with the Chief Ointments; that Chant to the Sound of the Viol, and invent to your selves Instruments of Musick, but consider not the Afflictions of Joseph*. How sport you away your Precious Time, as if ye were born not to die, at least never to be judged? O what Swearing, what Uncleanneſs, what Drunkenneſs, what Prophanation, what Vanity, what Pride, what Expence, what Patching, what Painting, what Lascivious Intrigues, what Wanton Appointments, what Publick Unclean Houses, what Merry Masks, what Lustful Insinuating Treats at your Plays, Parks, Mulberry and Spring-Gardens, with whatsoever else may please the Lustful Eye, and gratifie the Wanton Mind? Is not this your Cafe and Practice, ye Gallants, Young and Old, Men and Women? And by these Courses, have not Debts surprized your Estates, Poverty Plenty, Diseases Health, Debauchery Chastity? Whole Families ruin'd both in Soul and Body; yea, such a Deluge of Intemperance has so overwhelmed the Nations, that hard it is to light upon Sobriety and Virtue.

Mat. 7. 21.

Well, *My Friends*, when I ruminate on these Things, my Heart affects mine Eye, and Grief overcomes my Soul for your Sakes: Repent therefore, *O Ye Protestants*, or else know, *That for all these Things God Almighty will bring you to Judgment*; and in the Day that his Indignation shall be kindled, your Religion of Words shall fly away, and your Lord, Lord, Cryings shall be rejected, because you were Strangers to the Spiritual Nature (tho' Bablers of the Name) of *True Christianity*, and therefore shall ye perish by the Sword.

Iſa. 50. 11.

Now as for you *Separatists* of divers Names, although I shall not disallow the Zeal that once you had, yet must I on God's Behalf bear my Testimony concerning you; Therefore be it known unto all, that you are *Teaching and receiving for Doctrines the Traditions of Men*, running and striving in your own Spirits, *compassing your selves with the Sparks of your own Fire*, being not yet come to stand still and know that Will done on Earth which is done in Heaven: You tell People, Christ Jesus has suffered and satisfied for Sins past, present, and to come, and that though they are never so corrupt, vile, and polluted in themselves, yet are they reconciled to, and justified in the Sight of God, by his personal Righteousness imputed unto them, and not from a Work of Grace or Regeneration in the Creature; therefore no wonder at your vehement Cries against a State of perfect Separation from Sin, as being a dangerous Doctrine, who preach Acceptance with the Holy God, whilst in an unholy State: You generally scoff at *Revelation* as being ceast; most of you also abetting God to have ordained a Remnant absolutely to Salvation, and consequently making Sin as well as Torment unavoidably necessary to the major Part; whereby the Glorious God of Mercy is represented more infamously unjust than the worst of Men; Doctrines of Devils indeed, and Grounds of all Looseness and Ranters; and the Pleaders, and Fighters for Liberty of Conscience when oppressed, are the greatest Oppressors, when in Power, not minding the End of God's Loving Kindness: Because of your wanton Neglect, is your Day darkned,

darkened, and your Sun set, and grovelling you are in beggarly Elements, Imitations, and Shadows of the Heavenly Good Things, relating to the Dispensation of the Second Covenant, hoping by your many Duties to be heard, and find Acceptance, whilst very strangers to the Covering of God's Spirit, and ignorant of Him (whom to know is Life Eternal) from the Revelation of his Eternal Spirit, and Operation of His Mighty Power, but from the Conceptions and Apprehensions of other Men, and Books well reputed, whereby God's Grace and Light have lost their Office of Leading and Teaching; and thus True Counsel becomes darkened, the Fountain shut, the Book sealed, and you in this State Strangers unto God, so that you perish for want of Sound Knowledge; for I declare and testify on the Behalf of God's Everlasting Way to Life, and against you all, that you are yet in the Man's Spirit, which works not God's Will and Righteousness, being found Helpers of the Mighty against that pure and unchangeable Principle of Light, Grace and Life, in which God only did, does, and will Reveal and Manifest Himself unto the Sons and Daughters of Men, for which Cause you are yet in your ups and downs, tossed to and fro, not knowing the *Rock of Ages, and Foundation of many Generations*, which is that *only Holy Seed, wherein the Duties and Performances* of all Nations only can be blessed, and from whence proceeds that Pure, Righteous, and Immortal Birth, to whom is the Promise of an Everlasting Inheritance, but are sticking in your own Imaginations, and patching out a Peace unto your selves from your Duties, Performances, and the Imitations of weak Times and Seasons in some perishing Observations, that no Way relate to the Nature of the *Pure, Spiritual and Internal Kingdom of Peace, Righteousness and Joy in the Holy Ghost*: Therefore well may I say, as was said of Old, *Wo unto thee Capernaum, which art exalted unto Heaven; for if the Mighty Works that have been done in thee, had been done in Tyre, Sidon, or Sodom, they would have Repented in Dust and Ashes, and would have remained unto this Day.*

Wherefore O ye zealous Professors, who in the Spirit of a Man, are striving to comprehend the Myltery of God, unless ye repent and believe in that Light, wherewith Christ hath enlightned every Man, that you may obtain to the true discerning of the Spirit and Nature, in which you live and worship, that so you may come to witness the Work and Will of God, *It shall be more tolerable for them, in the Day that God shall judge the Secrets of Men, by Jesus Christ; God will make them of the Synagogue of Satan, who say, they are Christians, and are not.*

Therefore unto you Princes, Priests, and People, whether Papists or Protestants, or any other separated Way, that are in your Idolatry, Superstition, Carnal Ordinances, and Will-Worship; whose Faith in, and Fear towards God, are grounded on other Men's Apprehensions, Perswasions and Precepts, and not from the Teaching of God's holy Spirit or Grace; to you all am I constrained to sound forth and proclaim, that unto us, the most despised, afflicted and forsaken, by all the Families of the Earth, is a Child born, unto us a Son is given, we call him *Wonderful, Counsellor, the Mighty God, the Everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace; of the Increase of whose Government, there shall be no End*: this is He, the Prophet stiles, *A Light unto the Gentiles, and for Salvation unto the Ends of the Earth*; unto whom John Baptist bore this certain Record, *That he was the true Light which enlighteneth every Man that cometh into the World*; who also gave this Testimony of himself, *That whosoever followed him should not abide in Darkness, but have the Light of Life, and the Blood of Jesus, (saith the Beloved Disciple) cleanseth us from all Sin.*

This is the Second Adam, the quickning Spirit, the Lord from Heaven, the New and Spiritual Man, the Heavenly Bread, the true Vine; the Flesh and Blood that was given for the Life of the World; the Second Covenant; the Law writ in the Heart and Spirit, put in the inward Parts; the Way in which the Fool cannot err; the Truth, before Deceit was, the Life that's hid in God, eternal in the Heavens, glorified before the World began; the Power, the Wisdom, the Righteousness of God; the Plant of Renoun; the Royal Seed

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Gen. 12. 3.
Gal. 3. 8.Rom. 14. 19.
Mat. 11. 23.
24.

John 1. 9.

Rev. 3. 9.

Isa. 9. 6. 7.
Cap. 49. 6.John 1. 7, 8.
9. c. 8. 12.1. John 1. 7.
1 Cor. 15. 47.John 6. 51.
52, 53.
Ila. 42. 6.
Jer. 31. 32,
33. 34.
John 14. 6.
1 Cor. 1.
20.

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Ezek. 34. 29.
Gen. 3. 15.
Tit. 2. 11,
12.

Rev. 21. 3.

Deut. 18.
18, 19, 20.
Jer. 17. 10.
John 4. 29.

Heb. 9. 14.
10. 22.

Rev. 14. 6, 7

1 Pet. 4. 18.

Seed that bruisseth the Serpent's Head; in short, That Grace which hath appeared unto all Men, reaching them, to deny all Ungodliness and Worldly Lusts and to live Godlikely and Soberly in this present World. He stands at the Door of every Heart, and knocks, if by any Means he may be heard and have Admittance, whereby God's Promise may be fulfilled, *That God will dwell with Men;* and my Testimony is, that a Remnant have obeyed this Heavenly Voice, and now walk in this pure Light, in which God Almighty, is known to tabernacle with them: Therefore, in the Fear of God Eternal, do I cry aloud unto you all, who are wandering in the by-Paths of Men's Inventions, Traditions and Precepts, to empty your Hearts and Minds of those unprofitable Guests, that better Entertainment than a Manger may be had to receive this Lord of Glory; *The mighty Prophet, all must hear or die, who searcheth the Heart, tryeth the Reins, and is able to tell you all that ever you did: —* This is the Quakers Christ, and Son of the Living God, whom we are not ashamed to confess before Men, as that glorious Light, which since we have believed and walked in, according to our distinct Measures, we have not only received a perfect Discovery of all the Will-Worships, Pollutions, and vain Fashions, or Customs that have been brought forth by, and stand in the Dark, lustful, and apostatized Nature; but as we have continued in an holy Watchfulness, to observe and obey its Righteous Dictates; God's mighty Power we have, and do experience to subdue and redeem therefrom; yea, that Spiritual Blood is sensibly felt, to *Sprinkle and cleanse the Conscience from Dead Works.*

And to you all must I declare, That by no other Way did I ever receive the Knowledge of the least Evil, or Ability to conquer it, than in this Universal Light, who is given for a Captain and a Leader out of all the by-Paths and petty Persuasions of Men, through Judgment that purifies, and the Red-Sea of Troubles, Trials, and Afflictions, unto the Rest which is Pure and Undeified: *This is God's beloved Son, bear ye Him;* For I proclaim, another Way there is not to Eternal Life and Peace, than this Everlasting Gospel which now is Preached; for the Time is come that the Angel of his Presence is flying through the Midst of Heaven, having this ancient Gospel to preach to them, that dwell upon the Earth, and are in their Earthly Nature, Wisdom, and Worships, *Crying with a loud Voice, Fear God, and give Glory to him, for the Hour of his Judgment is come:* Therefore away, away with all your own Ways, Works and Worships that are grounded upon Men's Command, and fallible Apprehensions, whose Breath is in their Nostrils; and no more do Homage according to such Prescriptions, but Fear and Dread the Living Lord God of Heaven and Earth: *For if the Righteous scarcely be saved, where shall the Ungodly and Sinner appear? But Wo, Anguish, Tribulation and Sorrow shall come upon every Soul that Remains in Sin.*

Therefore be warned ye Dark and Idolatrous Papists, ye superstitious and loose Protestants, yea zealous, yet carnal Professors, to come out of all your own Ways, Works, Worships, Nature, Spirit and Practice: In Silence and Fear to wait in this Glorious Light which God Almighty has displayed, and raised us condemned Quakers to walk in, and testify of, in these last Ages; that by believing therein, and circumspectly adhering thereto, you may come to experience the rising of that Eternal Power which overcomes and removes Transgression, that hath so long separated between you and your God, hereby shall you receive sound Judgment and Heavenly Wisdom.

This will not destroy, but fulfil the Scriptures of Truth, and so shall you know the Baptism that is from Above, and eat the Heavenly Bread, and drink the Spiritual Wine at Christ's Table, in his Kingdom, which the Saints of old saw the Coming of before they tasted of Death; *For the Kingdom of God is within: — Here all old Things, Covenant, Signs, Ordinances, and whatever perisheth with the Using, shall be done away;* and the Everlasting, Unchangeable Substance witnessed; and no more shall you profess Religion, or perform Worship from the imagining and transgressing Nature,

Luke 17. 20.
21.

Nature, but from a certain Sense of God's own Operation; so shall your Faith stand in that Power the *Gates of Hell can never prevail against*: For this I once more am necessitated to declare, by Virtue of the sound Knowledge given me of God, that whilst you are fulfilling the Lusts of the Flesh, and walking after your own Will and Imaginations, you are altogether Strangers to the Yolk, to the daily Cross, and self-denying Life, but are yet the corrupt Ground, and evil Tree, which bringeth forth evil Fruits, Thorns, Briars, and four Grapes: *Be ye undeceived, God will not be mocked; such as you sow, such shall you reap*: —

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Job. 4. 8.
Gal. 6. 7, 8;

Wherefore I intreat, advise, and warn you all, before the Day of your Visitation be shut up, in the Eternal Withdrawings of God's Love, and Revelation of his dreadful, endless Vengeance, O ye Idolatrous, Superstitious, Carnal, Proud, Wanton, Unclean, Mocking and Persecuting *Princes, Priests and People*, to repent; return, return, believe and obey this Light, which manifests and reproves all your evil Deeds, that in it you may know your Redemption from the Captivity of Sin effectually wrought.

O Tremble and Quake with the Prophet *Habakkuk*, you who scoff at *Quakers*, *That you may all rest in the Day of Trouble*. Hab. 3. 16.

But if you shall still go on to rebel against the Reproofs and Instructions of this Holy Light, and despise and persecute the Children of it; be it known to you all, that before the Brightness of its Glory shall your Shadows vanish, your Imitations fly away, your beggarly Elements melt, and you shall die in your Sins.

Nor shall we be solicitous what your Intentions are concerning us, well knowing Him in whom we have believed, *to be much greater in us than he that is in the World*, who in Love hath call'd us out of it, and we doubt not will by his Everlasting Arm of Strength defend and preserve us over all Opposition, and by us exalt His Name, Truth, and Salvation unto the Ends of the Earth.

2 Tim. 1. 12;
1 John 4. 4.

Therefore let the Winds of Imagination blow, the Storms of Persecution beat, and the Sea of raging Malice foam; Yea, *though the Fig-tree shall not blossom, neither Fruit be in the Vine; though the Labour of the Olive fail, and the Fields yield not their Meat; though the Flock be cut off from the Fold, and there be no Herd in the Stalls; though Nations should combine against us, and Multitudes assemble themselves to our Overthrow*; — Yet, be it reported to the Nations, and let it be told unto the People, that we shall still confide and rejoyce in that Everlasting Holy God Almighty, Lord of Hosts, and King of Saints, who hath gathered us; and therefore is by us over all Things in Heaven, and Things on Earth, blest and Renown'd for ever.

Hab. 3. 17. 18

A Cautionary POSTSCRIPT to the People of England.

Life p. 45;

Friends,

WHilst you have a Day, prize it, and whilst you have the Light, *believe in it*; for this is the Word of the Lord God, that made Heaven and Earth, to you all; the Time is at Hand, that he that is *Unrighteous*, must be *Unrighteous* still. Be not deceiv'd, put not the Day far from you; neither cry, *The Lord is on our Side*, for his Indignation is ready to be reveal'd, and *Destruction* is at the Door.

Calamity, Fining, and Distress, is coming upon you, yea, a Consumption is decreed, and Trouble, Perplexity, and Terrible Desolation, and what hand shall stop it? For the Lord God of Hosts is arising, to *avenge Himself of his Enemies, and to ease himself of the cruel Oppressor of His Righteous Seed*. Yea, the Mighty, He will humble, and the Proud shall be laid low. He will smite the Wanton with Paleness; and the Despiser shall perish off the Earth; And all the Instruments of Wickedness and Oppression will be dash in Pieces; And you shall know, that the Majesty which dwells on High, is on our Side, and

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and that the Nations of them who are sav'd, shall walk in Obedience to the Light.

But unto such as believe in the Light, and live in the daily Cross, who have forsaken either Father, Mother, Sister, Brother, House, Land, Husband or Wife, for this blessed Testimony; and that through the good Report and bad Report are journeying on, towards an Everlasting Inheritance: Blessings, Honour, Immortality, and Eternal Life, from God the Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ, Amen.

Newgate in London, the 7th
of the 2d Month, 1671.

*I am not of this World, but seek a Country
Eternal in the Heavens.*

William Penn.

1668.
The Sandy
Foundation
Shaken,
Life, p. 6.

THE Sandy Foundation Shaken:

OR,

Those so Generally Believed and applauded DOCTRINES,

Of { One God, Subsisting in Three Distinct and Separate Persons,
The Impossibility of God's pardoning Sinners, without a
Plenary Satisfaction,
The Justification of impure Persons, by an imputative Right-
eousness, } Refuted.

From the Authority of Scripture Testimonies, and Right Reason.

By WILLIAM PENN, Jun.

A Builder on that Foundation which cannot be moved.

But to us there is but One GOD the Father, of whom are all Things,
1 Cor. viii. 6.

*Who is a God like unto Thee, that pardoneth Iniquity? He retaineth not His
Anger for ever, because He delighteth in Mercy,* Micah vii. 18.

For I will not Justifie the Wicked, Exod. xxiii. 7.

To the Unprejudiced READER.

IT was the Fault of some in Ancient Times, that they made void God's Law by Men's Traditions; and certainly I may now assume the same Complaint; for whilst I take a Serious Prospect of the Spiritual Nature, and Tendency of the Second Covenant, which God Almighty, in the Fulness of Time, by his Prophets, Prophesied to make and perfect; and also the Accomplishment thereof by JESUS CHRIST, and what was brought to pass amongst the Primitive Believers; methinks I do not only see an utter Abolishment of Ceremonial Worship, but the inscribing that Spiritual Law on the Heart, and Infusion of Holy Fear to the Inward Parts, whereby each Person became capacitated to know so much of God, as suited with his present State, from an infallible Demonstration in himself, and not on the slender Grounds of Men's Lo-bere

Lo-here Interpretations, or Lo-there; for the Kingdom of God is within, where himself must be the Teacher of His People: But on the other Hand, when from the Noise of every Party's Pretensions to, and Contentions for their own Way, as most infallible, I am induced to an impartial Examination of them: Alas! How have all adulterated from the Purity both of Scripture Record, and Primitive Example? Receiving for Unquestionable Doctrines, the Fallible Apprehensions, and uncertain Determinations of such Councils, whose Faction, Prejudice, and Cruelty soon parallel'd the foregoing Heathenish Persecutions; and yet that the Results of Persons so incompetently qualified, should at this Day in their Authority remain unquestioned by the Nations, is Matter both of Astonishment and Pity; but an implicit Faith has ever been the Consequence of Ignorance, Idleness and Fear, being strong Impediments to a Judicious Enquiry, how far profess'd and impos'd Opinions have their Consistency with Reason, and the True Religion. But that which most of all deserves a Lamentation, is, that Protestants, whose better Arguments have confuted the Plea of such as made Tradition, and Men's Prescriptions unquestionable in Circumstantialities, should themselves, by Print and Practice, so openly declare and contend for its Authority in Essentials; as must be obvious to any that observe their Zealous Anathema's against whomsoever refuse a Compliance with them in Doctrines, manifestly Bottom'd upon Mens nice Inventions.

This is the right State of the Controversie that is maintained by us (contemptibly called Quakers) against the World, and the undoubted Reason of our Severe Treatment at its Hands, the End of God Almighty's raising us, being for no other Purpose, than to declare, That which our Eyes have seen, our Ears heard, and which our Hands have handled of the Eternal Word, in Opposition to the private Opinions, Conjectures, and Interpretations of Men concerning GOD and Religion, that all People might thereby be reduced to Faith in, and Obedience to the Universal Grace which brings Salvation; which as it only can restore Sound Judgment concerning God, and effect Redemption from Iniquity, so its being relinquish'd by Men, was the very Ground both of their Division in Judgment, and Corruption in Manners.

That this hath been, and is our Case, I shall produce an Instance, which is indeed the Occasion of this Treatise.

Two Persons lately of Thomas Vincent's Auditory in Spittle-Fields, (who goes under the Notion of a Presbyter) being desirous to prove all Things, and to hold fast the Best, visited our Meeting, to understand if we were as really deserving Blame, as represented by our Enemies; where it then pleas'd Divine Goodness to visit them with the Call of His Light, from the Inventions, Carnal Observations, Will-worship, and Vain Conversation of those to whom they were formerly related, that they might be made Children of the Day; and though its Appearance might be small, yet sufficient to discover them to have been Inhabitants of the Night, and can never be rejected, but it shall bring that Condemnation which will further testify it to be of God.

But their relinquishing his Congregation, so incens'd this Presbyterian Preacher, as that his Peevish Zeal transported him beyond, not only the Moderation of Christianity, but the Civility of Education, venting his Folly and Prejudice much to this Purpose, That he had as lieve they should go to a Bawdy-House, as to frequent the Quakers's Meetings, because of their Erroneous and Damnable Doctrines. And pointing to the Window, said, If there should stand a Cup of Poison, I would rather drink it, than suck in their Damnable Doctrines. He further express'd himself in this Manner to one of them: If ever you go again, I will give you up, and God will give you up, that you may believe a Lie, and be Damn'd. Which Storms of foul and railing Accusations, proving ineffectual to shipwreck that Little Grain of Faith, his Hearers, as forgetting they hold their Preaching by Connivance, and the many Appeals made by their Non-Conforming Brethren, for an Indulgence, came with this Caution to the Pater-Familias, (or he that was both Husband and Father to the concerned Parties) that he would exercise his Au-

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thority, as well to refuse them to all Quaker-Visitants, as prohibit them the Liberty of their Consciences in frequenting our Meetings.

All which we could not for the Truth-Sake, let pass in Silence, and therefore did require him to let us have a Publick Meeting, in which we might have Liberty to answer on the Behalf both of our selves and Principles; which after some Demur, was granted, the Day be appointed, and at the Second Hour in the Afternoon. But that he might not want the Applause of many Voices, and doubtless to prevent our Friends, as (I am informed) bespoke his usual Auditory to be there at One; and, as a Man that would not over-spend himself, or incur a Non-plus for Want of Seconds, he had his Third and Fourth, to wit, Thomas Danson, Thomas Doolittle, and — Maddocks, who at their Times (and often out of them) did interpose, to whom George Whitehead mostly answered; nor had there any Thing been spoken by another, but from their own Example.

The Matter in Controversie, will be related in the Beginning of this Treatise, as a necessary Preludium, or Introduction to the following Discourse: The Manner of it was so gross, that I know not how to represent it better, than by the Levity and Rudeness of some Prize; Laughing, Hissing, Shoving, Striking, and Stigmatizing us with the Opprobrious Terms of Confident Fellow, Impudent Villain, Blasphemer, &c. And, as the usual Refuge of Shallow Persons (when they have little else to say, to prepossess their Hearers with Prejudice against the Principles of such as do oppose them) be questioned much whether I was not some Jesuit; Not remembering, or at least unwilling to let the People know, that none have been, nor are more instant in the Vindication of that Doctrine he and his Brother did assert, (to wit, God Subsisting in Three Distinct Persons) than the Jesuits: So that if I should not as well reflect a Scandal upon their Learning by a Comparison, as he did upon my Principle, I could more truly invert Jesuitism upon himself: In short, they neither would keep to Scripture Terms themselves, nor suffer it in others; but looking upon G. Whitehead's Explanation of their Terms, and Reduction of their Matter (if possible) to a Scripture Sense (thereby fitting it to the Auditors Apprehension) to be an indirect Way of answering (as that which nakedly did expose their Traditional Folly to the Vulgar) T. V. in an abrupt Manner fell to his Prayer, in which he falsely, and with many strangely affected Whines, accused us for Blasphemers unto God; and that he might prevent the clearing of our selves, he desired the People, when he had finish'd, to be gone, giving them an Example by his and three Brethren's Retreat: But we being desirous further to inform the People of our Innocency, they did not only (as before) endeavour to pull us down, but put the Candles out, though several Persons, of good Esteem, continued whilst we spoke in Vindication of our selves, from the Invektives of our Adversaries.

The People still remaining undispersed, T. V. came very palely down the Stairs (having a Candle in his Hand) requiring their Dismissal, at which Time he promised us, at our Request, another Meeting; but as one that knew not well what he said, or never purpos'd to perform what he promis'd, has given us since to understand, he can't in Conscience spare us so much Time; yet to satisfy G. W. and my self, in Private, he could agree; which surely can't be term'd another Meeting, since then it must relate to the preceding one: But how near the Relation is betwixt an Accusation before Hundreds, and a Satisfaction before none, must needs be obvious to every unbiass'd Person: — Our Right should have been altogether as publick as our Wrong: — For which Cause we were necessitated to visit his Meeting, where, on a Lecture-Day, (after a continued Silence during all his Worship) we modestly intreated we might be clear'd from those unjust Reflections before his Congregation, leaving a Disputation (if he could not then attend it) to some more seasonable Opportunity: But as one, who resolv'd Injustice to Men's Reputation, as well as Cowardize, in baulking a Defence of his own Principles, he sunk most shamefully away; nor would any there, though urg'd to it, assume his Place to vindicate his Practice towards us, or his Doctrines then deliver'd.

Reader,

Reader, What's thy Opinion of this Savage Entertainment? Would Socrates, Cato, or Seneca, whom they call Heathens, have treated us with such unseemly Carriage? I suppose not: And well is it for the Truly Sober and Conscientious, they are not liable to those severe Lashes, and that peevish Usage, which are the inseparable Appendix to a Scotch Directory, whose cold and cutting Gales ever have design'd to nip and blast the fairest Blossoms of greater Reformation. So much for History.

What remains, is to inform the Reader, that with great Brevity I have discuss'd, and endeavour'd a total Enervation of those Cardinal Points, and Chief Doctrines so firmly believed, and continually impos'd for Articles of Christian Faith: 1. The Trinity of Separate Persons, in the Unity of Essence. 2. God's Incapacity to forgive, without the fullest Satisfaction paid him by another. 3. A Justification of impure Persons, from an imputative Righteousness. Which Principles let me tell thee, Reader, are not more repugnant to Scripture, Reason, and Souls-Security, than most destructive to God's Honour, in his Unity, Mercy, and Purity.

Therefore I beseech thee to exterminate Passion from her Predominancy, in the Perusal of this abridg'd Discourse, since it was writ in love to thee; that whilst 'tis thy Desire to know, love, and fear God Almighty above Mens Precepts, thou mayst not miss so good an End, by the blind Embraces of Tradition for Truth. But in the Nobility of a true Berean, search and enquire; letting the good old Verity, not a pretended Antiquity, (whilst a meer novelty) and solid Reason, not an over-sord Credulity, sway the Ballance of thy Judgment, that both Stability and Certainty may accompany thy Determinations. Farewel.

A short Confutation by Way of Recapitulation, of what was objected against us at Thomas Vincent's Meeting.

IF Disputations prove at any Time ineffectual, it's either to be imputed to the Ignorance and Ambiguity of the Disputants, or to the Rudeness and Prejudice of the Auditory: All which may be truly affirmed of T. V. with his three Brethren, and Congregation.

The Accusation being general, viz. *That the Quakers held Damnable Doctrines*: George Whitehead on their Behalf stood up, and as it was his place, willingly would have given the People an Information of our Principles, which if objected against, he was as ready to defend them by the Authority of Scripture and Reason; but instead of this better Method, T. V. as one that's often employ'd in Catechistical Lectures, falls to Interrogatories, begging that himself, he in his Slander had taken for granted, to wit, the Knowledge of our Principles.

The Question was this, *Whether we own'd one God-head, subsisting in Three Distinct and Separate Persons*, as the Result of various Revives and Amendments; which being denied by us, as a Doctrine no where Scriptural, T. V. frames this Syllogism from the beloved Disciple's Words.

There are three that bear Record in Heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost; and these Three are one. John 1. 7.

These are either three Manifestations, three Operations, three Substances, or three somethings else beside Subsistences.

But they are not three Manifestations, three Operations, three Substances, nor three any thing else beside Subsistences:

Ergo, Three Subsistences.

G. W. Utterly rejected his Terms, as not to be found in Scripture, nor deducible from the Place he instanced: Wherefore he desires their Explanation of their Terms, inasmuch as God did not use to wrap his Truths up in Heathenish Metaphysics, but in plain Language: Notwithstanding we could not obtain a better Explication, than Person, or of Person, than the Mode of a Substance; To all which G. W. and my self urged several Scriptures, proving God's compleat Unity: And when we queried how God

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was to be understood, if in an abstractive Sense from his Substance: They concluded it a point more fit for Admiration than Disputation. But a little to review his Syllogism; the Manner of it shews him as little a Scholar, as it's Matter does a Christian; but I shall over-look the first, and so much of the second, as might deserve my Objection to his *Major*, and give in short my Reason, why I flatly deny his *Minor Proposition*. No one Substance can have three distinct Subsistences, and preserve its own Unity: For granting them the most favourable Definition, every Subsistence will have its own Substance; so that three distinct Subsistences, or Manners of Being, will require three distinct Substances or Beings; consequently three Gods. For if the infinite God-head subsists in three separate Manners or Forms, then is not any one of them a perfect and compleat Subsistence without the other two; so parts, and something finite is in God: Or if infinite, then three distinct infinite Subsistences; and what's this but to assert three Gods, since none is infinite but God? And on the contrary, there being an inseparability betwixt the Substance and its Subsistence, the Unity of Substance will not admit a Trinity of incommunicable or distinct Subsistences.

T. D. Being ask'd of whom was Christ the express Image, from his alledging that Scripture in the *Hebrews*; answered, of God's Subsistence, or Manner of Being: From whence two Things in short follow as my Reply, It makes God a Father only by Subsistence, and Christ a Son without a Substance. Besides it's falsly rendred in the *Hebrews*, since the Greek does not say *κατὰ τὴν ὑπόστασιν*, but *κατὰ τὴν τῆς ὑποστάσεως*, the Character of Substance.

Heb. i. 3e

And if he will peruse a farther Discovery of his Error, and explanation of the Matter, let him read *Col. 1. 15. Who is the Image of the Invisible God.*

And because G. W. willing to bring this strange Doctrine to the Capacity of the People, compar'd their three Persons to three Apostles, saying, he did not understand how *Paul, Peter, and John* could be three Persons, and one Apostle, (a most apt Comparison to detect their Doctrine) one—*Maddocks*, whose Zeal out-strip his Knowledge, bustling hard, as one that had some necessary Matter for the Decision of our Controversie, instead thereof (perhaps to save his Brethren, or show himself) silences our farther controverting of the Principle, by a Syllogistical, but impertinent Reflection upon G. W's. Person. It runs thus, *He that scornfully and reproachfully compares our Doctrine of the Blessed Trinity of Father, Son, and Spirit, one in Essence, but three in Persons, to three finite Men, as Paul, Peter, and John, is a Blasphemer. But you G. W. have so done. Ergo!*

A strange Way of Argumentation, to beg what can't be granted him, and take for granted what still remains a Question, *viz.* That there are three distinct and separate Persons in one Essence: Let them first prove their Trinity, and then charge their Blasphemy: But I must not forget this Person's self-confutation, who to be plainer, called them three *He's*, and if he can find an *He* without a Substance, or prove that a Subsistence is any other than the Form of an *He*, he would do well to justify himself from the Imputation of Ignorance.

And till their Hypothesis be of better Authority, G. W. neither did, nor does by that Comparison design Men's Invention so much Honour.

For 'tis to be remark'd, that G. W. is no otherwise a Blasphemer, than by drawing direct Consequences from their own Principles, and recharging them upon themselves: So that he did not speak his own Apprehensions by his Comparison, but the Sense of their Assertion; therefore Blasphemer and Blasphemy are their own.

The Trinity of Distinct and Separate Persons, in the Unity of Essence, refuted from Scripture.

1 Kings 8.
23.

AN D he said, Lord God, there is no God like unto THEE, To whom then will ye liken ME? Or shall I be equal, saith the Holy ONE? — I

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am the Lord, and there is NONE else, there is no God besides ME. *This saith the Lord thy Redeemer, the Holy ONE of Israel. I will also praise THEE, O my God; unto THEE will I sing, O Holy ONE of Israel. Jehovah shall be ONE, and his Name ONE.* Which with a Cloud of other Testimonies that might be urg'd, evidently demonstrate, that in the Days of the first Covenant, and Prophets, but ONE was the Holy God, and God but that Holy ONE.—Again, *And Jesus said unto Him, Why callest thou me good? There is none good but ONE, and that is God. And this is Life Eternal, that they might know THEE (Father) the ONLY True God. Seeing it is ONE God that shall justify. There be Gods many,—but unto us there is but ONE God, the Father, of whom are all Things. ONE God and Father who is above all Things. For there is ONE God. To the ONLY Wife God be Glory now and ever.* From all which I shall lay down this one Assertion, that the Testimonies of Scripture, both under the Law, and since the Gospel Dispensation, declare ONE to be God, and God to be ONE, on which I shall raise this Argument:

If God, as the Scriptures testify, hath never been declar'd or believ'd, but as the Holy ONE, then will it follow, that God is not an Holy THREE, nor doth subsist in THREE distinct and separate Holy ONES: but the before-cited Scriptures undeniably prove that ONE is God, and God only is that Holy ONE; therefore he can't be divided into, or subsist in an Holy THREE, or THREE distinct and separate Holy ONES.—Neither can this receive the least Prejudice from that frequent but impertinent Distinction, that he is ONE in Substance, but THREE in Persons or Subsistences; since God was not declared or believed incompletely, or without his Subsistence: Nor did he require Homage from his Creatures, as an incomplete or abstracted Being, but as God the Holy ONE: For so he should be manifested and Worshipped without that which was absolutely Necessary to Himself:—————So that either the Testimonies of the aforementioned Scriptures are to be believ'd concerning God, that he is intirely and completely, not abstractly and distinctly, the Holy ONE, or else their Authority to be denied by these Trinitarians: And on the contrary, if they pretend to credit those Holy Testimonies, they must necessarily conclude their Kind of Trinity a Fiction.

Refuted from Right Reason.

1. If there be three distinct and separate Persons, then three distinct and separate Substances, because every Person is inseparable from its own Substance; and as there is no Person that's not a Substance in common Acceptation among Men, so do the Scriptures plentifully agree herein: And since the Father is God, the Son is God, and the Spirit is God (which their Opinion necessitates them to confess) then unless the Father, Son, and Spirit, are three distinct Nothings, they must be three distinct Substances, and consequently three distinct Gods.

2. It's farther prov'd, if it be consider'd, that either the Divine Persons are finite or infinite; if the first, then something finite is inseparable to the infinite Substance, whereby something finite is in God; if the last, then Three distinct Infinites, Three Omnipotents, Three Eternals, and so Three GODS.

3. If each Person be God, and that God subsists in three Persons, then in each Person are three Persons or Gods, and from three, they will encrease to nine, and so *ad infinitum*.

4. But if they shall deny the three Persons, or Subsistences to be infinite, (for so there would unavoidably be three Gods) it will follow that they must be finite, and so the Absurdity is not abated from what it was; for that of one Substance having three Subsistences, is not greater, than that an infinite Being should have three finite Modes of subsisting. But though that Mode which is finite can't answer to a Substance that's infinite; yet to try if we can make their Principle to consist, let us conceive that three Persons,

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Isa. 46. 25.
E. 45. 5, 6.
E. 48. 17.
Psal. 71. 22.
Zac. 14. 9.
Mat. 19. 17.
John 17. 3.
Rom. 3. 30.
1 Cor. 8. 6.
Eph. 4. 6.
1 Tim. 2. 5.
Jude ver. 25.

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Persons, which may be finite separately, make up an infinite conjunctly; however this will follow, that they are no more incommunicable or separate, nor properly Subsistences, but a Subsistence; for the infinite Substante can't find a Bottom or Subsistence in any one or two, therefore jointly. And here I am also willing to over-look finiteness in the Father, Son, and Spirit, which this Doctrine must suppose.

5. Again, if these three distinct Persons are one, with some one Thing, as they say they are with the God-head, then are not they incommunicable among themselves; but so much the contrary, as to be one in the Place of another: For if that the only God is the Father, and Christ be that only God, then is Christ the Father. So if that one God be the Son, and the Spirit that one God, then is the Spirit the Son, and so round. Nor is it possible to stop, or that it should be otherwise, since if the Divine Nature be inseparable from the three Persons, or communicated to each, and each Person have the whole Divine Nature, then is the Son in the Father, and the Spirit in the Son, unless that the God-head be as incommunicable to the Persons, as they are reported to be amongst themselves; or that the three Persons have distinctly allotted them such a Proportion of the Divine Nature, as it not communicable to each other; which is alike absurd. Much more might be said to manifest the gross Contradiction of this Trinitarian Doctrine, as vulgarly receiv'd; but I must be brief.

Information and Caution.

Before I shall conclude this Head, it's requisite I should inform Thee, Reader, concerning its Original: Thou may'st assure thy self, it's not from the Scriptures, nor Reason, since so expressly repugnant; although all Broachers of their own Inventions strongly endeavour to reconcile them with that Holy Record. Know then, my Friend, 'twas born above three Hundred Years after the Ancient Gospel was declared; and that through the nice Distinctions, and too daring Curiosity of the Bishop of *Alexandria*, who being as hotly opposed by *Arrius*, their Zeal so reciprocally blew the Fire of Contention, Animosity, and Persecution, till at last they sacrific'd each other to their mutual Revenge.

Thus it was conceived in Ignorance, brought forth and maintain'd by Cruelty; for though he that was strongest, impos'd his Opinion, persecuting the contrary, yet the Scale turning on the Trinitarian side, it has there continued through all the Romish Generations: And notwithstanding it hath obtain'd the Name of *Athanasian* from *Athanasius*, (a stiff Man, witness his Carriage towards *Constantine* the Emperor) because suppos'd to have been most concerned in the framing that Creed in which this Doctrine is asserted; yet have I never seen one Copy void of a Suspicion, rather to have been the Results of Popish School-Men; which I could render more perspicuous, did not Brevity necessitate me to an Omission.

Be therefore caution'd, Reader, not to embrace the Determination of prejudic'd Councils, for Evangelical Doctrine; which the Scriptures bear no certain Testimony to; neither was believ'd by the primitive Saints, or thus stated by any I have read of in the first, second, or third Centuries; particularly *Irenæus*, *Iustin Martyr*, *Tertullian*, *Origen*, with many others who appear wholly foreign to the Matter in Controversie.—But seeing that private Spirits, and those none of the most ingenious, have been the Parents and Guardians of this so generally receiv'd Doctrine; let the Time past suffice, and be admonish'd to apply thy Mind unto that Light and Grace which brings Salvation; that by Obedience thereunto, those Mists Tradition hath cast before thy Eyes, may be expel'd, and thou receive a certain Knowledge of that God, whom to know is Life Eternal, not to be divided, but ONE pure intire and eternal Being; who in the Fulness of Time sent forth his Son, as the true Light which enlighteneth every Man; that whosoever follow'd him (the Light) might be translated from the dark Notions, and vain Conversations of Men, to this Holy Light, in
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which only found Judgment and Eternal Life are obtainable: Who so many Hundred Years since, in Person testified the Virtue of it, and has communicated unto all such a Proportion, as may enable them to follow his Example.

The Vulgar Doctrine of Satisfaction, being dependent on the Second Person of the Trinity, refuted from Scripture.

That Man having transgress'd the Righteous Law of God, and so expos'd to the Penalty of Eternal Wrath, it's altogether impossible for God to remit or forgive without a Plenary Satisfaction; and that there was no other Way by which God could obtain Satisfaction, or save Men, than by inflicting the Penalty of infinite Wrath and Vengeance on Jesus Christ the Second Person of the Trinity, who for Sins past, present, and to come, hath wholly born and paid it, (whether for all, or but some) to the offended infinite Justice of His Father.

Doctr.

1. And the Lord pass'd by before him, (Moses) and proclaimed, The Lord, the Lord God, Merciful and Gracious, keeping Mercy for Thousands, forgiving Iniquity, Transgression and Sin. [From whence I shall draw this Position, that since God has proclaim'd himself a Gracious, Merciful, and forgiving God, it's not inconsistent with his Nature to remit, without any other Consideration than his own Love: Otherwise he could not justly come under the Imputation of so many Gracious Attributes, with whom it is impossible to pardon, and necessary to exact the Payment of the utmost Farthing.]

Exod. 34.6.7.

2. For if ye turn again to the Lord, the Lord your God is Gracious and Merciful, and will not turn away his Face from you. [Where how natural is it to observe that God's remission is grounded on their repentance; and not that it's impossible for God to pardon, without plenary Satisfaction, since the Possibility, nay, certainty of the Contrary, viz. His Grace and Mercy, is the great Motive or Reason, of that Loving Invitation to return.]

2 Chron. 30. 9.

3. They hardened their Necks, and barked not to thy Commandments; but thou art a God ready to pardon, gracious and merciful. [Can the honest-Hearted Reader conceive, that God should thus be mercifully qualified, whilst executing the Rigor of the Law transgress, or not acquitting without the Debt be paid him by another? I suppose not.]

Neh. 9. 16, 17.

4. Let the Wicked forsake his Way, and the Unrighteous Man his Thoughts, and let him return unto the Lord, and he will have Mercy upon him, and to our God, for he will abundantly pardon. [Come, let the unprejudiced Judge, if this Scripture Doctrine, is not very remote from saying his Nature cannot forgive Sin, therefore let Christ pay him full Satisfaction, or he will certainly be avenged; which is the Substance of that strange Opinion.]

Isa. 55. 7.

5. Behold the Days come, saith the Lord, that I will make a New Covenant with the House of Israel; I will put my Law in their Inward Parts; I will forgive their Iniquity, and I will remember their Sin no more. [Here is God's meer Grace asserted, against the pretended Necessity of a Satisfaction to procure his Remission; And this Paul acknowledgeth, to be the Dispensation of the Gospel, in his eighth Chapter to the Hebrews: So that this New Doctrine, doth not only contradict the Nature and Design of the second Covenant, but seems in short, to discharge God, both from his Mercy and Omnipotence.]

Jer. 31. 31; 33. 34.

6. Who is a God like unto thee, that pardoneth Iniquity, and passeth by the Transgression of the Remnant of his Heritage? He retaineth not his Anger for ever, because he delighteth in Mercy. [Can there be a more express Passage to clear, not only the Possibility, but real Inclinations in God to pardon Sin, and not retain his Anger for ever; since the Prophet seems to challenge all other gods, to try their Excellency by his God: Herein descri-

Micah 7. 18.

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bing the Supremacy of his Power, and Superexcellency of his Nature, *that he pardoneth Iniquity, and retaineth not his Anger for ever*: So that if the Satisfactionists should ask the Question, who is a God like unto ours, that cannot pardon Iniquity, nor pass by Transgression, but retaineth his Anger until some-body make him Satisfaction? I answer, Many amongst the harsh and severe Rulers of the Nation; but as for my God, He is exalted above them all, upon the Throne of his Mercy, *who pardoneth Iniquity, and retaineth not his Anger for ever, but will have Compassion upon us.*]

Mat. 6. 12.

7. *And forgive us our Debts, as we forgive our Debtors.* [Where nothing can be more obvious, than that which is forgiven, is not paid: And if it is our Duty to forgive our Debtors, without a Satisfaction received, and that God is to forgive us, as we forgive them, then is a Satisfaction totally excluded: Christ farther paraphrases upon that Part of his Prayer, V. 14. *For if ye forgive their Trespases, your Heavenly Father will also forgive you.* Where he as well argues the Equity of God's Forgiving them, from their Forgiving others, as he encourages them to forgive others, from the Example of God's Mercy, in forgiving them: Which is more amply exprest, Cap. 18. where the Kingdom of Heaven (that consists in Righteousness) is represented by a King; *Who upon his Debtor's Petition, had Compassion, and forgave him; but the same treating his Fellow-Servant without the least Forbearance, the King Condemned his Unrighteousness, and delivered him over to the Tormentors.* But how had this been a Fault in the Servant, if his King's Mercy had not been proposed for his Example? How most unworthy therefore is it of God, and Blasphemous, may I justly term it; for any to dare to assert that Forgiveness is impossible to God, which is not only possible, but enjoyn'd to Men.]

John 3. 16.

8. *For God so loved the World, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have Everlasting Life.* [By which it appears, that God's Love is not the Effect of Christ's Satisfaction, but Christ is the proper Gift and Effect of God's Love.]

Acts. 10. 43.

9. *To him give all the Prophets witness, that through his Name, whosoever believeth in him, shall receive Remission of Sins.* [So that Remission came by believing his Testimony, and obeying his Precepts, and not by a Strict Satisfaction.]

Rom. 8. 31.
32.

10. *If God be for us, who can be against us? He that spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all.* [Which evidently declares it to be God's Act of Love, otherwise, if he must be paid, he should be at the Charge of his own Satisfaction, for he delivered up the Son.]

2. Cor. 5.
18, 19.

11. *And all Things are of God, who hath reconciled us to himself by Jesus Christ, and hath given to us the Ministry of Reconciliation, to wit, that God was in Christ, reconciling the World to himself, not imputing their Trespases unto them.* [How undeniably apparent is it, that God is so far from standing off in high Displeasure, and upon his own Terms, contracting with his Son for a Satisfaction, as being otherwise incapable to be reconciled, that he became himself the Reconciler by Christ, and afterwards by the Apostles, his Ambassadors, to whom was committed, the Ministry of Reconciliation.]

Eph. 1. 7.

12. *In whom we have Redemption through his Blood, the Forgiveness of Sins, according to the Riches of his Grace.* [Now what Relation, Satisfaction has to Forgiveness of Sins, or how any can construe Grace, to be strict Justice, the meanest Understanding may determine.]

1 Pet. 5. 10.

13. *But the God of all Grace, who hath called us unto his Eternal Glory, by Christ Jesus.* [He does not say that God's Justice, in Consideration of Christ's Satisfaction, acquitted us from Sins past, present, and to come, and therefore hath called us to his Eternal Glory; but from his Grace.]

1. John 4. 9.

14. *In this was manifest the Love of God towards us, because that God sent his only begotten Son, into the World, that we might live through him.* [Which plainly attributes Christ in his Doctrine, Life, Miracles, Death, and Sufferings, to God, as the Gift and Expression of his Eternal Love, for the Salvation of Men.]

1. In abolishing that other Covenant, which consisted in External and shadowy Ordinances, and that made none clean as concerning the Conscience.

2. In promulgating his Message, of a most Free and universal Tender of Life and Salvation, unto all that believed and followed him, (the Light) in all his Righteousness, the very end of his Appearance being to destroy the Works of the Devil, and which every Man only comes to Experience, as he walks in an holy Subjection, to that Measure of Light and Grace, wherewith the Fulness hath enlightned him.

3. In seconding his Doctrines with Signs, Miracles, and a most Innocent self-denying Life.

4. In Ratifying and confirming all (with great Love and holy Resignation) by the offering up of his Body, to be crucified by wicked Hands: who is now ascended far above all Heavens, and is thereby become a most compleat Captain, and Perfect Example.

So that I can by no Means conclude, but openly declare, that the Scriptures of Truth, are not only silent in Reference to this Doctrine of *Rigid Satisfaction*, but that its altogether inconsistent with the Dignity of God, and very repugnant to the Conditions, Nature, and Tendency of that Second Covenant, concerning which their Testimony is so clear.

The Absurdities, that unavoidably follow the Comparifon of this Doctrine, with the Sense of Scripture.

1. **T**HAT God is gracious to forgive, and yet 'tis impossible for Him, unless the Debt be fully satisfied.

2. That the Finite and Impotent Creature, is more capable of extending Mercy and Forgiveness, than the Infinite and Omnipotent Creator.

3. That God so loved the World, he gave his only Son to save it; and yet that God stood off in high Displeasure, and Christ gave himself to God as a compleat Satisfaction to his offended Justice: With many more such like gross Consequences that might be drawn.

Refuted from Right Reason.

But if we should grant a Scripture-Silence, as to the Necessity of Christ's so satisfying his Fathers Justice; yet so manifest would be the Contradictions, and foul the Repugnancies to Right Reason, that who had nor vail'd his Understanding with the dark Suggestions of unwarrantable Tradition, or contracted his Judgment to the implicit Apprehensions of some over-valued Acquaintance, might with great Facility discriminate to a full Resolution in this Point: For admitting God to be a Creditor, or he to whom the Debt should be paid, and Christ, he that satisfies or pays it on the Behalf of Man, the Debtor, this Question will arise, whether he paid that Debt, as God, or Man, or both (to use their own Terms.)

Not as God.

1. In that it divides the Unity of the God-head, by two distinct Acts, of being offended, and not offended; of condemning Justice and redeeming Mercy; of requiring a Satisfaction, and then making of it.

2. Because if Christ pays the Debt as God, then the Father and the Spirit being God, they also pay the Debt.

3. Since God is to be satisfied, and that Christ is God, he consequently is to be satisfied; and who shall Satisfie his infinite Justice?

4. But if Christ has satisfied God the Father, Christ being also God, 'twill follow then that he has satisfied himself, (which can't be.)

5. But since God the Father was once to be satisfied, and that it's impossible he should do it himself, nor yet the Son or Spirit, because the same God; it naturally follows, that the Debt remains unpaid, and these Satisfactionists thus far are still at a Loss.

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Not as Man.

6. The Justice offended being Infinite, his Satisfaction ought to bear a Proportion therewith, which Jesus Christ, as Man, could never pay, he being Finite, and from a finite Cause, could not proceed an infinite Effect; for to Man may be said to bring forth God, since nothing below the Divinity it self, can rightly be filed Infinite.

Not as God and Man.

7. For where two Mediums, or Middle Propositions, are singly inconsistent with the Nature of the End, for which they were at first propounded, their Conjunction does rather augment, then lessen the Difficulty of its Accomplishment; and this I am perswaded must be obvious to every unbyas'd Understanding.

But admitting one of these three Mediums possible for the Payment of an infinite Debt; yet, pray observe the most unworthy, and ridiculous consequences, that unavoidably will attend the Impossibility of God's Pardoning Sinners without a Satisfaction.

Consequences Irreligious and Irrational.

1. That it's Unlawful and Impossible for God Almighty to be Gracious and Merciful, or to Pardon Transgressors; than which, what's more Unworthy of God.

2. That God was inevitably compell'd to this Way of Saving Men; the highest Affront to His incontrollable Nature.

3. That it was unworthy of God to Pardon, but not to inflict Punishment on the Innocent, or require a Satisfaction where there was nothing due.

4. It doth not only dis-acknowledge the True Virtue and Real Intent of Christ's Life and Death, but intirely deprives God of that Praise which is owing to His greatest Love and Goodness.

5. It represents the Son more Kind and Compassionate than the Father; whereas if both be the same God, then either the Father is as Loving as the Son, or the Son as Angry as the Father.

6. It robs God of the Gift of His Son for our Redemption (which the Scriptures attribute to the Unmerited Love he had for the World) in affirming the Son purchas'd that Redemption from the Father, by the Gift of himself to God, as our compleat Satisfaction.

7. Since Christ could not pay what was not his own, it follows that in the Payment of his own, the Case still remains equally grievous; since the Debt is not hereby absolv'd or forgiven, but transfer'd only; and by Consequence we are no better provided for Salvation than before, owing that now to the Son, which was once owing to the Father.

8. It no Way renders Man beholding, or in the least oblig'd to God, since by their Doctrine he would not have abated us, nor did he Christ the last Farthing, so that the Acknowledgments are peculiarly the Son's; which destroys the whole Current of Scripture-Testimony, for his Good Will towards Men. — O the infamous Portraiture this Doctrine draws, of the Infinite Goodness: Is this your Retribution, *O Injurious Satisfactionists*?

9. That God's Justice is satisfied for Sins past, present, and to come, whereby God and Christ have lost both their Power of enjoying Godliness, and Prerogative of punishing Disobedience; for what is once paid, is not revokeable; and if Punishment should arrest any for their Debts, it either argues a Breach on God, or Christ's Part, or else that it has not been sufficiently solv'd, and the Penalty completely sustain'd by another; forgetting, *That every one must appear before the Judgment Seat of Christ, to receive according to the Things done in the Body: Yea, Every one must give an Account of himself to God.* But many more are the gross Absurdities and Blasphemies that are the Genuine Fruits of this so confidently believed *Doctrine of Satisfaction.*

Rom. 14. 12.

2 Cor. 15. 10.

A Cau-

A C A U T I O N.

Let me advise, nay warn thee, *Reader*, by no Means to admit an Entertain-
ment of this Principle, by whomsoever recommended; since it does not
only divest the Glorious God of His Sovereign Power, both to Pardon and
Punish, but as certainly insinuates a Licentiousness, at least a Liberty that
unbecomes the Nature of that Ancient Gospel once preached among the
Primitive Saints, and that from an Apprehension of a Satisfaction once paid
for all. Whereas I must tell thee, That unless thou seriously repent, and
no more Grieve God's Holy Spirit, placed in thy inmost Parts, but art there-
by taught to deny all Ungodliness, and led into all Righteousness; at the
Tribunal of the Great Judge, thy Plea shall prove invalid, and thou receive
thy Reward without Respect to any other Thing than the Deeds done in the
Body: *Be not deceived, God will not be mocked; such as thou sowest, such* Gal. 6. 7.
thou shalt reap, which leads me to the Consideration of my third Head, viz.
Justification by an Imputative Righteousness.

*The Justification of impure Persons, by an imputative Righteousness,
refuted from Scripture.*

THAT there is no other Way for Sinners to be Justified in the Sight of God, than by the Imputation of that Righteousness of CHRIST, long since performed Personally; and that Sanctification is Consequential, not Antecedent.

1. Keep thee far from a false Matter; and the Innocent and Righteous *Ex. 23. 7.*
say thou not; for I will not justify the Wicked. Whereon I ground this Argu-
ment, That since God has prescribed an inoffensive Life, as that which can
only give Acceptance with him, and on the contrary hath determined never
to justify the Wicked, then will it necessarily follow, that unless this so
much believ'd *Imputative Righteousness*, had that effectual Influence, as to
regenerate and redeem the Soul from Sin, on which the Malediction lies,
he is as far to seek for Justification as before; for whilst a Person is really
guilty of a false Matter, I positively assert from the Authority and Force of
this Scripture, he cannot be in a State of Justification; and as God will
not justify the Wicked, so by the acknowledg'd Reason of Contraries, the
Just he will never Condemn, but They, and They only, are the Justified
of God.
2. He that Justifieth the Wicked, and he that Condemneth the Just, even *Prov. 17. 15.*
they both are an Abomination to the Lord. [It would very opportunely be
observ'd, that if it's so great an Abomination in Men to justify the Wicked,
and Condemn the Just, how much greater would it be in God, which this
Doctrine of *Imputative Righteousness* necessarily does imply, that so far dis-
engages God from the Person Justified, as that his Guilt shall not Condemn
him, nor his Innocency Justify him? But will not the Abomination appear
greatest of all, when God shall be found Condemning of the Just, on Pur-
pose to Justify the Wicked, and that He is thereto compell'd, or else no
Salvation, which is the Tendency of their Doctrine, Who imagine the
Righteous and Merciful God, to Condemn and Punish His Innocent Son, that
He having satisfied for our Sins, we might be Justified (whilst Unsanctified)
by the Imputation of His Perfect Righteousness. O! Why should this Hor-
rible Thing be contended for by Christians?
3. The Son shall not bear the Iniquity of his Father; the Righteousness of *Ezek. 18. 20;*
the Righteous shall be upon him, and the Wickedness of the Wicked shall be upon *26, 27, 28.*
him. When a Righteous Man turneth away from his Righteousness, for his
Iniquity that he hath done shall he die. Again, When the Wicked Man turn-
eth away from his Wickedness, and doth that which is Lawful and Right, he
shall save his Soul alive; yet saith the House of Israel, The Ways of the Lord
are not equal: Are not my Ways Equal? If this was once Equal, it's so still,

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for God's Unchangeable; and therefore I shall draw this Argument, That the Condemnation or Justification of Persons, is not from the Imputation of another's Righteousness, but the actual Performance and keeping of God's Righteous Statutes or Commandments, otherwise God should forget to be Equal: Therefore how wickedly unequal are those, who not from Scripture Evidences, but their own dark Conjectures and Interpretations of obscure Passages, would frame a Doctrine so manifestly inconsistent with God's most Pure and Equal Nature; making him to Condemn the Righteous to Death, and Justify the Wicked to Life, from the Imputation of another's Righteousness: — A most unequal Way indeed.

Mat. 7. 21,
24, 25.

4. *Not every one that saith unto me Lord, Lord, shall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, but he that doth the Will of my Father. Whosoever heareth these Sayings of mine, and doth them, I will liken him unto a Wise Man which built his House upon a Rock, &c.* [How very fruitful are the Scriptures of Truth, in Testimonies against this absurd and dangerous Doctrine; these Words seem to import a Twofold Righteousness, the first consists in Sacrifice, the last in Obedience; the one makes a *Talking*, the other, A *Doing Christian*. I in short argue thus: If none can enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, but they that do the Father's Will, then none are justified, but they who do the Father's Will, because none can enter into the Kingdom, but such as are Justified; since therefore there can be no Admittance had, without performing that Righteous Will, and doing those Holy and Perfect Sayings: Alas! To what Value will an *Imputative Righteousness* amount, when a poor Soul shall awake polluted in his Sin, by the hasty Calls of Death, to make its Appearance before the Judgment-Seat, where 'tis impossible to justify the Wicked, or that any should escape Uncondemned, but such as do the Will of God.

John 15. 10.

5. *If ye keep my Commandments, ye shall abide in my Love, even as I have kept my Father's Commandments, and abide in his Love.* [From whence this Argument doth naturally arise; If none are truly Justified that abide not in Christ's Love, and that none abide in his Love, who keep not his Commandments, then consequently none are justified but such as keep his Commandments. Besides, here is the most palpable Opposition to an *Imputative Righteousness* that may be; for Christ is so far from telling them of such a Way of being Justified, as that he informs them the Reason why he abode in his Father's Love, was his Obedience; and is so far from telling them of their being Justified, whilst not abiding in his Love, by Virtue of his Obedience imputed unto them, that unless they keep his Commands, and obey for themselves, they shall be so remote from an Acceptance, as wholly to be cast out; in all which Christ is our Example.]

John 15. 14.

6. *Ye are my Friends, if ye do whatsoever I command you.* [We have almost here the very Words, but altogether the same Matter, which affords us thus much, without being Christ's Friends, there's no being Justified, but unless we keep his Commandments, it's impossible we should be his Friends; it therefore necessarily follows, that except we keep his Commandments, there is no being Justified: Or, in short thus: If the Way to be a Friend, is to keep the Commandments, then the Way to be Justified is to keep the Commandments, because none can obtain the Quality of a Friend, and remain Unjustified, or be truly Justified, whilst an Enemy, which he certainly is, that keeps not the Commandments.]

Rom. 2. 13.

7. *For not the Hearers of the Law are Just before God, but the Doers of the Law shall be Justified.* [From whence how unanswerably may I observe, unless we become Doers of that Law, which Christ came not to destroy, but, as our Example, to fulfil, we can never be Justified before God; wherefore Obedience is so absolutely necessary, that short of it there can be no Acceptance; nor let any fancy that Christ hath so fulfilled it for them, as to exclude their Obedience from being requisite to their Acceptance, but as their Pattern; For unless ye follow me, saith Christ, ye cannot be my Disciples: And it is not only repugnant to Reason, but in this Place particularly refuted; for if Christ had fulfilled it on our Behalf, and we not enabled

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bled to follow his Example, there would not be Doers, but one Doer only of the Law Justified before God. In short, if without Obedience to the Righteous Law none can be Justified, then all our Hearing of the Law, with but the meer Imputation of another's Righteousness, whilst we are actually Breakers of it, is excluded, as not Justifying before God. *If you fulfil the Royal Law, ye do well; so speak ye, and so do ye, as they that shall be Judg'd thereby.*

8. *If ye Live after the Flesh, ye shall die; but if ye through the Spirit, do mortifie the Deeds of the Body, ye shall live.* [No Man can be Dead, and Justified before God, for so he may be Justified that lives after the Flesh; therefore they only can be Justified that are Alive; from whence this follows, If the Living are Justified and not the Dead, and that none can live to God, but such as have mortified the Deeds of the Body through the Spirit, then none can be Justified but they who have mortified the Deeds of the Body through the Spirit; so that Justification does not go before, but is Subsequential to the Mortification of Lusts, and Sanctification of the Soul, through the Spirit's Operation.]

Rom. 8. r3;

9. *For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, are the Sons of God.* [How clearly will it appear to any but a cavilling and tenacious Spirit, that Man can be no farther Justified, then as he becomes obedient to the Spirit's Leadings; for if none can be a Son of God, but he that's led by the Spirit of God, then none can be Justified without being led by the Spirit of God, because none can be Justified but he that is a Son of God: So that the Way to Justification and Son-ship, is through Obedience to the Spirit's Leadings, that is, manifesting the Holy Fruits thereof by an innocent Life and Conversation.]

Rom. 8. 14;

10. *But let every Man prove his own Work, and then shall he have Rejoycing in himself alone, and not in another. Be not deceived, for whatsoever a Man Soweth, that shall he Reap.* [If Rejoycing and Acceptance with God, or the contrary, are to be Reaped from the Work that a Man Soweth, either to the Fleh or to the Spirit, then is the Doctrine of Acceptance, and Ground of Rejoycing, from the Works of another, utterly excluded, every Man Reaping according to what he hath Sown, and bearing his own Burden.]

Gal. 6. 4, 7;

11. *Was not Abraham our Father justified by Works, when he had offered Isaac his Son upon the Altar? Ye see then how that by Works a Man is justified, and not by Faith only.* He that will seriously peruse this Chapter, shall doubtless find some, to whom this Epistle was wrote, of the same Spirit with the Satisfactionists and Imputarians of our Time, they fain would have found out a Justification from Faith in the Imputation of another's Righteousness; but James, an Apostle of the Most High God, who experimentally knew what True Faith and Justification meant, gave them to understand from Abraham's Self-Denying Example, that unless their Faith, in the Purity and Power of God's Grace, had that effectual Operation to subdue every beloved Lust, wean from every Delilah, and intirely to resign and sacrifice Isaac himself, their Faith was a Fable, or as a Body without a Spirit; and as Righteousness therefore in one Person cannot Justifie another from Unrighteousness, so whoever now pretend to be Justified by Faith, whilst not led and guided by the Spirit into all the Ways of Truth, and Works of Righteousness, their Faith they will find at last a Fiction.]

Jam. 2. 21, 22;

12. *Little Children, let no Man deceive you, he that doth Righteousness, is Righteous, as God is Righteous, (but) he that committeth Sin is of the Devil.* [From whence it may be very clearly argued, that none can be in a State of Justification, from the Righteousness performed by another imputed unto them, but as they are actually redeemed from the Commission of Sin: For, if He that committeth Sin is of the Devil, then cannot any be Justified compleatly before God, who is so incompleatly redeem'd, as yet to be under the Captivity of Lust, since then the Devil's Seed, or Offspring may be Justified; but that's impossible: It therefore follows, that as he who doth Righteousness, is Righteous, as God is Righteous; so no farther is he like God, or Justifiable; for in whatsoever he derogates from the

1 John 3. 7, 8;

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the Works of that Faith, which is held in a Pure Conscience, he is no longer Righteous or Justify'd, but under Condemnation as a Transgressor, or disobedient Person to the Righteous Commandment; and if any would obtain the True State of Justification, let them circumspectly observe the Holy Guidings and Instructions of that Unction, to which the Apostle recommended the Ancient Churches, that thereby they may be led out of all Ungodliness, into Truth and Holiness; so shall they find Acceptance with the Lord, who has determined, *Never to Justifie the Wicked.*]

Refuted from Right Reason.

1. Because it's impossible for God to Justifie that which is both opposite and destructive to the Purity of His own Nature, as this Doctrine necessarily obliges Him to do, in accepting the Wicked, as not such, from the Imputation of another's Righteousness.

2. Since Man was Justified before God, whilst in his Native Innocency, and never Condemned, till he had err'd from that Pure State; he never can be Justified, whilst in the frequent Commission of that for which the Condemnation came; therefore to be Justify'd, his Redemption must be as intire as his Fall.

3. Because Sin came not by Imputation, but actual Transgression; for God did not condemn his Creature for what he did not, but what he did; therefore must the Righteousness be as Personal for Acceptance, otherwise these Two Things will necessarily follow: *First*; That he may be actually a Sinner, and yet not under the Curse. *Secondly*, That the Power of the *First Adam* to Death, was more prevalent than the Power of the *Second Adam* unto Life.

4. It's therefore contrary to Sound Reason, that if actual Sinning brought Death and Condemnation, any Thing besides actual Obedience unto Righteousness, should bring Life and Justification; for Death and Life, Condemnation and Justification, being vastly opposite, no Man can be actually Dead and imputatively alive; therefore this Doctrine so much contended for, carries this gross Absurdity with it, that a Man may be actually Sinful, yet imputatively Righteous; actually Judged and Condemned, yet imputatively Justified and Glorified. In short, he may be actually Damned, and yet imputatively Saved; otherwise it must be acknowledged, that Obedience to Justification ought to be as personally extensive, as was Disobedience to Condemnation: In which real, not imputative Sense, those various Terms of Sanctification, Righteousness, Resurrection, Life, Redemption, Justification, &c. are most infallibly to be understood.

5. Nor are those Words, *Impute, Imputed, Imputeth, Imputing*, used in Scripture by Way of Opposition, to that which is actual and inherent, as the Assertors of an *Imputative Righteousness* do by their Doctrine plainly intimate; but so much the contrary, as that they are never mentioned, but to express Men really and personally to be that which is imputed to them, whether as Guilty, as Remitted, or as Righteous: For Instance: *What Man Joever of the House of Israel, that killeth an Ox, and bringeth it not to the Door of the Tabernacle, to offer unto the Lord, Blood shall be imputed unto that Man, or charg'd upon him as Guilty thereof. And Shimei said unto the King, Let not my Lord impute Iniquity unto me, for thy Servant doth know that I have sinned.*

Lev. 17. 4.

2 Sam. 19. 18,
19, 20.

Rom. 5. 13.

Psal. 32. 2.

2 Cor. 5. 19.

6. *But Sin is not imputed where there is no Law.* From whence it is apparent that there could be no Imputation, or charging of Guilt upon any, but such as really were Guilty. Next, it is used about Remission: *Blessed is the Man unto whom the Lord imputeth not Iniquity*; or, as the foregoing Words have it, *Whose Transgression is forgiven*. Where the Non-Imputation doth not argue a Non-Reality of Sin, but the Reality of God's Pardon; for otherwise there would be nothing to forgive, nor yet a real Pardon, but only imputative, which according to the Sense of this Doctrine, I call *Imaginary*. Again, *God was in Christ reconciling the World unto himself,*

not

not imputing their Trespases unto them. Where also Non-Imputation, being a real Discharge for actual Trespases, argues an Imputation, by the Reason of Contraries, to be a real charging of actual Guilt. Lastly, it's used in Relation to Righteousness, *Was not Abraham Justified by Works when he offered Isaac? And by Works was Faith made Perfect, and the Scripture was fulfilled, which saith, Abraham believed God, and it was imputed unto him for Righteousness.* By which we must not conceive, as do the Dark Imputarians of this Age, that Abraham's Offering Personally was not a Justifying Righteousness, but that God was pleased to account it so; since God never accounts a Thing that which it is not; nor was there any Imputation of another's Righteousness to Abraham, but on the contrary, his Personal Obedience was the Ground of that Just Imputation; and therefore that any should be Justified from the Imputation of another's Righteousness, not inherent, or actually possessed by them, is both Ridiculous and Dangerous.—Ridiculous, since it is to say a Man is Rich to the Value of a Thousand Pounds, whilst he is not really or personally worth a Groat, from the Imputation of another who has it all in his Possession. Dangerous, because it begets a confident Persuasion in many People of their being Justified, whilst in Captivity to those Lusts, whose Reward is Condemnation; whence came that usual Saying amongst many Professors of Religion, *That God looks not on them as they are in themselves, but as they are in Christ*; not considering that none can be in Christ, who are not New Creatures, which those can't be reputed, who have not disrob'd themselves of their old Garments, but are still inmantled with the Corruptions of the Old Man.

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Jam. 2:21,22, 23.

Consequences Irreligious and Irrational.

1. It makes God guilty of what the Scriptures say is an Abomination, to wit, that he Justifieth the Wicked.

2. It makes him look upon Persons as they are not, or with Respect, which is unworthy of his most equal Nature.

3. He is hereby at Peace with the Wicked, (if justified whilst Sinners) who said, *There is no Peace to the Wicked.*

4. It does not only imply Communion with them here, in an imperfect State, but so to all Eternity, *For whom He Justified, them he also Glorified.* Therefore whom He Justified, whilst Sinners, them he also Glorified, whilst Sinners.

Rom. 8. 30.

5. It only secures from the Wages, not the Dominion of Sin, whereby something that is Sinful comes to be Justified, and that which defileth, to enter God's Kingdom.

6. It renders a Man Justified and Condemned, Dead and Alive, Redeemed and not Redeemed at the same Time, the one by an Imputative Righteousness, the other a Personal Unrighteousness.

7. It flatters Men, whilst subject to the World's Lusts, with a State of Justification, and thereby invalidates the very End of Christ's Appearance, which was to destroy the Works of the Devil, and take away the Sins of the World; a quite contrary Purpose than what the *Satisfactionists*, and *Imputarians* of our Times have imagined, viz. to satisfy for their Sins, and by his Imputed Righteousness, to represent them Holy in him, whilst Unholy in themselves: Therefore since it was to take away Sin, and destroy the Devil's Works, which were not in himself, for that *Holy One saw no Corruption*, consequently in Mankind; what can therefore be concluded more evidently true, than that such in whom Sin is taken away, and the Devil's Works undestroyed, are Strangers (notwithstanding their Conceits) to the very End and Purpose of Christ's Manifestation.

Conclusion, by Way of Caution.

THUS Reader, have I led thee through those three so generally applauded Doctrines, whose Confutation I hope, though thou hast run, thou hast read; and now I call the Righteous God of Heaven to bear me Record, that

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Socrat. Schol.
An. 355.
Conc. Sirm.
cap. 25, pag.
275.

that I have herein fought nothing below the Defence of His Unity, Mercy, and Purity, against the rude and impetuous Assaults of Tradition, Prefs and Pulpit, from whence I daily hear, what Rationally induceth me to believe, a Conspiracy is held by Counter-Plots, to obstruct the *Exaltation of Truth*, and to betray Evangelical Doctrines, to idle Traditions: But God will rebuke the Winds, and Destruction shall attend the Enemies of His Anointed. — Mistake me not, we never have disowned a Father, Word, and Spirit, which are ONE, but Men's Inventions: For, 1. Their *Trinity* has not so much as a Foundation in the Scriptures. 2. Its Original was Three Hundred Years after Christianity was in the World. 3. It having cost much Blood; in the Council of *Sirmium*, Anno 355, it was decreed, *That thenceforth the Controversie should not be remembred, because the Scriptures of God made no Mention thereof.* Why then should it be mentioned now with a Doubt, on all that will not bow to this abstruse Opinion. 4. And it doubtless hath occasioned Idolatry, witness the Popish Images of *Father, Son, and Holy Ghost*. 5. It scandalizeth *Turks, Jews, and Infidels*, and palpably obstructs their Reception of the Christian Doctrine. — Nor is there more to be said on the Behalf of the other Two; for I can boldly challenge any Person to give me one Scripture Phrase which does approach the *Doctrine of Satisfaction*, (much less the Name) considering to what Degree it's stretched; not that we do deny, but really confess, that *JESUS CHRIST*, in Life, Doctrine, and Death; fulfilled His Father's Will, and offered up a most Satisfactory Sacrifice, but not to pay God, or help him (as otherwise being unable) to save Men; and for a Justification by an *Imputative Righteousness*, whilst not Real, it's merely an Imagination, not a Reality, and therefore rejected; otherwise confess and known to be Justifying before God, because *there is no abiding in Christ's Love without keeping His Commandments*. I therefore caution thee in Love, of whatsoever Tribe, or Family of Religion thou mayst be, not longer to deceive thy self, by the over-sord Embraces of Humane Apprehensions, for Divine Mysteries; but rather be informed that God hath bestowed *A Measure of His Grace on thee and me, to shew us what is Good, that we may obey and do it*; which if thou diligently wilt observe, thou shalt be led out of all Unrighteousness, and in thy Obedience, shalt thou *Receive Power to become a Son of God*; in which happy Estate God only can be known by Men, and they know themselves to be Justified before him, whom experimentally to know, *by Jesus Christ, is Life Eternal*.

A P O S T R I P T of Animadversions, upon T. V's.

Contradictions, delivered in his Sermon from 1 John v. 4. at the Evening-Lecture in Spittle-Yard: For whatsoever is Born of God, Overcometh the World.

Doctrinuc.

Whatsoever Person is Born of | There is a Twofold Victory; the First
God, Overcometh the World. | Compleat, the Second Incomplete.

Animad.

This is as well a Contradiction to his Text and Doctrine, as to Common Sense; for besides that they neither of them say, *He that's Born of God, cannot perfectly overcome the World*, but much the contrary; I fain would understand his Intention by an incomplete Victory: If he means not such a one as is obtained by the Slaughter of every individual, but that which only does subdue the Force, and lead Captive their Enemies, yet will the Victory prove compleat; for if they be so far overcome as to be disarmed of farther Power to Mischief, the Dispute is properly determined: But whatsoever is incomplete, is but overcoming, or in the Way to Victory, and Victory is the completing of what was before imperfect.

Such overcome as are born again, who are in Christ, that have cast off the old Man, and know a change altogether new.

Worldly Lusts can't be extirpated out of God's People in this World.

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Contradict.

If Sin must have a Place in them, how can they be Born of God, and have a Place in Christ, or cast off the Old Man, and know a Change altogether New?

Animad.

God's Children are the greatest Conquerors; Alexander and Cæsar were Conquerors, but these overcome their Lusts.

God's Children can't perfectly overcome the Lusts of this World, they sometimes take them Captive.

Contradict.

What strange Divinity is this! That God's People should be Conquerors, and yet Captives; Overcome the World, and yet be Overcome thereby.

Animad.

Sin may Tyrannize over Believers.

But not have Dominion; it's in Captivity; it's in Chains.

Contradict.

Who is so absolutely injurious and incontrollable, as a Tyrant? And notwithstanding that he should have no Dominion, but be in Captivity, and in Chains, at best are *Bedlam Distinctions*, and consequently unworthy of any Man's Mouth that has a Share of Common Sense.

Animad.

You must Kill, or be Kill'd; either you must Overcome the World, or the World you.

Incompletely; He overcomes, when He breaks their Force, leads them Captive, and puts them into Chains; but they are not at all slain; they sometimes take him Captive.

Contradict.

If ye Fight, ye shall Overcome.

To Kill, or be Kill'd, admits no middle Way to escape; yet that both Sin and God's Children should lead one another Captive; and that he which Fights shall Overcome, and yet be in Danger of being led Captive, because completely a Conqueror, to me seems very strange Doctrine.

Animad.

However, he goes on to tell them, *Whosoever is Born of God, overcometh the Lusts of the World, and he that overcometh the Lusts of the World, overcomes the Devils of Hell; God's Children have to do with a Conquered Enemy.* Yet he would all this While be understood in an *incomplete Sense*; and to excite all to Fight for this *incomplete Victory*, he recommended to their Consideration, the excellent Rewards of Conquerors, that is, *To him that overcometh, will I give to Eat of the Tree of Life, the Hidden Manna. I will give him a White Stone, a New Name, Power over Nations, White Raiment: Yea, I will make him a Pillar in the Temple of my God; he shall go no more out, and I will grant him to Sit with me in my Throne.* Admirable Priviledges, I acknowledge! But are they promis'd to *incomplete Conquerors*? I judge not.

Reader, by this thou mayst be able to give a probable Conjecture of the rest; and as I have begun with him and his Co-Disputants, with them I'll end; who, notwithstanding all their Boasts and Calumnies against us, have so evaded those many Opportunities we have offered them by Letters, Verbal Messages, and Personal Visits, that had they any Zeal for their Principles, Love for their Reputation, or Conscience in their Promises, they would have been induc'd to a more direct and candid Treaty.

But as it hath occasioned the Publication of this little Treatise, so I am credibly inform'd, through the too busie and malicious Inquisition of some concerning it, (which have amounted to no less than positive Reports) it's currently discours'd, *How that a certain Quaker hath lately espoused the Controversie against R. F. and therein has perverted the Christian Religion, to that Degree, as plainly to deny Christ's coming in the Flesh; with much more than was fit to be said, or is fit to be answered.*

But, Reader, I shall ask no other Judge to clear me from that most uncharitable Accusation, since first I am altogether unacquainted with R. F. nor ever did design directly such a Thing, being unwilling to seek more Adversaries than what more nearly seek the Overthrow of TRUTH, although I doubt not but this plain and simple Treatise may prove some Confutation of his Sentiments.

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And lastly, as concerning Christ; although the slander is not new, yet nevertheless false: For I declare on the Behalf of that despised People, vulgarly called *Quakers*, the Grace, of which we testify, hath never taught us to acknowledge another God than he that's the *Father of all Things, who fills Heaven and Earth*: Neither to confess another Lord Jesus Christ, than he that appeared so many Hundred Years ago, *made of a Virgin, like unto us in all Things, Sin excepted*; or any other Doctrine than was by him declared and practised: Therefore let every Mouth be stopt for ever opening more, in Blasphemy against God's Innocent Heritage, who in Principle, Life and Death, bear an unanimous Testimony for the only True God, True Christ, and Heavenly Doctrine, which in their Vindication is openly attested by

WILLIAM PENN, Jun.

Innocency with Her open Face.

PRESENTED

By Way of APOLOGY for the Book entituled,
The Sandy Foundation Shaken.

To all Serious and Enquiring Persons, particularly the
Inhabitants of the City of LONDON.

By WILLIAM PENN, Jun.

*He that uttereth a Slander is a Fool, Prov. x. 18.
A false Ballance is an Abomination to the Lord, Prov. xi. 1.*

Jam. i. 17.

RELIGION, although there can be nothing of greater Concernment, nor which doth more essentially import the immortal Happiness of Men; yet such is the Calamity of the Age, that there is not any Thing they are less solicitous about, or serious in the Prosecution of, vainly imagining it to consist in the implicit Subscription to, and verbal Confession of Mens invented Traditions and Precepts, whilst they neglect that more Orthodox Definition of the Apostle *James*, (viz.) *Pure Religion and undefiled before God is, to visit the Fatherless, and to keep himself unspotted from the World*; and instead thereof, believe they are performing the best of Services, in sacrificing the Reputation, Liberty, Estate, if not Life it self of others to their own tenacious Conceptions; because perhaps, though Persons of more Virtue, they cannot in all Punctillioes correspond therewith; how much I have been made an Instance must needs be too notorious to any that hold the least Intelligence with common Fame, that scarce ever took more Pains to make the Proverb good, by proving her self a Lyar, than in my Concern; who have been most egregiously slander'd, revild and defam'd by *Pulpit, Press* and *Talk*, terming me a *Blasphemer, Seducer, Socinian, denying the Divinity of Christ the Saviour, and what not?* And all this about my late Answer to a Disputation with some *Presbyterians*; but how unjustly, it is the Business of this short Apology to shew, which had not been thus long retarded, if an Expectation first to have been brought upon my Examination had not required a Suspence; and if I shall acquit my self from

from the injurious Imputations of my Adversaries, I hope the Cry will have an End; to which Purpose, let but my Innocency have your hearing in her own Defence, who, as the never can detract from her Intentions in what she really hath done; so will she as easily disprove her Enemies, in manifesting their Accusations to be fictitious: Judge not before you read, neither believe any further than you see.

I. That which I am credibly inform'd to be the greatest Reason for my Imprisonment, and that Noise of Blasphemy, which hath pierced so many Ears of late, is, *my denying the Divinity of Christ, and divesting him of his Eternal Godhead*, which most busily hath been suggested as well to those in Authority, as maliciously insinuated amongst the People; wherefore let me beseech you to be impartial, and considerate in the Petusal of my Vindication, which being in the Fear of the Almighty God, and the Simplicity of Scripture Dialect presented to you, I hope my Innocency will appear beyond a Scruple. The Proverbs which, as most agree, intend *Christ the Saviour*, speak in this Manner; *By me Kings reign, and Princes decree Justice; I (Wisdom) lead in the Midst of the Paths of Judgment: I was set up from Everlasting; to which Paul's Words allude, unto them which are called (we preach) Christ the Power of God, and the Wisdom of God; from whence I conclude Christ the Saviour to be God; for otherwise God would not be himself; since if Christ be distinct from God, and yet God's Power and Wisdom, God would be without his own Power and Wisdom; but inasmuch as it is impossible God's Power and Wisdom should be distinct or divided from himself, it reasonably follows, that Christ, who is that Power and Wisdom is not distinct from God, but intirely that very same God.*

Next, the Prophets, *David and Isaiah* speak thus, *The Lord is my Light and my Salvation. I will give thee for a Light unto the Gentiles; and speaking to the Church, for the Lord shall be thine Everlasting Light; to which the Evangelist adds, concerning Christ, That was the true Light which lighteth every Man that cometh into the World. God is Light, and in him is no Darkness at all; from whence I assert the Unity of God and Christ, because though nominally distinguished, yet essentially the same Divine Light; for if Christ be that Light, and that Light be God, then is Christ God; or if God be that Light, and that Light be Christ, then is God Christ. Again, And the City had no need of the Sun, for the Glory of God did lighten it, and the Lamb (Christ) is the Light thereof, by which the Oneness of the Nature of these Lights plainly appears; for since God is not God without his own Glory, and that his Glory lightens, (which it could never do if it were not Light) and that the Lamb, or Christ is that very same Light, what can follow, but that Christ the Light, and God the Light are ONE Pure and Eternal Light?*

Next, from the Word *Saviour*, its manifest, *I even I am the Lord, and besides me there is no Saviour: And thou shalt know no God but me, for there is no Saviour besides me. And Mary said, my Spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour: And the Samaritans said unto the Woman, Now we know that this is indeed the Christ the Saviour of the World. According to His Grace made manifest by the appearing of our Saviour Jesus Christ. Simon Peter to them that have obtained like precious Faith with us, through the Righteousness of God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ. For therefore we suffer Reproach because we trust in the Living God, who is the Saviour of all Men: To the only wise God our Saviour be Glory, &c.*

From which I conclude Christ to be God; for if none can save, or be stiled properly a Saviour but God, and yet that Christ is said to save, and properly called a Saviour, it must needs follow, that Christ the Saviour is God.

Lastly, *In the Beginning was the (ΛΟΓΟΣ) Word*, (which the Greeks sometimes understood for Wisdom and Divine Reason) and the Word was with God, and the Word was God: All Things were made by him, and without him was not any Thing made that was made. For by him were all Things created that are in Heaven, and that are in Earth. He is before all Things, and by him all Things consist. Upholding all Things by the Word of his Power, &c.

*

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Where-

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Prov. 8. 15;
20, 23.

1 Cor. 1. 24.

Psal. 27. 1;
Isa. 49. 6.
and c. 6c. 20cJohn 1. 9.
1 John 1. 5.

Rev. 21. 23;

Isa. 43. 11.
Hos. 13. 4. 3
Luke 1. 47.John 4. 42.
2 Tim. 1. 9,
10.
2 Pet. 1. 141 Tim. 4. 10.
Jude ver. 25c

John 1. 1. 3.

Col. 1. 16, 17

Heb. 1. 3. 10
John 1. 14.

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Wherefore I am still confirmed in the Belief of *Christ the Saviour's Divinity*; for he that made all Things, and by whom they consist and are upheld, because before all Things; he was not made nor upheld by another, and consequently is God: Now that this *ΛΟΓΟΣ*, or Word that was made *Flesh*, or *Christ the Light, Power and Wisdom of God, and Saviour of Men*, hath made all Things, and is he by whom they only consist and are upheld, because he was before them, is most evident from the recited Passages of Scripture; therefore he was not made, nor is he upheld by any other Power than his own, and consequently is truly God: In short, this conclusive Argument for the Proof of *Christ the Saviour's being God*, should certainly persuade all sober Persons of my Innocency, and my Adversaries Malice, He that is the *Everlasting Wisdom, the Divine Power, the true Light, the only Saviour, the creating Word of all Things, (whether visible or invisible) and their Upholder by his own Power, is without Contradiction God*; but all these Qualifications and divine Properties are by the concurrent Testimonies of Scripture ascribed to the Lord *Jesus Christ*; therefore, without a Scruple, I call and believe him really to be the mighty God. And for a more ample Satisfaction, let but my * Reply to *J. Clapham* be perused, in which *Christ's Divinity and Eternity* is very fully asserted.

* See Vol. 2.
Guide Mistaken.

Judge then impartial Readers, (to whom I appeal in this Concern) whether my Christian Reputation hath not been unworthily traduced; and that those several Persons who have been posting out their Books against me (whilst a close Prisoner) have not been beating the Air, and fighting with their own Shadows, in supposing what I never thought, much less writ of, to be the Intention of my Book; and then as furiously have fastened on me their own Conceits, expecting I should feel the smart of every Blow, who thus far am no ways interested in their Heat.

As for my being a *Socinian*, I must confess I have read of one *Socinus*, of (that they call) a noble Family in *Sene in Italy*, who about the Year 1574, being a young Man, voluntarily did abandon the Glories, Pleasures and Honours of the great Duke of *Tuscany's Court at Florence*, (that noted Place for all worldly Delicacies) and became a perpetual Exile for his Conscience, whose Parts, Wisdom, Gravity and just Behaviour made him the most famous with the *Polonian and Transylvanian Churches*; but I was never baptized into his Name, and therefore deny that reproachful Epithet; and if in any Thing I acknowledge the Verity of his Doctrine, it is for the Truth's Sake, of which, in many Things, he had a clearer Prospect than most of his Contemporaries; but not therefore a *Socinian*, any more than a Son of the *English-Church*, whilst esteemed a *Quaker*, because I justify many of her Principles, since the Reformation, against the *Roman Church*.

II. As for the Business of Satisfaction, I am prevented by a Person whose Reputation is generally great amongst the Protestants of these Nations; for since the Doctrine against which I mostly levelled my Arguments, was, the Impossibility of God's forgiving Sin upon Repentance, without Christ's paying his Justice, by suffering infinite Vengeance and Eternal Death for Sins past, present, and to come, he plainly in his late * Discourse about Christ's Sufferings, against *Crellius*, acknowledges me no less, by granting, upon a new State of the Controversy, both the Possibility of God's pardoning Sins, as Debts, without such a rigid Satisfaction, and the Impossibility of Christ's so suffering for the World; reflecting closely upon those Persons, as giving so just an Occasion to the Church's Adversaries to think they triumph over her Faith, whilst it is only over their Mistakes, who argue with more Zeal than Judgment: Nay, one of the main Ends which first induced me to that Discourse, I find thus deliver'd by him, namely, If they did believe Christ came into the World to reform it, 'That the Wrath of God is now revealed from Heaven against all Unrighteousness, that his Love which is shown to the World, is to deliver them from the Hand of their Enemies, that they might serve him in Righteousness and Holiness all the Days of their Lives, they could never imagine that Salvation is entailed by the Gospel upon a mighty Confidence, or vehement Persuasion of what Christ hath done and suffered

* Stillingsfleet
contra Crell.
pag. 269, 270.
271, 272,
273, 274.

'suffered for them;' thus doth he confess upon my Hypothesis, or Proposition what I mainly contend for; and however positively I may reject or deny my Adversaries unscriptural and imaginary Satisfaction; let all know this, that I pretend to know no other Name by which Remission, Attonement and Salvation can be obtained, but *Jesus Christ the Saviour, who is the Power and Wisdom of God*, what Apprehensions soever People may have entertained concerning me.

III. As for Justification by an imputed Righteousness, I still say, That whoever believes in Christ shall have Remission and Justification; but then it must be such a Faith as can no more live without Works, than a Body without a Spirit; wherefore I conclude, that true Faith comprehends Evangelical Obedience; and here the same * Dr. Stillingfleet comes in to my Relief (tho' it's not wanting) by a plain Assertion of the Necessity of Obedience (*viz.*) such who make no other Condition of the Gospel but believing, ought to have a great Care to keep their Hearts sounder than their Heads; thereby intimating the grand Imperfection and Danger of such a Notion; and therefore (God Almighty bears me Record) my Design was nothing less, or more, than to wrest those beloved and sin-pleasing Principles out of the Hands, Heads and Hearts of People, that by the fond Persuasion of being justified from the personal Righteousness of another, without relation to their own Obedience, they might not sin on upon Trust, till the Arrest of Eternal Vengeance should irrecoverably overtake them; that all might be induced to an earnest Pursuit after Holiness, by a circumspect Obedervance to God's Holy Spirit, without which none shall ever see the Lord. And (to shut up my Apology for religious Matters) that all may see the Simplicity, Scripture Doctrine, and Phrase of my Faith, in the most important Matters of Eternal Life, I shall here subjoin a short Confession.

I sincerely own, and unfeignedly believe (by virtue of the sound Knowledge and Experience received from the Gift of that Holy Unction, and Divine Grace inspired from on High) in One Holy, Just, Merciful, Almighty and Eternal God, who is the Father of all Things; that appeared to the Holy Patriarchs and Prophets of old, at sundry Times, and in divers Manners, And in ONE Lord Jesus Christ, the Everlasting Wisdom, Divine Power, True Light, only Saviour and Preserver of all, the same One, Holy, Just, Merciful, Almighty and Eternal God, who in the Fullness of Time took, and was manifested in the Flesh, At which Time he preached (and his Disciples after him) the Everlasting Gospel of Repentance, and Promise of Remission of Sins, and Eternal Life to all that heard and obeyed; who said, he that is with you (in the Flesh) shall be in you, (by the Spirit) and though he left them, (as to the Flesh) yet not comfortless, for he would come to them again, (in the Spirit :) For a little while, and they should not see him (as to the Flesh;) again, a little while and they should see him (in the Spirit :) for the Lord (Jesus Christ) is that Spirit, a Manifestation whereof is given to every one to profit withal, In which Holy Spirit I believe, as the same Almighty and Eternal God, who, as in those Times be ended all Shadows, and became the infallible Guide to them that walked therein, by which they were adopted Heirs and Co-heirs of Glory; so am I a living Witness, that the same Holy, Just, Merciful, Almighty and Eternal God, is now, as then, (after this tedious Night of Idolatry, Superstition and humane Inventions that hath overspread the World) gloriously manifested to discover and save from all Iniquity, and to conduct unto the Holy Land of Pure and Endless Peace; in a Word, to tabernacle in Men: And I also firmly believe, that without repenting and forsaking of past Sins, and walking in Obedience to this Heavenly Voice, which would guide into all Truth, and establish there, Remission and Eternal Life can never be obtained, but unto them that fear his Name, and keep his Commandments, they, and they only shall have Right unto the Tree of Life, for whose Name's sake I have been made willing to relinquish and forsake all the vain Fashions, enticing Pleasures, alluring Honours and glittering Glories of this transitory World, and readily to accept the Portion of a Fool, from this deriding Generation, and become a Man of Sorrows, and

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Jam. 2. 26.

* Id. p. 164;
165, 166.

1 Cor. 8. 5, 6;

Heb. 1. 1.

1 Cor. 8. 6;

John 1. 14.
1 Tim. 3. 16.
Mat. 4. 17.Luke 24. 47.
John 14. 17;
18.
Ch. 16. 16.2 Cor. 3. 17.
1 Cor. 1. 7.Rom. 8. 14;
17.Rev. 21. 3;
Prov. 23. 13.Luke 14. 33.
Rev. 21. 27.
Ch. 22. 14.Mat. 10. 37;
38, 39.

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1 Pet. 4. 14.

a perpetual Reproach to my Familiars; yea, and with the greatest Chearfulness can obsignate and confirm (with no less Seal, than the Loss of whatsoever this doting World accounts dear) this faithful Confession, having my Eye fixt upon a more enduring Substance, and lasting Inheritance; and being most infallibly assured, that when Time shall be no more, I shall (if faithful hereunto) possess the Mansions of Eternal Life, and be received into his Everlasting Habitation of Rest and Glory.

IV. Lastly, It may not be unreasonable to observe, that however industrious some (and those Dissenters too) have been to represent me as a Person disturbing the civil Peace) I have not violated any truly Fundamental Law which relates to external Property and good Behaviour, and not to religious Apprehensions, it being the constant Principle of my self and Friends, to maintain good Works, and keep our Consciences void of Offence, paying active or passive Obedience, suitable to the meek Example of our Lord Jesus Christ; nor would I have any ignorant, how forward I was by Messages, Letters and Visits, to have determined this debate in a sober and select Assembly, notwithstanding the rude Entertainment we had met with before; but contrary to their own Appointments our Adversaries fail'd us, which necessitated me to that Defence; and finding the Truth so prest with Slander, I cannot but say I saw my just Call to her Relief: But, alas! How have those two or three extemporary Sheets been tost, tumbled, and torn on all Hands, yea, aggravated to a monstrous Design, even the Subversion of the Christian Religion, than which there could be nothing more repugnant to my Principle and Purpose; wherefore how very intemperate as well as unjust have all my Adversaries been in their Revilings, Slanders and Defamations? Using the most opprobrious Terms of * *Seducer, Heretick, Blasphemer, Deceiver, Socinian, Pelagian, Simon Magus, impiously robbing Christ of his Divinity, for whom the Vengeance of the Great Day is reserved, &c.* Nor have these Things been whispered, but, in one Book and Pulpit after another, have more or less been thundred out against me, as if some Bull had lately been arrived from Rome; and all this acted under the foul Pretence of Zeal and Love to Jesus Christ, whose meek and gentle Example always taught it for a Principal Mark of True Christianity, to suffer the most outrageous Injuries, but never to return any; nay, if my Adversaries would but be just and constant to themselves, how can they offer to conspire my Destruction upon a Religious Ground, who either are themselves under a present Limitation, or have been formerly by the *Papists*: Tell me, I pray, did Luther, that grand Reformer, whom you so much Reverence, justly demand from the Emperor at the Diet of Worms (where he was summon'd to appear) that none should sit judge upon his Doctrines but the Scripture, and in case they should be cast, that no other Sentence should be past upon him, than what Gamaliel offered to the Jewish Council, if it were not of God it would not stand; and if you will not censure him who first of all arraigned the Christian World (so called) at the Bar of his private Judgment, (that had so many hundred Years soundly slept, without so much as giving one considerable Shrug or Turn, during that tedious winter Night of dark Apostacy, but justifie his Proceedings) can you so furiously assault others? But above all, you, who refuse Conformity to others, and that have been writing these eight Years for Liberty of Conscience, and take it at this very Season by an indulgent Connivance; what pregnant Testimonies do you give of your Unwillingness to grant that to others you so earnestly beg for your selves? Doth it not discover your Injustice, and plainly express what only want of Power hinders you to act? But of all Protestants in general I demand, Do you believe that Persecution to be christian in your selves, that you condemned for Antichristian in the *Papists*? You judg'd it a Weakness in their Religion, and is it a cogent Argument in yours? Nay, is it not the readiest Way to enhance and propagate the Reputation of what you would depress? If you were displeased at their assuming an Intallibility, will you believe it impossible in your selves to err? Have Whitaker, Reynolds, Laud, Owen, Baxter, Stillfleet, Poole, &c, disarm'd the Romanists

* See T. Vincent's late railing Piece against the Quakers, Also T. Danfon's and Dr. Owen's.
Mar. 5. 39. 40

Coun. Trent.
P. 14.

nists of these inhumane Weapons, that you might employ them against your inoffensive Country-Men? let the Example and holy Precepts of Christ dissuade you, who came not to destroy, but save; and soberly reflect upon his Equal Law of doing as you would be done unto. Remember I have not dethron'd a Divinity, subverted Faith, made void Obedience, nor frustrated the Hope of an Eternal Redemption; much less have I injured your Persons, or in any Thing deviated from that *bede, bederor* and *overmyght*, or Holy Principle, so much insisted on by Philosophers and Lawyers as the Original of good Laws, and Life: No, your own Consciences shall advocate on my behalf. Let it suffice then, that we who are nick-nam'd Quakers have under every Revolution of Power and Religion been the most reviled, contemned and persecuted, as if God indeed had set us forth in these last Days as a Spectacle to the World, to Angels and to Men; and treated as if, by being what we are, our common Right and Interest in humane Societies were forfeited; neither accept that for a true Measure of our Life and Doctrines, which hath been taken by the ill-will or ignorance of others; but rather make an impartial Examination, that what you judge may be from what you know, and not from what you hear at Second Hand; and then we shall as little question your just Opinion of our Innocency, as we have too much been made sensible of the sad Effects that follow an ignorant and unadvised Zeal; for so monstrously fond are some of their Perswasions, and doting on the Patrons of them, that they seldom have Discretion, much less religious-Desires to consider how true or false another Religion is, or what may be the Consequence of its Toleration; but with a Fury, not inferior to their Ignorance, cry, *Crucifixe, Crucifixe*; and *Pharisee-like*; out of Pretence of Honour and Service done to God Almighty, and the Memory of his Holy Prophets, stick not to persecute his beloved Son, and righteous Servants; so Cruel, Blind, and obstinate is Persecution: Be therefore advised in the Words of that meek Example Jesus Christ, *Call not for Fire any more; let the Tares grow with the Wheat; neither employ that Sword any more, which was commanded to be sheathed so many Hundred Years ago* (suppose we were Enemies to the True Religion; but have a Care you are not upon one of Saul's Errands to Damascus, and helping the mighty against God and His Anointed;) and rather chuse by fair and moderate Debates (not Penalties ratified by Imperial Decrees) to determine religious Differences; so will you at least obtain Tranquility, which may be called a Civil-Unity. But if you are resolved Severity shall take its Course, in this; our Case can never change, nor Happiness abate, for no humane Edict can possibly deprive us of his glorious Presence, who is able to make the dismal'st Prisons so many Receptacles of Pleasure, and whose Heavenly Fellowship doth unspeakably replenish our solitary Souls with divine Consolation; by whose Holy, Meek and Harmless Spirit I have been taught most freely to forgive, and not less earnestly to solicit the Temporal and Eternal Good of all my Adversaries: Farewel.

1 Cor. 4. 9.

WILLIAM PENN, Jun.

A Questionary POSTSCRIPT.

WHERE doth the Scripture say, That CHRIST suffered an Eternal Death, and Infinite Vengeance? For did not CHRIST Rise the Third Day? And is not Infinite Vengeance and Eternal Death without End? And doth not GOD say He was well-pleased with His SON before His Death? And was not His Offering acceptable? And did not the Apostle say, That the Saints were accepted in CHRIST that was God's Beloved? And this was after CHRIST Died and Rose; and GOD was said to be well-pleased with His SON, both before He suffered, in His Suffering, and after He suffered, though displeased with those that caused Him to suffer.

No Cross, No Crown.

A DISCOURSE

Shewing the
Nature and Discipline
 OF THE
Holy Cross of Christ :

And that
 The *Denyal* 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*.

In Two PARTS.

By WILLIAM PENN, *Jun.*

*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 ix. 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.*

The PREFACE.

READER,

THE Great Business of Man's Life is, to answer the End for which he Lives ; and that is, To Glorifie 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 inquire into his own Being, its Original, Duty and End ; chusing rather to dedicate his Days (the Steps he should make to Blessedness) to gratifie 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

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 incapable 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 Thy Self, and take a View of the Condition of thy Soul; for Christ hath given thee Light with which to do it: Search carefully and thoroughly, thy Life is upon it; thy Soul is at Stake. 'Tis but once to be done; if thou abusest thy self in it, the Loss is irreparable; the World is not Price enough to ransom thee: Wilt thou then for such a World, be-late thy self, over-stay 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? 'Tis Tophet, 'tis 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 own Salvation! Ay, 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 compar'd to a Fire, and the Day of Salvation to an Oven; and CHRIST Himself to a Refiner of Gold, and a Purifier of Silver.

Come, Reader, hearken to me a While; I seek thy Salvation; that's my Plot; thou wilt forgive me. A Refiner is come near thee, His Grace hath appear'd 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: Ay, 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 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 Re-printed with great Enlargements of Matter and Testimonies, that Thou, Reader, may'st be won to Christ; and if won already, brought nearer to Him. 'Tis 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. 'Tis a Debt I have long ow'd, 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: My 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 Cove-

tousness, 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.

Life, p. 6.

No Cross, No Crown.

The Contents of the First Chapter.

Chap. I.

§. 1. *Of the Necessity of the Cross of CHRIST in general; yet the little Regard Christians have to it.* §. 2. *The Degeneracy of Christendom from Purity to Lust, and Moderation to Excess.* §. 3. *That Worldly Lusts and Pleasures are become the Care and Study of Christians, so that they have advanced upon the Impiety of Infidels.* §. 4. *This Desection a Second Part to the Jewish Tragedy, and worse than the First: The Scorn Christians have cast on their Saviour.* §. 5. *Sin is of one Nature all the World over; Sinners are of the same Church, the Devil's Children: Profession of Religion in Wicked Men, makes them but the worse.* §. 6. *A Wolf is not a Lamb, a Sinner cannot be (whilst such) a Saint.* §. 7. *The Wicked will persecute the Good; this False Christians have done to the True, for Non-compliance with their Superstitions: The strange Carnal Measures False Christians have taken of Christianity; the Danger of that Self-Seduction.* §. 8. *The Sense of That, has obliged me to this Discourse, for a Dissuasive against the World's Lusts, and an Invitation to take up the Daily Cross of CHRIST, as the Way left us by Him to Blessedness.* §. 9. *Of the Self-Condemnation of the Wicked; that Religion and Worship are comprised, in Doing the Will of God. The Advantage Good Men have upon Bad Men in the last Judgment.* §. 10. *A Supplication for Christendom, that She may not be rejected in that Great Alliance of the World. She is exhorted to consider, what Relation She bears to CHRIST; if Her Saviour, how Saved, and from what: What Her Expectance is of that Great Work. That Christ came to Save from Sin, and Wrath by Consequence: Not Save Men in Sin, but from it, and so the Wages of it.*

CHAP. I.

§. I. **T**HOU' the Knowledge and Obedience of the Doctrine of the Cross of CHRIST, be of infinite Moment to the Souls of Men; for that is the only Door to True Christianity, and that Path the Ancients ever trod to Blessedness: Yet, with extream 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 Profess'd 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,

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 usurp'd by the old Heathen Nature and Life, makes the Professors of it but True Heathens in Disguise. For tho' 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 tho' they have different Objects, to which they do direct their Prayers, that Adoration in both is but Forc'd 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 express'd and compriz'd 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.

1663.

Chap. I.

1 John 2. 16.

§. 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 deterr'd, 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, Uncleaness, 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 embitter'd 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 Extream 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 Christian's Cruelty lasts longer: They have first, with Judas profess'd 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 the Epistle to the Hebrews tells us, *Crucifie to themselves the Son of God afresh, and put him to open Shame: 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.* 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 Crucifie 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 Liar 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 one Wicked Root; all of Kin. They have but one Father, the Devil, as Christ said to the Professing

Heb. 6. 6.
Rev. 11. 8.

Mat. 27.

John 8. 34,
to 45.

1668.

Chap. 1.

Rom. 6. 16.

1 John 3. 7.
8.

Mat. 26. 49.

Mat. 25. 24.

Isa. 43. 24.

Mat. 7. 16.

Rev. 17. 5.

Gal. 4. 29.

Rev. 6. 9.

Jews, the Visible Church of that Age: He slighted their Pretensions to *Abraham* and *Moses*, and plainly told them, *That he that committed 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: And, saith *John* to the Church of Old, *Let no Man deceive you; he that committeth Sin is of the Devil*. Was *Judas* ever the better Christian, for crying, *Hail Master*, and Kissing Christ? By no Means: They were the Signal of his Treachery; the Token given, by which the *Bloody Jews* should know and take Him. He call'd Him *Master*, but betray'd Him; he Kissed, but Sold Him to be Kill'd: This is the Upshot of the False Christians Religion. If a Man ask them, *Is Christ your Lord?* He 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?* Requite 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 a specious Profession goes; and then Sell Him, to gratifie the Passion that they most indulge. Thus, as God said of Old, they *Make him Serve with their Sins*, and for their Sins too.

§. VI. Let no Man deceive his own Soul; *Grapes are not gathered of Thorns, nor Figs of Thistles*: A *Wolf* is not a *Sheep*, nor is a *Vulture* a *Dove*. What Form, People, or Church soever thou art of, 'tis the Truth of God to Mankind, that they which 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*; 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 *Mysical 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, 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 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. 'Tis 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. Therefore the *Slain Witnesses*, and *Blood of the Souls under the Altar*, are found within the Walls of this *Mysical 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 her self 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

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 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 *Lezhargy*, and undeceives their poor wretched Souls with the Anguish of the Wicked, as the Reward of their Work.

S. 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, redeem'd by, and interested in Him, are *New Creatures*. They have received a *New Will*, such as does the Will of God, not their own. They *Pray in Truth*, and don't 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*, and make Christ their Eternal Treasure. *New Faith*, such as overcomes the Snares and Temptations of the *World's Spirit in themselves, or as it appears through others*: And lastly, *New Works*, not of a *Superstitious Contrivance*, or of *Humane 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; 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*, 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*.

S. IX. And the Truth is, the Religion of the Wicked is a Lye: *There is no Peace*, saith the Prophet, *to the Wicked*. Indeed there can be none, they are reprov'd in their own Consciences, and condemn'd 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 Complement, like him that said, *He would go, and did not*. 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

Gal. 6. 15;

Col. 3. 1, 2, 3;

1 John 5. 45;

Gal. 5. 22, 23;

Rom. 8,

Isa. 48. 22;

Mat. 21. 30;

1668.

Chap. I.

1 John 3. 20.

1 Pet. 4. 18.

Mat. 7. 23.

Numb. 23. 10.

Mat. 25. 34.

Gal. 6. 7.

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* in that Obscurity, which shall terrify their *Guiltty 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*: 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. 'Tis at that Day, proud and luxurious Christians shall learn, that *God is no Respeller 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?* 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*. As if He had said, *Get you gone, you Evil Doers; though you have profest 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 Worship'd, and the Evil World that you have so much coveted and ador'd: 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 blow it down; and woful will the Fall thereof be. Oh, 'tis now, that the Righteous have the Better of the Wicked! Which made an Apostle cry in old Time, *Let me Die the Death of the Righteous, and let my Last End be like unto his*. For the Sentence is chang'd, 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, 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 endur'd 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 Profession 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, canst thou be His Servant, and never serve Him? *Be not deceived, such as thou Scest, shalt thou Reap*: 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.

'Tis 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

Power of Christ in 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 Fleishly 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 His Work: *And thou shalt call His Name JESUS, for He shall Save His People from their Sins.* And Lo (said John of Christ) *the Lamb of God that takes away the Sin of the World!* 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, that Sin against the Knowledge He has given them of His Will; or do that they know they ought not to do.

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Chap. I.

Mat. 1. 21.

John 1. 29.

C H A P. II.

Chap. II.

§. 1. By this Christendom may see Her Lapse, how foul it is; and next, the worse for Her Pretense to 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. §. 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 thy self 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 set 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. Now, behold the Remedy! An infallible Cure, one of God's appointing; a Precious Elixir indeed, that never fail'd; 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 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 be with me.* What Door can this be, but that of the Heart of Man?

Ezek. 18. 20;
23, 24.

Mat. 1. 21.

Luke 1. 77.

Rom. 3. 25.

Heb. 9. 24,

to 28.

John 2. 1, 2.

Acts 17. 27.

Rev. 3. 20.

§. IV.

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Chap. II.

§. 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, tho' 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 yet 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
 1 John 8. 22, the *Jews*, *If you believe not that I am He, ye shall Die in your Sins*; and
 24. *whither I go, ye cannot come*. 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
 John 1. 12, 13. us, *To them gave He Power to become the Sons of God, which are Born not of Blood, nor of the Will of the Flesh, nor of the Will of Man, but of God*. 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 Sanctification of His Spirit and Word of Life in them*. And such were ever well vers'd 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 dye 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. 'Tis said of old, *He did not many mighty Works in some Places, because the People believed not in him*. 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 mortifie their Lusts, controul their Affections, resist Evil Motions, deny themselves, and overcome the World in its most enticing 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 to 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 True Testimony of receiving him; and therefore it is enjoyed by him, as the great Token of Discipleship, *Whoever will be my Disciple, let him take up his Daily Cross and follow me*.

Mat. 16. 24.

This, *Christendom* is That thou hast so much wanted, and the Want of which has prov'd 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 this *Spiritual Lapse* and Malady that has befallen thee.

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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.

S. VI. The Work of Apostleship, we are told by a Prime Labourer in it, was, *To turn People from Darknes to Light, and from the Power of Satan unto God.* That is, instead of yielding to the Temptations and Motions of Satan, who is the Prince of Darknes, (or Wickednes, 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 re-proves them when they give Way thereunto; that so they might become the *Children of Light, and walk in the Path of Righteousnes.* 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 Securiy of Sin and Ignorance of God, but awake to Righteousnes, that the *Lord Jesus* might give them Life: That is, that they might leave off Sinning, deny themselves the Pleasure of Wickednes, 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, Lovelesly, very Strangers to the Work of his Spirit in their Hearts, being captivated by *Fleshy Lusts*) were inwardly struck and quickned by the *Word of Life*, and made Sensible of the Coming and Power of the Lord Jesus Christ, as a Judge and Law-giver in their Souls, by whose *Holy Light and Spirit*, the hidden Things of Darknes 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 thence-forward 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. 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.* They had now quitted their old Masters, *the World, the Flesh, and the Devil*, and deliver'd 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*; 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 crush Sin in its Conceptions, yea, in its Temptations. So that they (as the Apostle *John* advised them) kept themselves, *That the Evil One touched them not.*

For the *Light*, which Satan cannot endure, and with which *Christ* had *Enlightned* them, discover'd 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 allowed 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 pass'd 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,*

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Chap. II.

Acts 26. 18.

Rom. 8. 2

1st. 29. 13

Tit. 2. 11-12

1 John 5. 18.

Rom. 2. 28,
29.

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Heart, in the Spirit, and not in the Letter, whose Praise is not of Man, but of God.

§. 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.

Heb. 11. 32,
to the End.
Isa. 43. 2.
Dan 3. 12, to
the End.

And while this Integrity dwelt with Christians, mighty was the Presence and invincible that Power that attended them: *It quenched Fire, daunted Lyons, turned the Edge of the Sword, out-fac'd Instruments of Cruelty, Convinced Judges, and Converted Executioners.* In fine, the Ways their Enemies took to destroy, increas'd them; and by the deep Wisdom of God, they were 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*, *Complemental 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. Their Cate 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: Not with *Balls and Masks*, with *Play-Houses*, *Dancing*, *Feasting*, and *Gaming*: No, no: 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 *Cesar'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*.

Chap. 6. 16,
to the End.

Eph. 5. 15, 16.

§. VIII. By this short Draught of what *Christendom* was, thou may'st see *O Christendom*, what thou art not, and consequently what thou ought'st 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, Lying, 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*, that 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 searcht the most inward Parts of thy Belly, (setting thy Sins in Order before thee, and repriving thee for them, not suffering one unfruitful Thought, Word or Work of Darknes, to go unjudged) So when thou didst begin to disregard that Light and Grace, to be careless of 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.

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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'st 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 Humane, Pompous Worship is brought in again, and a Worldly Priesthood, Temple and Altar are re-established. Now it was that the *Sons of God once more saw the Daughters of Men were fair*: 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 Mumfimus*, a dull and insipid *Formality*, made up of Corporal *Bowings*, and *Cringsings*, *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 *fashioned'st* it to thy Liking; forgetting what the holy Prophet said, *The Sacrifice of the Wicked is an Abomination to the Lord*, and what *James* saith, *Ye ask, and ye receive not, (Why?) because ye ask amiss*; that is, with an Heart that is not right, but *insincere, unmortified*, not in the 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 thy self 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 thy self 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*. Nothing short of this will do; mark that, for as it is sufficient, so it is 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!*

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Chap. 1.

Gen. 6. 2:

Prov. 15. 8.
James 4. 3.

Mat. 15. 21.
Mark 8. 34.
Luke 14. 27.

Hos. 13. 14.
1 Cor. 15.
55.

§. 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 born? Within, where the Lusts are, there they must be crucified.* §. 4. *Experience teaches every one this. to be sure Christ suffers 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 born? 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 born?*

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 express'd.

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 Treat.

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 crosseth the Carnal Wills of Men, and gives a Contradiction to their corrupt Affections, and that constantly opposeth it self to the Inordinate and Fleishly 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 easie 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, tho' 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 walk'd 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; embrac'd by none, if they may be believed, but half-witted People, of stingy and singular Tempers, affected with the Hypochondry, and oppress'd 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 that 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,

Adul-

Adulteries, Fornications, Murders, Thefts, Covetousness, Wickedness, Deceit, Lasciviousness, an evil Eye, Blasphemy, Pride, Foolishness: All these Evils come from within, and defile the Man.

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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 dye: 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, 'tis all from *within*.

§. IV. Experience teaches every Son and Daughter of Adam an Assent to this; for the Enemy's Temptations are ever directed to the *Mind*, which is within: If they take not, the Soul sins not; if they are embrac'd, Lust is presently conceived, (that is, inordinate Desires) *Lust conceived, brings forth Sin; and Sin finish'd, (that is, acted) brings forth Death.* Here is both the Cause and the Effect, the very *Genealogy of Sin*, its Rise and End.

James 1. 15.

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.* When the Jews would have defam'd 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 into a strong Man's House, and spoil his Goods, till he first bind the strong Man.* Which, as it shews the Contrariety that was between *Beelzebub*, and the Power by which he dispossest'd 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 easie to know, where the *Cross* must be taken up, by which alone the *strong Man* must be bound, his Goods spoil'd, and his Temptations resisted, this is, *within*, in the Heart of Man.

1 John 3. 8.

Mark 3. 27.

§. V. But in the next Place, *How, and in what Manner is the Cross to be daily born?*

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 it's Counsel, it gives them Power 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, cheerfully 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 *straight*, 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 easie Interpretation to that hard saying, *Flesh and Blood cannot inherit the Kingdom of God*: 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, 'tis necessary first to suffer.

Mat. 24. 42.
ch. 25. 13.
ch. 26. 38-42.
Phil. 2. 12.

1 Th. 3. 5.
1 Cor. 15. 50

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Chap. IV.

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§. 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 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 Consentment.* §. 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 **B**UT Fourthly, *What is the great Work and Business of the Cross respecting Man?*

Ans. §. 1. 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 it self, so of sore Contradiction to the World: Little understood, but less embrac'd by it; yet it must be born 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 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?* 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 Denial and Offering up of our selves, 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 Almightyness 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 Soldier 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 ruin'd People, to augment theirs. They vanquish'd others, not themselves; Christ conquer'd Self,

Mat. 20. 21,
22, 23.

Self, that ever vanquish'd them: Of Merit therefore the *most excellent Prince and Conqueror*. Besides, They advanc'd their Empire by *Rapine and Blood*, but He by *Suffering and Persuasion*: He never by Compulsion, They always by Force, prevail'd. *Misery and Slavery* follow'd all their Victories; his brought greater Freedom and Felicity to those he overcame. In all they did, they fought 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.

'Tis 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, counted nothing dear, that he might save us. And tho' 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 it self*: 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 prefer'd, they must be deny'd. Christ himself descended from the Glory of his Father, and willingly 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, 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, is not worthy of me*. Again, *Whosoever he be of you, that forsaketh not all that he hath, cannot be my Disciple*. 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 'tis 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*. 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 liv'd under, for the Spiritual Advantage that accrew'd to them, by their Faithful Adherence to His Holy Doctrine. True, many would have excus'd their following of Him in the Parable of the *Feast*: *Some had bought Land, some had married Wives, and others had bought Yokes of Oxen, and could not come*; that is, an immoderate Love of the World hindred them: Their Lawful Enjoyments, from Servants, became their Idols; they worshipp'd them more than 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,

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Phil. 2. 5, 6.
7, 8.Mat. 10. 37.
Luke 14. 33.
Mark 10. 21,
22.

Mat. 16. 24.

Luke 14. 18.
19, 20.

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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 'tis lamentable to behold how their Affections are bemired, and entangled with their Conveniencies and Accomodations 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 further, whatever he prizes, than to be fix'd 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 ! 'Twill prove too late ; not to *Abraham*, but to *Dives*, he must go ; the Story is as *true* as *sad*.

Heb. 12. 2.

§. 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 see 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 or shrink, he contemned it : *And is set down on the right Hand of the Throne of God*. And to their Encouragement, and great Consolation, when *Peter* asked him, 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 sit upon Twelve Thrones, judging the Twelve Tribes of Israel* ; that were then in an 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*. 'Twas this Recompence of Reward, this Eternal Crown of Righteousness, that in every Age has rais'd, 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.

Mat. 19. 27,
28, 29.

Gen. 12.

§. XII. Nor is this a new Doctrine ; 'tis as old as *Abraham*. 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 prais'd 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.

Gen. 22.

§. XIII. But he *Obedeyed* : 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 greaten'd the Blessing, after it had been, in Nature, past the Time of his Wife's Bearing of Children. Yet God call'd for his *Darling*, their only 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 call'd : 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 ; 'tis 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 Cove-*
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nant 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: He disputes not, tho' it look'd strange, and perhaps with some Surprize and Horror, as a Man. He had learn'd to believe, that God that gave him a Child by a Miracle, could work another to preserve or restore him. His Affections could not ballance his Duty, much less overcome his Faith; for he received him in a Way that would let him doubt of nothing that God had promis'd 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 stop'd the Stroke, *Hold Abraham, thy Integrity is proved.* What follow'd? A Ram served, and Isaac was his again. This shows how little serves, where All is resigned, and how mean a Sacrifice contents the Almighty, where the Heart is approved. So that 'tis 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 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 loose to them. I speak my Experience: The Way to keep our Enjoyments, is to resign them; and tho' that be hard, 'tis 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 Rewards of it you can never know.

§. XIV. But Job presses 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 worship'd that Power, and kiss'd that Hand that strip'd 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.* Job. 1. 21
One would have thought, this repeated News of Ruin had been enough to have over-set his Confidence in God: But it did not; that stay'd him. But indeed he tells us why: His Redeemer liv'd; *I know* (says he) *that my Redeemer lives.* Job 19. 25, 26
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 with 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 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: Pharaoh'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. His own Graceful Presence and Extraordinary Abilities, joyned with her Love for him and Interest in her Father to promote him, must have rendred 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

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Heb. 11. 24-

27.

Exod. 5. 7.

16.

Impiety of Egypt, and the oppressions of his Brethren there, grew a Burden too heavy for him to bear. And though so wise and good a Man could not want those generous and grateful Relentments, that became the Kindness of the King's Daughter to him; yet he had also *seen that God that was invisible*, and did not dare to live in the Ease and Plenty of Pharaoh's House, whilst his poor Brethren were required to *make Brick without Straw*.

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 Willdom transcended 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 he had of a future more excellent Recompence.

Dorothea in
his Lives of
the Prophets.

§. 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, enrag'd at his Integrity to God, in his fervent and bold Reproofs of them, made a Martyr of him in the End. For they barbarously su'd him asunder in the Reign of King Manasses. Thus died that excellent Man, and (commonly call'd) 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 relinquish'd 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 expos'd 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.

Dorotheus ib.

§. XX. What shall I say of all the Rest, who counting nothing dear, that they might do the Will of God, abandon'd their worldly Comforts and exposed their Ease and Safety, as often as the Heavenly Vision called them, to the Wrath and Malice of degenerate Princes and an Apostate Church? 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.

1 Pet. 2. 20,
21, 22.

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; but for us, that we might deny our selves, and so be the true Followers of his blessed Example.

§. XXI. Whoever therefore thou art, that would'st 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 Je-

sus

Just 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*: 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 art 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. 'Tis 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 won't do, nor can refined Notions enter, *the Obedient only eat the Good of this Land*: *They that do his Will* (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 can't receive it: That which should, is oppress'd 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 empower'd 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 don't 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 establish'd in your Temporal Comforts, and so Lovers of Self more than of these Heavenly Things, would *Let the Time pass 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 defil'd your Enjoyment of 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 Tranquility, 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 don't 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 don't 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

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Eph. 5. 15
16.

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 the *Days are Evil* ; 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 dye, and are blessed with them that die in the Lord. And thus I conclude my Discourse of the right Use of *Lawful Self*.

CHAP V.

§. 1. Of *unlawful Self*, 'tis 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 makes their Cross, therefore can't be crucified by it. §. 9. They are Toaks without Restraint. §. 10. Of the Gawdiness 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.

Chap. V. §. 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 it's Institution or Performance*. In this 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* it self, 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 *Gawdy and Worldly* : Christ's most *Inward and Mental*, their's most *Outward and Corporal* : 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 gratifie 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* dress'd with such *Stately Buildings, and Imagery, Rich Furnitures and Garments, rare Voices and Musick, 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.

§. 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 thy self, but I will reprove 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 Salvation of God. This is the Worship acceptable to 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, 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 clothed 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 maketh 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 Humane 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 Mountain, 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. As if he had said: For the Sake of the Weakness of the People, God condescended 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. 'Tis not that Bodily Worship, nor these Ceremonious Services, in Use among you now, that will serve, or give Acceptance with this God that is 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 'tis 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 falsely accused of Blasphemy) Solomon (said Stephen) *built God an House; howbeit, God dwelleth not in Temples made with Hands; as saith the Prophet, Heaven is my Throne, and the Earth is my Foot-stool; 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? Behold a total Overthrow to all Worldly Temples, and their Ceremonious Appendancies! The Martyr follows his Blow upon those Apostate Jews, who were of those Times, the Pompous, Ceremonious, Worldly Worshipers: 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, Gain-sayers of it's 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.*

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Plal. 50. 21.
22, 23.

Mic. 6. 3.

John 4. 24.
24.

Acts 7. 47, 48.
51.
Mat 23. 1, 2.

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 Isa. 66. 2.

But the Prophet *Isaiah* carries it a little further than is cited by *Stephen*. For after having declar'd what is not God's House, *The Place where His Honour dwells*, 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.* 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.*

1 Cor. 6. 19.

§. 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? &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; (and then cites God's*

2 Cor. 6. 16.

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.* Here it is, *that the Eternal Wis-*

Prov. 8. 22,
 23, 25, 31.

dom, 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 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.* 'Twas

Hag. 2. 9.

promised of Old, *That the Glory of the latter House 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 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, Tables, Carpets, 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 Apostolic 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 *Crosses* 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. 'Tis true, they have got a *Cross*, but it seems to be in the Room of the True One; and so *mannerly*, that it will

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 crucifie 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 : 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.

1 Kings 18.
27.

§. X. 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 born.

§. 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 *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, 'tis *Unnatural*, which *True Religion* teaches not. The Christian Convert 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 rules not.*

§. XI. 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 *lockt 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 Free Spirit, but a *Voluntary, Fleeshy Humility* ; meer *Trammels* of their own making and putting on, without Prescription or Reason. In all which, 'tis plain, they are their own *Law-givers*, and set their own *Rule, Mould and Ransom* : A constrained

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constrained *Harshness*, out of Joynt 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* banish'd that spoils it, by *Steady Reproof*, and a Conspicuous Example of *Tried Virtue*. True Godliness don't 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, 'tis 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 it self, 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 won't work, and the other scorns it. If Aged, a long Life of Guilt sometimes flies to Superstition for a Refuge ; and after having had its own Will in other Things, would finish it in a *Willful 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 lov'd 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 into the Business of the World again ; tho' the less the better to be sure. For Divine Pleasures are found in a Free Solitude.

CHAPTER VI.

Chap. VI.

§. 1. *But Men of more Refined Belief and Practice, are yet concerned in this Unlawful Self about Religion.* §. 2. 'Tis 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: 'Tis 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, 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 manifested to His Children that waited truly upon him: 'Twas 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 further 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, further 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. **B**UT 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, tho' 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 Crosses 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 Crosses: 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.*

Mat. 12. 36

§. II. For First, 'tis 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? 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 touch'd and prepar'd by the Divine Power of God; but Bodily Worship only, that the Apostle tells us, *Profits little.* Not keeping to the Manner of taking up the Crosses 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.

Isa. 1. 12

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Prov. 16. 1.
Rom. 8. 14.

§. III. But *True Worship can only come from an Heart prepared by the Lord*. 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. 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's 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 tho' they be the Instruments of publick Worship, they are but Bodily and Visible, and cannot carry our Requests any further, much less recommend them to the *Invisible God*; by no Means: They are for the Sake of the Congregation: 'Tis 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.

Ezek. 37. 12,
13, 14.

§. IV. The Soul of Man, however Lively in other Things, is Dead to God, till He breath 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*. So, tho' 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 Body 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.

Mat. 16. 19,
20.

§. 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*; much less can our Ability be needed, or ought we to study to our selves *Forms of Speech* in our Approaches to the *Great Prince of Princes, King of Kings, and Lord of Lords*. 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.

Mat. 6.

§. VI. But it may be ask'd, *How shall this Preparation be obtain'd?*

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 *prepare their Heart, thou wilt cause thine Ear to hear*: And, (says Wisdom) *The Preparation of the Heart in Man is from the Lord*. Here it is thou must

Psal. 10. 17.

Prov. 16. 1.

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 touch'd 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 it self, how Lawful or needful at another Season, the Power of the Almighty will break in, *His Spirit*

Spirit will work and prepare the Heart, that it may offer up an *Acceptable Sacrifice*. 'Tis 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 stop'd 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 on Earth to help, *None in Heaven but him, nor in the 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*: 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.*

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Psal. 12. 5.

Psal. 72. 12;
14.Psal. 34. 6;
7, 8.Psal. 115. 13;
Mat. 9. 12.

S. VII. But what's that to them that are not Hungry? The Whole need not the Physician: 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, tho' it be soon said, 'tis 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.* 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. Jacob was a plain Man, of an upright Heart; and they that are so, are his Seed. And tho' (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.

Ps. 22. 26;
Ps. 107. 9.Ps. 74. 21.
Ps. 22. 23.

S. 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. 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 should 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: 'Tis a down-right 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 *Beha!*; between him and those that disobey his Commandments, and live not the Life of *His Blessed Cross* and Self-Denial.

Numb. 8. and
ch. 19.
2 Chron. 29.
v. 36.
& ch. 30. 16,
17.2 Cor. 6. 15;
16.

S. 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 my self before the High God? Shall I come before him with Burnt-*

Mic. 6. 6, 7;
8.

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Ps. 51. 15,
16, 17.Ps. 66. 1, 2,
3.Isa. 1. 13. to
18.

Ps. 66. 16. 20.

Offerings? With Calves of a Year old? Will the Lord be pleased with Thousands of Rams, or with Ten Thousands of Rivers of Oil? Shall I give my Firstborn for my Transgression, 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? 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. 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. 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 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 Swines 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 (saith God) is an Abomination 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. 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 Amendment 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 Judgment, 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 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 attended to the Voice of my Prayer. Blessed be God which hath not turned away my Prayer, nor His Mercy from me.

S. X. Much

§. 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 Pen-men 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 Daylong.* His Soul look'd 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 console *David's* Soul, that waited for his Help, and to deliver it from the Temptations and Afflictions that were ready to overwhelm it, and gave him Security and Peace. Therefore he says, *The Lord hath Establish'd my Going* ; that is, fixt his Mind in Righteousness. Before, every Step he took bemired him, and he was scarcely 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 incline to him. His needy and sensible Cry entred Heaven, and prevail'd ; 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 touch'd and rais'd 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 Worshipers 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 had 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 my self 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.* Yea, so intently, and with that Unweariedness of Soul, that he says in one Place, *Mine Eyes fail, while I wait for my God.* He was not contented with so many Prayers, such a set 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. *Behold (says he) as the Eyes of Servants look to the Hind of their Masters, and as the Eye*

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Psal. 25. 5.

Psal. 40. 1, 2, 3.

Psal. 130. 5, 6.

Psal. 69. 3.

Psal. 123. 2.

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Pl. 33. 20.

Pl. 52. 9.

Pl. 27. 14.

Pl. 27. 7.

Pl. 37. 34.

Lia. 26. 8.

Ch. 25. 9.

Ila. 30. 18.

Ch. 40. 31.

Ch. 64. 4.

Jer. 14. 22.

Lament. 3.

25.

Hof. 12. 6.

Mic. 7. 7.

Zeph. 3. 8.

Acts 1. 4.—8.

of a Maiden unto the Hand of her Mistress, so our Eyes wait upon the Lord our God, until he have Mercy upon us. 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. 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. That is, Wait in Faith and Patience, and he will come to save thee. Again, Rest in the Lord, and wait patiently upon him: That is, Cast thy self 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. 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 their Backslidings, yet in the Way of his Judgments (in the Way of his Rebukes and Displeasure) 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.* 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.* The Prophet adds, *Blessed are all they that wait upon God: And why? For they that wait upon the Lord, shall renew their Strength; they shall never faint, never be weary:* 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 Worshipers! 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 Worshipers* 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.* 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 bear me.* 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. 'Tis charg'd upon *Israel* in the Wilderness, as the Cause of their Disobedience and Ingratitude to God, that they *Waited not for his Counsels.* We may be sure it is our Duty, and expected from us; for God requires it in *Zephaniah*: *Therefore wait upon me, saith the Lord, until the Day that I arise, &c.* 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 expressly charg'd 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. And tho' that were an extraordinary Effusion for an extraordinary Work,

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, Hail, 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, step'd in, was made whole of whatsoever Disease he had—* A most exact Representation of what is intended by all that has been said upon the Subject 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 this *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 blesteth 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 *Battel*, and hope for Success, are sure to *Miscarry* in their Expectation. 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 *unsensible* 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 believes, makes not haste.* They that *worship* by their own, can only do as the *Israelites*, turn their *Ear-Rings* into a *Molten-Image*, and be curs'd for their Pains. Nor feared they better, that gathered *Sticks of old*, and kindled a *Fire*, and compassed themselves about with the *Sparks* that they had kindled; 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* should be their Portion. Alas! *Flesh and Blood* would fain *Pray*, tho' it cannot *Wait*; and be a *Saint*, tho' it can't 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 puts 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*. Men unacquainted with the Work and Power of the Holy Spirit, are ignorant of the Mind of God; and

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John 5. 2,
3, 4.Iſa. 1. 12.
Ch. 28. 15.

Ch. 50. 13.

Rom. 8. 26,

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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* 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, 'tis 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*: And therefore gave them a Pattern to pray by; not as some fancy, to be a Text for humane *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 (tho' that be a mighty Point) yet *how to pray*, is still of greater Moment, than to pray; 'tis not the Request, but the Frame of the Petitioners 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*: To the sick Heart, the wounded Soul, the hungry and thirsty, the weary and heavy-laden Ones; such sincerely want an Helper.

Mat. 6. 7, 8.

Isa. 66. 2.

1 Tim. 1. 5.

Acts 15. 9.

Tit. 1. 1.

2 Pet. 1. 1.

1 John 5. 4.

Mat. 15. 28.

Jam. 4. 3.

§. XIV. Nor is this sufficient to compleat *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. This is that which animates *Prayer*, and presses it home, like the importunate *Widow*, that would not be denied; to whom Christ (seeming to admire) said, *O Woman, great is thy Faith*. This is of highest Moment on our part, to give our *Addressees* 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: 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 Pleasure, 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 supremest Act of Man's Life; and whatever is necessary to inferiour 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)

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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 Spiritual Wants, have not this powerful Faith: That's the true Cause. So necessary was it of old, that Christ did not many mighty Works where the People believed not; and tho' his Power wrought Wonders in other Places, Faith open'd the Way: So that 'tis 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? Tea, 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;* 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.* 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.* This one Passage convicts Christendom of gross Infidelity; for the Prays, and receives not.

§. XVI. But may some say: 'Tis impossible to receive all that a Man may ask. 'Tis 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. When Jesus said to the Ruler, *If thou canst believe,* he adds, *All Things are possible to him that believeth.* Well, but then some will say, *It is impossible to have such Faith:* For this very Faithless Generation would excuse 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.* 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; 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 joyns Faith with Righteousness, and John with Victory over the World: This says he, *is the Victory which overcomes the World, even your Faith.*

§. 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. 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 intire Dependence, by him, upon God.

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, prevail'd with

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God,

Joh. 9. 6.
Luke 8. 47,
48.
Mat. 9. 29,
30.
Mat. 9. 23.

Mark 10. 52.
Luke 7. 49.
50.

Mat. 21. 20,
21, 22.

Mat. 18. 19.
Luke 18. 27.

Mark 9. 23.

Mat. 19. 24,
25, 26.
Luke 18. 25,
26, 27.
Heb. 11. 6.

1 Tim. 2. 9.
Ch. 1. 5.
James 2.
1 John 5. 4.

Rom. 4. 12.

Joh. 16. 9.
10.

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God, renowned his Truth, finish't their Testimony, and obtained the Reward of the Faithful, a Crown of Righteousness, which is the Eternal Blessedness of the Just.

Chap. VII.

C H A P. VII.

§. 1. *Of Pride, the first Capital Lust, it's Rise.* §. 2. *It's 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 puff's 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 Witnesses 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 Worship-makers, 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. **H**AVING 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 tho' 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*, with all other Graces of the Spirit, becoming the Followers of the perfect *JESUS*, that most Heavenly Man.

Gal. 5. 22, 23

The Care and Love of all 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 declin'd 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 joyns Proud and High-minded. For no sooner had the Angels declin'd 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 reserv'd in Chains of Darkness unto the Judgment of the Great Day of God.

2 Tim. 3. 2, 3

§. 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, joynd with an undervaluing of others, and a Desire of Dominion over them:* The most troublesom Thing in the World. There are Four Things, by which it hath made it self best known to Mankind, the Consequences of which have brought an equal Misery to it's Evil. The First is, *An inordinate Pursuit of Knowledge.* The Second, *An ambitious Craving and Seeking after Power.* The Third, *An extream Desire of Person-*

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nal Respect and Deference. The last Excess is that of *Worldly Furniture and Ornaments*. To the just and true Witness of the Eternal God, plac'd in the Souls of all People, I appeal as to the Truth of these Things.

§. III. To the First, 'Tis 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 Innocency 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*, joyned with a Power to Rule over all the visible Creation of God; but he must be *as wise as God* too. 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.

§. 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 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 *Paradise* of 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*. 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 dye*. That is, when thou dost 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 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 meer Picture, it cannot preserve Man in Purity; but *puffs up, makes People Proud, High-minded, and Impatient of Contradiction*. 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 Style 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 Easie to be intreated; so the Knowledge of degenerated and unmortified Men is first impure: For it came by the Commission of Evil, and is held in an evil

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Gen. 2. 19,
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Gen. 3. 5.
Ch. 3. 24.

Rom. 7;

Gen. 2. 17;

Jam. 3. 17.

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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, falsely so called; and as it is impure, so 'tis 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.

Gen. 4. 8.

§. VIII. 'Twas this Pride made Cain a Murderer: 'Tis a Spiteful Quality, full of Envy and Revenge. *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 it self 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 stomach'd it: He could not bear to be out-done by his Brother. He grew Wrathful, 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 dy'd his Hands in his Brother's Blood.*

§. IX. The Religion of the apostatiz'd 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, Arrogancy, and Cruelty.* For they could not bear true Vision, when it came to visit them, and entertain'd the Messengers of their Peace as if they had been Wolves and Tigers.

Acts 7. 51.

§. X. Yea, 'tis 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 'twas 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.*

Luke 2. 14.

§. XI. The true Knowledge came with the Joy of Angels, singing *Peace on Earth, and Good-will towards Men*: The false Knowledge entertain'd 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 accomplish'd. But what was their Motive to it? Why, he cried out against their Hypocrisie, the Broad Phylacteries, the Honour they sought of Men. To be short, they give the Reason themselves in these Words; *If we let him thus alone, all Men will believe on him: 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.*

John 47. 11.

§. XII. And, the Truth is, he came to level their Honour, to overthrow their Rabbiship, 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 Liar, and cruel Murderer, from the Beginning.

Mat. 11. 25.

§. XIII. Their Pride in false Knowledge having made them incapable of receiving the Simplicieity of the Gospel, Christ thanks his Father, that he had hid the Mysteries of it from the Wise and Prudent, and reveal'd them to Babes. It was this False Wisdom swell'd 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

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1 Cor. 1. 20.
Ver. 29.

1b. v. 21.

1 Tim. 6. 20.

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? And he gives a good Reason for it, *That no Flesh should Glory in his Presence*. 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 further, and affirms, *That the World by Wisdom knew not God*: That is, it was so far from an *Help*, that, as Men use it, it was an Hindrance to the true Knowledge 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 Babbings, and Oppositions of Science, falsely so called*. 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 tho' 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 tho' 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 to 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.

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, orcrafty, 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 out-do their Pattern, given them of God by *Moses* upon the Mount, set their *Poss* by God's *Post*, and taught for Doctrines their own Traditions, in so much that those that refused Conformity to them, ran the Hazard of *Crucifixion*, *Crucifixion*: 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.

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§. 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* spur'd 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 filled 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*: 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.

John 16. 2.

Acts, 20. 29.

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 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 *Faction*; being almost ever sure, to leave the present smaller Incumbence, to solicit 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. 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 at 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.

Tit. 2. 4.
Eph. 12. 14.

C H A P VIII.

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 gratifie 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 Breſts 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. **B**UT 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 Troubleſom and deſtructive to Mankind. I need not labour my ſelf 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*, 'twas their Emulation of his mighty Power in the Camp of *Israel*, that put them upon Conſpiracies and Mutinies. They long'd 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; at leaſt, with this Pretence, he palliated his Ambition: But his Rebellion 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. 2 Sam. 15³

§. 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*, *Meſſach* and *Abednego* reſuſed to comply, *Who* (ſays he) *is that God that ſhall deliver you out of my Hands?* And notwithſtanding the Conviſions 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 fill'd 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 Maſteſty?* But we are told, that while the Words were in his Mouth, *A Voice from Heaven rebuk'd the Pride of his Spirit, and he was driven from the Society of Men, to Graze among the Beaſts of the Field.* Dan. 3¹

§. 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. Ch. 4. 30¹

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 of 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 Traytor to his Maſters, and 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 *Vir-tue* together in that *Common-Wealth*. For Goodneſs quickly grew to be Faction in *Rome*; and that Sobriety and Wiſdom which ever rendered her Senators

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Senators Venerable, became dangerous to their Safety: Infomuch 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 debauch'd 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. 'Tis 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*; tho' charged by him, *Not to strive, but to Love and Serve one another*. 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.*

Mat. 18. v. 1.
to 6.
Mark 9. 33.
to 37.

§. 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 spoil'd; if by all these Things the Ambitions can but arrive at their Ends? To go no further back than sixty Years, that little Period of Time will furnish us with many Wars begun upon ill Grounds, and ended in great Desolation. Nay, the last twelve Years of our Time, make as pregnant a Demonstration as we can furnish our selves with from the Records of any Age. 'Tis 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 to equal those that were once their Superiors: Compel Friends, and be revenged on Enemies. This makes *Christianity* so little lov'd 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, 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 extream Moments of Life; if yet they believe a Life to come.

Mat. 6. 33.

§. 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 fixt 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, cheerfully 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.

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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 Negative to Forms.* §. 9. *Their Behaviour are 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. 'Tis 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 Inferiours.* §. 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 Debauch'd could Honour Men, which can't be.* §. 24. *The Fifth Reason is, that then Men of Spite, Hypocrits, and Revenge, could pay Honour, which is impossible.* §. 25. *The Sixth Reason is drawn from the Antiquity of True 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 can't be.* §. 28. *The Ninth and Last Reason is, because the Holy Scripture expressly 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 our selves 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. **T**HE 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 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 happen'd among private Persons, upon Conceit that they have not been respected to their Degree or Quality among Men, with *Hat, Knee, or Title*: To be sure Duels and Murders not a few. I was once my self 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; tho' the Truth was, I saw him not when he did it. I will suppose he had kill'd me, for he made several Passes at me, or I in my Defence had kill'd him, when I disarm'd him, (as the Earl of Crawford's Servant saw, that was by) I ask any Man of Understanding

* Which was before I professed the *Commonion* I am now of.

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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 express'd in the World : That a Man may say concerning them, as the Apostle speaks of Science, that is, *They are Honours and Respects falsely 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, they would not covet these very Vanities, much less insist upon them.

John 5. 44.

§. 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 *Saucy 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 Apostacy 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 before-hand 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 Sope*. 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* : 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*.

Mal. 3. 2.

1 Pet. 4. 18.

2 Cor. 5. 11.

Mat. 12. 36.

This Concern of Mind, and Dejection of Spirit, was visible to our Neighbours ; and we are not ashamed to 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 ? Many a Pang and Throw 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,*

Jer. 30. 6.

1 John 2. 16.

Flesh, and the Pride of Life were opened to our View; the Mystery of Iniquity in us. And by knowing the *Evil Leaven*, and its divers Evil Effects in our selves, 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 our selves (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.

§. 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 concern'd 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 Heresie 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 Hypocrisie herein.

§. 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 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*: 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 don't set up Forms.

§. IX. The World is so set upon the *Ceremonious Part and Outside of Things*, that it has well besecmed the Wisdom of God in all Ages, to bring forth his Dispensations with very different *Appearances* to their settled Customs; thereby contradicting Humane 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 which 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.

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John 17. 5.

§. 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 esteem'd 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 it's Votaries ; and finally with a *Christian Meekness* and *Patience*, to overcome their *Injuries* and *Reproaches*. Add to this ; it weans thee off thy *Familars* ; for by being slighted of them as a *Ninnee*, 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*, *Mocked*, *Persecuted* JESUS : To fight under his Banner, against the *World*, the *Flesh*, and the *Devil* : That after having faithfully suffered with him in a *State of Humiliation*, thou may'st *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. 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*.

1 Sam. 2. 30.

1 Pet. 2. 17.

Exod. 20. 12.

Eph. 6. 1. 2.

John 8. 49.

§. XII. In Scripture, we find the Word *Honour* often and diversly used. First, For *Obedience* : As when God saith, *They that Honour me* ; that is, *that keep my Commandments*. Honour the King ; that is, *Obey the King*. Honour thy Father and Mother ; that is, (saith the Apostle to the *Ephesians*) *Obey thy Father and thy Mother in the Lord, for that is right* : Take Heed to their Precepts and Advice ; pre-supposing always, that *Rulers* and *Parents* command Lawful Things, else they dishonour themselves to enjoy 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* : 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. 'Twas not refusing *Hat* and *Knee*, nor empty *Titles* : No, 'twas *Disobedience*, *Resisting Him that God had sent*, and not *Believing in 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* : 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*. 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*.

John 5. 23.

Luke 7. 8.

Psalm. 8. 5.

and 21. 5.

§. XIII. In the next Place, *Honour* is used for *Preferment to Trust* and *Eminent Employments*. So the *Psalmist* speaking to God ; *For thou hast Crown'd him with Glory and Honour* : Again, *Honour and Majesty hast thou laid on him* : 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,

says, *The Fear of the Lord is the Instruction of Wisdom, and before Honour is Humility.* That is, before Advancement or Preferment, is Humility. Further, he has this Saying, *As Snow in Summer, and as Rain in Harvest, so Honour is not seemly for a Fool:* That is, A Fool is not capable of the Dignity of Trust, Employment, or Preferment; they require Virtue, Wisdom, Integrity, Diligence, of which Fools are unfurnish'd. 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; which only maketh one of his Wise Men.

§. XIV. And as Virtue and Wisdom are the same, so Folly and Wickedness. Thus Shechem's Ravishment of Dinah, Jacob's Daughter, is called: So is the Rebellion and Wickedness of the Israelites in *Joshua*. The Psalmist expresses it thus: *My Wounds stink because of my Foolishness;* that is, his Sin. And, *The Lord will speak Peace to his Saints, that they turn not again to Folly;* 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 dye without Instruction, and in the Greatness of his Folly he shall go astray. Christ puts Foolishness with Blasphemy, Pride, Thefts, Murders, Adulteries, Wickedness, &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 it is so understood with us: *A Gracious Woman* (says Solomon) *retaineth Honour;* that is, she keeps her Credit; and by her Virtue, maintains her Reputation of Sobriety and Chastity. In another Place, *It is an Honour for a Man to cease from Strife:* That is, it makes for his Reputation, as a wife and good Man. Christ uses the Word thus, where he says, *A Prophet is not without Honour, save in his own Country:* 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;* 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:* That is, he deserves double Esteem, Love, and Respect; being Holy, Merciful, Temperate, Peaceable, Humble, &c. especially one that Labours in Word and Doctrine. So Paul recommends *Epaphroditus* to the *Philippians*; *Receive 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, ye will keep my Sayings.* Further, the Apostle bids us, *To Honour Widows indeed;* that is, such Women as are of Chast, Lives, and Exemplary Virtue, are Honourable. Marriage is Honourable too with this Proviso, *That the Bed be undefiled:* 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?* Why, he mightily advanced him, as *Mordecai* afterwards. And more particularly it is said, *That the Jews had Light, and Gladness, and Joy, and Honour:* 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

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Prov. 15. 33.
Ch. 26. 1.

Prov. 13. 13.

Gen. 34. 7.
Joth. 7. 14, 15.
Ps. 38. 5.

Pf. 85. 8.
Prov. 5. 22,
23.

Mark 7. 21,
24.

Prov. 11. 16.

Prov. 20. 3.

Mat. 13. 57.

1 Thes. 4. 4.

1 Tim. 5. 17.

Philip. 2. 29.

Heb. 13. 4.

Esth. 6. 6.

Esth. 8. 16.

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1 Pct. 3.

and Countenance too. In this Sense, the Apostle *Peter* advised Christian 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*: There's 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*: 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*.

1 Pet. 2. 17.

§. 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*: 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.

Psal. 15. 4.

§. 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 Person is contemned; but he honoureth them that Fear the Lord*. 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 Gawdy, Flattering 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*: 'Tis 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 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
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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 *Hypocrisie and Revenge* too. For how little do many care for each other? Nay, what Spight, Envy, Animosity, secret Back-biting, and Plotting one against another, under the use of these idle Respects, till Passion, too strong for cunning, break through Hypocrisie into open *Affront and Revenge*. It cannot be so with the Scripture-Honour: To obey, or prefer a Man, out of Spight, 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 Hypocrisie, nor Revenge. Men do not these Things to palliate Ill-will, which are the Testimonies of quite the contrary. 'Tis 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 exactly, 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 *Fantastick 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, falsely so called. And what doth this but totally exclude the *poor Country People*; who, tho' they Plow, Till, Sow, 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-Critick so ill-favour'd, as only fit to make a Jest of, and be laugh'd at: But what sober Man will not deem their Obedience beyond the other's Vanity and Hypocrisie? This base *Notion of Honour* turns out of Doors the True, and sets the False in it's Place. Let it be further 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 it self. Whence it's commonly said, *He is a Man of good Mein*; or, *She is a Woman of exact Behaviour*. And what is this Behaviour, but Fantastick, Cramp Postures, and Cringings, unnatural to their Shape, and, if it were not Fashionable, Ridiculous to the View of all People; and is 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 is 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 Fopperies; 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 the Substance they bestow on such an Education, they would find a better Account in the End.

§. 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.

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Haman was first Minister of State and Favorite to King *Abasuerus*. 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 revered *Haman*; for the King had so commanded concerning him: But *Mordecai* (it seems) bowed not, nor did him Reverence. This, at first, made ill for *Mordecai*: A Gallows was prepared for him at *Haman's* Command. But the Sequel of the Story shows, 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 Humorous 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*.

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. 'Tis 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, tho' 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 sownot: And call to mind, that our Captain Bowed not to him that told him, *If thou wilt fall down and Worship me, I will give thee all the Glory of the World*: Shall we bow then? O no! Let us follow our blessed Leader.

Mat. 4. 8. 9.

§. XXX. But before I leave this Section, 'tis 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 Favorite; 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, can by no Means be justifiably Received or Practised in the Time of the Anti-type or Substance it self. On the contrary, this shews exprefly, we are faithfully to decline such worldly Customs, and not to fashion our selves 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

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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 End.

§. XXXI. The next Scripture Instance I urge against these Customs, is a Passage in *Job*, thus express'd; *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.* 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, &c.* And *Wife, Just, or Good,* (when he is neither) only to please him, or throw 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?* It was a Salutation or Address of Respect in those Times. 'Tis 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 one Greater than he; and that he saw the Man address 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 Judgment.* And that which should warn all Men of the Latitude they take herein, 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 Creator 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 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, *Least 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: That 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 accessory to it by Flattering Titles, instead of telling him

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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 Jealousie, 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 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 Apostacy: *How can ye believe, which receive Honour one of another, and seek not the Honour that cometh from God only?* Where there 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 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 condemned them for, and of which he bad 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*; 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*, [viz. In the Places of Note and Concourse, the Publick 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 amongst 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 *Wordly 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 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; 'tis 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.* 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

Mat. 23. 6,

10, 11.

Mark 12. 38.

Luke 11. 43.]

Rom. 12. 1, 2,

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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 or know, what is that Good, and Acceptable, and perfect Will of God.

John 3. 21, 22

§. 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 by his Power and Spirit: 'Tis this; *Gird up the Loins of your Minds; be sober, and hope to the End, for the Grace that is to be brought unto you at the Revelation of Jesus Christ; as Obedient Children, not fashioning your selves according to the former Lusts of your Ignorance.* That is, 'Be not found in the vain Fashions and Customs of the World, unto which you conformed in your former Ignorance: But as you have believed in a more plain and excellent Way, so be sober and fervent, and hope to the End: Don't give out; let them mock on; bear ye the Contention 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.) prove 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 as Strangers on Earth in Fear*: Not after the Fashions of the World. A Word in the next Chapter further explains his 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 Customs: But I don't 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.

1 Pet. 1. 13.
14.

§. 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 Clothing, 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 your selves, and are become Judges of Evil Thoughts [that is, they knew they did Amis?]* If ye fulfil the Royal Law, according to the Scripture, *Thou shalt love thy Neighbour as thy self, ye do well; but if ye have Respect to Persons, ye commit Sin, and are convinced of the Law as Transgressors.* This is so full, there seems nothing left for me to add, or others to object. We are not to Respect Persons, that's 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

James 2. 1, 2,
3, 4.

Ver. 8.

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Mat. 20. 25.
26, 27.

‘ 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 can’t 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 Princes of the Gentiles exercise Dominion over them, &c. But it shall not be so among you; but whosoever will 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 were 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 Publick, 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*, &c. More Modern Writers; *Damasen*, *Rabanus*, *Paschasius*, *Theophilact*, *Bernard*, &c. And of the last Age; *Luther*, *Melancthon*, *Calvin*, *Beza*, *Zuinglius*, *Marlorat*, *Vossius*, *Grotius*, *Dallæus*, *Amaraldus*, &c. And of our own Country; *Gildas*, *Beda*, *Alcuinus*, *Horn*, *Bracton*, *Grosseed*, *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 profess’d *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 Interiors. 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 hav-

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ing their Persons in *Admiration for Reward*; much less on such mean and base Motives as *Wealth and Sumptuous Raiment*.

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§. XXXVII. We shall easily grant, Our Honour, as our Religion, is more *Hidden*; and that neither are so discernable 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* prevail'd 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 is 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's 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) inasmuch, as they who follow those Practices, are condemned from within themselves. So that Sanctity ought to be the Reason or Motive, of all outward Respect; 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 above 1200 Years since, of great Esteem, namely, *Feron*, who writing to a Noble Martron, *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 past 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 shew who is their Master, are making many, both Eeggars 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

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Man now, of late Years amongst us, who thinks it much, or refuseth to subscribe-himself Servant, tho' 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 thy self 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. 'Twas then a Sin, 'tis now an *Accomplishment*? 'Twas then a *Flattery*, 'tis now *Respect*? 'Twas then fit to be severely *Reproved*; and now alas, it is to deserve severe Reproof not to use it. O monstrous *Vanities*, 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 further 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.

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§. 1. *Another Piece of Non-Conformity to the World, which is our Simple and Plain Speech, Thou for You.* §. 2. *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 of the present Custom defends our Dis-use 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. **T**Here 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 reconcilable 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, have 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

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 term'd 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, tho' 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 *Affyrian*, *Chaldean*, *Grecian*, and *Latin Speech*. And now amongst the *Turks*, *Tartars*, *Muscovites*, *Indians*, *Persians*, *Italians*, *Spaniards*, *French*, *Dutch*, *Germans*, *Polonians*, *Swedes*, *Danes*, *Irish*, *Scottish*, *Welsh*, 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 'tis 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 *Dye*, or *Innocent and Discharg'd*; who knows who is *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 refused, 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*, look't 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 *Plow-Man* 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.

§. 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

* Howel's
History of
France.

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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, 'tis 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 baubry* Humour in Man, is not Reasonable in our Sense; which, we hope, is *Christian*, tho' 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 *Thou* 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 Style. 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 *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*. They had guess'd by his *Looks*, but just before, *that he had been with Jesus*; but when they discours'd 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 learn'd in his Company, that was *Odd and Observable*; to be sure, not of the World's Behaviour. Without Question, the *Garb, Gate 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 easie 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 tho' they found him not out, the *Cock's-Crow* did; which made *Peter* remember his Dear Suffering Lord's Words, and *He went forth and Wept bitterly*; that he had denied his Master, who was then delivered up to *Dye* 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 *Musshroom of the Earth*) no better *Language* than thou hast given to God but just before? An *Arrogancy* not to be easily equalld! But again, it is either *too much or too little Respect*; if *too much*, don't Reproach and be Angry, but gravely and humbly *refuse* it; if *too little*, Why dost thou shew to God

Mat. 26. 71.
73. 74.

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 *Hyperbolic Expressions*, *Complements*, 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 Profession: 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?* 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 Complements*, but in a *meek and quiet Spirit*, 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 our selves both to your *Contempt and Fury*, that we imitate them and not you? And tell us, pray, are not *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 Complements, Courtships, feigned Stories, Flatteries, and fruitless Novelties*, and *what not?* Invented and used to your Diversion, to make you ease 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 touch'd with the 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, 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 *Lusus*, he sports himself with You to a Single Person, as an incongruous and Ridiculous Speech, viz. *Magister vos estis iratus? 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. *U u*

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Heb. 11.

1 Pet. 3: 3, 4.

Col. 3: 1.

The Testimonies of several.

firms,

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firms of the ancient Romans, *That the Manner of Greeting, now in Vogue, was not in Use amongst them.* To conclude: *Hoswell*, in his History of France, gives us an ingenious Account of its Original: Where he not only assures us, *That Anciently the Peasants Thoud 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 perswaded that it's 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, to see in whom they are wrought, if in God, or not; we cannot, we dare not conform our selves to the *Fashions of the World, that pass away*; knowing assuredly, that *For every idle Word that Men speak, they shall give an Account in the Day of Judgment.*

John 3.19.20.

Mat. 12. 36.

§. XI. Wherefore, Reader, whether thou art a *Night-Walking Nicodemus*, or a *Scoffing Scribe*; One that would Visit the Blessed Messiah, but in the dark Customs of the World, that thou mightest pass as undiscerned, for *Fear of Bearing His Reproachful Cross*; or else a *Favourer of Haman's Pride*, and countest these Testimonies but a Foolish Singularity; I must say, *Divine Love enjoyns me to be a Messenger of Truth to thee, and a Faithful Witnes against the Evil of this Degenerate World*, as in other, so in these Things; in which the Spirit of *Vanity and Lust*, hath got so great an Head, and lived so long uncontroll'd, that it hath Impudence enough to term it's *Darkness Light*, and to call its *Evil Off-spring* by the Names due to a better Nature, the more easily to deceive People into the Practice of them. And truly, so very blind and insensible are most, of what Spirit they are, and ignorant of the meek and self-denying Life of Holy JESUS, whose Name they profess, that to call each other *Rabbi*, that is, *Master*; to Bow to Men, (which I call *Worship*) and to Greet with *Flattering Titles*; and do their *Fellow Creatures Homage*: To Scorn that Language to themselves that they give to God, and to spend their Time and Estate to gratifie their *Wanton Minds*; (the Customs of the Gentiles, that knew not God) pass with them for *Civility, Good Breeding, Decency, Recreation, Accomplishments*, &c. O that Man would consider, since there are but *Two Spirits*, One Good, the other Evil, which of them it is that inclines the World to these Things! And whether it be *Nicodemus* or *Mordecai* in thee, that dorth be-friend these despised Christians, which makes thee *Asbamed* to disown that openly in Conversation with the World, which the *True Light* hath made *Vanity* and *Sin* to thee in secret? Or if thou art a *Despiser*, tell me, I pray thee, which dost thou think thy *Mockery, Anger or Contempt* do most resemble, *Proud Haman*, or *Good Mordecai*? My Friend, know, that no Man hath more delighted in, or been *Prodigal* of those *Vanities* called *Civilities*, than my self; 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 *Aegypt's Customs*, I had sinned against my God, and lost my Peace. But I would not have thee think it is a meer *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's 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 stript of their Delights, constrains us to testify so steadily

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 *my self*, 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 lie not*; I would not have brought my self under Censure and Disdain for them, could I, with Peace of Conscience, have kept my Belief under a Worldly Behaviour. It was extream irksome to me, to decline and expose my self: 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 gratifie that Mind in my self 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.

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§. 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 Uphart: 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's 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 Oeconomy in Families, out of Interest and Credit.* §. 8. *But the Author has an higher Motive; the Gospel, and the Excellencies of it, which they profess.* §. 9. *The Pride of Persons, respecting Shape and Beauty: The Walbes, 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 Madnes 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. **B**UT *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 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.

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§. 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 'tis his own *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 neither am the better nor the worse for my *Fore-Father*: To be sure, not in God's Account; nor should it be in Man's. No Body 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. 'Tis *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 'tis by his own: Then, pray, which is the *Bravest Man* of the Two?

§. IV. O, says the *Person proud of Blood*, *It was never 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 the 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 *Descendents*, it follows, *Blood* is excluded: Else *Blood* would barr *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*. 'Tis 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*; 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*

Ezek. 18.

Acts 17. 26.

the Face of the Earth; and, that we all Descended of One Father and Mother. A more certain Original than the best of us can assign. From thence go down to *Noah*, who was the *Second Planter* of Humane Race, and we are upon some Certainty for our *Fore-Fathers*: What Violence has rap'd, 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 *Geer* and *Trappings*, without their *Feathers* and *Finery*, have no more Marks of Honour by Nature stamp'd upon them, than their inferior Neighbours. Nay, themselves being 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 *Debasidg* 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 prefer'd 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 whatsoever 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 Descendents, 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, 'tis 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 *Byass* 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 wisht, that our Great People would set about to recover the *Ancient Oeconomy of their Houses*, the *Strict and Virtuous Discipline of their Ancestors*, when Men were Honoured for their Achievements, 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

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John 1. 29.

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*. 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 bath 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 dye, and after all be *Judged*.

§. IX. But *Personal Pride* ends not in *Nobility of Blood*; it leads Folks to a *Pond 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 *Later 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*. *Gods Impiety that it is, that a Nations Pride should not be spared to a Nations Pooz!* 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 it self, 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 *Unchast 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-liv'd 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 observ'd nothing more *Doing* on it self: A strange Insatiation and Enchantment 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 *Expense* to the Vanity, and to be *Costly upon That* which can't be mended, one would think they should be down-right Mad; especially if they consider that they look the *Homelier* for the Things that are thought Handsom, 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*; 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-abatement, 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 Sickness, much less from the Stroke of Death. O! Did People consider the *Inconstancy* of all Visible Things, the *Cross* and *Adverse Occurrences* of Man's Life, the *Certainty* of his Departure, and Eternal Judgment, 'tis to be hoped, they would bring their Deeds to *Christ's Light in their Hearts*, and they would see if they were wrought in God or no, as the Beloved Disciple tells us from His Dear Master's Mouth. Art thou Shapely, Comely, Beautiful; the exact Draught of an Humane Creature? *Admire that Power that made thee so.* Live an Harmonious Life to the Curious Make and Frame of thy Creation; and let the Beauty of thy Body, reach thee to *Beautify* thy Mind with Holiness, the Ornament of the Beloved of God. Art thou *Homely* or *Deformed*? Magnific that Goodness which did not make thee a *Beast*; and with the *Grace* that is given unto thee, (*for it has appeared unto All*) learn to *Adorn thy Soul with Enduring Beauty*. Remember, *The King of Heaven's Daughter*, the Church, (of which *True Christians are Members*) is all *Glorious within*: And if thy Soul excel, thy Body will only set off the Lustre of thy Mind. Nothing is Homely in God's Sight but *Sin*; and that Man and Woman, *That Commune with their own Hearts*, and *Sin not*; who in the *Light of Holy JESUS*, watch over the Movings and Inclinations of their own Souls, and that suppress every Evil in it's Conception, they love the *Yoke and Cross of CHRIST*, and are Daily by it *Crucified to the World*, but Live to GOD in that Life which out-lives the Fading Satisfaction of it.

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Deut. 30. 14.
Rom. 10. 8.

John 3. 20. 22.

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§. 1. *The Character of a Proud Man: A Glutton upon himself. Is proud of his Pedigree.* §. 2. *He is insolent and Quarrelsome, but cowardly, yet Cruel.* §. 3. *An ill Child, Subtle and Servant.* §. 4. *Unhospitable.* §. 5. *No Friend to any.* §. 6. *Dangerous and Mischievous in Power.* §. 7. *Of all Things Pride bid in Ministers.* §. 8. *They claim Prerogative above others.* §. 9. *And call themselves the Clergy: Their Lordliness and Avarice.* §. 10. *Death swallows all.* §. 11. *The Way to escape these Evils.*

§. I. **T**O 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*, 'tis 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 dye too.

§. II. But how troublesome a Companion is *Proud Man*! Ever positive and Controlling; 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 Men's Miseries, than if he was not a Man, or it was a Sin to be sensible. For not feeling himself interested, he looks no further: He will not *disquiet* his Thoughts with other Men's Infelicities: It shall content him

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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 *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 'tis 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 *mis-calls* 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* ; *'t'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 be *brib'd* by Honour and Preference to betray that Relation, he is *Unconversible* ; He must not be Catechis'd and Counsel'd, much less Reprov'd 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 too much 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 *Cattel*, 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 Cesar, aut Nullus*. Reason must not check it, nor Rules of Law limit it ; and either it can do no *Wrong*, or 'tis 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, 'tis 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 punisht others by them.

§. VII

§. 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 Religion, that Rebukes it? Or Ambition with Ministers, whose very Office is *Liamility*? And yet there are but too many of them, That, besides an Equal Guilt with others in the *Fleshly Pride* of the World, are even proud of that Name and Office, which ought always to mind them of *Self-Denial*. Yea, they use it as the Beggars do the Name of God and Christ, *only to get by it*: Placing to their own Account the Advantages of that Reverend Profession, and thereby making their Function but a politic Handle to raise themselves to the Great Preferments of the World. But O then! How can such be 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 'tis 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: 'Tis not for you to pry so curiously into the *Mysteries of Religion*: Never good Day since *Lay-Men meddled so much with the Ministers Office*. Not considering, poor Man, that the contrary is most true; *Not many good Days since Ministers meddled so much in Lay-men's 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 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*; are unreasonable and antiquated Instructions with some Clergy, and 'tis little less than *Hereſie* 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*.

§. IX. There is but one Place to be found in the Holy Scripture, where the Word *Clerus* (κλήρος) 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*. 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 Disinherited the People: So that now they may be the People's Lords, with a *Salvo* to good Old Peter's Exhortation.

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Chap. XII.
John 18. 36.

2 Tim. 2. 24;
25.
Tit. 3.
1 Cor. 14. 32

Mat. 20. 26.

1 Pet. 5. 2, 3

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Isa. 55. 2.

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*: 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*,

John 3. 19.

§. 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 Souls and Minds toward Christ, and a better Inquiry into the Matter and Examples of *Holy Record*. 'Twas his Complaint of old, *That Light was come into the World, but Men lov'd Darkness rather than Light, because their Deeds were Evil*. If thou wouldst 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 Tye 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*: 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 Reward of Fidelity, he had seen the *Snares* of the Enemy, and resisted him. O do not Delight in that which is forbidden! Look not upon it, if thou wouldst 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? 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 *Leaves* they follow, but the Cup of his *Agony* they leave. 'Tis too *Bitter*: They like not to drink thereof. And divers will magnifie 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 thy self*, and be contented

Mat. 5. 8.

Heb. 1. 2.

Phil. 2. 7.

to be of *No Reputation*, that thou mayst 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*, which Jesus hath consecrated, that brings all that walk in it, to the *Eternal Rest of God*: Whereinto he himself is entred, Who is the Holy and only blessed Redeemer.

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Chap. XII.
Heb. 10. 19,
20.

C H A P XIII.

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 reprovd by Christ and his Followers.* §. 19. *Ananias and Sapphira's Sin and Judgement.* §. 20. *William Tindal's Discourse on that Subject referred unto.* §. 21. *Peter Charron's Testimony against it.* §. 22. *Abraham Cowley's witty and sharp Satyr 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, 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.* It brancheth it self into these *Three Parts*; 1st, *Desiring of Unlawful Things.* Secondly, *Unlawfully desiring of Lawful Things.* And lastly, *Hoarding up, or unprofitably withholding the Benefit of them from the Relief of private Persons, or the Publick.* 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.*

Ephes. 5. 3, 5
1 Tim. 6. 9,
10.

§. 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.* This God confirmed by Thunderings and Lightnings, and other sensible Solemnities, to strike the People with more Aw 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*; 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.

Exod. 20

Mic. 2; 2

§. III. *David*, though otherwise a good Man, by Unwatchfulness is taken; the Beauty of *Uriah's Wife* was too hard for him, being disarm'd, and off from his Spiritual Watch. There was no *Disswasive* 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 look'd not like direct Murder. The Contrivance took; *Uriah* is kill'd, and his Wife is quickly *David's*. This interpreted *David's Covetousness*. But went it off so? No, *David* had sharp Sawce with his Meat. *His Pleasure soon turn'd to Anguish and Bitterness of Spirit: His Soul was overwhelm'd with Sorrow: The Waves went over his Head: He was consumed within*

Psal. 51
Psal. 77.
Ps. 42. 7.
Psal. 69. 23
14.
Psal. 6. 6, 7

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within him: He was stuck in the Mire and Clay; He cried, He wept; Tea, his Eyes were as a Fountain of Tears. Guiltiness was upon him, and he must be purged; his Sins wash'd white as Snow, that were as red as Crimson, or he is undone for ever. His Repentance prevail'd: 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 reach the better Sort to Fear, and stand in Aw 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 vanquish'd him.

2 Kings 21.

§. IV. The Second Instance is that of Naboth's Vineyard: It was coveted by Ahab and Jezebel: That, which led them to such an Unlawful Desire, found Means to accomplish it. Naboth must Dye, 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 must Dye; 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 don't or dare not shew it, because the Law will bide 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 falsely; 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 Covetousness, 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. 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 byass 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. And the Wise Man expressly tells us, that He that hateth Covetousness, shall prolong his Days; 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,

Isa. 57. 17.

Jer. 6. 13.

Ch. 8. 10.

& 22. 17.

Ezek. 33.

31.

Psal. 119.

36.

Prov. 28.

16.

Luke 16. 14.

lowers, *Take Heed and beware of Covetousness*: 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*: But he goeth farther; *He joyns Covetousness with Adultery, Murder and Blasphemy*. 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*: To the *Ephesians* he writeth the like; and addeth, *Let not Covetousness be so much as named among you*: And bids the *Colossians*, *Mortifie their Members*; and names several Sins, as *Fornication, Uncleaness, 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 callsthe *Love of Money* The Root of all Evil; which (saith he) *whilst some have coveted after, they have 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 beloved Friend *Timothy*) *see these Things, and follow after Righteousness, Faith, Love, Patience and Meekness*.

§. 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*. 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*. 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, 'tis 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 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. 'Tis 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 entred them; and the rather, because the Steps it maketh into the Mind, are almost insensible, which renders the Danger greater. *Thousands* thinks themselves unconcern'd 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 *Contentrivation* 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,

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Luke. 12. 15.
Mark 7. 22.

Rom. 1. 29.

Eph. 5. 3.

Col. 3. 5. 6.

1. Tim. 6.

9. 10. 11.

2 Pet. 2. 21

Heb. 13. 25

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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's 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 cover 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, Poysons, false Witnesses, &c.* I shall end this Head of *Covetousness*, with the Sin and Doom of two *covetous Men, Judas and Simon Magus*.

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 lov'd *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 of himself, was his own *Hang-man*. A *wicked Act, a wicked End*. Come on, you *Covetous*! What say you 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 betray'd the *Just ONE* in your selves, 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 your selves*

selvce, try your selves; know ye not your own selves, that if Christ dwell not (if he kule 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* 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*; 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 fordid, 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*: 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*. But he Blesseth those that consider the *Poor*, and commandeth every one, *To open freely to his Brother that is in Need*; 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 sail 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*. 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, and not their Service. The Avaritious 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 poche, to prevent the Charge of Repairs: And for his *Spare Dier, 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 give Money, and to shew Righteous, he tells you of the *Poor*: But if the *Poor* come, he excuses his Want of Charity with the *Unworthiness of the Object*, or the *Causes of his Poverty*,

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Acts 8. 9. to 24.

Prov. 17. 7.

Isa. 3. 14. 15.

Psal. 41. 1.

Deut. 15. 7.

1 Tim. 6. 17.

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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 don't 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 Gold, who knows, but he thinks it unnatural to Eat what he Worships ?

§. XVII. But, which aggravates this Sin, I have my self 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 dyed 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 pinch'd him in the fore Place ; he hit the Mark, and struck him to the Heart, who knew his Heart : By this he tryed how well he had kept the Commandments, *To Love God above all.* 'Tis 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 : 'Tis more than an ordinary Miracle : O who then would be Rich and Covetous ! 'Twas upon these Rich Men that Christ pronounced his Wo, saying, *Wo unto you that are Rich, for ye have received your Consolation here* : What ! None in the Heavens ? No, unless you become willing to be *Poor Men*, can resign all, live loose to the World, have it at Arm's-End, yea, under Foot, a Servant, and not a Master.

§. XIX. The other Instance is a very dismal one too : 'Tis 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 *Apostle's 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 Apostle's 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 Coverousness 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

and with that *Entire Love, Truth and Sincerity*, that became them. O that People would use the Light that Christ has given them, to search and see, how far they are under the *Power of 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, 'Tis 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 posit 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 entire Discourse, to which I refer the Reader, Entitled, *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon*. The next is —

§. XXI. *Peter Charron* (a famous *French Man*, 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 Covetousness: 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 immoderate Desire to get Riches is a Gangreen in our Soul, which with a Venomous Heat consumeth our 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 our Selves, vanisheth away: All the rest, in respect of our Profit, seemeth nothing; yea, we forget in the End, and condemn our Selves, our Bodies, our Minds, for this Transitory Truth; and as our Proverb is, We Sell our House 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 Ballance, when Nature hath taught us, to measure it by the Ell of Necessity. For, what greater Folly can there be, than to adore that which Nature it self hath put under our Feet, and hidden in the Bowels of the Earth, as unworthy 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 pre-saged 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 himself a Servant and a Slave to that which should be subject unto him? Riches Serve Wife Men, but Command a Fool; for a Covetous Man serveth his Riches, and not they him: And he is said to have Goods,*

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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 themselves 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 tie 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 Envyies and Molestations, which Riches ingender into the Heart of Man, as their proper Thunder-Bolt 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 himself. 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 ripe Time.

§. XXII. Abraham Cowley, a witty and ingenious Man, yieldeth us the other Testimony: Of Avarice he writeth thus: There are Two Sorts of Avarice, the One is but a Bastard-Kind, and that is a Rapacious Appetite 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 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 devoureth 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 bide 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 himself, for what he doth: He is a Slave to Mammon without Wages. The first maketh a Shift to be beloved, ay, and envied too, by some People: The second is the Universal Object of Hatred and Contempt. There is no Vice hath been so pelted with good Sentences, and especially by the Poets, who have pursued it with Satyrs and Fables, and Allegories and Allusions, and moved (as we say) every Stone to fling at it; among all which, I do not remember 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. Some Body 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

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 Persons 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, methinks, to be respectfully Treated, in Regard of their Quality.. I might be endless against them; but I am almost choakt with the Superabundance of the Matter. Too much Plenty impoverisheth me, as it doth them. Thus much against Avarice, that Morth of the Soul, and Canker of the Mind.

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§. 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 Extream, and that is **Luxury**, which is *An excessive Indulgence of Self in Ease and Pleasure.* This is the last great Impiety 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
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Mat. 6. 31,
32.

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*: 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 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 Musick and Dance, and Mirth, and the Laughter, which is Madness, 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 themselves 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,—* 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.

Christ Places these Things to the Courts of *Worldly Kings*, not his Kingdom; making them *unseemly* in his 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

Ecc. 2. 2.

Amos 6.
3, 4, 5, 6.

Phil. 3. 19.

rections 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 Rayment, let us therewith be content*. Behold the Abstemious, and most contented Life of those Royal Pilgrims, the Sons of Heaven, and Immortal Off-spring of the great Power of God; They were in Falts and Perils often, and eat what was set before them; and in all Conditions learned 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, makes 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.

§. 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 Excess 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 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* Off-spring 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. 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*, tho' never 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 Clothing*? 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 they 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 Pride of Life*, as to call Shame *Decency*, and to be curious and expensive about that which should be their *Humiliation*. And not only are they grown in love with these Vanities, and thereby express how wide they are from Primitive Innocence; but it's 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

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1 Tim. 6. 6,

7, 8, 9, 10,

11.

Psalm. 9. 17.

Gen. 3. 21.

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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 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 anoint themselves with the chief Perfumes: They stretch themselves upon Beds of Ivory: They chant to the sound of the Viol, and invent unto themselves Instruments of Musick, like David, not heeding or remembering the Afflictions and Captivity of poor Joseph*; Him they wickedly sold, Innocency was quite banished, and *Shame* soon began to grow a Custom, till they were grown *Shameless* in the Imitation. And truly, it's 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 your selves*; such Intemperance must be denied, and you must know your selves changed, and more nearly approached to primitive Purity, before you can be entituled to what you do but now usurp; for none but those who are led by the Spirit of God, are the Children of God, which guides into all Temperance and Meekness.

Amos 6. 3, 4,
5, 6.

Gal. 6. 7.

Rom. 8. 14.
Gal. 5. 24.

§. 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 stript 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's 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.

§. 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 have 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 Inconvenience that attends the like Follies, that what was once meer Necessity, a Badge of Shame, at best but a Remedy; is now the *Delight, Measure, and Recreation* of the Age. How ignoble is it! how Ingominious and Unworthy of a reasonable Creature; *Man which is endued with Understanding, sit to contemplate Immortality, and made a Companion (if not superior) to Angels,*

that

that he should mind a little Dust; a few shameful Rags; Inventions of meer 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.

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§. 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: Witnesses 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 not only Traffick in a simple Posture, but if a Christian (though he must be an odd one) fling out a filthy Word, its 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, diffused it, doth it not 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. *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob* were plain Men, and Princes, as *Gassiers* 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. The Prophets were generally poor *Mechanicks*; one a *Shepherd*, another an *Herds-Man*, &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 liv'd in; but they never imitated them. *John Baptist*, the Messenger of the Lord, who was sanctified

Heb. 11.
Amos 7. 15,
16.

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Luke 1. 15.

Mat. 3. 1, 2,

3, 4.

Mat. 13. 55.

Mark 6. 3.

Luke 7. 25.

ed in his Mother's Womb, preached his Embassie 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 Apparell'd, who according to the Flesh, was of poor Descent, and in Life of great Plainness; insomuch that it was usual in a Way of Derision to say, *Is not this Jesus the Son of Joseph a Carpenter?* And this Jesus tells his Followers, That as for *sist Raiment, Gorgeous Apparel and Delicacies, they were for King's 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 further leaves it with them in a 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 'twere well, if his Doom might awaken them to Repentance.

Mat. 4. 18.

Mat. 9. 9.

Acts 18. 1,

2, 3.

John 13. 5.

1 Cor. 4. 9,

10, 11, 12, 13,

14.

Phi. 3. 17.

1 Pet. 2. 21.

Jam. 1. 15, 20

2 Pet. 3. 4, 5.

1 Tim. 5. 6.

Luke 8. 14.

§. X. Nor were the *Twelve Apostles* the immediate Messengers of the Lord Jesus Christ, other then 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 'tis 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 liv'd 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 pathological 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 bidden Man of the Heart, which are of great Price with the Lord: Affirming, That *such as live in Pleasure, are Dead whilst they Live*; for that the Cares and Pleasures of this Life choak and destroy the Seed of the Kingdom, and quite hinder all Progress in the Hidden and Divine Life. Wherefore we find that the Holy Men and Women of former Times, were not accustomed to these *Pleasures and Vain Recreations*; but having their Minds set on Things above, sought another Kingdom, which consists in *Righteousness, Peace, and Joy in the Holy Spirit*; who having obtained a good Report, and enter'd into their *Eternal Rest*: Therefore their Works follow, and praise them in the Gates.

Heb. 12. 2, 14,

15, 16.

Heb. 4. 9.

Rev. 14. 13.

CHAP. XV.

§. 1. *The Judgments of God denounced upon the Jews for their Luxury: all Ranks included.* §. 2. *Christ charges his Disciples to have a Care of the Guilt of it: A Supplication to the Inhabitants of England.* §. 3. *Temperance prest upon the Churches by the Apostles.* §. 4. *An Exhortation to England to measure her self by that Rule.* §. 5. *What Christian Recreations are.* §. 6. *Who need other Sports to pass away their Time, are unfit for Heaven and Eternity.* §. 7. *Man has but a few Days: They may be better bestowed: This Doctrine is ungrateful to none that would be Truly Blessed.* §. 8. *Not only Good is omitted by this Luxurious Life, but Evil committed, as Breach of Marriage and Love, Loss of Health and Estate, &c. Play-houses and Stages most Instrumental to this Mischief.* §. 9. *How Youth is by them inflamed to Vanity: What Mischief comes of Revels, Gamings, &c. Below the Life of Noble Heathens.* §. 10. *The True Disciples of JESUS are mortified in these Things: The Pleasure and Reward of a good Employment of Time.*

§. I. **B**UT such Excess in *Apparel and Pleasure*, was not only forbid in Scripture, but it was the Ground of that lamentable Message by the Prophet *Isaiah* to the People of *Israel*: *Moreover the Lord saith, Because the Daughters of Zion are haughty, and walk with stretched forth Necks and wanton Eyes, Walking and Mincing as they go, and making a Tinkling with their Feet; therefore the Lord will smite with a Scab the Crown of the Head of the Daughters of Zion, and the Lord will discover their Secret Parts; in that Day the Lord will take away the Bravery of their Tinkling Ornaments, and their Curls (or Networks in the Hebrew) and their round Tyres like the Moon; the Chains and the Bracelets, and the spangled Ornaments; the Bonnets, and the Ornaments of the Legs, and the Head-Bands, and the Tablets, and the Ear-Rings, the Rings and Nose Jewels; the changeable Suits of Apparel, and the Mantles, and the Wimples, and the Crisping Pins; the Glasses, and the Fine Linnen, and the Hoods and the Vails: And it shall come to pass, that instead of Sweet Smells, there shall be a Srink; and instead of a Girdle, a Rent; and instead of well-set Hair, Baldness; and instead of a Stomacher, a Girding of Sack-cloth, and Burning instead of Beauty: Thy Men shall fall by the Sword, and thy mighty in the War; And her Gates shall lament and mourn, and she being desolate, shall sit upon the Ground. Behold, O vain and foolish Inhabitants of England and Europe, your Folly and your Doom! Yet read the Prophet *Ezekiel's* Vision of miserable Tyre, what Punishment her Pride and Pleasure brought upon her; and amongst many other Circumstances these are some; *These were thy Merchants in all Sorts of Things; in blue Clothes and brodered Work, and in Chests of Rich Apparel, Emeralds, Purple, Fine Linnen, Coral and Agat, Spices with all Precious Stones and Gold, Horses, Chariots, &c.* For which hear Part of her Doom, *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.* 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 Cloathed with strange Apparel.* 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 gratifie 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 Cloathed?* (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 Righte-

Isa. 3. 16. to 26.

The very Practice and Garb, and Vanity of this Age, being as liable to the Wrath of God which hangs over England and Europe, and is ready to be executed on their Rebellious Inhabitants.

Ezekiel 27.

Zeph. 1. 8.

Mat. 6. 31; 32. 33.

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Luke 12. 22,
to 36.

Rom. 14. 17.

ousness, and all these Things shall be added unto you. 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 Nations of the World who know not God.* If now 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*, (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 Soul's Sakes, O Inhabitants of *England*, to be Serious, to reflect a While upon your selves, 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 your selves, *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. 'Tis Lust, Pride, Avarice, that thrusts 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 confirm'd and enforc'd 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 avoided. *In like Manner I will, that Women adorn themselves in modest Apparel: (What's that?) with Shamefastness and Sobriety; not with broidered Hair, or Gold, or Pearls, or Costly Array* [then it seems these are immodest] *but which becometh Women professing Godliness, with Good Works*: 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's Good; and consequently that they are Evil, and unbecoming *Women professing Godliness*. To which the Apostle *Peter* joyns 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*: And the same Apostle farther

* Note, not a Word of Men, as if this Vanity belonged not to the Sex; let them observe that.
1 Tim. 5. 6.
Phi. 3. 20.

farther enjoy'd, *That Christians should have their Conversation 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, or Covetousness, be once named amongst you; neither Filthiness, nor foolish Talking or Feasting, 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 circumspcctly, not as Fools, but as Wise; redeeming the Time, because the Days are Evil.*

§. IV. By this measure your selves, O Inhabitants of this Land, who think your selves wrong'd, 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, unexpressible Pity, I bewail your Folly. O that you would be Wise! O that the Just Principle in your selves were leard! O that Eternity had Time to plead a little with you! Why should your Beds, your Glasses, your Cloaths, 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 admonish'd, 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 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, Anguish and Disappointment, be a sad and dreadful Harvest for you to Reap, for all your Mispent Time and Substance, about Superfluities and Vain Recreations? Retire then; quench not the Holy Spirit in your selves; 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, Arithmetick, Geometry, Husbandry, Gardening, Handicraft, Medicine, &c. And, that Women Spin, Sow, Knit, Weave, Garden, Preserve, and the like House-wife 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 accursd Lust and Damnable Impiety. It is most vain in any to object, That they can't do these always, and therefore, Why mayn't they use these common Diversions? For I ask, What would such be at? What would they do? And what would they have? They that have Trades, have not Time enough to do the Half of what hath been recommended. And as for

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Col. 3. 1, 2,

3, 4.

Rom. 13. 13,

14.

Eph. 5. 2, 3.

Ch. 4. 29.

Rom. 13. 14.

Eph. 4. 30.

Ch. 5. 1, 15,

16.

1 Pet. 1. 15.

Heb. 10. 25.

1 Pet. 4. 9,

10, 11.

Mat. 25. 36,

37.

Phi. 2. 4.

Ch. 4. 8.

Gen. 5. 24.

Psal. 1. 2, 63.

6. 119. 15.

143. 5.

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Amos 6. 3.
to 8.

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.

Ecc. 11. 3.

§. VI. But how do these think to pass their vast Eternity away? For as the Tree falls so it lies. Let none deceive themselves, nor mock their im-

Gal. 6. 4. to

9.

Eph. 5. 6.

Pha. 4. 6. 7.

Eph. 4. 18.

19. 20.

Mat. 13. 8.

9.

Rom 10. 2.

mortal 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*: 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's the Reason that the Cry is so common, *must we always dote 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 Heaven, 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 Word*, must not use *Sports* to pass away that Time, which they are commanded so diligently to redeem, considering no less Work is to be done, than making their *Calling and Election sure*: 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.

Mat. 12. 18.

Eph. 5. 1.

Ph. 3. 14.

2 Pet. 2. 10.

Col. 4. 5.

§. VII. There's but little Need to drive away that, by foolish Divertisements, which flies away so swiftly of it self; and when once gone, is never to be recalled. *Plays*, *Parks*, *Balls*, *Treats*, *Romances*, *Musicks*, *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. 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 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 Virtuons 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*,

1. Tim. 4.

5. to 11.

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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 Consciences tell them upon a serious Inquiry in the Cool of the Day.

§. 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 gratified, the Minds of People alienated from heavenly Things, and exercised about meer Folly : Pride taken in Cloaths, 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 Madamming* of Persons, according to the *Gawdiness* 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 Men's Estates ? How are their Vocations neglected ? Young Women deluded ? The Marriage Bed invaded ? Contentions and Family-Animosities begotten ? Partings of Man and Wife ? Disinheriting 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. 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 *Prophane Hamours*, 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 *Debauch 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.

§. IX. But *lastly*, the grand Indisposition of Mind in People to solid, serious and Heavenly Meditations, by the almost continual, as well as pleasant Ruminations 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. 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 *Expense* 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, but never the Practice of them that feared him : Nay, the

Rom. 6. 3;

to 8.

1 Cor. 12.

13.

Gal. 3. 27.

Col. 2. 12. 13.

Eph. 3. 12.

13.

James 2. 11
to 9.

Job. 35. 13

Eph. 4. 17,
to 25.

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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 Looseness, 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 *New-gate 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 *Astions* are to be ruled by their own *Will*; 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* loath, 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 gild 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 amongst Neighbours, Visits to the Sick, Care of the Widow and Fatherless*, 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 conceiv'd, that the Way to Glory is smooch'd with such Variety of Carnal Pleasures; for then *Convulsion, 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 extinguish'd, 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 proportionable Conviction. But these *pretended 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. 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; 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 express'd: 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 rais'd to a more sublime and spiritual Conversation, as to use this World, even in its most innocent Enjoyments, as if they us'd it not. But

if

Phi. 4. 6, 7,
8, 9.
Job. 24. 12.

Prov. 18. 14.
Psa. 51. 17.
Mat. 5. 4.
Luke 6. 25.
Rom. 2. 7.
Psal. 40. 8.
Prov. 13. 21.
Rom. 7. 22.
Heb. 11. 13,
14, 15, 16.
Rom. 1. 25, to
39.

Job. 1. 4.

1 John 2. 15,
16, 17.

if they take *Pleasure* in any Thing below, it should be in such good Offices as before-mentioned, whereby a Benefit may redound in some Respect to others: In which God is honoured over all Visible Things, the Nation relieved, the Government better'd, Themselves rendred Exemplary of Good, and thereby justly entituled 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.

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Job 36. 7.
Psal. 5. 12.
Psal. 37. 25,
29.
Prov. 10. 7.

CHAP. XVI.

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§. 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.*

§. 1. **B**UT 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 Fleishly 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.

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 gratifie their Senses; then what Need of a Daily Cross, A Self-Denying Life, Working out Salvation with Fear and Trembling, Seeking 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 gratifie 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; but he speaks to them in an 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 who should believe and obey Him. Further, That they should be taken into that near Alliance of Loving Friends, yea, the intimate

Luke 16. 15.
John 15. 17.
18. 19.
Ch. 15. 20.
Ch. 17. 15,
16. 17.
Heb. 11. 24,
25, 26, 27.
Rom. 8. 19.
2 Tim. 3. 11,
12.
Heb. 12. 1, 2.

Mat. 16. 24.
Luke 9. 23.
Phi. 2. 12.
Col. 3. 1, 2.
Eph. 5. 4, 5.
Neh. 13.
Psal. 112. 1.
Isa. 28. 14.
Psal. 119. 97.
Luke 18. 23.
Heb. 11. 96.
Heb. 10. 93.
Ch. 11. 37, 38.

* Luke 6. 20.
Ch. 12. 32.
Ch. 22. 29.
Col. 1. 13.
1 Thes. 2. 12.
Heb. 12. 28.
Jam. 2. 5.
John 15. 14,
15.
Rom. 8. 17.
Heb. 2. 11.
Ch. 12. 2.
1 Pet. 2. 21.
Luke 12. 29.
to 31.
2 Tim. 5. 6.
Mat. 19. 27,
28, 29.

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Luke 6. 22.

John 15. 10.

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 the Precepts of this Great and Eternal Rewarder of all that Diligently seek and follow Him.*

§. 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 Tryals, and most Bitter Afflictions*: He came not to Consecrate a Way to the Eternal Rest, through *Gold and Silver, Ribbons, Laces, Points, Perfumes, Costly Cloaths, Curious Trims, exalt 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 cheerfully 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*: But he that commanded to *seek another Country, and to lay up Treasures in the Heavens that fade not away,* and therefore charg'd them, never to be much inquisitive about *what they should Eat, Drink, or put on,* because (saith he) *After these Things the Gentiles, that know not God, do seek;* (and *Christians* that pretend to *know Him too*) but having *Food and Raiment therewith be content*: He, I say, that enjoyed 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.*

§. III. O who will follow him! Who will be True Christians? We must not think to Steer another Course, nor to drink of another *Cup* than hath the Captain of our Salvation done before us: No, for 'tis the very Question he asked *Fames 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?* 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 Consciences 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 *Baptiz'd* 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 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

Mat. 10. 37.

38.

Luke 12. 32.

33, 34, 35, 36.

Mat. 16. 19.

20, 31, 32, 33.

1 Tim. 6. 6,

to 11.

Mat. 8. 31.

to 39.

Heb. 2. 10.

Mat. 20. 22,

23.

Obj. 1.

Rom. 6. 3, 4,

5, 6.

Phi. 3. 10.

1 Pet. 4. 13.

Tit. 2. 11.

12, 13.

John 1. 9.

Rom. 6. 6.

Gal. 2. 20.

Ch. 5. 24.

Ch. 5. 4.

2 Tim. 1. 10.

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*: 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 it's Creator. 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 Battle 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; 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* (and those they were, and all True Christians are to be, redeem'd 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.

§. 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 Necessary and Convenient, he be therewith Content, 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: *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's 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*, 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.

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Gal. 5. 11.
1 Cor. 1. 17,
18.

Ver. 27, 28,
29.

Heb. 4. 1. to
12.

2 Cor. 4. 1;
7, 8.

1 Tim. 6. 8.

Rom. 5. 6;
7, 8.

Joha 15. 8.

Rev. 3. 20.

Col. 3. 1, 2;
3, 4.
Rom. 9. 5.

C H A P. XVII.

Chap. XVII.

§. 1. The Customs, Fashions, &c. which make up the Attire and Pleasure of the Age, are Enemies to inward Retirement. §. 2. Their End is to gratifie 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 further Condemn them, who are usually Loose and Vain People. §. 6. Mostly borrowed of the Gentiles, that knew not G O D. §. 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 the Maintenance of Families answer'd. None must do Evil, that Good should follow: But better Employments may be found more Serviceable to the World. §. 11. Another Objection answered: G O D 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. **N**EXT, Those Customs and Fashions, which make up the common Attire and Conversation of the Times, do eminently obstruct the inward Retirement of People's 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 (expecting the Addition of such other Things as may be necessary and convenient, according

Eccle. 12. 2.
Luke 12. 29;
30, 31.

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Eccl. 4. 8.

2 Tim. 2. 16,
21, 22.

Eph. 4. 30.

Jer. 18. 18,

19, 20.

Ch. 20. 10.

Tit. 2. 3, 4, 5.

Eph. 5. 3, 4.

1 Tim. 4. 2.

1 Tim. 4. 4.

Psal. 12. 2.

Eccl. 1. 11.

17.

Ch. 6. 9.

Isa. 5. 12.

Ch. 14. 29.

Ch. 59. 3, 4.

cording 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, nor Grieve the Holy Spirit; consider of an Eternal Doom, prepare for Judgment: And the best Return that is usual, is *Reproachful Jest, Prophane 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 bespoken for Visits, and for Plays; where their usual Entertainment is some *Stories fetched from the more approved Romances, some Strange Adventures, some Passionate Amours, Unkind Refuses, Grand Impediments, Importunate Addresses, Miserable Disappointments, Wonderful Surprises, Unexpected Encounters, Castles Surprized, Imprisoned Lovers Rescued, and Meetings of supposed Dead Ones: Bloody Duels, Languishing Voices Echoing from Solitary Groves, Overheard Mournful Complaints, deep-fetched Sighs sent from Wild Deserts, Intrigues managed with unheeded Subtlety*: And whilst all Things seem at the greatest Distance, then are *Dead 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*. 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's possible for the most extravagant Wits to invent, not only express Lyes, but utter 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 meer *Phantasms*, the present Remedy is Latitude to the greatest Vice. And yet these are some of their most innocent Recreations, which are the very *Sins of Satan*, to ensnare 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, 'tis their Hearts breed Vanity, and their Eyes turn Interpreters to their Thoughts, and their Looks do whisper 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.

Prov. 7. 10,
to 21.1 John 2. 15,
16.

§. II. Here is the End of all their Fashions and Recreations, *To gratifie the Lust of the Eye, the Lust of the Flesh, and the Pride of Life*: Cloaths 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 'twas *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 are so far from the *End of their Creation*, namely, a *Divine Life*, that they are Destructive of it.

Eccl. 12. 1.

§. 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 'twas once their Happiness, not to know them in any Degree, so it is theirs, that know Christ indeed, to be by his Eternal Power redeem'd 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 Gates, Wanton*

Eph. 2. 1 to 5.

Col. 2. 13.

1 Pet. 1. 14.

15, 16, 17, 18

Tit. 2. 11, 12

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 after those Things that are Eternal. O, that there should be so much Noise, Clutter, Invention, Traffick, Curiosity, Diligence, Pains and vast Expence of Time and Estate, to please and gratifie poor vain Mortality! And that the Soul, the very Image of Divinity it self, should have so little of their Consideration! What, O what more pregnant Instances and evident Tokens can be given, That 'tis 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.

S. IV. Thus are their Minds employ'd, and so vain are they in their Imaginations, and dark in their Understandings, that they not only believe them Innocent, but perswade themselves, *they are good Christians all this while*; and to rebuke them is worse than *Heresie*. 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 forc'd Zeal, of half an Hour's talk, in other Men's 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 'twas the Young Man's in the Gospel, that said, *He would Go, and did not*. 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 Cail, 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 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! 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.*

S. V. That which further manifests the *Unlawfulness* of these Numerous Fashions and Recreations is, That they are either the Inventions of Vain, Idle, and Wanton Minds, to gratifie 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 Impoverish'd 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 licenses 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 and Actors of all these Follies, cannot be difficult to demonstrate: For were it possible, that any One could bring us Father *Adam's*

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Jam. 5. 5.
Mat. 7. 17,
18, 19.
Rom 8. 8.
Mat. 16. 26.
1 Cor. 6. 13.
Job 35. 15.
Isa. 40. 6.
1 Pet. 1. 24.

Luke 8. 14.
Pro. 1. 25. 30
ch. 10. 17.
ch. 12. 1.
ch. 15. 15.
Isa. 58. 1.
2. to 10.
Jer. 16. 19.
20, 21.
2 Tim. 3. 4,
Mat. 6. 7.

Isa. 55. 4.
Jer. 2. 5.
Ecc. 11. 10.

Rom. 13. 13;
12.
Mat. 15. 7.
to 14.

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Gen. 3. 21.Eph. 5. 1, 2,
3, 4, 5, 15, 16
2 Tim. 2. 16.
22.
Mat. 25. 13.
Phil. 2. 12, 13
Col. 3. 1, 2, 3
Rom. 2. 6, 7.

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, 'Twas God himself that made them *Coats of Skins*. 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, Lac'd Gowns, Embroidered Petticoats, Shoes with Slip-flaps lac'd with Silk or Silver Lace, and Ruffled like Pigeons Feet, with several *Tards*, 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 Jestings, prophane 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.*

§. 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 *Aristophanes*, a Prodigal *Charaxus*, a Luxurious *Aristippus*; and the Practices of such Women, as the Infamous *Clytemnestra*, the painted *Jezabel*, the Lascivious *Campaspe*, the immodest *Posthumia*, the costly *Corinthian Lais*, the most impudent *Flora*, the wanton *Egyptian 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's 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 House-wifery, and commendable Entertainment: Who though called *Heathens*, express'd 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's 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*. 'Tis 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*. 'Tis 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*? His Country was *Syracuse*, the chief City in *Sicily*, famous for the Infamy of many Tyrants; to please and gratifie the Lusts of some of whom, he set his Wits to work. And don't you think this an ill *Original*? And is it less in any one to imitate, or justifie 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 Justifie the like *Inventions*?

ons? 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 *Aleman*, or *Alcina* a *Ly-dian*: 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, Ketches, &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 'twas 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 *Maryms* or *one that hated Women*, that is wanton ones, for otherwise he was *twice Married*: The other he Characters as a most severe *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, rendring 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 Battel betwixt the *Athenians* and *Lacedemonians*, was so regretted, as a Law was made, as 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 rendring their *vicious Additions* *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 Bridewel. 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 Jeer'd, 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 your selves *Christians*, whose Lusts are so strong, that you are forc'd 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 your selves to such *Instructors*, as were by the sober *Heathens* permitted to reclaim the most Vicious of the People that 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

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Conversation, but for the publick Benefit, the Athenians instituted the *Gynæceſmi*, or Twenty Men, who ſhould make it their Buſineſs to obſerve the People's *Apparel and Behaviour*; that if any were found *Immodest*, and to demean themſelves *Looſly*, they had full Authority to *puniſh them*. But the Caſe is alter'd, 'tis puniſhable to Reprove ſuch: Yes, it's 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 Loofneſs, but their Extream Contempt of it, by rendering it Ridiculous through Comical and Abuſive Jeſts, on *Publick Stages*. Which, how dangerous it is, and apt to make Religion *little Worth*, in the People's 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 revered him for his Grave and Virtuous Life and Doctrines, than by his *Abuſive Representations* of him in a Play: Which made the airy, wanton, unſtable Crowd, 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 Satisfaction: Yet can ſuch Libertines all this while ſtrut and ſwell for Chriſtians, and ſtrut it out againſt Precept and Example; but we muſt be *Whimiſical, Conceited, Morose, Melancholy*, or elſe *Hereticks, Deceivers* and what not? O Blindneſs! Phariſaical Hypocriſie! As if ſuch were fit to be Judges of Religion; or that 'twere poſſible for them to have a Sight and Senſe of true Religion, or really to be Religious; whiſt darkened in their Underſtandings by the God of the Pleaſures of this World, and their Minds ſo wrapt 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, whiſt 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, Loofe 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!

Object. 3.

§. 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 theſe many Families ſubiſt, 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 ſuch Vanity, and the others have found out more Honeſt Employments. 'Tis 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 ſatiſfie, the Tenants might have leſs Rent to pay, and turn from Poor to Rich, whereby they might be able to find more honeſt

honest and domestick Employments for their 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 Plow 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 can't 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 helpt by Charity to better Callings: This were more prudent, nay, Christian, than to consume Money upon 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 our selves, 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?* *Ans.* 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 enjoy'd, 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: 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 enjoy'd and revered, 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 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 enjoy'd no less on all, as they would be everlastingly saved. 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

Object. 4.

Luke 8. 14.
Ch. 12. 28,
29, to 31.

John 8. 12.
Ch. 15. 6, 7,
8.
Ch. 17. 20.

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Rom. 2. 8.

Gen. 3. 6.

Mark 13. 33.

34, 35, 36, 37

1 John 5. 20.

1 Thes. 5. 23.

Gal. 5. 22.

23, 24, 25.

Eph. 5. 8, 9,

10, 11, 15, 16

Eph. 6. 12, 13

14, 15, 16,

17, 18.

Eph. 1. 16.

to 23.

Ch. 4. 12, 13.

John 17. 3.

Rom. 1. 11.

Tit. 2. 11, 12

13, 14.

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 entrapp'd, to cast so Thick a Vail 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. 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 Flesh, and the proud 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.

§. XII. But 'tis a manifest Sign, of what Mould and Make those Persons are, who practice and plead for such *Egyptian Shameful Rags*, as Pleasures. It's to be hoped that they never knew, or to be fear'd they have forgot the *Humble, Plain, Meek, Holy, Self-denying* and *Exemplary Life*, which the *Eternal Spirit* sanctifies all Obedient Hearts into; yea, it's 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. 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! Grear 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 busie 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) whereby 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! Wherefore we conclude that as the Design of the Devil (where he cannot involve and draw into *Gross Sin*) is to busie, 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

World of it's Intemperance: So will the True Discipleship be obtained; for otherwise many enormous Consequences, and pernicious Effects will follow. 'Tis 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*; 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 People*, 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.

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C H A P XVIII.

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§. 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 warns his Child of what it dotes too much upon; and we should watch over our selves 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 distast.* §. 6. *Such as yet proceed to Love their Unlawful Pleasures more than CHRIST and His Cross, the Mischiefs they have brought to Persons and Estates, Bodies and Souls.* §. 7. *Ingenious 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: 'Tis 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. **B**UT should these Things be as *Indifferent*, as they are proved perniciously unlawful (for I never heard any advance their *Plea* beyond the Bounds of meer *Indifferency*) yet so great is their Abuse, so universal the sad Effects thereof, like to an Infection, that they therefore ought to be rejected of all, especially those, whose Sobriety hath preserv'd 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 meer 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 nor remember, they have acknowledged these Things to be but of an indifferent Nature: If so, and (Vanity never urg'd 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 Ex-

Phi. 3. 17.

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Rom. 14. to
the End.

Gen. 4. 9.

2 Kings 18.
3, 4.

Psal. 10. 3, 4.

2 Pet. 1. 3.
Eph. 5. 7.Rom 14. 1. to
the End.Lam. 4. 5.
Prov. 21. 17.
Job 21. 13, 14.
Psal. 55. 23.
Psal. 37. 10.
Eccl. 8. 12.
Psal. 37. 1, 2
Prov. 2. 22.

cess, and a meer exciting others to continue in their Abuse, because they find Persons reputed Sober to imitate them, or otherwise give them an Example : *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 on the Excess, and can never make too much Haste out of those Inconveniences, 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. 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 'tis as frequent with Men to bend a crooked Stick as much the contrary Way, that they might make it straight 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. 'Twas murdering *Cain* that rudely asked the Lord, *Was he is Brothers Keeper* ? 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 Neighbours 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 enjoin'd it should be broke to Pieces, because they were too fond and doting upon it. 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 *Idolrous Uses*. And what's 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 meer Indifferency, yet when by Circumstances they become prejudicial, such Conveniency it self ought to be put up ; much more what's but *Indifferent*, should be deny'd. People ought not to weigh their private Satisfaction more than a *Publick Good* ; nor please themselves in too free an Use of Indifferent Things, at the Cost of being so really prejudicial to the Publick, 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. 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. So that here is a Twofold 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.

§. VI. Now those, who notwithstanding what I have urged, will yet proceed ; what is it, but that they have so involv'd 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 Vow the greatest Temperance ; but are no sooner out of it, than in their Vice again.*

§. VII.

§. VII. That these Things are the Case, and almost innumerable more, I am persuaded no ingenious 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 joyn with them in their abominable Excess, 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 (of what?) the Ways, Fashions, Converse and Spirit of Babylon* ; What's 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. 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 Merchandise any more : The Merchandise of Gold, and Silver, and Precious Stones, and of Pearls and Fine Linnen, 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 Flower, and Beasts, and Slaves, and Souls of Men. Behold the Character and Judgment of Luxury : And though I know it hath a farther Signification than what is *Literal*, yet 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. 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 that 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 : 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 !**

§. 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. And if 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 it's 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*

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Jer. 16. 5, 6,
7, 8, 9.Isa. 3. 13. to
16.
Jer. 50. 8.
Ch. 15. 6, 7.
Amos 6. 3,
4, 5, 6, 7.

Rev. 18. 7, 8.

Vers. 12.

Vers. 19.

Vers. 3.

Vers. 14.

Luke 12. 33,
34.Col. 4. 5, 6.
1 Thes. 4. 11.
12.
1 Pet. 3. 1, 2,
3, 4.
Eph. 4. 29 &
5. 3, 4, 5, 6.1 Tim. 4. 12.
Phi. 3. 16. to
20.
1 Pet. 2. 12.
Prov. 31. 22.
to 31.
2 Chr. 15. 7.
Prov. 24. 23.
James 2. 2.
to 9.
Luke 12. 22,
30.
1 Tim. 4.
2 Pet. 3. 11.
for Psa. 26. 5.

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Mat. 25. 21.

for *Necessaries and Conveniencies of Life*, devoted themselves to the *Concernments of a Cælestial 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.

Prov. 10. 4.

Eccl. 10. 16.
17. 18.

Rev. 22. 11.

Prov. 21. 4,
29.Eccl. 12. 1.
Psal. 37. 21.
Psal. 10. 2.
Psal. 4. 2.
Psal. 79. 12.
Psal. 82. 3, 4.
Prov. 22. 7.
Isa. 3. 14, 15.
Ezek. 22. 29.
Amos 5. 11,
12.
ch. 8. 4. 7. 8.
Isa. 1. 16. 17.
18.Jer. 7. 6.
Rom. 12. 20.
2 Cor. 9. 7.
Psal. 40. 4.
Acts 10. 34.
Rom. 2. 11.
Eph. 6. 9.
Col. 3. 25.
1 Pet. 1. 17.
Jam. 5. 4, 5.Psal. 41. 1.
Mat. 25. 34,
35. 36.
Jam. 2. 15. 16.
Psal. 112. 9.

§. IX. But the *Temperance* I plead for, is not only *Religiously*, but *Politically Good*: 'Tis 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. 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 short Space be enabled to clear them from those *Incumbrances*, which otherwise (like *Moths*) soon eat out plentiful *Revenues*. 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*, *Dancings*, *Shews*, *Taverns*, *Ale-Houses*, and the like *Folly and Intemperance*; of which this Land is more infested, and by which its rendred 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 *Prophane 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*. Wherefore it is, that we cannot but loudly call upon the *Generality of the Times*, and *testifie*, both by our *Life* and *Doctrine*, against the like *Vanities* and *Abuses*, if possibly 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*.

§. 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 *Pinch'd Bellies relieved*, and *naked Backs clothed*; 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 Indifference of your Pleasures. But that the *Sweat and tedious Labour* of the *Husband-Men*, 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 of the Great Governour 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 others *Exigencies* and *Relief*. Yea, so strict is it enjoynd, 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

in the Deep) to Prey upon the Small, much less to make a Sport of the Lives and Labours of the lesser Ones, to gratifie their inordinate Senses.

§. 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 Publick 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 Alms-Houses for the Aged and Impotent. Then should we 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 our selves at Home.

Alas! Why should Men need *Persuasions* to what their own Felicity so necessarily leads them to? Had these *Vitioso's* of the Times but a Sense of Heathen *Cato's* Generosity, they would rather deny their Carnal Appetites, than leave such Noble Enterprises unattempted. 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 employ'd about these poor, low Things, is 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 Gawdy; He Abstemious, they Luxurious; He Chast, 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 dyed hated of the Men of his own Nation. O you pretended Followers of this Crucified JESUS! *Examine your selves, try your selves; know you not your own selves, if He dwell not (if He Rule not) in you, that you are Reprobates? Be 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.* I beseech you hear me, and remember you were Invited and Entreated 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 your selves, 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, Wo, Anguish, and Tribulation, from God the Judge of Quick and Dead, by Jesus Christ.* 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 reaches 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.

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Prov. 14. 21.
Mat. 19. 21.

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2 Cor. 13. 5.

Gal. 6. 7, 8.

Rom. 2. 8.

Tit. 2. 12, 13.

Let

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Ch. XVIII.
Eph. 5. 16.
Rom. 2. 7. 9.

Let it be so, O you Christians, and escape the Wrath to come ! Why will you dye ? 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. Therefore Gird up the Loyns of your Minds, be Sober, Fear, Watch, Fray and Endure to the End ; calling to mind, for your Encouragement and Consolation; that all such, as through Patience and Well-Doing wait for Immortality, shall Reap Glory, Honour and Eternal Life, in the Kingdom of the Father ; whose is the Kingdom, the Power and the Glory for ever. Amen.

No Cross, No Crown.

The Second P A R T :

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 Lasting Happiness*. Collected in Favour of the TRUTH delivered in the FIRST PART.

By WILLIAM PENN.

The P R E F A C E.

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, inclin'd 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 Profess'd Christians, and the Last from Retir'd, Aged, and Dying Men ; being their Last and Serious Reflections, to which no Ostentation or Worldly Interests could induce them. Where it will be easie 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 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.

C H A P.

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.*

1. *Among the Greeks, viz.* §. 1. Of Cyrus. §. 2. Artaxerxes. §. 3. Agathocles. §. 4. Philip. §. 5. Alexander. §. 6. Ptolemy. §. 7. Xenophanes. §. 8. Antigonus. §. 9. Themistocles. §. 10. Aristides. §. 11. Pericles. §. 12. Phocion. §. 13. Clitomachus. §. 14. Epaminondas. §. 15. Demosthenes. §. 16. Agaciles. §. 17. Agelaus. §. 18. Agis. §. 19. Alcamenes. §. 20. Alexandridas. §. 21. Anaxilas. §. 22. Arifton. §. 23. Archidamus. §. 24. Cleomenes. §. 25. Dersyllidas. §. 26. Hippodamus. §. 27. Leonidas. §. 28. Lylander. §. 29. Paulanias. §. 30. Theopompus, &c. §. 31. *The Manner of Life and Government of the Lacedæmonians in general.* §. 32. *Lycurgus their Lawgiver.* (II.) *Among the Romans, viz.* Of §. 33. 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. §. 54. Cleobulus. §. 55. Pittacus. §. 56. Hippias. §. 57. The Gymnosophists. §. 58. The Bamburgacii. §. 59. The Gynaecolmi. §. 60. Anacharlis. §. 61. Anaxagoras. §. 62. Heraclitus. §. 63. Democritus. §. 64. Socrates. §. 65. Plato. §. 66. Antisthenes. §. 67. Xenocrates. §. 68. Bion. §. 69. Demonax. §. 70. Diogenes. §. 71. Crates. §. 72. Aristotle. §. 73. Mandanis. §. 74. Zeno. §. 75. Quintilian. §. 76. Seneca. §. 77. Epictetus. (IV.) *Of Virtuous Heathen-Women, viz.* §. 78. Penelope. §. 79. Theoxena. §. 80. Pandora and Protagenia. §. 81. Hipparchia. §. 82. Lucretia. §. 83. Cornelia. §. 84. Pontia. §. 85. Arria. §. 86. Pompeja Plantina. §. 87. Plotina. §. 88. Pompeja Paulina. §. 89. *A Reproof to Voluptuous Women of the Times.*

§. I. **C**yrus (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 shun'd the Occasion of *Evil*. The *Comptroller* of his Household, 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 chaste *Bill of Fare*: but this shews the *Power* he had over his *Appetite* as well as his *Soldiers*; and that he was 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 dye, he gave this Reason of his Belief of *Immortality*, *I cannot, said he, persuade my self to think, that the Soul of Man, after having sustain'd it self, 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 enlightned Times.

§. II. **Artaxerxes Mnemon**, being upon an extraordinary Occasion reduced to eat *Barley Bread*, and dried *Figgs*, 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 *Pet-*
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ter, 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, arrived in one Day, feared too much success might transport him immoderately; and therefore pray'd 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* perswading him, *To decline bearing 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 quarrell'd and corrected the *Peloponneses* 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 Embassadors of *Athens*, whom asking after Audience, *If he could do them any Service*, and one of them surlily answering, *The best thou canst do us is, to hang thy Self*; He was nothing disturbed, though his Court murmured; but calmly said to the Embassador, *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 Governour 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. *Ptolomy*, 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 prest 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*

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 pray'd 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 render Athens, Mistress of Greece, but it required Secrecy: The People obliged him to communicate it to *Aristides*, whose Judgment they would follow. *Aristides* having privately heard it from *Themistocles*, publicly answered to the People, *True, there was nothing more Advantageous, nor nothing more Unjust: which quasht 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 publick Affairs, or hurt his own. One of his Friends praying him to speak falsely 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* reply'd, *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 Governour making Rich Presents, he returned them; saying, *I refused Alexander's.* And when several perswaded 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, when ever 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 askt 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 entred, 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 Battel, which he obtain'd

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upon his Enemies, he seemed sad and solitary, which was not his ordinary Temper; and being askt, 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 Country-Men, 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 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 Battel of Mantine, he advised his Country-men 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 Gentle 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 easie Thing to deceive one's self, because it was easie 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 uneasie 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 Cloathing; 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 askt 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 askt the Means to true Happiness, he answered, To do nothing that should make a Man fear to dye: Another Time, to speak well, and do well. Being called Home by the Ephori, (or supreme Magistrates, the Way of the 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 asking 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, askt, 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; Ob, 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 askt, 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 thus 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 askt, 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 askt, 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 upon 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, in 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 often Times an Eye put out, an Estate sequestred, and Life taken away, under a specious Zeal for Religion too; as if Sin could be Christened, and Impiety entitled

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led 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. *Archidanius* also, King of *Sparta*, being askt, who was Master of *Lacedæmonia*, *The Laws*, saith he, and after them, *the Magistrates*. — One praising a Musician in his Presence, *Ab!* saith he, but when will you praise a Good Man? — Another saying, *That Man is an excellent Musician: That's 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 what he would have them: Then, saith he, *Stir not from this Place till you have agreed the Matter between your selves*, which was done. — *Dennis King of Sicily*, sending his Daughters Rich Apparel, he forbade them to wear it, saying, *You will seem to me but the more homely*. — This Great Man certainly was not of the Mind to breed 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, *Left*, saith he, *he should attempt others less able to resist him, and so ruin the State*.

§. XXV. *Demistylidas* perceiving that *Pyrrhus* would force a Prince upon his Country-Men, 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. *Hippodanius*, 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 need'st not blush at*.

§. XXVII. *Leontidas*, 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 Men's*. Adding, *Xerxes deceived himself, to think it a Virtue, to invade the Right of other Men*.

§. XXVIII. *Lysander*, being askt 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 thy self, 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 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 *Platee*, 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?*

jell? 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 askt, *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 Portage made for the Nourishment of Ancient People. They taught their Children to Write and 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 accustomed 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 punisht. — 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 Musick they used was Simple, without Art of Changings. Their Songs composed of *Virtuous Deeds* of Good Men, and their Harmony mixt with some Religious Extasies, that seem'd 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 permitted not Strangers to dwell amongst them, that Conform'd not to their Way of Living. In this they were so strict, that such of their Youth that were not Educated in their Customs, enjoy'd not the Priviledges of Natives. They would suffer neither Comedies nor Tragedies to be acted in their Country. They Condemned a Soldier but for painting his Buckler of several Colours: And publicly punisht a Young Man, for having learnt but the Way to a Town given to Luxury. They also banisht 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 Ceremony or Superstition; for they only used a Red Cloth upon the Body, Broidered with Olive Leaves: This Burial had all Degrees. Mourning they forbid, and Epitaphs too. — When they prayed to God, they stretcht forth their Arms, which with them was a Sign that they must do Good Works, as well as make Good Prayers. They ask'd 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 speaking at Meals, unless they were ask'd a Question. When they were Fifteen Years of Age, instead of leaving 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 they sai: 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

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‘ they kept Vertue in Credit, and Vice in Contempt. They used all Things necessary for Life, without Superfluity; or Want; *Despising Riches and Sumptuous 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 renders us Commendable, and that it is only the Lacedæmonians that Reverence it publickly, 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. *Lycurgus*, their famous Founder and Lawgiver, instill’d these Principles, and by his Power with them, made them Laws to Rule them. Let us hear what he did: *Lycurgus* willing to retire 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, perswading 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 seem’d but the *Lots of Brethren*: This grieved the Rich; but the Poor, which were the most, rejoiced. — He render’d Wealth useless by *Community*; and forbade the Use of Gold and Silver: He made Money of Iron, too base and heavy to make a Thief. He retrench’d their Laws of Building, suffering no more Ornament than could be made with an 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 banish’d 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 Publick Places of Eating, where all should Publickly 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 forbade 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 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 forbade 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, ’tis 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 laden 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 up a Statue to *Cato*, than why they do. — He was a Man of Severity of Life,

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*, cry'd out, *That the Displeasers 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 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 *Retirements* 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 *Chrystal Vessel*, fell upon his *Knees*, begging him, *That his Master might not sling 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 Chrystal 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 rebuk'd and imprison'd 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. *Cypertus*, 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 Flea 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 dress'd, and richly perfum'd, he was displeas'd 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 ask'd, *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 *Governour* 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 belong'd*

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to him. He would say, *That Kings should not always all 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 cry'd out to him, *Now thou hast no more to fear*. Intimating, that having Power to Revenge himself, he would rather use it to do him Good.

S. XLI. *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's 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 Tendernefs. 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 Grand-father 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 Laboriousness and Assiduity: His Readiness to bear 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 my self with a Spare Diet, and to fly all such Excess as is incident to Great Wealth. — Of my Grand-Father, both to frequent Publick 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 Easie, 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 Idiots, 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, administred 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 my self (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, who-soever 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,*

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 Eye-Lids; as the Rows of upper and under Teeth: For such therefore to be in Opposition, is against Nature. — He 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 condemn thyself yet a While, and the Time for thee to Repent thyself, will be at an End. Every Man's Happiness depends from 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 unto 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 Vails. 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's no Man that can hinder thee. Without Relation to God, thou shalt never perform aright any Thing Hu-

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mane; nor on the other Side, any Thing Divine. *At what Time soever thou wilt, It is in thy Power to retire into thy self, and to be at Rest; for a Man cannot retire any whither to be more at Rest, and freer from all Business, than into his own Soul. Afford then thy self this Retiring continually, and thereby refresh and renew thy self. Death hangeth over thee, whilst yet thou livest, and whilst thou mayst 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 thy self, 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 Transflation; 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 Dye as well as I. Adding, I recommend my Son to You, and to God, if he be worthy.*

§. XLI. *Perstinax*, 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 show it self, be heard, and have fair Play.

§. XLII. *Persecutus* 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 Publick Revenue, to feed so many unuseful Mouths; wherefore he retrench'd his Family from Pompous to Serviceable.* He would not employ Persons of Quality in his Domestick 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 Sweetning 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 employ'd 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 threatned 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 pardoned the People.*

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§. XLV. *Morcellian* 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 wish'd, *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 lessen'd 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. *Chales*, an *Ancient Greek Philosopher*, being ask'd by a Person that had committed Adultery, *If he might Swear?* answer'd, *By no Means?* for *Perjury is not less Sinful than Adultery*; and *so thou wouldst commit Two Sins to cover One.* Being ask'd, What was the best Condition of a Government? answer'd, *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 ask'd of one, *If he could Sin, and hide it from God?* He answer'd, *No, How can I, when he that thinks Evil, cannot?*

XLIX. *Pythagoras*, a Famous and Virtuous Philosopher of Italy, being ask'd, When Men might take the Pleasure of their Passions? Answer'd, *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 go govern their Family, that he might

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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 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 a 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 easie and perfect are.

The Work of the Mind, is Life. The Work of God, is Immortality, Eternal Life. The Mind in Man is term'd God, by Participation: The Rational Soul, if directed by the Mind, It inclines the Will to Virtue, and is term'd the good Dæmon, Genius, or Spirit. If by Phantasie 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' embrace.

By Diviner Nature, is meant, the Intellectual Soul: As to Intellect, Man approaches nigh to God; as to *Inferior Senses*, he recedeth from God: *Cborus*, the Infinite Joy of the Blessed Spirits, their immutable Delight, stiled by *Homer*, ἀσπαστος γέλας (*inextricable 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' heav'nly Plain,
Are strait like Gods, and never dye again.

S. L. Solon, esteem'd, 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 banish'd himself, when *Pisistratus* usurp'd the Government there; resolving, never to out-live the Laws and Freedom of his Country. He would say, *That to make a Government lost, the Magistrates must obey the Laws, and the People the Magistrates.* It was his Judgment, *That Riches brought Luxury, and Luxury brought Tyranny.* Being ask'd by *Cæsus*, 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

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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* ask'd 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, 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, dyed 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 to? (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, *Sirange!* 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 humane 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? Ay, 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 dimitt, and accounted unwise, that he neglected the present good, out of Regard to the future. *Æsop*, that writ the Fables, being then at *Sardis*, sent for thither by *Cræsus*, and much in Favour with him, was grieved to see *Solon* so unthankfully dimitt; 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, but *Cræsus* was of another Mind; for, being taken Prisoner by *Cyrus*, the Founder of the Persian Monarchy, and by his Command Fetter'd, and put on a Pile of Wood, to be burn'd, *Cræsus* sigh'd deeply, and cryed, O *Solon*, *Solon!* *Cyrus* bid the Interpreter ask, On whom he call'd? He was silent; at last, pressing him, answered, Upon him, whom I desire, above all Wealth, would 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* gain'd due Praise, that, of Two Kings, his Advice sav'd One, and instructed the Other. And as it was in *Solon's* Time, that Tragicall Plays were first invented, so was he most severe against them; fore-seeing the Inconveniencies 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 ask'd him, If he were not ashamed to tell so many Lies in the Face of so great an Auditory? *Theſpis* answered, as it is now usual, there is no Harm

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Plutarch
Laert.* According
to the Athenian Account.Herodo.
Halicar.

nor

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Stob. Sent. 3.

Clem. Alex.
Strom. 1.

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 forbade him to *teach* or *act* Plays, conceiving them Deceitful and Unprofitable; diverting Youth and Trades-men 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 thy self.*

S. LI. *Chilon*, another of the Wise Men of Greece, would say, *That it was the Perfection of a Man, to fore-see and prevent Mischiefs.* *That* here-in good People differ from bad Ones, their Hopes were firm and assured, *That* God was the Great Touch-Stone, or Rule of Mankind. *That* Men's Tongues ought not to out-run 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 Families 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 thy self Mildly, that thou may'st 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.*

Baart Suid.
Protag. Stob.
28.

S. LII. *Periander*, (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 Dye Blessed.*

Laert. Stob.

Prov. 15. 8.

S. LIII. *Blas*, one of the Seven Wise Men, being in a Storm with wicked Men, who cry'd mightily to God; *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.* 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

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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, *says 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 that ask'd, *What is hard?* He answer'd, To bear cheerfully a Change for the worse. Those, *says he*, who busie 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 thy self, but to the Power of God. His Country being invaded, and the People flying with the Best of their Goods, ask'd, *Why he carried none of his?* I, *says 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 demolish'd by Mortal Hands; present with them that stay, and not forsaking those that fly.

§. LIV. *Cleobulus*, 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 Ingrateful. 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 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. Forgo Enmity: Instruct thy Children: Pray to God, and persevere in Godliness.

§. LV. *Pittacus* being ask'd, *What was Best?* He answered, To do the present Thing well. *He would say*, What thou dost take ill in thy Neighbour, do not thy self. 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, tho' he recede from thee a little. *He would say*, That Common-Wealth is best order'd, where the Wicked have no Command, and that Family, which hath neither Ornament nor Necessity. *To conclude*: He advis'd to acquire Honesty; love Discipline; observe Temperance; gain Prudence; mind Diligence; and keep Truth, Fair and Piety. He had a Brother, who dying without Issue, left him his Estate; so that when *Crasus* offer'd 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; in being content with a Competency of outward Things, and in using them temperately. *And to conclude*, He earnestly injoin'd all to flee Corporal Pleasure; for *(says he)* it certainly brings Sorrow: But observe an honest Life, more strictly than an Oath: Meditate on Serious Things.

§. LVI. *Hippas*, 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, inasmuch as he made the very *Buskins* he wore. A better Life than an *Alexander's*.

§. LVII. The *Gymnosophists* were a Sect of *Philosophers* in *Aegypt*, 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*, tho' covered, are overcome withal.

§. LVIII. The *Bambycasts* 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,

Laert. Plut.
Sympos. Sap.
Sap. Stob.
Ser.

Plutarch
Stob. 23.

Cic. lib. de
Orat.

Plin. 7. 2.
Cic. Tusc.
Quest. 5.

Plin.

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Earth, to prevent the Corruption of their Manners. They us'd 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 mortifie their unsatiable Apperites after Wealth and Vanity any Way, for Heathens judge their Excess.

Vid. Suid.

§. LIX. The *Athenians* had Two distinct Numbers of Men, call'd, The *Gynaecophil* 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 amongst the Christians of these Times, that so *Intemperance* might be prevented? But 'tis 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 People, and equally distributing Rewards and Punishments.

Cic. Fuf.
Quest. 5.
Clem. Alex.
Stro.

§. LX. *Anacharsis*, a *Scythian*, was a Great Philosopher; *Craesus* 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 Sawce, 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.*

Plut. contra
Usur. Lyfand.
Cic. Tus.
Quest. 5.

§. LXI. *Anaxagoras*, a Noble Man, but True Philosopher, left his Great Patrimony to seek out Wisdom: And being reprov'd by his Friends, for the little Care he had of his Estate, answered, *It is enough that you care for it. One ask'd 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 suffer'd much from some Magistrates for his Opinion; yet, dying, was admired by them: His Epitaph in English thus:*

*Here lyes, who through the truest Paths did pass,
To th' World Caelestial, 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 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**

ness 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 the Wealth, ravish Women, poison Friends, betray the Trust the 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 Musick, 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 Arms of Men, covet to kill one another, and punish them that quit the Field, for not slaying to murder Men. They honour, as Valiants, such as are drunk with Blood; but Lyons, 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 Swiftmess; to another, Bigness; to a third, Swimming. No Irrational Creature useth a Sword, but keeps it self within the Laws of it's 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 ratifie 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 Dropsie; whatsoever is of us, if it get the Dominion, it becomes a Disease. Excess of Heat, is a Fever; Excess of Cold, a Palsie; 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 my self, I will imitate God, who makes equal the Inequalities of the World: But if my Body be overprest, 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 patherical 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: 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 Vail. Speaking of God, How can that Light which never sets, be ever hidden or Obscur'd? Justice, saith he, shall seize one Day upon Deceiters 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, apply'd to Isa. 6. Unless you believe, you shall not understand. Heraclitus derided the Sacrifices of Creatures; Do you think, saith he, to pacifie God, and cleanse your selves, by polluting your selves 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. 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.

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§. 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 publick Honours and Employments: Bewail'd 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 'tis reported, *Apollo* gave this Character, *That he was the wisest Man 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 *Phys*, and exercising the Generality of the People, with more noble and virtuous Things; 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 hang'd themselves; none would trade with them, nor answer them a Question. They erected several Statues to his Praise; They forbade his Name to be mentioned, that they might forget their Injustice: They call'd 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 decay'd. Amongst many of his Sober and Religious Maxims, upon which he was accustomed to discourse with his Disciples, these are some.

He taught everywhere, 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 employ'd. An Horse is not known by his Furniture, but Qualities; so Men are to be esteem'd 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 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 ~~ſtn~~ 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 Cloaths 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? 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 profess 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

Clem. Alex.
Strom. 2. 417
Xen. me. 3.
p. 720. Xen.
me. 3. p. 78.
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. Ver.
Hist. 9.

Stob. 37.
Xenoph.
Mem. 4.
802.
Plat. Phæd.

' Place of Purity and Happiness: which God, he asserted always to be near him.

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 dyed he a Sacrifice to the foolish 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 Martyr'd for his Doctrine, after having lived seventy Years, the most admired, followed and visited of all Men in his Time, by Kings and Common-Wealths; 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. **Cato**, 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 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 eying 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 joyn'd with the Divinity it self. 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 ador'd the first Cause, meaning God.*

§. LXVI. **Antisthenes**, An Athenian Philosopher, had taught in the Study of Eloquence several Years; but upon his hearing Socrates treat of the Seriousness 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 cheerfully Six Miles every Day, to hear Socrates. — But where are the like Preachers and Converts 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 'twas frequent with him to Preach to the People at any Time of the Day, in the very Streets, as Occasion served,

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Xen. Mem.

1. p. 710.

Xen. Mem.

4. Plato de Legib.

Plato de Rep.

Diog. Laert.

Laert. in vit.
Xen. Crat.
Stob. Ælian.

Alchinous.

Laert. vit.
Socr. Ælian.

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Laert.

Stob.

Ibid. 117.

Diog.

Laert.

Agel. lib. 9.
c. 5.Laert. vir.
mem.Laert. Plut.
de rep. Stob.
Cic. de aut.
Deo Lib. 2.Left. de Irâ.
Dei cap. 10.Plut Pl. Ph.
16.
Cic. Tul.
Quelt. 4.
Diog. Laert.
vit. Mem.
Stob.

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 'tis now; shewing thereby, both Want of Knowledge, (tho' call'd a *Philosopher*) and his great Desire to obtain it of one that could teach him. None of these us'd 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 are only *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 shouldst have writ them upon thy Mind (*saieth he*) and not in a Book. Those who would never die, must live Justly and Piously. Being ask'd, What Learning was best? *That* (*saieth he*) which unlearneth Evil. To one that prais'd a Life full of Pleasures and Delicacies; Let the Sons of my Enemies, *saieth he*, live Delicately: Counting it the greatest Misery. We ought, *saieth 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 prepared to justify the Injuries such Wantonness useth to produce, he might the better allow those dangerous Freedoms: Otherwise, *saieth 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 Carcass. 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 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 Wife 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, that 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, Ingenious, 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 liv'd with fewest Things, and were contented, most nearly approached God, who wants Nothing. 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 deny'd 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 pleas'd with this. *He would say*, That one ought not to carry ones Eyes or ones 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 Courtizan, could not place a Temptation upon him, nor *Philip*, King of *Macedon*, a Bribe, tho' the rest sent in the Embassy were corrupted. And being once brought for a Witness, the Judges rose up, and cry'd 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 detraiting Discourse, they ask'd 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. *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 Men's 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 prest to hear: Whereupon he cryed 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 are not to be wash'd 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 follow'd Dionysius*, King of *Sicily*, thou wouldst not have needed to have wash'd Herbs: He answered, *If thou hadst wash'd Herbs, thou needest not to have follow'd 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*, saith 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

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Laert. Val.

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16. Cic. pro

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effeminate young Man; *Art* not thou ashamed, *saith he*, to use thy self worse than Nature hath made thee? She hath made thee a Man, but thou wilt force thy self 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 *Dropsie*, Those are full of Money, yet desire more; These of Water; yet thirst for more. Being ask'd, What Beasts were the worst? In the Field, *saith he*, Bears and Lyons; 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 drunk it*, *saith he*, *not only the Wine would have been lost, but I also*. One asking him, How he might order himself best? *Said*, By reproving those Things in thy self, which thou blamest in others. Another demanding, What was hardest? He answer'd, *To know our selves, 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 ask'd, What Men were 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 punish'd 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?

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§. 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 amongst the poor Citizens, he became a constant Professor of the *Cynick Philosophy*. He exceedingly inveighed against *Common Women*. Seeing at *Delpbos* a Golden Image, that *Phryne*, the Courtizan, had set up, by the Gains of her Trade, cry'd out, *This is a Trophy of the Greeks Intemperance*. Seeing a young Man highly Fed, and Fat; Unhappy Youth, *saith he*, do not fortifie 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 busie 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 it's Place.

Stob.
Strom. 45.Stob. 161.
Ibid. 46.

§. LXXII. *Aristotle*, a Scholar to *Plato*, and the Oracle of Philosophy to these very Times, (tho' not so divinely Contemplative at his Master, nevertheless) follows him in this; That Luxury should by good Discipline be exil'd humane Societies. *Aristotle* seeing a Youth finely dress'd, said, *Art* thou not ashamed, when Nature hath made thee a Man, to make thy self 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. *Pandanus*, 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 fordid: He first told them, *That* he deny'd him to be *Jupiter's Son*; (a meer Fiction.) Next, That as for his Gifts, he esteem'd them nothing worth; his own Country could furnish him with Necessaries,

ries, 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 (*saieth he*) I am sure it is a Change to a more blessed and happy State.

S. 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 revered 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 *Psittacus* 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 Felicity, which thou hast attained, I am exceeded by thee; wherefore I thought it expedient to write to thee, that thou wilt come to me, assuring my self, 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 evident, 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 popular, which perverteth Manners; but that true Discipline which conferreth Profit; avoiding that generally 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 may'st 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 Instructions, if thou wilt follow them, will conduct thee to perfect Blessedness.— Thus *Zeno* refused *Antigonus*, but sent *Perseus* his Country-man, 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 puffed up with his Store;
Nor thought himself above the Poor.*

Seeing a Man very finely drest, stepping lightly over a Kennel; That Man, *saieth 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, *saieth he*, that smells so effeminately? Seeing a Friend of his taken too much up with the Business of his Land; Unless thou lose thy Land, *saieth he*, thy Land will lose thee. Being demanded, Whether a Man that doth Wrong, may conceal it from God? No, *saieth he*, nor yet he who thinks it; Which testifies to the Omnipresence of God. Being ask'd, 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.*

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He was Patient, and frugal in his Household-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 ask'd, Why he admired him so much? *Because*, saith he; *tho' I bestow'd many great Things upon him, he was never therewith exalted nor dejected*. The *Athenians*, after his Death, by a publick Decree, erected a Statue to his Memorial; it runs thus: 'Whereas *Zeno*, the Son of *Anaseas*, a Scythian, has professed Philosophy about Fifty Eight Years in this City, and in all Things performed 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 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 Labour 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.*

S. 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 easie 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 disdainning Things that are easie: *Houses, Cloaths, Meats*, and Nourishment of Bodies, and those Things which are now the Care of Life, were easie 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 it self, and increaseth with the Ages, helping Vice by Wit. First it began to desire superfluous, then contrary Things: Last of all, it fold 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 compleated Desires with necessary Help: Now it is Clovenishness 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 Divices 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 chafeth *Vanity* out of the Mind : She giveth solid *Greatness*, but debaseth that which is *passed 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 *dissolant Clamour* of those that call on us, to undertake different Ways. Our Short Life is wearied and worn away amongst Errors, altho 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 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 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 her self, O ; 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, wherewith we gaze, and wherewith 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 our selves 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 dye ? 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 toward 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 put also his Tutor and Governour 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. As I wage thy

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Sorrow, and comfort thy Self 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 thy self 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 compriz'd 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 is 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's 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 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 it's 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 *Voicings of Jesus*, and his importunate *Knocks* and *Entreaties*, 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, O then, both Root and Branch of *Vanity*; the Nature that invented, and that which delights her self 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 your selves, 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

partly in *Exile*, and being believed to be Dead; she was earnestly sought by divers Lovers, and press'd by her Parents, to change her Condition; but all the Importunities of the one, or Persuasions of the other, not prevailing, her Lovers seem'd 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 delay'd their Desire, till her worthy Husband return'd, whom she receiv'd, tho' in *Beggar's 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 Husband's 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. *Pandoza* and *Protogenia*, two Virtuous Daughters of an *Athenian King*, seeing their Country like to be overrun by it's 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 entertain'd 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 perswading her to desist: Which he strongly endeavour'd by many Arguments; but not prevailing, went his Way, and brought all the little Furniture of his House, and shewed her: This (*said 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 50000*l*. 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 publick 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 shew'd 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 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. *Lucretta*, 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

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yield to his Lusts. Having *for'd his wicked End*, she sends for her Father; then Governour of *Rome*, her Husband and her Friends, to whom having revealed the Matter, and with Tears lamented her irreparable Calamity, she slew her self in their Presence; That it might not be said, *Lucretia* out-liv'd 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 conceiv'd 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 admir'd, *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: A good Pattern for the Vain and Wanton Dames of the Age.

§. LXXXIII. *Pontia* was another Roman Dame, renowned for her singular Modesty: For tho' *Octavius* attempted her with all imaginable Allurements and Perswasions; she chose rather to *Dye by his Cruelty, than be polluted by his Lust*. So he took her Life, that could not violate her Chastity.

§. LXXXIV. *Artia*, Wife to *Cecinna Tatus*, is not less famous in Story for the Magnanimity she shewed, in being the Companion of her Husband's Disgraces, who thrust her self into Prison with him, that she might be his Servant; and shew'd him first by *Death* to be revenged of the Tyrant.

§. LXXXV. *Pompeja 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 seem'd *harsh* to the People: Particularly, she diverted him from a great *Tax* his Flatterers advis'd him to lay upon the People.

§. LXXXVI. *Plotina*, the Wife of *Trajan*, a Woman (with a certain Author) adorn'd with *Piety, Chastity*, and all the Virtues that a Woman is capable of. There are two Instances: one of her *Piety*, t'other of her *Chastity*: The first is this; When her Husband was proclaim'd 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 Exil'd, she caus'd her Hair to be cut short, as the Men wear it, that with less Notice and Danger she might be the Companion of his Banishment.

§. LXXXVII. *Pompeja 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, to both their Sexes. So great was her Value for her Husband, and so little did she care to live, when he was to dye, 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, tho' 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.

§. 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 besetting 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 periseth: Giving the Preference to poor Mortality, and spending their Lives to gratifie the Lufts of a little dirty Flesh and Blood, that shall never enter into the Kingdom of Heaven: By all which their Minds become darken'd, 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 Darkneis 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 pleas'd 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 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 'tis a great Abuse to the Holy God, that Men and Women should believe him an Eternal Companion for 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.*

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§. 1. *The Doctrine of Christ from Mat. 5. 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. *Clement Romanus against the Vanity of the Gentiles.* §. 7. *Machiavel of the Zeal of the Primitive Christians.* §. 8. *Tertullian, Chrysostom, &c. on Mat. 12. 35.* §. 9. *Gregory Nazianzene.* §. 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, Musick, &c.* §. 22. *An Epistle of Bartholomew Tertian to the Waldensian Churches, &c.* §. 23. *Their Extream Suffering and Faithfulness. Their Degeneracy reprov'd 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 fortifie 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.

The Doctrine and Practice of the blessed Lord Jesus and his Apostles, the Primitive

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Christians,
and those of
more Modern
Times, in Fa-
vour of this
Discourse.

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§. I. 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 Highminded: 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 Jollity: No, as he was a Man of Sorrows, so he blest 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 Blessing to them: And tho' 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 Rigid, *Exact not the utmost Farthing*; be Merciful, and Pity the Afflicted, for such are *Blessed*. Yet further, *Blessed are the Poor 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 falsely, for my sake; Rejoyce and be exceeding Glad, for great is your Reward in Heaven*: 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 your selves 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 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 teacheth 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 bad his Disciples *Follow him, Learn of him*, for he was *Meek and Lowly*: He taught

taught them to bear Injuries, and not smite again; To exceed in Kindness; To go two Miles, when ask'd 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, ay, 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*: Urging them with a most sensible Demonstration, That *saieth 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 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, *saieth 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? Behold the Fowls of the Air; for they sow not, neither do they Reap, nor gather into Barns; yet your Heavenly Father feedeth them: Are you not much better than they? Which of you by raking Thought, can add one Cubit unto his Stature? And why take you Thought for Raiment? Consider the Lillies 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 do clothe the Grass of the Field, which to Day is, and to Morrow is cast into the Oven, shall he not much more cloath you? O ye of little Faith! Therefore 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 therefore no Thought for to Morrow, for to Morrow shall take Thought for the Things of it self; sufficient is the Day for the Evil thereof. Oh! how Plain, how Sweet, how Full, yet how Brief are his blessed Sentences! They thereby shew from whence they came, and that Divinity it self spoke them: What are Labour'd, what are Forced and Scattered in the best of other Writers, and not all neither, is here compriz'd after a natural, easie 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 lay in a Manger, conversed with Mechanicks; Fasted much, Retired often: And when He Feasted, it was with Barley Loaves and Fish, dress'd doubtless in an easie 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 dyed to Confirm it; and offer'd 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 Flesh, did by his own Abstinence sufficiently declare what Sort of Person it was he came to prepare and bespeak People to receive. For, tho' sanctified in his Mother's Womb, and declared by Christ to be the greatest of all Prophets, yet his Cloathing was but a Course 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 Kingdom of God is at Hand.* And, *There is one coming after me, whose Shoes I latchet I am not worthy to unloose, who shall Baptize you with Fire, and with the Ho-*

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ly Ghost; and is the Lamb of God that taketh away the Sin of the World. Did the Fore-runner of the Coming of God (for *Emmanuel* is God with Men) appear without the State, Grandeur and Luxury of the 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 your selves 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, adding 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 ministered unto you abundantly, into the Everlasting Kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ: Not rendring Evil for Evil, or Railing for Railing; but contrarywise, Blessing; knowing, that ye are thereunto called, that ye should Inherit a Blessing: For even hereunto were ye called, because Christ also suffered 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 suffer'd, he Threatned not, but committed himself to him that judgeth righteously.*

§. 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 Enemies 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. 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 Godliness. Be Followers of God, as dear Children, and walk in Love, as Christ also hath loved us: But Fornication, 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, 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 Understanding what the Will of the Lord is; and*

be not Drunk with Wine, wherein is Excess; but be filled with the Spirit, speaking to your selves in Hymns and Spiritual Songs, Singing, and making Melody in your Hearts to the Lord. Rejoyce in the Lord always; and I say again, Rejoyce. Let your Moderation be known to all Men, for the Lord is at Hand. Be careful 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 Sorrows; but thou, O Man of God, see 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 quickneth all Things, and before Christ Jesus, who before Pontius Pilate witnessed a good Confession, that thou keep this Commandment without 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 uncertain 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, willing to Communicate, laying up in store for themselves 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, falsely so called, which some professing, have erred concerning the Faith. Grace be with thee, Amen. This was the blessed Doctrine these Messengers of Eternal Life declared, and which is more, they liv'd 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 appointed 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. 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. 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 look'd 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 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 Tryals 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 wander'd in Deserts, and in Mountains, and in Dens, and

1 Cor. 4.

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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*.

Animad. in
Min. Fel. P.
25.

§. 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*, *Isidorus*, *Pelusiota*, *Theodoret*, and others. Which may instruct us, that the *Christians Behaviour* was not regulated by the Customs of the Country they lived in, as is usually objected against our Singularity: No, they refused the Imbellishment 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.

Constit.
Clem. Rom
l. 1. c. 2.

§. VI. *Clemens Romanus* (if Author of the Constitutions that go under his Name) hath this amongst the rest: *Abstain from the vain Books of the Gentiles*. What have you to do with strange 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, Let us see how this Moderation and Purity of Manners continued.

Phil. 4. 3.

Mach. Dis.
l. 2. c. 5.

§. VII. *Machabiel* (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 burn'd: But that Zeal is evidently extinguished, and those Follies revived among the Professors of the Religion of *Jesus*.

Tert. lib. de
Patien.
Chryloft.
Mat. 12.
36.

§. 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 Account thereof in the Day of Judgment: 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 Lyes, Calumnies, all inordinate and ridiculous Speeches. Says *Gregory*, Such Words 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 Wive's 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 to 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 Cloaths* (none of the least Part of the *Luxury* and *Vanity* of the Age) There be some, *saith he*, are 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 puniually expressed nor Historically related, how the Rich Man, that was Tormented in Hell, was clothed in Purple and Silk: Whence we may note, that touching the Matter or Subject of *Attire*, humane Curiosity availeth highly: The first Sub-

stance

stance of our Garments was very mean, to wit, Skins with Wool; when it is we read, God made Adam and his Wife Coats of Skins; that is, of Skins of dead Beasts. Afterwards (to see the growing Pride and Vanity of Men and Women) they came 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 dyed 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 Justin Martyr, Jerom, and Austin, as their best Robe.

S. X. **Jeroni** (a famous Man, and 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: (says he) I speak generally, No Raiment or Habit whatsoever shall seem precious in Christ's Sight, but that which thou makest thy Self; either for thy own particular Use, or Example of other Virgins, or to give unto thy Grandmother, or Mother; No, tho' otherwise thou didst distribute thy Goods to the Poor. 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.

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Acts 9. 36.
39.

S. XI. **Hilary**, Bishop of *Poitiers*, a Father of the Church, and famous for his Writings against the *Arrians*, 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 writ 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 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.

S. XII. **Ambrose**, another Father, who was Lieutenant of the Province and City of *Milan*, and upon his discreet Appealing 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.

S. 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 Sacrifices, which were offered in Honour of the Pagan Gods; doubtless he thought the one not so offensive to Reason, and the Impressions Divinity hath made on every Understanding,

August. de
Civit. Dei.
l. 2. c. 7.

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De ira Dei.
l. 9. c. 7.

as the other were very *Pleasant* to the *Senses*, and therefore apt to steal away the Mind from better Things; for 'twas 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 *Quaker* rejoice if it be esteemed and followed, as good Doctrine in *Augustine*.

S. XIV. The *Council of Carthage*, tho' 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 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.

Cardan. de
Sapient. l. 2.

S. 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 *Cartaginian Council*) that he caused many Latin Authors to be burn'd, as Vain and Lascivious; as *Cecilianus*, *Affranus*, *Nevius*, *Licinus*, *Zennius*, *Attilius*, *Vittor*, *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 multiply'd of late.

Jac. Lauren-
tio de lib.
Gentil. p. 40.
41.

S. XVI. *Crastan* 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 is yet some good Expressions) Strange! that these Things should have been so severely censur'd 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.

Pet. Bell. ob-
ser. l. 1. c.
35.
Ibid. c. 40

Cap. 39.

S. XVII. *Petrus Bellontus*, that Great and Inquisitive Traveller, when he came to Mount *Arbor*, 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 tho' they had 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 Anathematiz'd all such Priests and Religious Persons, as should Read or Transcribe any Books, but what treated of Religion: And perswaded all others, *That it was not Lawful for a Christian to Study Poesie, &c.* though nothing is more grateful in these Days. *Zeno* was of the same Opinion against Poetry.

XII. Cap.
Hist. de o-
rige Walden.
Vignia. Hist.
Bibl. p. 130
Dubran. Hist.
Bohem. 14.
Thuan in
Hist. sui.
temp. p. 458.
Mat. Paris.
Hist. of Engl.
Ang. 1174

XVIII. *Waldenses*, were a People so call'd, 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 sometime 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*, *Fratricelli*, *Hussites*, *Bohemians* (still the same;) but finally, by their Enemies, *Damnable Hereticks*, tho' by the Protestants, the *True Church of Christ*. And to omit many Testimonies, I will instance only 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

Bellar. tom.
2. lib. 1 cap.
26. co. 86.
Ecclesi. com.
loc. c. 28.
Alp. 16. Con.
Hieret. p. 99,

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 proceed to alledge their Faith and Practice in these Matters, however esteem'd 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 meer *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 Authentick 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 to be 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's 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 Abundance 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, *Thou costly Apparel, Superfluity in Dyet (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 purifie the Soul, tame the Body, mortifie the Lusts of the Flesh, and comfort the Spirit.* So severe were they, that in that Chapter of the Instructions 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 wholesome 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, Publick 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 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 further and further 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, Musick, and the like Pastimes to be, which are the greatest Divertisements of the Times, viz.

§. 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;

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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. 16. 45.
Thesaur. fed.
Ap. Wald.

Ibid. l. 2. c. 3.
Lisilli sign.
naïsson ali
patrons carnals.
de non esser
rendus, &c.

Ib. l. 2. c. 3.

La Taverna
de Maisons
de plesirs es
Fortuna de
pecca Eschola
del Diavola,
&c.

La Bales la
Profes. del
Diavol & qui
intra en la
Bal. &c.
Sp. Alm. fol.
50, 51, 52,
53, 54.

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Job: 14: 16.

Pl: 37: 23:

Prov. 16: 9.

Jer. 15: 23.

Mark 6: 23,

24, 25, 26, 27,

28.

Exod: 32: 4,

5, 6, 7.

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 'tis 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 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 Musick. — Again, They that Dance, break that Promise and Agreement they have 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 Priorefs (or Chiefest) of the Devil, and those that answer are the Clerks, and the Beholders are the Parishioners, and the Musick are the Bells, and the Fiddlers the Ministers of the Devil. For, as when Hogs are strayed, if the Hogherd 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 prophaned. Against the Fifth, For 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 falsely against the TRUTH, (and for some little Honour, or Secret Lascivious End, denies what's True; or affirms what's False.) Against the Tenth, When Women affect

Jerom in dec.
iq. oper.

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 Lyes and Vanities ; and the very Motion of the Body, which is used in Dancing, gives Testimony enough of Evil. — Thus you see, that Dancing 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 entreats 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 Pastor's 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.

Ibid. l. 2.
Concl. p. 684
Encaren qual-
manier. ndel.
debian regir;
li ler. Corps;
Non servali
desirier more;
&c.

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.

§. 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 (thereby acquitting my self 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 our selves 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

Hist. Wald.
l. 4. c. 11. p.
55, 56, 57.

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Mat. 19. 17.

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 treat 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 your selves, amongst your selves; 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, 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.

Likewise be careful, that there be not nourished among you, A N T S P O R T S, 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 to one 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 your selves 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.

§. 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, ay, 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 Clergy-Man to marry a Wife, than to keep a Whore. In short, to dissent, tho, never so conscientiously, was worse than open Immorality. 'Twas 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 perishing by excessive Frosts and Snows, smothered in Caves, Starved, Imprisoned, Ripped up, Hanged, Dis-membred, Rified, 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

Bern de Gir.
lord de Hail.
Hist. de la.
Fr. l. 10. ve.
semb. Orat.
in Wald. Be.
za Hist. hom.
dig. virer de
ver. et fausse
Rel. l. 4.^e c.
13. p. 249.
Cat. Test.
ve. 334.
Vign Bib.
Hist. p. 1.

Vieaux
Mem. fol. 6.
7. Mat. Par.
in Hen. 3.
An. 1220.
Sigonius de
Reg. Ital.
l. 7.

courses: But O 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 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 turn Persecutors *your Selves?* What have you, besides their good Words, that's like them? And do you think that *Words* will fend off the Blows of eternal Vengeance? That a little By-rote-Babble (tho' 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.* Never tell me, I am too Rash, it's the Devil that says so: He has got two Scriptures by the End in these Days; One, *That there's none that doeth Good*, and why? That he may persuade all, it's *impossible to overcome him*; which is the Reason so many are *Overcome: Altho' 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 your Portion for ever. Trust not your Souls upon misapply'd 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.* 'Twas 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 Cryes against the Impieties of the Greatest; not sparing any Ranks, from the *Throne to the Dunghill, as knowing their God was no Respector 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 Guide and Companion of your Minds; and let your whole Hearts be exercised thereby; that you may experience an *intire Reformation and Change of Affections*, through the Power of that *Divine Leaven*, which leavens the whole Lump, *viz. Body, Soul and Spirit*, where it is received: to which and

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Sernay c. 47.
Chet. l. 3.
c. 7.

1 John 2. 16
15, 16, 17.

The Devil a
Scripturian
sometimes

1 Pet. 1. 12;
13, 14.
Rom. 8. 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.

Mic. 6. 8, 9

Mat. 13. 33

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it's 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* : Left Selling that Noble Inheritance for a poor *Mess* of *perishing* *Portage*, you never enter into his eternal Rest. And tho' 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*, (altho' one would think it is so equal and Sober, that it needs no other Authority than it's 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.

Ecc. Hist. p.
5: 393.

S. 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.

Socrat. Schol.
last. l. 7 c 21:

S. XXV. But more particularly that of *Acacius*, Bishop of *Amida*, given us by *Socrates Scholasticus*, in this 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 *Wishes* or of *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 prevail'd 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, 'tis 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* ; 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*, ay, *Christendom*, in a Sense, if not the *World*, is no more) as not only to see their great *Necessities* unanswered, but that where-with they should be satisfied, converted to gratify the *Lust* 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 *Assu-*

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Acts 4. 32,
33, 34, 35,
36, 37.

tance of a more excellent Life and Inheritance in the Heavens, that will never pass away. And for any to flatter themselves with being Christians, whilst to much exercised in the *Vanities, Recreations and Customs* of the *World*, as at 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 left 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 conducted to their Satisfaction, upon a just Reckoning, as well before their extream Moments, as upon their dying Beds, when Death, that hard Passage into Eternity, looked them in the Face.*

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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 Woolsey. §. 9. Sir Philip Sidney. §. 10. Secretary Wallingham. §. 11. Sir John Mason. §. 12. Sir Walter Rawleigh. §. 13. H. Watson. §. 14. Sir Christopher Hatton. §. 15. Lord Chancellor Bacon. §. 16. The Great Duke of Momerancy. §. 17. Henry Prince of Wales. §. 18. Phillip III King of Spain. §. 19. Count Gondamor. §. 20. Cardinal Richlieu. §. 21. Cardinal Mazarine. §. 22. Chancellor Oxelftern. §. 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 Loutber of Mask. §. 39. Seigneur du Renti.

III. The Serious Apprehensions and Expressions of several Aged and Dying Men of Fame and Learning.

§. I. **S**O L O M O N, than whom, none is believed, to have more delighted him self 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 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 withheld 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. 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, whether it be Good, or whether it be Evil. O that Men would lay this to Heart!*

Eccles. 2. 1.

§. II. **C**H I L O N, (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:

Severus. A. POP. P. 175

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My Words and Actions, in this long Term of Years, have been (almost all) such as I need not Repent 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 necessity 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 conceiv'd that which I put in Practice, to be of all other the most easie to be born: *Silently I Condemned him*, and persuaded those Others, who Judged, to Absolve him: Thus preserved (in so great a Business) the Duty both of a Judge and Friend. But from that *All* I received this Trouble; that I fear it is not free from *Perfidiousness* and *Guilt*, in the same Business, at the same Time, and in a publick Affair, to persuade Others, contrary to what was in my own Judgment best. O tender Conscience! yet an *Heathen's*. Where dwells the *Christian* that excelleth? Hard to be found among the great *Rabbies* of *Christendom*.

§. III. *Ignatius*, who lived within the First Hundred Years after *Christ*, left this, amongst other Things, behind him (who was torn in pieces of Wild Beasts at *Rome*, for his true Faith in *Jesus*) *There is nothing better, than the peace of a good Conscience*: Intimating, there might be a Peace to wicked Consciences, that are past feeling any Thing to be Evil, but swallowed up of the Wickedness of the World. And in his Epistle to the Churches at *Ephesus*, *Magnesia*, *Trallis* and *Rome*, upon his Martyrdom, faith, *Now I begin to be a Disciple*; *I weigh neither Visible nor Invisible Things, so that I may gain Christ*. O Heavenly Minded Man! A Blessed Martyr of *Jesus* indeed.

§. IV. *Iustin Martyr*, a Philosopher, (who received Christianity Five and Twenty Years after the Death of *Ignatius*) plainly tells us, in his Relation of his Conversion to the *Christian Faith*, *That the Power of Godliness in a plain simple Christian, had that Influence and Operation on his Soul, that he could not but betake himself to a serious and strict Life*: And yet, before, he was, a *Cynick*, a strict Sect: And this gave him Joy at his Martyrdom, having spent his Days as a serious Teacher, and a good Example. And *Eusebius* relates, *That tho' he was also a Follower of Plato's Doctrine*; yet, when he saw the *Christians* Piety and Courage, he concluded, *no People so Temperate, less Voluptuous, and more set on Divine Things*: Which first induced him to be a *Christian*.

§. V. *Chrysostom*, another Father, so called, lays this down for necessary Doctrine, To Sacrifice the whole Soul and Body to the Lord, is the highest Service we can pay unto him. God promiseth Mercy unto penitent Sinners; but he doth not promise them they shall have so much Time as to Morrow for their Repentance.

§. VI. *Charles V.* Emperor of *Germany*, King of *Spain*, and Lord of the *Netherlands*, after Three and Twenty Pitch'd Fields, Six Triumphs, Four Kingdoms Conquer'd, and Eight Principalities added to his Dominions (a greater Instance than whom can scarce be given) Resigned up all his Pomp to other Hands, and betook himself to his Retirement; leaving this Testimony behind him, concerning the Life he spent in the Honours and Pleasures of the World, and in that little Time of his Retreat from them all; *That the sincere Study, Profession and Practice of the Christian Religion, had in it such Joys and Sweetness, as Courts were Strangers to*.

§. VII. *Michael de Mountaigne* (a Lord of *France*, Famous with Men of Letters for his Book of *Essays*) giveth these Instructions to others, and this Character of himself, viz. Amidst our Banquets, Feasts and Pleasures, let us ever have this Restraint or Object of Death before us; that is, the Remembrance of our Condition: And let not Pleasure so much mislead or transport us, that we altogether neglect or forget, how many ways our Joys, or our Feasting be Subject unto Death, and by how many

Hold.

Ignatius
Epist. ad
Ephes. Mag.
Trall. Rom.
Eus. l. 3. c. 32.

Euseb. Ecc.
Hist. l. 4. c. 8.

Hold-fasts the threatneth us and you. So did the *Egyptians*, who in the midst of their *Banquetings*, and in the Full of their greatest Cheer, caused the *Anatomy* of a Dead Man to be brought before them, as a *Memo-randum* and *Warning* to their Guests. I am now, by Means of the Mercy of God, in such a taking, that without *Regret*, or 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 my self: 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 Liv'd *Quietly*: *Quietly*, not according to *Metrodorus*, *Arcefilaus*, or *Aristippus*; but according to my Self. Since *Philosophy* could never find any way for *Tranquility*, 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 our selves, 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 my self: I will be Rich in my self, 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 Countenance. — 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 Woolsey*, the most Absolute and Wealthy Minister of State this Kingdom ever had, that in his time seem'd 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 diligent to serve my God, as I was to please my King, he would not have left me now in my Gray 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 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 Farewell 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 it's 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 Farewell seems spoken without Terror, with a Clear Sense, and an Equal Judgment.

§. X. Secretary *Walsingham*, and 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 Our Selves, and to Our God*. Which giving occasion for some Court-Droll to visit, and try to divert him; *Ah!* (said 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 dyeth 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

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Serious in Hell and in Heaven : And shall a Man that hath one Foot in his Grave, Jest and Laugh ? O that our States-men would weigh the Conviction, Advice and Conclusion of this Great Man ; and the greatest Man, perhaps, that has bore 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 Jestings, and let People mind more profitable Things !

§. XI. John Mason, Knt. 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 Physick ; a Good Conscience is the best Estate. And were I to live again, I would change the Court for a Cloyster, 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 Chappel. All Things else forsake me, besides my God, my Duty, and my Prayers.*

§. XII. Sir Walter Rawleigh 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 States-Man. 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 before 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 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's 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 Experienc'd 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 RAWLEIGH'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 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 your self. First, I send you all the Thanks, which my Heart can conceive, or my Words express, for your many Travels and Cares for me ; which, tho’ 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

' bear me Living, that you do not hide your self many Days ; *but by your*
 ' *Travels 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 (*bonâ fide*) to my Child ;
 ' the Writings were drawn at *Midsummer* was a Twelve Month, as divers
 ' can witness ; and I trust, my Blood will quench their Malice, who desired
 ' my Slaughter, that they will not seek to Kill You and Yours with
 ' extremum Poverty. To what Friend to direct you, I know not ; for all
 ' mine have left me in the true time of Tryal. Most sorry am I, that being
 ' surprized by Death, I can leave you no better Estate ; God hath
 ' prevented all my Determinations, 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 betimes ; in Him shall you find
 ' true, everlasting and endless Comfort : When you have travell'd, and
 ' wearied your self 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 S^{ul}'s sake, *Pay all Poor Men*, When I am Dead, no doubt
 ' but you will be much fought unto ; for the World thinks I was very
 ' Rich : Have a care of the fair Pretences of Men ; for no greater Misery
 ' can befall you in this Life, than to become a Prey unto the World, and
 ' aliter 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 re-
 ' spect *despise*th *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 was deny'd 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, Pow-
 ' erful. Infinite, and Inscrutable, God Almighty, who is Goodness it self,
 ' 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*, Farewel ; *Bless my Boy*, *Pray*
 ' *for me* ; and let my True God hold you both in his Arms.

Tours that was, but not now my Own,

WALTER RAWLEIGH.

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 magnifie 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. 'Tis a sad Thing to consider, that Men hardly come to know themselves, or the World, till they are ready to leave it.

S. XIII. *Henry Motton*, Kt. 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, tho' a Man esteemed Sober and Learned, *How much Time have I to repent of, and how little to do it in.*

S. 14. 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

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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 found 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.

S. 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 were true, there be none so wretched and miserable, as Loose, Carnal, and Profane Persons.*

S. XVI. The Great Duke of Monmouth, 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 Convinced at Lyons, a little before his Beheading, looking upon himself, then very Richly Attired; *Ab!* (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 Dye for my Sins:* And immediately he stripp'd 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.

S. 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 lov'd, 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, *Ab 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 Numbred, when Mortality hasten'd 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, O then it was the Holy Witness had Room to plead with Conscience: Then nothing but an 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 forgone those perishing Entertainments of the World sometimes, 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, cryed out upon his Death-Bed, *Ab! 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 Dye so.

§. XIX. Count **Condarnor**, 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 **Richtieu**, 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 Irregularities 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 Im- 'pression 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 Dye, and so dye as one that must Live for ever. And being asked one Day, *Why he was so sad*, answered, *Monsieur, Monsieur, the Soul is a Serious Thing; it must be either Sad here for a Moment, or be Sad for ever.*

§. XXI. Cardinal **Spazarsine**, 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 cry'd out, *O my poor Soul, What will become of thee! Whither wilt thou go?* And spake 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 **Orcistern**, Chancellor of Swedenland, 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 publick Business, by Commissioner *Whirlock*, Ambassador from England, to Queen *Christina*, in the Conclusion of their Discourse, he said to the Ambassador, *I have seen much, and enjoyed 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 my Self. All the Comfort I have, and in great 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 further addressed himself thus to the Ambassador: You are now in the Prime of your Age and Vigour, and in great Favour and Business; 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, 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*

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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 Wissest 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 Farewel 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 Collections, and had possess'd 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 remarkably 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 Purifie 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 the Scripture. For it comprises the End, Means, and Recompence of Christianity.

§. 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 falsely 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 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 inquired of his Wiidom and Learning, what Course to take, he solemnly answered, *Be Serious.* Such was the Sense he had, how much a Serious Life excell'd, and was of Force towards a Dying-Hour.

§. XXVI. To whom I joyn *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.*

§. XXVII. *Francis Junius*, an ingenious Person, who hath writ his own Life, as he was reading *Tully de Legibus*, fell into a Perswasion, *Nihil curare Deum, nec sui, nec alieni*; 'till in a Tumult in Lyons, 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 mislead into, sent for him Home, where he carefully and piously instructed him, and caused him to read over the New Testament; of which himself writeth thus: *When I opened the New Testa-*
ment,

ment, I first lighted upon John's First Chapter; In the Beginning was the Word, &c. I read Part of the Chapter, and was suddenly Convinced, that the Divinity of the Argument, and the Majesty and Authority of the Writing, did exceedingly excel all the Eloquence of Humane 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 calledst 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 Reverenc'd in the Dutch Nation, after a long Life of Study, in Search of Divine Knowledge, upon his Death-Bed, being discours'd 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.

A Letter from JAMES Earl of MARLBOROUGH, a little before his Death, in the Battle at Sea, on the Coast of Holland, &c.

§. XXIX. *I* Believe the Goodness of your Nature, and the Friendship you have always born 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 Fantastick Terror of Mind, but from a Sober Resolution of what concerns my self, 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 Phantastically, 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 easie to quiet our Minds, and direct us concerning our Future Being. I confess to God and you, I have been a great Neglector, and (I fear) Despisier of it: (God of his Infinite Mercy pardon me the Dreadful Fault) But when I retired my self 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 dye as the Beasts that perish; but with a Christian, Manly, Brave Resolution, 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,

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§. XXX. The late Sir *Jerry Lane* must be too fresh in Memory to need a Character; but it is certain, his Parts were of the First Rate, and Superiour to the Generality of Men; but 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 extream 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 tho' 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 dye. Making Good some Meditations of his own, viz. *The Day of Death is the Judge of all our other Days*; the very Trial and Touch-Stone of the Actions of our Life. 'Tis 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 flyest thy self; thy Effence 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 necessary 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 labour'd 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 Intanglements 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 (*said he*) that a Man must do to make himself capable of the Good of Solitude, is the very Eradication 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 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*: 'Twould have been but ill spoken of *Methusalem*, in the Nine Hundred Sixty Ninth Year of his Life: But that is not to deceive the World, but to deceive our selves, as *Quintilian* saith, *Vitam fallere*, To draw on still, and amuse and deceive our Life, till it be advanced insensibly 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

bath

'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 of Life is in *Incognito*: What a brave Privilege is it, to be free from all Contentions, from all Envy, or being Envy'd, from Receiving and from Paying all kind of Ceremonies! We are here among the Vast and Noble 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 Humane 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 Contraries. Here Pleasure looks (methinks) like a Beautiful, Constant and Modest Wife: 'Tis there an Impudent, Fickle, and Painted Harlot. Here is Harmless 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 *Plough-Man*, 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 turn'd *Builder*. 'Tis for this Reason, I suppose, that the Son of *Syrach* forbids us to hate *Husbandry*; because (*said he*) the Most High hath Created it. We were all Born to this *Art*, and taught by Nature to Nourish our Bodies by the same Earth, out of which they were made, and to which they must return, and pay at last for their Sustainance. 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 *Lillies* and *Lyons 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) whom 'ere
(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 possess'd.

—Ab 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 *Marriall* 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

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— *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 Illington 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 Inferiour to no Body in *Wit*, and hardly any Body ever used it worie ; 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 publick 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 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*, tho' he thought himself the most unworthy of it for his own. Thus dyed 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 renew'd Life to him. However, was willing to Dye, 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 Fraillties 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 House-wisely Entertainment, as *Knitting*, &c. She had a small Territory, which she Govern'd so well, that she shew'd herself fit for a Greater. She would constantly every Last Day in the Week, sit in Judgment, and Hear and Determine Causes herself ;

where

where her Patience, Justice and Mercy, were admirable, frequently remitting her Forfeitures, where the Party was Poor, or otherwise Meritorious. And which was excellent, tho' unusual, she would temper her Discourses with *Religion*, and strangely draw concern'd Parties to Submission and Agreement; exercising not so much the Rigor of her Power, as the Power of her Persuasion. Her Meekness and Humility appear'd to me extraordinary, She never consider'd the Quality, but the Merit of the People she entertain'd. Did she hear of a *Retir'd Man*, bid 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, tho' they knew her, whom yet some of them had never seen. Thus, tho' 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 her self, 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 *Hambrough*, 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 ally'd to so many Great Kings and Princes of this World:* She humbly answer'd, *If they were Godly, as well as Great, it will 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 Records in my Library, that the Gospel was first brought out of England hither into Germany by the English, and now it is come again.* She once with-drew, 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, tho' 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, tho' my Condition subjects me to divers Temptations, yet my Soul hath Strong Desires after the Best Things. She liv'd 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 Liv'd Beloved of the People: To whose *Real Worth*, I do, with a *Religious Gratitude*, for her Kind Reception, dedicate this *Memorial*.

§. XXXV. *Bulstrode Whitlock* has left his own Character in his *Memoirals 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 *Sweedland*, and sometimes President of the Council: A *Scholar*, a *Lawyer*, a *States-Man*; in short, he was one of the most accomplish'd 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 *Oxeisfern*, 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 Hearts and Souls of Men. There has been indeed 'divers Forms and Shapes of Things, through the many Dispensations of 'God

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* She died in 1680. And this Passage was inserted in a Second Edition of this Treatise, Aug. 1682.

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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 my self 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 Comfort of it, and that it is both ready and able to Instruct, 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. And 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 easie to the Righteous. After several Days Languishing, a little Consolation appeared after 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 hop'd to be reliev'd. But her Endeavours encreas'd her Pain; for as she prest to deliver it, *He turn'd 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 turn'd one side of his Face towards her, and reach'd forth his Hand, and receiv'd her Request*: At which her troubled 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 charg'd her Relations, *Not to Deck and Adorn themselves after the Manner of the World*; for that the Lord Jesus, whom she had seen, appear'd to her in the likeness of a *plain Countrey-Man*, without any Trimming or Ornament what-ever; 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 Snare 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 String both of Life and Death. Three Things I commend to you; 1. 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. 2. Whatever you design to do, Lay it Justly, and Time it Seasonably; for that gives Security and Dispatch. Lastly, Be not Troubled at Disappointments; for if they may be recover'd, do it; if they can't, Trouble is Vain. If you could not have help'd it, be content; there is often Peace and Profit in submitting to Providence: For Afflictions make Wise. If you could have help'd it, let not your Trouble exceed Instruction for another Time: These Rules will carry you with Firmness and Comfort:

Comfort through this inconstant World. At another Time he inveigh'd 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 insatuated, we will shut our Eyes, we will not see our true Interests 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 let's concern'd or disorder'd I never saw him at any Time; of which I took good Notice: Wearied to live, as well as near to dye, 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.*

S. XXXVIII. Anthony Louthor 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 could yield; but sometime 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 Talks 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; tho' 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 Desire 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.*

S. XXXIX. Du Kentp, a Young Noble-man of *France*, of admirable Parts, as well as great Birth, touch'd with a Sense of the Vanity of the World, and the Sweetness of a Retired and Religious Lite, notwithstanding the Honours and Employments that waited for him, abandons the Pride and Pomp of the World, to enjoy a Life of more Communion with God: Do but hear him: 'I avow (*said 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*

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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 our selves, to lead this Life unknown and wholly *Hid from Men*, but most known to, and intimate with God; divesting our selves, and chafing 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 in to so many Pieces this Holy, this Sweet and Amiable *Union*, which we should have continually with God, it appears, that it is only a *Monfieur*, a *Madam*, a Complement and Chatting, indeed a meer *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 understand, 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, contracted and shrunk up to *Nothing*: And at the same Time I beheld my self, as if encompassed with whatsoever 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 Household-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 your self, there is no Security in any Estate, but this of Dying and Annihilation; which is, to be *Baptized into Christ's Death*, that we live the Life of Mortification. Our best Way is therefore, to divest our selves of All, that the Holy Child Jesus may govern All. All that can be imagin'd in this lower World, is of small Concernment, tho' 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 our selves, in giving away all to attend no more, save on God alone; and to say, *Deus meus, & omnia!* My God, and my All! Being (*said he*) in a Chappel 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 Bundles of *Flowers de Lucas*, 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 perceived, that indeed all these, and those Flowers themselves (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 and Chimera's*, Part whereof are in their very Being, but Things Common and Low, and part of them meerly Imaginary; and yet Man (who croucheth to every Thing) renders himself Amorous and a Slave of them; no otherwise than as if a good Workman should stand to copy out, and counterfeit some Trifles and Fopperies. I consider'd 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 my self for it; as no sooner seeing them in Churches, or else-where, but this is presently

* presently put upon my Spirit, *The Original is Nothing, the Copy and the Image is yet less; each Thing is Vain, except the Employment of our selves 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 Gult and 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 Enlightned Mind, and of a Soul Mortified to the World, and Quickned to some Tasts of a Supernatural Life: Let his Youth, let his Quality, adorn'd 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 recover'd 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 rejoyce, if God shall please to make any Part of this Discourse effectual to perswade 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 Dye, it is best to be *Religious*; to live an *Holy, Humble, Strict* and *Self-denying Life*; *Retired, Solitary, Temperate* and *Disincumbred* of the World. Then loving God above all, and our Neighbours as our selves, 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 *Burthenfome*, and severely reprov'd. 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 Eternal. And since it is thus with dying Men, what Instruction is in 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 preserved from the Snare of Death.*

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§. 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 Repencences.* §. 5. *The Author is better perswaded and assured of some: An Exhortation to them.* §. 6. *Encouragements to the Children of Light to persevere, from a Consideration of the Excellency of their Reward; the End and Triumph of the Christian Conquerour.* The whole concluded with a brief Supplication to Almighty God.

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THE CONCLUSION.

§. I. **H**AVING finish'd 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 deliver'd Originally by *Philo Judæus*, and cited by *Eusebius Pamphilus*, in his Ecclesiastical History; 'That those Christians renounced their Substance, and sever'd themselves from all the Cares of this Life; and forsaking the Cities, they liv'd Solitarily in Fields and Gardens. They accounted their Company who followed the contrary Life of Carcs and Bustles, *as unprofitable and hurtful unto 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* 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 commodious Place, adjoining to the Lake of *Mary*, in a Valley very fit, both for its Security, and the Temperance of the Air. They are further 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) resemblcth 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 Construtions*, but in the Things declared of, the Substance it self, 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 Practise of those Times: but now the Case is alter'd; People will be Christians, and have their Worldly Mindedness too: But tho' 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 Folly and the Vanity condemned: If the Cries and Groans, Sighs and Tears, and Complaints and mournful Wishes of so many reputed Great, say 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,

Philo Judæus
of the Wor-
ship of Egypt
and Alexand.
Euseb. Pam.
Eccl. Hist.
l. 2. c. 17.

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 Lye to the *Dying Serious Sayings and Consent of all Ages*; to *Harden themselves against the Checks of Conscience*, to *besoot and sport away their precious Time*, and poor *Immortal Souls to Wo and Misery*? In short, 'tis plainly to discover, you neither have Reason to justify your selves, 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 the Commandments from his Youth, was excluded from being a Disciple, because he sold not all, and followed Jesus; with what Confidence can you call your selves 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; what shall be your End, who cannot deny your selves 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. 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 your selves, 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, tho, 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 your selves after the Manners of the World, let me say, that you are of those, who profess you know God, but in Works deny him; living in those Pleasures which slay the Just in your selves. For tho' 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 your selves to prove the Verity thereof, to your selves or others, by a strict and holy Conversation: Which slight Way of *Believing* is but a light and careless Way of ridding your selves of farther Examination; and rather throwing them off with an *Inconsiderate Granting* of them to be so, than giving your selves the Trouble of making better Inquiry (leaving that to your Priests, oft Times more ignorant, and not less vain and idle than your selves) which is so far from a Gospel Faith, that 'tis 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, Reason and Shame,

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Ex. 32. 6.
Amos 6. 3.
to 6. Eph. 4.
17. 24. 2
Tim 2. 19.
Mat. 19.
16. to 22.

John 3. 1, to 5.

Titus 1. 16.

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Tit. 2. 11.
12, 13, 14.Rom. 2. 4.
5, 6, 9.Gal. 6. 4.
5, 6, 7, 8.Rev. 3. 20.
& 21. 27.
& 22. 13, 14,
15.

John 1. 9.

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. Ob! *Retire, Retire, observe the Reproofs of Instruction in your own Minds: That which begets Sadness in the midst of Mirth, which cannot solace it self, 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 Reward 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: For this is the True and Heavenly Nature of Christianity, to be so Awakened and Guided by the Spirit and Grace of God, as 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 Faithfulness 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 dis-intangled 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 an 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! Be not deceived, God will not be mocked: It's so irreversibly decreed; *Whatever 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*, 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 *Love* of this perishing World, with *Everlasting Tribulation*.

§. 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 A L A R U M, *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's 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 for ever; 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.*

§. VI. Mind not the Difficulties of your March; Great and Good Things were never enterprized and accomplished without Difficulty; which does but

but tender 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 Sufferings, how bitter the Mockings, which *JESUS* suffer'd 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; 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 Kinsfolks 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*, Marquess of *Vico*, who abandoned his Friends, Estate and Country, resolutely saying with *Moses*, *That he would rather suffer Afflictions 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-Denying Life before the Lord*: But they are very unequal to the Joy and Recompence that follow. For tho' 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.* 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 Witenesses, let's 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 Eye fixed upon *JESUS*, the Author and Finisher of our Faith, not minding what's 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.

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 Renowned to the Ends of the World. For shine is the Kingdom, the Power and the Glory for ever. Amen.

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Gen. 12. 1, 2.Heb. 11. 24,
to 27.Isa. 54. 3.
Heb. 12. 1, 2.1 Pet. 2. 21,
22, 23.2 Tim. 3. 12;
1 Pet. 4. 1.
to 54Heb. 11. 1;
Rom. 5. 1,
to 4.
Phil. 3. 13;

Rom. 2. 7.

A
LETTER of LOVE
 TO THE
Y O U N G Convinced,
 O F

That Blessed Everlasting Way of TRUTH and Righteousness, now testified unto by the People of the Lord call'd *Quakers*, of what Sex, Age, and Rank soever; in the Nations of *England, Ireland, and Scotland*, with the Isles abroad; but more particularly to those of that *Great City of London*, Spiritual Refreshments, Holy Courage, and Perfect Victory from GOD the Father, and the Lord JESUS CHRIST, *Amen.*

My Dearly Beloved Friends and Brethren,

WH O have been called by the Eternal Spirit, unto an Holy Calling, out of all the Pleasures, Vanities, Customs, Profits and Cares of this perishing polluted World, unto the Pure Knowledge of the Invisible God, and JESUS in you the Hope of Glory, which to as many as Believe and Obey, is Life Eternal; and who for that Little Beginning of your Heavenly Journey, have met with Reproach, Loss, Suffering, and bitter Trials; as One among you, and a Traveller with you, and therefore deeply Sensible of your heavy Exercise, and howed-down Spirits; I am constrain'd by the Eternal Union, which we have received from on High, to visit you in Tender Bowels of Love unfeigned, beseeching you all in God's Most Holy Fear and Counsel, to stand fast, and *make your Calling and Election sure*, which is not (my dearest Friends) to those external and shadowy Services, that could never perfect as concerning the Conscience, in which the Worship of the *Jews* formerly, and of the Nations now, mostly do consist, (Carnal and Beggarly Elements indeed) but to that Law in the Heart, and Spirit manifested in the inward Parts, which is the Substance of all.

Here God is the Teacher of his People, and daily doth replenish his, with the immediate Virtue of his own Life; for God Eternal is broken forth, and by the mighty Power of his Spiritual Appearance is come, to stain the Beauty of all the Inventions of Superstitious Men, and thereby to summon all Nations, Kindreds, Tongues, and People to Judgment, for their Unrighteousness, that he alone may Reign King in the Heart, where the Devil has hitherto had Dominion, that True Religion may consist in fearing him, and working Righteousness, by the powerful Operation of the Spirit of *Jesus* in them, which my dearly beloved Friends, with all Singleness of Heart, let us wait to be sensible of, that through the Glorious Rising of the Pure Power of the Everlasting God, which is felt by all the Children of the Light, we may be enabled *to work out our Great Salvation with Fear and Trembling*: For Great and Weighty is the Work of the Almighty in this his Day of Appearance, even to adopt us Sons and Daughters of the Most High, by a Participation of his Divine Nature, *that as we have born the Image of the Earthly, in Pride, Vanity, Wantonness, Avarice, and all manner*

manner of Impieties, and that whilst some of us were under great Professions, and the continual Feasting on Visible and Elementary Things, so that now we may daily Experience, through Obedience to that Pure Light and Truth in the Inward Parts, which leads to all Meekness, Patience and Purity, the Quickning of the New Man; and sensibly witness a bearing of the Heavenly Image, that so we may come to feel the *Peace that passeth the World's Understanding*, and our poor, tossed, tryed, and troubled Spirits in good Measure fixt and anchor'd, in the immoveable and Holy State, over all the Glories and Pollutions of the World, that so nothing may ever prevail upon us, to return into our former Ways and Lusts, committed in our Ignorance: For the over-flowing Scourge of the Almighty will be upon the Back of the Backslider, and his swift Wrath will overtake the Heart that faints by the Way; yea, better were it that such had never been visited with the Glorious Day-spring from on High, nor been Convinced by the Powerful Persuasions of the Holy Spirit, concerning the Pure Eternal Way of T R U T H, than afterwards to turn from it, and so trample the Blood of that most excellent Covenant under Foot: Yea, it will be the most dreadful of all Aggravations to their Eternal Wo and Misery.

And therefore, *My Dear Friends*, let us not be discomforted under all our sharp and heavy Exercises, whether from within or without; for this I am fully perswaded of, that the same Pure Principle of Light and Truth that hath appeared to give a certain discerning of our States and Conditions, and wrought a Convincement upon our Understandings, is able to give us that Succour and Support, if our Minds be but seriously stay'd thereon, *as shall sanctify us throughout in Body, Soul and Spirit; and so preserve us Clean, to God over all.*

And *My Dear Brethren*, Let us not enter into any Murmurings against the Lord, but be singly given up to know His Will and Work done in us, that we perish not, as those of Old: And in the Tender Love of *Jesus Christ*, I earnestly intreat you, Let us no more look back upon our Ancient Pastimes and Delights (but with Holy Resolution press on, press on) for they will steal away our Precious Souls, beget New Desire, raise the Old Lite, and finally, ensnare and pollute our Minds again; and what will be the End of such Rebellion, but *Woes and Tribulations from the Hand of the Just God, World without End.* Neither let us enter into many Reasonings with Opposers, *For that's the Life God's Power is revealed to slay with the Two Edged Sword; for tis the Still, the Quiet, and the Righteous Life, which must be exalted over all.* And this I say in a Sound Understanding through the Mercies of the LORD, *That Deadness, Darkeness, and Anguish of Spirit, will be the End of such Disputing and Pragmatical Christians, whose Religion consists much more in Words than Works; Confessing, than Forsaking; and in their own Will-Performances, and External Observations, than in the Reformation and Conversion of their Souls to God.* And finally, we our selves who have known something more of the Lord, may also reduce our Good Conditions to an utter Loss, by seeking to comprehend dubious Matters in our Understandings, and disputing about them with every Opposer, the Devil in a Way of Temptation, shall present to us; which does no Way advance our Growth and Increase in the Noble Principle of Truth.

And I beseech you *My Dear Friends*, let not the Fear of any External Thing overcome the Holy Resolutions we have made to follow the Lamb Christ Jesus, *through all the Tribulations, Trials, and Temptations, He, and His Followers ever met withal.* O let us be Valiant in God's Cause on Earth, *who have but a short Time and a few Days to live.*

And let the Constancy of the World, to the Momentary Fashions, Pleasures, and Pollutions of it, the more ardently stir us up to express ours, for the Honour of our God against them all, *who will reward us for whatsoever we bear, suffer, or part withal on his Account.*

And therefore, I beseech you, *let neither Father nor Mother, Sister, nor Brother, Wife nor Child, House, nor Land, Liberties, nor Life it self,* deter us from from our Holy Constancy; but as the Faithful Ancients did of

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Old, through Deserts, Wilderesses, and Solitary Places, Goat-Skins, and Sheep-Skins, endure all Torments, and Bitter Mockings in this Earthly Pilgrimage, for the Inheritance which is Everlasting.

So, My Dear Friends, let us do, as we have them for our Example; however, let us be careful to shew all due Respect to our Relations, not to be exalted, nor any Ways unruly, lest there be Just Cause taken against us, and the Blessed Truth should suffer; but in the Still, Retired, Holy, and Patient Life, this Pure Eternal Principle of *Light and Truth*, (as seriously and diligently waited on) certainly brings into, let us all dwell and abide, so shall we feel the Powerful Operation of God's Holy Spirit, to the more compleat redeeming of our *Exercised Souls* from under the Dominion of Sin, and to the giving all of us a Clearer Understanding, and Sounder Judgment of those Things that are to be parted from, (as the Pleasures, Cares and Customs of the World, that stand in the Fallen Nature, and only nourish the same, but Crucifie the Self-Denying Lord of Glory) and of the Things of God, and His Spiritual Kingdom, which are to be adhered to, that in His Pure Wisdom, which is from Above, we may be all kept and preserved, over all the Snares and Temptations of the Adversary, both on the Right Hand and on the Left.

And as one that is a Traveller in his Way, I even beseech, caution, and admonish you all in the Holy Awe of God, that you never forbear Meeting and Assembling of your selves, with the Holy Remnant, amongst whom we first received our Blessed Convincement. O! for ever let us Honour the Lord's Truth, and those who do Sincerely profess the same! But more especially, such as were in Christ before us, for this is Well-pleasing unto the Lord.

And let us beware of Lightness, Jestings, or a Careless Mind, which Grieves the Holy Spirit, that stands ready to Seal us unto the Day of our Perfect Redemption; but let us be Grave, Weighty and Temperate, keeping low in Body, as well as Mind, that in all Things we may be Examples, and a sweet Saviour for the God who hath loved and called us.

And My Dear Friends, let us keep in the Simplicity of the Cross of Jesus, even in Plainness of Speech, and out of the World's flattering and deceitful Respects, for we are as well to be a Cross in our Garbs, Gates, Dealings and Salutations, as Religion and Worship, to this Vain Adulterated and Apostatiz'd Generation; so in the Pure Measure of Truth that hath been manifested to every Particular, and has Convinced us of the Unrighteousness of the World, and the Vanity and Emptiness of all its Professions of God, Christ, and Religion; O let us stand and abide! that we may feel it to be our Refuge, and Strong Tower, when the Enemy shall approach, either by inward Exercise, or outward Bonds and Sufferings, which in all Likelihood will suddenly overtake us, for the Trial of our most Precious Faith; so shall we sensibly experience that Heavenly Blood of Cleansing to stream therefrom, which only can give Remission, cleanse from all Sin, and finally purge the Conscience from dead Works, to serve the Living, Everlasting, Holy God, Almighty, Lord of Hosts, King of Nations, and King of Saints. And whatsoever Things are True, whatsoever Things are Honest, whatsoever Things are Just, whatsoever Things are Pure, whatsoever Things are Lovely, and whatsoever Things are of Good Report; if there be any Virtue; if there be any Praise, O let us mind these Things! And the God of Peace, that has by his Eternal Quickning Power raised JESUS in Thousands from the Dead, bless, accompany, and preserve us over all Trials and Tribulations, unto His Eternal Habitations of Rest, and Glory.

Carberry, in the County
of Cork, the 19th of the
12th Month, 1669.

Your Brother, and Fellow-Traveller in the Kingdom and Patience of Jesus our Lord,

W. P.

THE

Great CASE of Liberty of Conscience.

Once more briefly Debated and Defended, by the Authority of REASON, SCRIPTURE, and ANTIQUITY: Which may serve the Place of a General Reply to such late Discourses, as have Oppos'd a *Toleration*.

The Author *W. P.*

Whatsoever ye would that Men should do to you, do ye even so to them:
Mat. 7. 12.

Render unto Cæsar, the Things that are Cæsar's; and to God, the Things that are God's. Mark 12. 17.

To the Supream Authority of *England*.

TOLERATION (for these Ten Years past) has not been more the Cry of some, than PERSECUTION has been the Practice of others, though not on *Grounds equally Rational*.

The present Cause of this Address, is to solicit a Conversion of that Power to our Relief, which hitherto has been employ'd to our Depression; that after this large Experience of our Innocency, and long since expir'd *Apprenticeship of Cruel Sufferings*, you will be pleas'd to cancel all our Bonds, and give us a Possession of those Freedoms, to which we are entituled by *English Birthright*.

This has been often promised to us, and we as earnestly have expected the Performance; but to this Time we labour under the unspeakable Pressure of Nasty Prisons, and daily Confiscation of our Goods, to the apparent Ruin of innumerable Families.

We would not attribute the whole of this Severity to Malice, since not a little share may justly be ascribed to Mis-intelligence.

For 'tis the Infelicity of Governours to see and hear by the Eyes and Ears of other Men; which is equally unhappy for the People.

And we are bold to say, that Suppositions and meer Conjectures, have been the best Measures, that most have taken of Us, and of our Principles; for whilst there have been none more inoffensive, we have been mark'd for Capital Offenders.

'Tis hard that we should always lie under this undeserved Imputation; and which is worse, be Persecuted as such, without the Liberty of a just Defence.

In short, if you are apprehensive, that our Principles are inconsistent with the Civil Government, grant us a free Conference about the Points in Question, and let us know, what are those Laws, essential to Preservation, that our Opinions carry an Opposition to? And if upon a due enquiry we are found so Heretodox, as represented, it will be then but time enough to inflict these heavy Penalties upon us.

And as this Medium seems the fairest, and most reasonable; so can you never do your selves greater Justice, either in the Vindication of your Pro-

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ceedings against us, if we be Criminal; or if Innocent, in disingaging your Service of such, as have been Authors of so much Mis-information.

But could we once obtain the Favour of such Debate we doubt not to evince a clear Consistency of our Life and Doctrine with the *English* Government; and that an indulging of Dissenters in the Sense defended, is nor only most Christian and Rational, but Prudent also. And the Contrary (how plausibly soever insinuated) the most injurious to the Peace, and destructive of that discreet Ballance, which the Best and Wisest States, have ever carefully Observ'd.

But if this fair and equal Offer, find not a Place with you, *on which to rest it's Foot*; much less that it should bring us back the *Olive Branch of TOLERATION*; we heartily embrace and bless the Providence of God; and in his Strength resolve, by Patience, to outweary *Persecution*, and by our constant Sufferings, seek to obtain a Victory, more Glorious, than any our Adversaries can achieve by all their Cruelties

Vincit qui patitur.

From a Prisoner for Conscience-Sake,

Newgate, the 7th of the 12th
Month, call'd February, 1670.

W. P.

THE PREFACE.

WERE some as Christian, as they boast themselves to be, 'twould save us all the Labour we bestow in rendring *Persecution* so Unchristian, as it most truly is: Nay were they those Men of Reason they Character themselves, and what the *Civil Law* styles good Citizens, it had been needless for us to tell them, that neither can any external Coercive Power convince the Understanding of the poorest Idiot, nor Fines and Prisons be judg'd fit and adequate Penalties for Faults purely intellectual; as well as that they are destructive of all Civil Government.

But we need not run so far as beyond the Seas, to fetch the Sense of the *Codes, Institutes, and Digests*, out of the *Corpus Civile*, to adjudge such Practices incongruous with the good of Civil Society; since our own good, old, admirable Laws of *England*, have made such excellent Provision for it's Inhabitants, that if they were but thought as fit to be executed by this present Age, as they were rightly judg'd necessary to be made by our careful Ancestors: We know how great a Stroke they would give such as venture to lead away our Property in *Triumph* (as our just Forfeiture) for only Worshipping our God in a differing Way, from that which is more generally Profess'd and Establish'd.

And indeed it is most truly lamentable, That above others (who have been found in so Un-natural and Antichristian an Employment) those, that by their own frequent Practices and Voluminous Apologies, have defended a Separation (from the *Papacy*) should now become such earnest Persecutors for it, not considering, that the Enactment of such Laws, as restrain Persons from the free Exercise of their Consciences, in Matters of Religion, is but a knotting Whip-cord to lash their own Posterity; whom they can never promise to be conformed to a *National Religion*. Nay, since Mankind is subject to such Mutability, they can't ensure themselves, from being taken by some Perswasions, that are esteem'd Heterodox, and consequently catch themselves in Snares of their own providing. And for Men thus liable to change, (and no ways certain of their own Belief to be the most infallible,) as by their multiply'd Concessions may appear, to enact any Religion, or prohibit Persons from the free Exercise of theirs, sounds harsh in the Ears of all modest and unbia'st Men. We are bold to say our *Protestant Ancestors* thought of nothing less, than to be succeeded by *Persons*
Vain-

Vain-glorious of their Reformation, and yet Adversaries to Liberty of Conscience; for to People in their Wits, it seems a Paradox.

Not that we are to ignorant, as to think it is within the Reach of Humane Power to fetter Conscience, or to restrain it's Liberty *strictly taken*. But that plain *English*, of Liberty of Conscience, we would be understood to mean, is this; namely, *The Free and Uninterrupted Exercise of our Consciences, in that Way of Worship, we are most clearly perswaded, God requires us to serve Him in (without endangering our undoubted Birthright of English Freedoms) which being Matter of FAITH, we Sin if we omit, and they can't do less, that shall endeavour it.*

To tell us, we are Obdurate and Enemies to Government, are but those Groundless Phrases, the first Reformers were not a little pestered with; but as they said, to say we, The being call'd *this*, or *that*, does not conclude us so; and hitherto we have not been detected of that Fact, which only justifies such Criminations.

But however free we can approve our selves of Actions prejudicial to the *Civil Government*; 'tis most certain we have not suffered a little, as Criminals, and therefore have been far from being free from Sufferings; indeed, in some respect, Horrid Plunders: Widows have lost their *Cows*, Orphans *their Beds*, and Labourers *their Tools*. A Tragedy so sad, that methinks it should oblige them to do in *England*, as they did at *Athens*; when they had sacrificed their Divine *Socrates* to the sottish Fury of their lewd and Comical Multitude, they so regretted their hasty Murder, that not only the Memorial of *Socrates* was most venerable with them, but his Enemies they esteemed so much theirs, that none would Trade or hold the least Commerce with them; for which some turned their own Executioners, and without any other Warrant than their own Guilt, hang'd themselves. How near a-kin the wretched mercenary Informers of our Age are to those, the great Resemblance that is betwixt their Actions manifestly shews.

And we are bold to say, the grand Fomenters of Persecution, are no better Friends to the *English* State, than were *Anytus* and *Aristophanes* of old to that of *Athens*, the Case being so nearly the same, as that they did not more bitterly envy the Reputation of *Socrates* amongst the *Athenians* for his grave and Religious Lectures (thereby giving the Youth a Diversion from frequenting their Plays) than some now emulate the true Dissenter, for his Pious Life, and great Industry.

And as that famous Common-wealth was noted to decline, and the most observing Persons of it dated its decay from that illegal and ingrateful Carriage towards *Socrates* (witness their dreadful Plagues, with other multiply'd Disasters) So it is not less worthy Observation, that Heaven hath not been wholly wanting to scourge this Land, for, as well their Cruelty to the Conscientious, as their other multiply'd Provocations.

And when we seriously consider the dreadful Judgments that now impend the Nation (by Reason of the Robbery, Violence, unwonted Oppression, that almost every where, have not only been committed, upon the Poor, the Widow, and the Fatherless; but most tenaciously justified, and the Actors manifestly encourag'd) in meer Pity, and Concern, for the Everlasting Welfare of such as have not quite sinn'd away their Visitation (for some have) we once more bring to publick View, our Reasons against Persecution, backt with the plainest Instances, both of Scripture and Antiquity. If but one may be perswaded, to desist from making any farther Progress in such an Anti-prottestant, and truly Anti-christian Path, as that of persecuting Honest and Virtuous Englishmen, for only worshipping the God that made them, in the Way they judge most acceptable with Him.

But if those, who ought to think themselves oblig'd to weigh these Affairs with the greatest Deliberation, will obstinately close their Eyes, to these last Remonstrances; and slightly over-look the pinching Case of so many thousand Families, that are by these Severities expos'd for Prey, to the insatiable Appetites of a Villanous Crew of broken Informers (daubing themselves with that deluding Apprehension of pleasing God, or at least of profiting the Country,

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try; (whilst they greatly displease the one, and evidently ruin the other) as certain as ever the Lord God Almighty destroyed Sodom, and lay'd waste Gomorrah, by the consuming Flames of His just Indignations; will he hasten to make desolate this wanton Land, and not leave an Hiding Place for the Oppressor.

Let no man therefore think himself too big to be admonish'd, nor put too slight a Value upon the Lives, Liberties, and Properties, of so many Thousand Free-born English Families, Embark't in that one Concern of Liberty of Conscience. It will become him better to reflect upon his own Mortality, and not forget his Breath is in his Nostrils, and that every Action of his Life the Everlasting God will bring to Judgment, and him for them.

Chap. I.

C H A P. I.

That Imposition, Restraint, and Persecution for Conscience-Sake, highly Invade the Divine Prerogative, and Divest the Almighty of a Right, due to none beside Himself, and that in five eminent Particulars.

THE great Case of Liberty of Conscience so often Debated and Defended (however dissatisfactorily to such as have so little Conscience as to Persecute for it) is once more brought to publick View, by a late Act against Dissenters, and Bill, or an additional one, that we all hop'd the Wisdom of our Rulers had long since laid aside, as what was fitter to be pass'd into an Act of perpetual Oblivion. The Kingdoms are alarm'd at this Procedure, and Thousands greatly at a Stand, wondering what should be the Meaning of such hasty Resolutions, that seem as fatal as they were unexpected: Some ask what Wrong they have done; others, what Peace they have broken; and all, what Plots they have form'd, to prejudice the present Government, or occasions given, to hatch new Jealousies of them and their Proceedings, being not conscious to themselves of Guilt in any such Respect.

For mine own Part, I publicly confess my self to be a very heavy Dissenter from the establish'd Worship of these Nations, as believing Protestants to have much degenerated from their first Principles, and as owning the poor despis'd Quakers, in Life and Doctrine, to have espoused the Cause of God, and to be the undoubted Followers of Jesus Christ, in his most Holy, Straight and Narrow Way that leads to the Eternal Rest. In all which I know no Treason, nor any Principle that would urge me to a Thought injurious to the Civil Peace. If any be defective in this particular, 'tis equal, both Individuals and whole Societies should answer for their own Defaults, but we are clear.

However, all conclude that Union very Ominous, and Unhappy, which makes the first Discovery of it self, by a John Baptist's Head in a Charger, They mean that Feast some are design'd to make upon the Liberties and Properties of Free-born Englishmen, since to have the Intail of those undoubted hereditary Rights cut off (for Matters purely relative of another World) is a severe beheading in the Law; which must be obvious to all, but such as measure the Justice of Things only by that Proportion they bear with their own Interest.

A Sort of Men that seek themselves, though at the apparent Loss of whole Societies, like to that barbarous Fancy of old, which had rather that Rome should burn, than it be without the Satisfaction of a Bon-fire: And sad it is, when Men have so far stupified their Understandings with the strong doses of their private Interest, as to become insensible of the Publick's. Certainly such an Over-fondness for self, or that strong Inclination, to raise them-

themselves in the Ruin of what does not so much oppose them, as that they will believe so, because they would be persecuting, is a malignant Enemy to that Tranquillity, which, all Dissenting Parties seem to believe, would be the Consequence of a Toleration.

In short we say, there can be but two Ends in Persecution, the one to satiate (which none can ever do) the insatiable Appetites of a decimating Clergy (whose best Arguments are Fines and Imprisonments) and the other, as thinking therein they do God good Service; but 'tis so hateful a Thing upon any Account, that we shall make it appear by this ensuing Discourse, to be a declared Enemy to God, Religion, and the Good of humane Society.

The whole will be small, since it is but an Epitome of no larger a Tract than fourteen Sheets, yet divides it self into the same Particulars, every of which we shall defend against *Imposition, Restraint, and Persecution*, though not with that Scope of Reason (nor consequently Pleasure to the Readers) being by other contingent Disappointments, limited to a narrow Stint.

The Terms explained, and the Question stated.

First, By *Liberty of Conscience*, we understand not only a meer *Liberty of the Mind*, in believing or disbelieving this or that Principle or Doctrine, but the Exercise of our selves in a visible Way of Worship, upon our believing it to be indispensably required at our Hands, that if we neglect it for Fear or Favour of any Mortal Man, we Sin, and incur Divine Wrath: Yet we would be so understood to extend and justify the Lawfulness of our so meeting to worship God, as not to contrive, or abet any Contrivance destructive of the Government and Laws of the Land, tending to Matters of an external Nature, directly, or indirectly; but so far only, as it may refer to religious Matters, and a Life to come, and consequently wholly independent of the secular Affairs of this, wherein we are suppos'd to Transgress.

Secondly, By *Imposition, Restraint, and Persecution*, we don't only mean, the strict Requiring of us to believe this to be true, or that to be false; and upon Refusal, to incur the Penalties enact'd in such Cases; but by those Terms we mean thus much, any coercive Lett or Hindrance to us, from meeting together to perform those Religious Exercises which are according to our Faith and Perswasion.

The Question stated.

For Proof of the aforesaid Terms thus given, we singly state the Question thus,

Whether *Imposition, Restraint, and Persecution*, upon Persons for Exercising such a Liberty of Conscience, as is before expressed, and so circumstantiated, be not to impeach the Honour of God, the Meekness of the Christian Religion, the Authority of Scripture, the Priviledge of Nature, the Principles of common Reason, the Well-being of Government, and Apprehensions of the greatest Personages of former and latter Ages.

First, Then we say that *Imposition, Restraint, and Persecution*, for Matters relating to Conscience, directly invade the Divine Prerogative, and Divest the Almighty of a Due, proper to none besides himself. And this we prove by these five Particulars.

1. First, If we do allow the Honour of our Creation, due to God only, and that no other besides himself has endow'd us with those excellent Gifts of *Understanding, Reason, Judgment, and Faith*, and consequently that he only is the Object as well as Author, both of our *Faith, Worship, and Service*, then whosoever shall interpose their Authority to enact *Faith and Worship*, in a Way that seems not to us congruous with what he has discover'd to us to be *Faith and Worship* (whose alone Property it is to do it) or to restrain us from what we are perswaded is our *indispensible Duty*, they evidently usurp this Authority and invade his incommunicable Right of Government

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vernment over Conscience: *For the Inspiration of the Almighty gives Understanding: And Faith is the Gift of God, says the Divine Writ.*

Secondly, *Such magisterial Determinations carry an evident Claim to that Infallibility, which Protestants have been hitherto so jealous of owning, that to avoid the Papists, they have denied it to all, but God himself.*

Either they have forsook their old Plea, or if not, we desire to know when, and where, they were invested with that divine Excellency, and whether *Imposition, Restraint, and Persecution*, were decm'd by God ever the Fruits of his Spirit: However, that it felt was not sufficient; for unless it appear as well to us, that they have it, as to them who have it, we cannot believe it upon any convincing Evidence, but by Tradition only; an *Anti-Protestant Way of Believing.*

Thirdly, *It enthrones Man as King over Conscience, the alone just Claim and Privilege of his Creator, whose Thoughts are not as Men's Thoughts but has reserv'd to himself, that Empire from all the Casars on Earth; for it Men in Reference to Souls, and Bodies, things appertaining to this and t'other World, shall be subject to their Fellow-Creatures, what follows? but that Cesar (however he got it) has all, God's Share, and his own too; and being Lord of both, Both are Cesar's and not God's.*

Fourthly, *It defeats God's Work of Grace, and the invisible Operation of his Eternal Spirit, which can alone beget Faith, and is only to be obey'd, in and about Religion and Worship, and attributes Men's Conformity to outward Force and Corporal Punishments. A Faith subject to as many Revolutions as the Powers that enact it.*

Fifthly and Lastly, *Such Persons assume the Judgment of the great Tribunal unto themselves; for to whomsoever Men are imposedly or restrictively subject and accountable in Matters of Faith, Worship and Conscience; in them alone must the Power of Judgment reside; but it is equally true that God shall judge all by Jesus Christ, and that no Man is so accountable to his fellow Creatures, as to be imposed upon, restrain'd, or persecuted for any Matter of Conscience whatever.*

Thus and in many more particulars are Men accustomed to intrench upon Divine Property, to gratifie particular Interests in the World (and at best) through a Misguided Apprehension to imagine *they do God good Service*, that where they cannot give Faith, *They will use Force*, which kind of Sacrifice is nothing less unreasonable *than the other is abominable*: God will not give his Honour to another, and to him only that searches the Heart and tries the Reins, it is our Duty to ascribe the Gifts of Understanding and Faith, without which none can please God.

Chap. II.

C H A P. II.

They overturn the Christian Religion; 1. In the Nature of it, which is Meekness; 2. In the Practice of it, which is Suffering; 3. In the Promotion of it, since all further Discoveries are prohibited; 4. In the Rewards of it, which are Eternal.

THE next great Evil which attends External Force in Matters of Faith and Worship, is no less than the Overthrow of the whole Christian Religion, and this we will briefly evidence in these four particulars. 1. *That there can be nothing more remote from the Nature.* 2. *The Eradice* 3. *The Promotion.* 4. *The Rewards of it.*

1. First, it is the Privilege of the Christian Faith above the dark Suggestions of ancient and modern Superstitious Traditions, to carry with it a most Self-evidencing Verity, which ever was sufficient to profolyte Believers, without the weak Auxiliaries of external Power; The Son of God, and great Example of the World, was so far from calling his Father's Omnipotency in Legions of Angels to his Defence, that he at once repeal'd all Acts of Force, and defin'd to us the Nature of his Religion in this one great

great Saying of his, *MY KINGDOM IS NOT OF THIS WORLD*. It was spiritual, not carnal, accompanied with Weapons, as heavenly as it's own Nature, and design'd for the Good and Salvation of the Soul, and not the Injury and Destruction of the Body: No Goals, Fines, Exiles, &c. but *sound Reason, clear Truth and a strict Life*. In short, the Christian Religion intreatsall, but compels none.

Secondly, *That Restraint and Persecution overturn the Practise of it*; I need go no farther than the allowed *Martyrologies* of several Ages, of which the Scriptures claim a Share; begin with *Abel*, go down to *Moses*, so to the *Prophets*, and then to the Meek Example of *Jesus Christ* himself; How patiently devoted was he, to undergo the Contradictions of Men, and so far from persecuting any, that he would not so much as revile his Persecutors, but prayed for them; thus lived his *Apostles* and the true Christians, of the first three Hundred Years: Nor are the famous Stories of our first Reformers silent in the Matter; witness the Christian Practices of the *Waldenses, Lollards, Hussites, Lutherans*, and our noble *Martyrs*, who as became the true Followers of *Jesus Christ*, enacted and confirm'd their Religion, with their own Blood, and not with the Blood of their Opposers.

Thirdly, *Restraint and Persecution obstruct the Promotion of the Christian Religion*, for if such as restrain, confess themselves, *miserable Sinners, and altogether imperfect*, it either follows, that they never desire to be better, or that they should encourage such as may be capable of farther informing and reforming them; they condemn the Papists for encoffening the Scriptures and their Worship, in an unknown Tongue, and yet are guilty themselves of the same kind of Fact.

Fourthly, *They prevent many of eternal Rewards*, for where any are Religious for Fear, and that of Men, 'tis slavish, and the Recompence of such Religion is Condemnation, not Peace: besides 'tis Man that is served, who having no Power but what is *Temporary*, his Reward must needs be so too; he that imposes a Duty, or restrains from one, must reward; but because no Man can Reward for such Duties, no Man can or ought to impose them, or restrain from them, so that we conclude *Imposition, Restraint and Persecution*, are destructive of the Christian Religion, in the Nature, Practice, Promotion and Rewards of it, which are Eternal.

CHAP. III.

Chap. III.

They oppose the plainest Testimonies of Divine Writ that can be, which condemn all Force upon Conscience.

WE farther say, that *Imposition, Restraint and Persecution* are repugnant to the plain Testimonies and Precepts of the Scriptures.

1. *The Inspiration of the Almighty gives Understanding*, Job 32. 8, If no Man can believe before he understands, and no Man can understand before he is inspir'd of God, then are the Impositions of Men excluded as unreasonable, and their Persecutions for non-Obedience as inhuman.
2. *Wo unto them that take Counsel, but not of me*, Isa. 30. 1.
3. *Wo unto them that make a Man an Offender for a Word, and lay a Snare for him that reproves in the Gate, and turn aside the Just for a Thing of Nought*, Isa. 29. 15. 21.
4. *Let the Wheat and the Tares grow together, until the Time of the Harvest, or End of the World*. Matt. 13. 27, 28, 29.
5. *And Jesus called them unto him, and said ye know that the Princes of the Gentiles, exercise Dominion over them, and they that are great exercise Authority upon them, but it shall not be so amongst you*. Matt. 20. 25, 26.
6. *And Jesus said unto them, Render unto Caesar the Things that are Caesar's, and unto God the Things that are God's*. Luke, 20. 25.
7. *When his Disciples saw this* (that there were Non-conformists then as

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well as now) *they said, wilt thou that we command Fire to come down from Heaven and consume them, as Elias did; but he turned, and rebuked them, and said, Ye know not what Spirit ye are of; for the Son of Man is not come to destroy Men's Lives but to save them, Luke 9. 54, 55, 56.*

8. *Howbeit, when the Spirit of Truth is come, he shall lead you into all Truth, John 16. 8. 13.*

9. *But now the Anointing which ye have received of him, abides in you, and you need not that any Man teach you, (much less impose upon any, or restrain them from what any are perswaded it leads to) but as the same Anointing teaches you of all Things, and is Truth and is no Lye, 1 John 2. 27.*

10. *Dearly Beloved, avenge not your selves, but rather give Place unto Wrath (much less should any be Wrathful that are called Christians, where no Occasion is given) therefore if thine Enemy Hunger feed him, and if he Thirst, give him Drink; Recompence no Man Evil for Evil, Rom. 12. 19, 20, 21.*

11. *For though we walk in the Flesh (that is in the Body or visible World) we do not war after the Flesh, for the Weapons of our Warfare are not Carnal. 2 Cor. 10. 3. (but Fines and Imprisonments are, and such use not the Apostle's Weapons that employ those) for a Bishop, 1 Tim. 3. 3. (saith Paul) must be of good Behaviour, apt to teach, no Striker, but be gentle unto all Men, Patient, in Meekness instructing, (not Persecuting) those that oppose themselves, if God peradventure will give them Repentance to the Acknowledging of the Truth, 2 Tim. 2. 24, 25.*

12. *Lastly, We shall subjoyn one Passage more, and then no more of this particular; Whatsoever ye would that Men should do you, do ye even so to them. Mat. 7. 12. Luke 6. 31.*

Now upon the whole we seriously ask, *Whether any should be imposed upon, or restrain'd, in Matters of Faith and Worship? Whether such Practices become the Gospel, or are suitable to Christ's meek Precepts and suffering Doctrine? And lastly, Whether those, who are herein guilty, do to us, as they would be done unto by others.*

What if any were once severe to you; many are unconcerned in that, who are yet liable to the Lash, as if they were not. But if you once thought *the Imposition of a Directory Unreasonable, and a Restraint from your Way of Worship, Unchristian,* can you believe that *Liberty of Conscience* is changed, because the *Parties*, in Point of Power, are? or that the same Reasons do not yet remain in Vindication of an Indulgence for others, that were once employed by you, for your selves? Surely such Conjectures would argue gross Weakness.

To conclude, whether *Persecutors* at any Time read the *Scriptures*, we know not; but certain we are, *such Practise, as little of them as maybe, who with so much Delight reject them, and think it no small Accession to the Discovery of their Loyalty, to lead us and our Properties in Triumph after them.*

Chap. IV.

CHAP. IV.

They are Enemies to the Privilege of Nature; 1. as rendering some more, and Others less than Men; 2. As subverting the Universal Good that is God's Gift to Men; 3. As destroying all natural Affection. Next, they are Enemies to the noble Principle of Reason, as appears in eight great Instances.

WE farther say, That *Imposition, Restraint, and Persecution, are also destructive of the great Privilege of Nature and Principle of Reason. Of Nature in three Instances:*

1. First, If God Almighty has made of one Blood all Nations, as himself has declar'd, and that he has given them both Senses Corporal and Intellectual,

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tual, to discern Things and their Differences, so as to assert or deny from Evidences and Reasons proper to each; then Where any Enacts the Belief or Disbelief of any Thing upon the rest, or restrains any from the Exercise of their Faith so them indispensable, such exalts himself beyond his Bounds; Enslaves his Fellow-Creatures, invades their Right of Liberty, and so perverts the whole Order of Nature.

Secondly, *Mankind* is hereby robbed of the Use and benefit of that *Infin.* of a *Deity*, which is so natural to him, that he can be no more without it, and be, than he can be without the most essential Part of himself; For to what serves that *Divine Principle* in the *Universality* of Mankind, if Men be restricted by the Prescriptions of some Individuals? But if the excellent Nature of it *inclines Men to God, not Man;* if the *Power of Accusing and Excusing* be committed to it; if the *troubled Thoughts and sad Reflections of Forlorn and Dying Men* make their *Tendency that Way only*, (as being hopeless of all other Relief and Succour from any *external Power or Command*) What shall we say, but that such as *invalidate* the Authority of this *Heavenly Instinct*, (as *Imposition and Restraint* evidently do) *destroy Nature, or that Privilege which Men are born with, and to.*

Thirdly, *All natural Affection is destroy'd*; for those who have so little tenderness, as to persecute Men, that cannot for Conscience sake yield them Compliance, manifestly act injuriously to their Fellow-Creatures, and consequently are Enemies to Nature; For Nature being one in all, *such as ruin those who are equally intitled with themselves to Nature, ruin it in them, as in Liberty, Property, &c. And so bring the State of Nature to the State of War, the great Leviathan of the Times, as ignorantly, as Boldly, does assert.*

But Secondly, we also prove them destructive of the noble Principle of Reason, and that in these eight Particulars.

1. *In that those who impose, or restrain, are uncertain of the Truth, and Justifiableness of their Actions in either of these, their own Discourses and Confessions are pregnant Instances, where they tell us, that they do not pretend to be infallible, only they humbly conceive 'tis thus, or it is not.* Since then they are uncertain and fallible, how can they impose upon, or restrain others whom they are so far from assuring, as they are not able to do so much for themselves? *what is this, but to impose an uncertain Faith, upon certain Penalties?*

3. As he that acts doubtfully is damned, so Faith in all Acts of Religion is necessary: Now in Order to *believe*, we must first *Will*; to *Will*, we must *Judge*; to *Judge* any Thing, we must first *Understand*; if then we cannot be said to *understand* any Thing against our *Understanding*, how more can we *Judge, Will, or Believe* against our *Understanding*: and if the Doubter be damned, what must he be that conforms directly against his *Judgment and Belief*, and they likewise that require it from him? In short, that Man cannot be said to have any Religion, that takes it by another Man's Choice, not his own.

4. Where Men are limited in Matters of Religion, there the Rewards which are entail'd on the free Acts of Men, are quite overthrown; and such as supersede that *Grand Charter* of Liberty of Conscience, frustrate all Hopes of Recompence, by *rendring the Actions of Men unavoidable*: But those think perhaps, *they do not destroy all Freedom, because they use so much of their own.*

5. *Fifthly*, They subvert all *True Religion*; for where Men believe not because it is *True*, but because they are required to do so, there they will *unbelieve*, not because 'tis *False*, but so commanded by their *Superiors*, whose Authority their Interest and Security oblige them rather to obey, than dispute.

6. *Sixthly*, They delude, or rather compel People out of their Eternal Rewards; for where Men are commanded to act in reference to Religion, and can neither be secur'd of their Religion. nor yet sav'd Harmless from Punishment

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Punishment, that so acting and believing, dispriviledges them for ever of that Recompence which is provided for the Faithful.

7. *Seventhly*, Men have their Liberty and Choice in External Matters; they are not compelled to *Marry this Person, to Converse with that, to Buy here, to Eat there, nor to Sleep yonder*; yet if Men had Power to impose or restrain in any Thing, one would think it should be in such exteriour Matters; but that this Liberty should be unquestion'd, and that of the Mind destroy'd, issues here, *That it does not Unbrute us; but Unman us; for, take away Understanding, Reason, Judgment, and Faith, and like Nebuchadnezzar, let us go Graze with the Beasts of the Field.*

8. *Eighthly and Lastly*, That which most of all blackens the Business, is PERSECUTION; for though it is very unreasonable to require Faith, where Men cannot chuse but doubt, yet after all, to punish them for Disobedience, is Cruelty in the Abstract, for we demand, *Shall Men Suffer for not doing what they cannot do?* Must they be Persecuted here if they do not go against their Consciences, and punished hereafter if they do? But neither is this all; for that Part that is yet most unreasonable, and that gives the clearest Sight of Persecution, is still behind, namely, *The Monstrous Arguments they have to Convince an Heretick with*: Not those of Old, as Spiritual as the Christian Religion, which were to admonish, warn, and finally to reject; but such as were employ'd by the persecuting Jews and Heathens against the great Example of the World, and such as follow'd him, and by the inhuman Papists against our first Reformers, as Clubs, Staves, Stocks, Pillories, Prisons, Dungeons, Exiles, &c. In a Word, *Ruin to whole Families, as if it were not so much their Design to Convince the Soul, as to Destroy the Body.*

To conclude: There ought to be an Adequation and Resemblance betwixt all Ends, and the Means to them, but in this Case there can be none imaginable: *The End is the Conformity of our Judgments and Understandings to the Acts of such as require it, the Means are Fines and Imprisonments (and Bloody Knocks to boot.)*

Now, what Proportion or Assimilation these bear, let the Sober judge: The Understanding can never be convinc'd, nor properly submit, but by such Arguments, as are Rational, Persuasive, and suitable to its own Nature; something that can resolve it's Doubts, answer it's Objections, enervate it's Propositions, but to imagine those barbarous Newgate Instruments of Clubs, Fines, Prisons, &c. with that whole Troop of external and dumb Materials of Force, should be for Arguments to convince the Understanding, scatter it's Scruples, and finally, convert it to their Religion, is altogether irrational, cruel, and impossible. Force may make an Hypocrite; *'tis Faith grounded upon Knowledge, and Consent that makes a Christian.* And to conclude, as we can never betray the Honour of our Conformity (only due to Truth) by a base and timorous Hypocrisy to any external Violence under Heaven, so must we needs say, *Unreasonable are those Imposers, who secure not the Imposed or Restrained from what may occur to them, upon their Account; and most inhuman are those Persecutors that punish Men for not obeying them, though to their utter Ruin.*

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They carry a Contradiction to Government: 1. In the Nature of it, which is Justice. 2. In the Execution of it, which is Prudence. 3. In the End of it, which is Fidelity. Seven Common, but Grand Objections, fairly stated, and briefly answered.

WE next urge, *That Force in Matters relating to Conscience, carries a plain Contradiction to Government in the Nature, Execution, and End of it.*

By

By Government we understand, *An External Order of Justice, or the right and prudent Disciplining of any Society, by Just Laws, either in the Relaxation, or Execution of them.*

First, It carries a Contradiction to Government in the Nature of it, which is *Justice*, and that in three Respects.

1. It is the First Lesson, that *Great Synterests*, so much renowned by Philosophers and Civilians, learns Mankind, *To do as they would be done to*; since he that gives what he would not take, or takes what he would not give, only shews Care for himself, but neither Kindness nor Justice for another.

2. *The Just Nature of Government lies in a fair and equal Retribution*; but what can be more unequal, than that *Men should be rated more than their Proportion*, to answer the Necessities of Government, and yet that they should not only receive *No Protection from it*, but by it be *depriv'd of their dear Liberty and Properties*; we say to be compell'd to pay that Power, that exerts it self to ruin those that pay it, or that any should be requir'd to enrich those, that ruin them, is hard, and unequal, and therefore contrary to the Just Nature of Government. *If we must be Contributors to the Maintenance of it, we are entituled to a Protection from it.*

3. *It is the Justice of Government to proportion Penalties to the Crime committed.* Now granting our Dissent to be a Fault, yet the Infliction of a Corporal or External Punishment, for a meer Mental Error (and that not voluntary) is Unreasonable and Inadequate, as well as against particular Directions of the Scriptures, Tit. iii. 9, 10, 11. For as Corporal Penalties cannot convince the *Understanding*; so neither can they be commensurate Punishments for Faults purely *Intellectual*: And for the Government of this World to intermeddle with what belongs to the Government of another, and which can have no ill Aspect or Influence upon it, *shews more of Invasion than Right and Justice.*

Secondly, *It carries a Contradiction to Government in the Execution of it, which is Prudence, and that in these Instances.*

1. The State of the Case is this, That there is no *Republick* so great, no *Empire* so vast, but the Laws of them are Resolvable into these Two Series or Heads, *Of Laws Fundamental, which are Indispensible and Immutable: And Laws Superficial, which are Temporary and Alterable*: And as it is Justice and Prudence to be punctual in the Execution of the former, so by Circumstances it may be neither, to Execute the latter, *they being suited to the present Conveniency and Emergency of State*; as the Prohibiting of Cattle out of Ireland, was judg'd of Advantage to the Farmers of England, yet a Murrain would make it the Good of the Whole, that the Law should be broke, or at least the Execution of it suspended. That the Law of *Restraint in Point of Conscience is of this Number*, we may farther manifest, and the Imprudence of thinking otherwise: For, first, if the Saying were as True as 'tis False, *No Bishop, no King*, (which admits of Various Readings; *As no Decimating Clergy, or no Persecution, no King*,) we should be as silent, as some would have us; but the Confidence of their Assertion, and the Impolicy of such as believe it, makes us to say, *That a greater Injury cannot be done to the present Government.* For if such Laws and Establishments are Fundamental, they are as immutable as Mankind it self; but that they are as alterable, as the Conjectures and Opinions of Governours have been, is evident; *Since the same Fundamental Indispensible Laws and Policy of these Kingdoms have still remain'd, through all Variety of opposite Ruling Opinions and judgments*, and disjoyn'd from them all. Therefore to admit such a Fixation to Temporary Laws, must needs be highly imprudent, and Destructive of the Essential Parts of the Government of these Countries.

2. That since there has been a Time of Connivance, and that with no ill Success to Publick Affairs, it cannot be Prudence to discontinue it, unless it was Imprudence before to give it, and such little deserve it that think so.

3. *Dissenters*

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3. *Dissenters* not being Conscious to themselves of any Just Forfeiture of that Favour, are as well griev'd in their Resentments of this Alteration, as the contrary did oblige them to very Grateful Acknowledgments.

4. This must be done to gratify all, or the greatest Part, or but some few only; it is a Demonstration all are not pleased with it; that the greatest Number is not, *the empty publick Auditories will speak*: In short, how should either be, when Six Parties are sacrificed to the Seventh; that this cannot be Prudence, *Common Maxims and Observations* prove.

5. It strikes fatally at *Protestant Sincerity*; for will the *Papists* say, Did *Protestants* exclaim against us for Persecutors, and are they now the Men themselves? Was it an Instance of Weakness in our Religion, and is't become a Demonstration of Strength in theirs? Have they transmuted it from *Anti-christian* in us, to *Christian* in themselves? Let *Persecutors* answer.

6. It is not only an Example, but an Incentive to the *Romanists*, to Persecute the Reformed Religion abroad; for when they see their Actions (once void of all Excuse) now defended by the Example of *Protestants*, that once accus'd them, (but now themselves) doubtless they will revive their Cruelty.

7. It overturns the very Ground of the *Protestants* Retreat from Rome; for if Men must be Restrain'd upon pretended Prudential Considerations, from the Exercise of their Conscience in England; why not the same in France, Holland, Germany, Constantinople, &c. where Matters of State may equally be pleaded? This makes Religion, State-Policy; and Faith and Worship, subservient to the Humours and Interests of Superiors: Such Doctrine would have prevented our Ancestor's Retreat; and we wish it be not the Beginning of a Back-march; for some think it shrewdly to be suspected, where Religion is suited to the Government, and Conscience to it's Convenience.

8. *Vice* is encourag'd; for if *Licentious Persons* see Men of Virtue molested for Assembling with a Religious Purpose to Reverence and Worship God, and that are otherwise most serviceable to the Common-Wealth, they may and will infer, it is better for them to be as they are, since not to be *Demure*, as they call it, is Half Way to that Kind of Accomplishment, which procures Preferment.

9. For such Persons as are so poor Spirited as to truckle under such Restraints; What Conquest is there over them? that before were Conscientious Men, and now Hypocrites; who so forward to be aveng'd of them, that brought this Guilt upon them, as they themselves? And how can the *Imposers* be secure of their Friendship, whom they have taught to change with the Times?

10. Such Laws are so far from benefitting the Country, that the Execution of them will be the assured Ruin of it, in the Revenues, and consequently in the Power of it; For where there is a Decay of Families, there will be of Trade; so of Wealth, and in the End of Strength and Power; and if both Kinds of Relief fail, Men, the Prop of Republicks; Money, the Stay of Monarchies; this, as requiring Mercenaries; that, as needing Freemen; farewell the Interest of England; 'Tis true, the Priests get (though that's but for a Time) but the King and People lose, as the Event will shew.

11. It ever was the Prudence of Wise Magistrates to oblige their People; but what comes shorter of it than Persecution? What's dearer to them than the Liberty of their Conscience? What cannot they better spare than it? Their Peace consists in the Enjoyment of it: And he that by Compliance has lost it, carries his Penalty with him, and is his own Prison. Surely such Practices must render the Government uneasy, and beget a great Disrespect to the Governours, in the Hearts of the People.

12. But that which concludes our Prudential Part, shall be this, That after all their Pains and Good Will to stretch Men to their Measure, they never will be able to accomplish their End: And if he be an unwise Man, that provides Means where he designs no End, how near is he Kin to him that proposes an End inobtainable. Experience has told us, 1. How In-

effective

effective it has made the *Impos'd on*. 2. What Distractions have infused such Attempts. 3. What Reproach has follow'd to the Christian Religion, when the Professors of it have us'd a Coercive Power upon Conscience. And lastly, That Force never yet made either a *Good Christian*, or a *Good Subject*.

Thirdly and Lastly, Since the Proceedings we argue against, are prov'd so Destructive to the Justice and Prudence of Government, we ought the less to wonder that they should hold the same Malignity against the End of it, which is *Felicity*, since the Wonder would be to find it otherwise; and this is evident from these three Considerations.

1. *Peace* (the End of War and Government, and it's great Happiness too) has been, is, and yet will be broken by the frequent Tumultuary Disturbances, that ensue the Disquieting our Meetings, and the Estreating Fines upon our Goods and Estates. And what these Things may issue in, concerneth the Civil Magistrate to consider.

2. *Plenty*, (another great End of Government) will be converted into Poverty by the Destruction of so many Thousand Families as refuse Compliance and Conformity, and that not only to the *Sufferers*, but influentially to all the *Rest*; a Demonstration of which we have in all those Places where the late Act has been any Thing considerably put in Execution. Besides, how great Provocation such Incharity and Cruel Usage, as stripping Widows, Fatherless, and Poor of their very *Necessaries for human Life*, merely upon an Account of Faith or Worship, must needs be to the Just and Righteous Lord of Heaven and Earth; Scriptures, and Plenty of other Histories plainly shew us.

3. *Unity*, (not the least, but greatest End of Government is lost) for by seeking an Unity of Opinion (by the Ways intended) the Unity requisite to uphold us, as a *Civil Society*, will be quite destroy'd. And such as relinquish *that*, to get the *other* (besides that they are *Unwise*) will infallibly lose both in the End.

In short, We say, that 'tis unreasonable we should not be entertain'd as Men, because some think we are not as Good Christians as they pretend to wish us; or that we should be depriv'd of our Liberties and Properties, who never broke the Laws that gave them to us: What can be harder, than to take that from us by a Law, which the great Indulgence and Solitude of our Ancestors took so much Pains to intail upon us by Law; An. 18 Ed. 3. Stat. 3. also Stat. 20 Ed. 3. Cap. 1. again *Petition of Right*, An. 3. Car. and more fully in *Magna Charta*; further peruse 37 Ed. 5. Cap. 8. 28. 42 Ed. 3. Cap. 3. 28 Hen. Cap. 7.

And we are perswaded, that no Temporary Subsequential Law whatever to our Fundamental Rights, (as this of Force on Conscience is) can invalidate so essential a Part of the Government, as *English Liberty and Property*: Nor that it's in the Power of any on Earth, to deprive us of them, till we have first done it our selves, by such *Enormous Facts*, as those very Laws prohibit, and make our Forfeiture of that Benefit we should otherwise receive by them; for these being such *Cardinal and Fundamental Points of English Law-Doctrine*, individually, and by the collective Body of the People agreed to; and on which as the most solid Basis, our *Secondary Legislative Power*, as well as Executive is built; it seems most rational that the Superstructure cannot quarrel or invalidate it's own Foundation, without manifestly endangering it's own Security, the Effect is ever less noble than the Cause, the Gift than the Giver, and the Superstructure than the Foundation.

The single Question to be resolved in the Case, briefly will be this; Whether any Visible Authority (being founded in its primitive Institution upon those Fundamental Laws, that inviolably preserve the People in all their just Rights and Privileges) may invalidate all, or any of the said Laws, without an implicit shaking of it's own Foundation, and a clear Overthrow of it's own Constitution of Government, and so reduce them to their Statu quo prius, or first Principles: The Resolution is every Man's, at his own Pleasure. Read Hen. 3. 9. 14. 29. 25 Ed. 3. Cook's Instit. 2. 19. 50, 51.

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Those who intend us no Share or Interest in the Laws of England, as they relate to civil Matters, unless we correspond with them in Points of Faith and Worship, must do two Things: First, It will lie heavy on their Parts to prove, *That the Ancient Compact and Original of our Laws carries that Proviso with it*; else we are manifestly diseased of our Free-Customs.

Secondly, They are to prove the Reasonableness of such Proceedings to our Understandings, that we may not be concluded by a Law, we know not how to understand; for if I take the Matter rightly (as I think I do) we must not Buy, or Sell unless of this or that Perswasion in Religion; not considering Civil Society was in the World before the Protestant Profession; Men, as such, and in Affairs peculiarly relative of them, in an External and Civil Capacity, have subsisted many Ages, under great Variety of Religious Apprehensions, and therefore not so dependent on them as to receive any Variation or Revolution with them. What shall we say then? but that some will not that we should *Live, Breathe, and Commerce as Men*, because we are not such model'd Christians as they coercively would have us; they might with as much Justice and Reputation to themselves forbid us to look or see unless our Eyes were *Grey, Black, Brown, Blue*, or some one Colour best suiting theirs: For not to be able to give us Faith, or save our Consciences harmless, and yet to persecute us for refusing Conformity, is intolerable hard Measure.

In short, That coercive Way of bringing all Men to their Height of Perswasion, must either arise from *Exorbitant Zeal and Superstition*; or from a Consciousness of Error and Defect, which is unwilling any Thing more sincere and reformed should take Place; being of that Cardinal's Mind, who therefore would not hearken to a Reformation, at the sitting of the Council of *Trent*; because he would not so far approve the Reformers Judgment (*for having once condescended to their Apprehensions, he thought 'twould forever inflave them to their Sense*) though otherwise he saw as much as any Man, the Grand Necessity of a Reformation, both of the Roman Doctrine and Conversation.

Some Grand Objections in the Way must be Considered.

Objection 1. *But you are a People that meet with Designs to Dissaffect the People, and to ruin the Government.*

Answer. A Surmise is no Certainty, neither is A may-be, or Conjecture, any Proof: That from the first we have behaved our selves inoffensively in a Demonstration; that our Meetings are open, where all may hear our Matter, and have Liberty to object or discuss any Point, is notorious. *Ignorant Calumnies are Sandy Foundations to build so high a Charge upon*: Let us fairly be heard in a publick Conference, how far we can justify our Principles from being deservedly suspected of Sedition or Disloyalty, and not over-run us with meer Suppositions. We declare our Readiness to obey the Ordinance of Man, which is only relative of Human or Civil Matters, and not Points of Faith, or Practice in Worship: But if Accusations must stand for *Proofs*, we shall take it for granted, that we must stand for Criminals; but our Satisfaction will be, that we shall not deserve it otherwise than as Prejudice seeks to traduce us.

Object. 2. *But you strike at the Doctrine, at least the Discipline of the Church, and consequently are Hereticks.*

Answer. This Story is as old as the Reformation; If we must be objected against out of pure Reputation, let it be in some other Matter than what the Papists objected against the first Protestants; otherwise you do but hit your selves in aiming at us? *To say you were in the Right, but we are in the Wrong*, is but a meer begging of the Question; for doubtless the *Papists* said the

the same to you, and all that you can say to us: Your best Plea was, Conscience upon Principles, the most evident and rational to you: Do not we like the like? What if you think our Reasons thick, and our Ground of Separation mistaken? Did not the *Papists* harbour the same Thoughts of you? You persuaded as few of them, as we of you: Were you therefore in the Wrong? No more are we: It was not what they thought of you, or enacted against you, that concluded you: And why should your Apprehensions conclude us? If you have the Way of giving Faith beyond what they had, and have the Faculty of Persuasion, evidence as much; but if you are as destitute of both, as they were to you; why should *Fines and Prisoners*, once us'd by them against you, and by you exclaimed against, as *Unchristian Ways of reclaiming Hereticks* (supposing your selves to be such) be employ'd by you as Rational, Christian, and Convincing upon us? To say we deserve them more, is to suppose your selves in the Right, and us in the Wrong, which proves nothing. Besides, the Question is not barely this, whether *Hereticks* or no *Hereticks*; but whether an *Heretick* should be Persecuted into a disclaiming of his Error; your old Arguments run thus, as I well remember.

1. *Error is a Mistake in the Understanding.*
2. *This is for Want of a better Illumination.*
3. *This Error can never be dislodged, but by Reason and Persuasion, at what are most suitable to the Intellect of Man.*
4. *Fines, Goals, Exiles, Gibbets, &c. are no convincing Arguments to the most erring Understanding in the World, being slavish and brutish.*
5. *This Way of Force makes, instead of an honest Dissenter, but an Hypocritical Conformist; than whom nothing is more detestable to God and Man.*

This being the *Protestants* Plea, we are not to be disliked by *Protestants*, for following their own avow'd Maxims and Axioms of Conscience in Defence of its own Liberty.

In short, either allow Separation upon the single Principle of, *My Conscience owns this, or disowns that*; or never dwell in that Building, which knew no better Foundation, (indeed good enough) but, *accusing your Forefathers of Schism, and Heresie, return to the Romish Church*. What short of this can any say to an *Anti-liberty-of-Conscience-Protestant*.

Object. 3. *But at this Rate ye may pretend to Cut our Throats, and do all Manner of savage Acts.*

Ans. Though the Objection be frequent, yet it is as foully ridiculous. We are pleading only for such a *Liberty of Conscience*, as preserves the Nation in Peace, Trade, and Commerce; and would not exempt any Man, or Party of Men, from not keeping those excellent Laws, that tend to Sober, Just, and Industrious Living. It is a *Jesuitical Moral*, *To Kill a Man before he is Born*: First, to suspect him of an Evil Design, and then kill him to prevent it.

Object. 4. *But do not you see what has been the End of this Separation? Wars, and Revolutions, and Danger to Government; witness our late Troubles.*

Ans. We see none of all this, but are able to make it appear, that the true Cause of all that perplext Disturbance, which was amongst the *Hemogousians* and *Arrians* of old, and among us of latter Years (as well as what has modernly attended our Neighbouring Countries) took its first rise from a Narrowness of Spirit, in not *Tolerating others to live the Freeman God made them, in External Matters upon the Earth*, merely upon some Difference in Religion.

And were there once but an Hearty Toleration establish'd, 'twould be a Demonstration of the Truth of this Assertion. On this Ground, *Empire* stands safe; on the other, it seems more uncertain.

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But these are only the popular Devices of some to traduce honest Men, and their Principles; whose *lazy Life, and intolerable Advice* become question'd, by a Toleration of People better inclin'd.

Object. 5. But what need you take this Pains to prove Liberty of Conscience Reasonable and Necessary, when none questions it; all that is required is, That you meet but four more than your own Families; and can you not be contented with that? Your Disobedience to a Law, so favourable, brings suffering upon you.

Ans. Here is no Need of answering the former Part of the Objection; 'Tis too apparent throughout the Land, that *Liberty of Conscience*, as we have stated it, has been severely prosecuted, and therefore not so frankly in-joyed: The latter Part, I answer thus, If the Words *Lawful* or *Unlawful*, may bear their Signification from the Nature of the Things they stand for, then we conceive that a *Meeting of Four Thousand* is no more *Unlawful*, than a *Meeting of Four*; for *Number singly consider'd* criminales no *Assembly*: But the Reason of their assembling; the Posture in which; and the Matter transacted, with the Consequences thereof.

Now if those Things are taken for granted, to be Things dispensible (*as appears by the Allowance of Four besides every Family*) certainly the Number can never render it *Unlawful*; so that the Question will be this, *Whether if Four met to worship God, be an Allowable Meeting, Four thousand met with the same Design be not an allowable Meeting?*

It is so plain a Case, that the Matter in Question resolves it.

Object. 6. But the Law forbids it.

Ans. If the enacting any Thing can make it lawful, we have done; but if an Act so made by the *Papists* against *Protestants*, was never esteem'd so by a true *Protestant*; and if the Nature of the Matter will not bear it; and lastly, that we are as much commanded by God to meet Four Thousand, as Four; we must desire to be excused, if we forbear not the assembling of our selves together, as the Manner of some is.

Object. 7. But the Reason of the Prohibition of the Number is (for you see they allow all that can be said to Four Thousand to be said to the Family and Four) *that Tumults may arise, and Plots may be made, and the like Inconveniencies happen to the Government.*

Ans. Great Assemblies are so far from being injurious, that they are the most inoffensive; for, First, They are open, expos'd to the View of all, which of all Things *Plotters* are the shyest of; but how fair an Opportunity 'twere, for Men so principled, to do it in those allowed Meetings of but Four besides the Family, is easie to guess, when we consider, *that few make the best and closest Council; and next, that such an Assembly is the most private and clandestine, and so fitted for Mischief and Surprise.*

Secondly, Such Assemblies, are not only publick and large, but they are frequented, as well by those that are not of their Way, as by their own; from whence it follows, that we have the greatest Reason to be cautious and wise in our Behaviour, *since the more there be at our Meetings, the more Witnesses are against us, if we should say or do any Thing that may be prejudicial to the Government.*

Lastly, For these several Years none could ever observe such an ill use made of that Freedom, or such wicked Designs to follow such Assemblies, and therefore it is high Incharity to proceed so severely upon meer Suppositions.

To this we shall add several Authorities and Testimonies for farther Confirmation of our Sense of the Matter, and to let Imposers see, that we are not the only Persons, who have impleaded Persecution, and justified *Liberty of Conscience*, as Christian and Rational.

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They reflect upon the Sense and Practice of the Wisest, Greatest, and best States, and Persons of Ancients and Modern Times; as of the Jews, Romans, Egyptians, Germans, French, Hollanders, nay Turks and Persians too. And *Caro, Livy, Tacitus, Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Jovianus, Chaucer, Dominicus Soto, Malvetzey, Grotius, Rawleigh, Doctor and Student, French and Dutch Protestants in England, Dr. Hammond, Dr. Taylor, A nameless but great Person, Lactantius, Hilary, Jerom, Chrysostom, Polish and Bohemian Kings, King James, and King Charles the First.*

A Brief Collection of the Sense and Practice of the *Greatest, Wisest, and Learnedst Common-Wealths, Kingdoms, and particular Persons* of their Times, concerning *Force upon Conscience.*

First, Though the *Jews* above all People had the most to say for Imposition and Restraint within their own Dominions, having their Religion instituted by so many signal Proofs of Divine Original, it being deliver'd to them by the Hand of God himself, yet such was their Indulgence to Dissenters, that if they held the common receiv'd *Noachical* Principles tending to the Acknowledgment of *One God*, and a Just Life, they had the Free Exercise of their distinct Modes or Ways of Worship, which were numerous. Of this their own Rabbies are Witnesses, and *Grotius* out of them.

2. The *Romans* themselves, as strict as they were, not only had Thirty Thousand Gods (if *Varro* may be credited) but almost every Family of any note, had its distinct *Sacra*, or peculiar Way of Worship.

3. It was the Sense of that grave, exemplary Common-Wealth's-Man, *Caro*, in *Salust*, that among other Things which ruin any Government, Want of Freedom of Speech, or Men's being obliged to humour Times, is a great one; which we find made good by the *Florentine Republick*, as *Guiccardine* relates.

4. *Livy* tells us, It was a Wonder that *Hannibal's Army*, consisting of divers Nations, divers Humours, differing Habits, contrary Religions, various Languages, should live Thirteen Years from their own Country under his Command without so much as once mutining, either against their General, or among themselves. But what *Livy* relates for a Wonder, that ingenious *Marques*, *Virgilio Malvetzey* gives the Reason of, namely, that the Difference of their Opinion, Tongues, and Customs, was the Reason of their Preservation and Conquest; For, said he, 'Twas impossible so many contrary Spirits should Combine, and if any should have done it, 'twas in the General's Power to make the greater Party by his equal Hand; they owing him more of Reverence, than they did of Affection to one another: This, says he, some impute to *Hannibal*, but how great soever he was, I give it to the Variety of Humours in the Army. For (adds he) *Rome's Army* was ever less given to Mutining when joyned with the Provincial Auxiliaries, than when intirely Roman; thus much and more, in his publick Discourses upon *Cornelius Tacitus*.

5. The same, best Statist of his Time, *C. Tacitus*, tells us in the Case of *Cremius*, That it had been the Interest of *Tiberius* not to have punished him, in as much as Curiosity is begotten by Restriction of Liberty to Write or Speak, which never mist of Profelytes.

6. *Just. Martyr*. I will forbear to quote, in less than this, two whole Apologies, dedicated to *Adrian* and *Antoninus Pius*, as I take it.

7. *Tertullian* at *Scapulam*, that Learned and Judicious Apologist, plainly tells us, That 'tis not the Property of Religion to Compel or Persecute for Religion, she should be accepted for her Self, not for Force; that being a poor and beggarly one, that has no better Arguments to Convince; and a manifest Evidence of her Superstition and Falshood.

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8. Of this we take the nine Month's Reign of the Emperor *Jovianus* to be an excellent Demonstration, whose great Wisdom, and admirable Prudence in granting Toleration (expressly saying, *He would have none molested for the Exercise of their Religion*) Calm'd the impetuous Storms of Dissension betwixt the *Homiousians* and *Arrians*; and reduc'd the whole Empire, before agitated with all Kind of Commotions during the Reigns of *Constantine*, *Constantius*, and *Julian*, to a wonderful Serenity and Peace, as *Socrates Scholasticus* affirms.

9. That little Kingdom of *Ægypt* had no less than Forty Thousand Persons retir'd to their private and separate Ways of Worship, as *Eusebius* our of *Philo Judeus*, and *Josephus* relates.

10. And here let me bring in honest *Chaucer*, whose Matter (and not his Poetry) heartily affects me: 'Twas in a Time when Priests were as rich, and lofty, as they are now, and Causes of Evil alike.

(a) **T**HE Time was once, and may return again,
 (for oft may happen that hath been beforen)
 when Shepherds had none Inheritance,
 ne of Land, nor Fee in Sufferance,
 But what might arise of the bare Sheep,
 (were it more or less) which they did keep,
 Well ytwis was it with Shepherds tho':
 nought having, nought fear'd they to forgo,
 For PAN (God) himself was their Inheritance,
 and little them serv'd for their Maintenance,
 The Shepherd's God so well them guided,
 that of nought were they unprovided;

(b) Butter enough, Honey, Milk, and Whay,
 and their Flock Fleeces them to array.
 But Tract of Time and long Prosperity,
 (that Nurse of Vice, this of Insolency)
 Lulled the Shepherds in such Security,
 that not content with Loyal Obeysance,
 Some gan to gap for greedy Governance,
 and match themselves with mighty Potentates.

(c) Lovers of Lordships and Troublers of States;
 then gan Shepherds Swains to look aloft,
 And leave to live hard, and learn to lig soft,
 though under colour of Shepherds same while
 There crept in Wolves full of Fraud and Guile;
 that often devour'd their own Sheep,
 And often the Shepherd that did them keep,

(d) This was the first Source of the Shepherds Sorrow.
 that nor will be quit, with bale, nor borrow.

11. Who knows not that our first Reformers were great Champions for Liberty of Conscience, as *Wickliff* in his Remonstrance to the Parliament. The *Albigensès* to *Lewis* the 11th and 12th of France. *Luther* to the several

(a) The Primitive State of Things observed by a Poet, more than 300 Years old; by which the Clergy may read their own Apostacy and Character.

(b) Time and Prosperity corrupted them, and then they grew States-Men.

(c) 'Twas now they began to persecute; they hated any that were more devout than themselves: Devotion was counted Disaffection; Religious Assemblies, Conventicles; primitive-Spirited Christians, Upstart Heretics; thus the Tragedy began, *Cain* slaying *Abel* about Religion.

(d) He truly maketh their Avarice the Cause of their Degeneration; for 'tis the Root of all Evil.

ral Diets under *Frederick* and *Charles* the Fifth; *Calvin* to *Francis* the First, and many of our *English* Martyrs, as the poor *Plowman's Famous Complaint*, in *Fox's Martyrology*, &c.

12. The present *Affairs* of *Germany*, plainly tell us, that Toleration is the Preservation of their States; the contrary having formerly, almost quite wasted them.

13. The same in *France*: who can be so ignorant of their Story, as not to know that the timely *Indulgence* of *Henry* the fourth; and the discreet Toleration of *Richlieu* and *Mazarin*, saved that Kingdom from being ruin'd both by the *Spaniards*; and one another.

14. *Holland*, than which, what Place is there so improved in Wealth, Trade and Power, chiefly owes it to her *Indulgence*, in Matters of Faith and Worship.

15. Among the very *Mahumetans* of *Turky*, and *Persia*, what Variety of Opinions, yet what Unity and Concord is there? We mean in Matters of a Civil Importance.

16. It Was the Opinion of that great Master of the Sentences, *Dominicus a Soto*, that every Man had a natural Right, to instruct others in Things that are good: And he may teach the Gospel-Truths also, but cannot compel any to believe them, he may explain them, and to this, (says he) every Man has a Right, as in his 4 Sent. Dist. 5. Art. 10. Pag. 115. 7.

17. Strifes about Religion, said judicious and learned *Grotius*, are the most pernicious and destructive, where Provision is not made for Dissenters: the contrary most happy; As in *Muscovy*; he farther says upon the Occasion of *Campanella*, that not a rigid but easy Government suits best with the Northern People; he often pleads the Relaxation of temporary Laws, to be reasonable and necessary. As in the Case of the *Curatij* and *Horatij*, and *Fabius Vitulanus*; and others stinted to Time and Place, as the *Jewish Laws*, &c. Polit. Maxims, P. 12, 18. 78, 98.

18. The famous *Rawleigh* tell us, that the Way for Magistrates to govern well, and Gain the Esteem of their People, is to govern by Piety, Justice, Wisdom, and a Gentle and Moderate Carriage towards them; And that Disturbance attends those States, where Men are raised, or depress'd by Parties. See his Observations and Maxims of State.

19. If I mistake not, the *French* and *Dutch* Protestants enjoy their separate Ways of Worship in *London*, if not in other Parts of these Lands, without Molestation; we do the like in remote Countreys, but not in our own.

20. This must needs be the Meaning of the learned Doctor, to his Inquisitive Student, in their judicious Dialogue, about the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdoms, when he says, That such Laws as have not their Foundation in Nature, Justice and Reason, are void ipso facto. And whether Persecution or Restraint upon Conscience, be congruous with either, Let the impartial Judge. lib. 1. chap. 6.

21. Doctor *Hammond* himself, and the grand Patron of the *English Church*, was so far from urging the Legality of Restriction, in Matters relating to Conscience, that he Writ, Argued, and left upon his Dying-Bed, his Sense to the Contrary: As the Author of his Life might have been pleas'd to observe, but that Interest stood in the Way, The Doctor exhorting his Party, not to seek to displace those, then in the University; or to Persecute them for any Matter of Religious Difference.

22. That a Person, of no less Ability, in the *Irish* Protestant Church did the same, I mean D. *Jer. Taylor*, his whole Discourse of Liberty of Prophecy, is a most pregnant Demonstration.

23. It was the Saying of a Person once, too great to be named now, That Liberty of Conscience is every Man's natural Right, and he who is deprived of it, is a Slave in the midst of the greatest Liberty: And since every Man should do as he would be done to, such only don't deserve to have it, that won't give it.

24. *Lactantius* reflects upon Persecutors thus, If you will with Blood, with Evil

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Evil, and with Torments defend your Worship, it shall not thereby be defended, but polluted, lib. 5. cap. 20.

25. Hilary against *Auxentius*, saith, *The Christian Church does not persecute, but is persecuted.*

26. *Jerom*, thus, *Heretic must be cut off, with the Sword of the Spirit, Prozm. Lib. 4.*

27. *Chrysostom* saith, *That it is not the Manner of the Children of God, to persecute about their Religion, but an evident Token of Antichrist, Relig. Urif. Pag. 192.*

28. *Stephen King of Poland*, declared his Mind in the Point controverted, thus, *I am King of Men, not of Conscience; a Commander of Bodies, not of Souls.*

29. *The King of Bohemia*, was of Opinion, *That Men's Consciences ought in no Sort, to be violated, urged, or constrained.*

30. And lastly, let me add (as what is, or should be now of more Force) the Sense of *King James*, and *Charles the first*, Men fam'd for their great natural Abilities, and acquired Learning; *that no Man ought to be punished for his Religion, nor disturb'd for his Conscience; In that it is the Duty of every Man to give what he would receive.* 'It is a sure Rule in Divinity, said *King James*, that God never loves to plant his Church by Violence, and Bloodshed. And in his Exposition on Revel. 20. he saith, That **P E R S E C U T I O N** is the Note of a false Church. And in the last King's Advice to the present King, he says. Take Heed of abetting any Factions; your partial Adhering to **A N T O N E S I D E**, gains you not so great Advantages in some Men's Hearts, (who are prone to be of their King's Religion) as it loseth you in others, who think themselves, and their Profession, first despised, then persecuted by you.

Again, 'Beware of exasperating any Factions, by the Grossness, and Asperity of some Men's Passions, Humors, or private Opinions employed by you grounded only upon their Difference, in lesser Matters, which are but the Skirts, and Suburbs of Religion. Wherein a Charitable Connivence, and Christian Toleration, often dissipates their Strength, whom rougher Opposition fortifies; and puts the despised and Oppressed Party, into such Combinations; as may most enable them to get a full Revenge, on those they count their Persecutors, who are commonly assisted by that vulgar Commiseration, which attends all that are said to suffer under the Notion of Religion.

'Always keep up **S O L I D P I E T Y**, and those Fundamental Truths (which mend both Hearts and Lives of Men) with Impartial Favour and Justice. Your Prerogative is best shown and exercised in Remitting, rather than Exalting the Rigour of Laws; there being nothing worse than Legal Tyranny.

Now upon the whole, we ask, what can be more equal, what more reasonable than Liberty of Conscience; so correspondent with the Reverence due to God, and Respect to the Nature, Practice, Promotion, and Rewards of the Christian Religion; the Sense of divine Writ; the great Privilege of Nature, and noble Principle of Reason; the Justice, Prudence, and Felicity of Government; And lastly, to the Judgment and Authority of a whole Cloud of Famous Witnesses, whose Harmony in Opinion, as much detects the Unreasonableness, and Incharity of Persecutors, as their Savage Cruelties imply an high Contempt of so solid Determinations; of which Number I cannot forbear the Mention of two, whose Actions are so near of Kin to one another, and both to Inhumanity, as the same Thing can be to it self.

The first is a great Lord of *Buckinghamshire*, but so hearty a Persecutor of the poor Quakers, that rather than they should peaceably enjoy the Liberty of Worshipping God, (and to supply the County-Defect of Informers) he has encouraged a pair of such Wretches, that it had been a Disgrace for the meanest Farmer to converse with; one having been Prisoner in *Ailsbury*,

bury, for Theft, & said to have been burnt in the Hand; and the other of a Complexion not much less Scandalous and Immoral.

To give an undeniable Testimony of their Merit, once for all, I shall briefly relate a most notorious Piece of Perjury. They suspecting a Religious Assembly, to be at a certain Place in the same County, came; and finding one in reality, repaired to one they call, Sir Tho Clayton, and a Justice, where they depos'd, *That not only a Meeting was at such an House, but one Tho. Zachery and his Wife were there, who at the same Time, as at the Tryal upon Indictment for Perjury at Ailsbury, was proved by sufficient Witnesses from London, were then at that City, yet fined not only for being there, but for the Speaker also, though none spoke that Day.*

Upon the Prosecution of these Men, as perjured Men, and by the Law disprivileged of all Employ, and never to be credited more in Evidence; several Delays were made, much Time spent, and not a little Pains bestowed, all in Hopes of an Exemplary Success, which proved so, but the wrong Way, for the very last Sessions, when the Matter should have received an absolute Decision, and the Attendants have been dismiss'd (especially on the Score of the Witnesses, that came from London the second Time, upon no other Account) a Letter was reported to have been writ from the aforesaid Lord, in Favour of these Informers, to this Purpose, *That since Sir Tho. Clayton was not present, the Business could not well be determined, but if the Court would undertake the Ending of it, he besought them to be favourable to those HONEST MEN, if this be true as said, 'tis a most aggravated Shame to Nobility: what! to protect them from the Lash of the Law, who went about to destroy Truth the Life of it: 'Tis a Dishonour to the Government, a Scandal to the County, and a manifest Injury to an inoffensive and useful Inhabitant.*

Tother is as well known by his Cruelty, as by his Name, and he scarce deserves another; However, he is understood by that of the Reading Knight Arrant, and always in Armour for the Devil; a Man whose Life seems to be whole BONNER revived: Hogestrant, the Popish Inquisitor, could not hate Martin Luther more, than he does a poor Dissenter; and wants but as much Power, as he has Will, to hang more than he has imprisoned. The Laws made against Papists, he inflicts upon the Quakers; and makes it Crime enough for a Premunire, to have an Estate to lose.

The single Question is not, *were you at such a Meeting?* which the Act intends, *But will you swear,* which it intends not, and Women escape him as little for this, as those of his own Tribe do for SOME THINGS ELSE: but what of all Things, most aggravates the Man's Impiety, is the making a devilish Snare of a Christian Duty; since such as have come to visit the Imprisoned, have been imprisoned themselves for their Charity; so that with him it seems a Current Maxim, that those must not come to see Prisoners, and not be such themselves, who will not take the Oath of Allegiance to do it.

To relate the whole Tragedy, would render him as Bad, as the Discourse Big; and the latter not less voluminous, than the former Odious. But three Things I shall observe.

First, That he has crowded 72 Persons (of those called Quakers) Men and Women, immodestly into Jail, not suffering them to enjoy common Conveniences. And for his Diversion, and the Punishment of little Children, he pours cold Water down their Necks.

Secondly, His Imprisonments are almost perpetual. First, he premunires them, without any just Cause of Suspicion, then imprisons them; and lastly Plunders them, and that by a Law enacted against Romanists; which, it all be true, that is said, is more his Concern than theirs, If without offence, it may be supposed he has any Religion at all.

Thirdly, Some have been there about eight Years, and should be eighteen more, were he as sure to live (being more than 70) and enjoy his Power, as doubtless he hopes to die before those good Laws overtake him, that would make an Example of such an Oppressor; in short, Wives,

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Widows, Poor and Fatherless, are all Fith for his Net; and whether over or under Age, he casts none away, but seems to make it his Privilege to correct Law, by our-doing it. When we have said all we can (and we can never say too much, (if enough) he is still his own best Character.

Such are the *Passions*, *Follies*, and *Prejudices*, Men devoted to a Spirit of *Imposition*, and *Persecution*, are attended with.

Non enim possumus quæ vidimus, & audivimus non loqui.

In short, What Religious, what wise, what prudent, what good natural Person would be a Persecutor; certainly it's an Office only fit for those who being void of all Reason, to evidence the Verity of their own Religion, fancy it to be true, from that strong Propensity and greedy Inclination they find in themselves to persecute the contrary; A Weakness of so ill a Consequence to all civil Societies, that the Admission of it ever was, and ever will prove their utter Ruin, as well as their great Infelicity who pursue it.

And though we could not more effectually express our Revenge, than by leaving such Persons to the Scope of their own Humours; Yet being taught to love and pray for our Persecutors, we heartily wish their better Information, that (if it be possible) they may act more suitably to the good Pleasure of the eternal just God, and beneficially to these Nations.

To conclude, *Liberty of Conscience* (as thus stated and defended) we ask as our undoubted Right by the Law of God, of Nature, and of our own Country: it has been often promised, we have long waited for it, we have writ much, and suffered in it's Defence, and have made many true Complaints, but found little or no Redress.

However, we take the righteous Holy God to record, against all Objections, that are ignorantly or designedly rais'd against us. That.

1st. We hold no Principle destructive of the English Government.

2d. That we plead for no such Dissenter (if such an one there be.)

3d. That we desire the Temporal and Eternal Happiness of all Persons (in Submission to the divine Will of God) heartily forgiving our cruel Persecutors:

4thly, and lastly, We shall engage, by God's Assistance, to lead peaceable, just and industrious Lives, amongst Men, to the Good and Example of all. But if after all we have said, this short Discourse should not be credited, nor answered in any of it's sober Reasons, and Requests; but Sufferings should be the present Lot of our Inheritance from this Generation, be it known to them all THAT MEET WE MUST, and MEET we cannot but encourage all to do (whatever Hardship we sustain) in God's Name and Authority, who is Lord of Hosts and King of Kings; at the Revelation of whose Righteous Judgments, and glorious Tribunal, Mortal Men shall render an Account of the Deeds done in the Body; and whatever the Apprehensions of such may be, concerning this Discourse, 'twas writ in Love and from a true Sense of the present State of Things: and TIME, and the EVENT will vindicate it from Untruth. In the mean while, 'tis Matter of great Satisfaction to the Author, that he has so plainly cleared his Conscience, in pleading for the Liberty of other Men's, and publicly born his honest Testimony for God, not out of Season to his POOR COUNTRY.

POSTSCRIPT.

A few brief Observations upon the late Act, and the usual Terms of Acts of this Nature.

That which we have to say, relates, either to the Terms of the *Act*, or the Application of them to us.

As to the Terms of the *Act*, they are these, *Seditious Conventicles, Seditious Sectaries, and Meetings under Colour or Pretence of Religion, P. 1,*

1. *Seditious*, from *Sedition*, imports as much as *Turbulent, Contentious, Factions, which sows Strife, and Debate, and hazards the Civil Peace of the Government.*

2. *Conventicle*, is a diminutive private Assembly, designing and contriving Evil to particular Persons, or the Government in general, See Lamb. p. 172. In *Tertullian's* Sense, It is an Assembly of immodest and unclean Persons; at least it was so taken in those Days, and objected against the Christians as their Practice, whom he defends. *Ter. Apol.*

3. *Sectaries*, must be such as disjoin or dis-member themselves from the Body of Truth, and confess to a strange and untrue Opinion. If any Subject of this Realm being Sixteen Years of Age, or upwards, shall be present at any Assembly, or Conventicle, on pretence of Religion, &c. which can signify no more than thus much, That true it is some may meet and assemble to Worship God, and upon a religious Account, that are Dissenters, such we censure not, but those who under Colour or Pretence of any Exercise of Religion conspire, &c. they are to be suspected and prosecuted. This being the true Explanation of the Terms of the *Act*, we proceed to shew how unreasonably they are applied to us.

1. Words are but so many intelligible Marks, and Characters set and employ'd to inform us of each other's Conceptions, and therein of the Nature of those Things they stand for: Now because we take the *Act* to mean what it speaks, and that the Law concludes no Man guilty upon Conjectures, but from the Detection of some Fault; we affirm our selves altogether unconcern'd in that Word *Seditious*, because it was never our Practice in Words or Actions to disturb the Government; or suggest Principles that might hatch Conspiracies, or feed the Vulgar with Disaffection to their Rulers; but before the King's Coming in, at his Coming in, and ever since, notwithstanding our frequent Suffering, we have made it our Business to heal Animosities, preach Forgiveness and Charity amongst Men, and that they would by an hearty Repentance turn to God, rather than hunt after Revenge upon one another; therefore we assert we have not done one thing that may be prov'd *Seditious* in the Sense above mention'd.

2. That we are Strangers to *Conventicles* is most evident, for where the Parts that render it such, are wanting, there can be no *Conventicle*; but that they are in our Assemblies, appears;

First, *Because our Meetings are not Small.* 2. *Neither are they Private or clandestine; but in the View of all People.* Nor are they riotous, licentious, or otherwise immodest, or immoral; but on purpose to dissuade Persons from such Impieties; so that we are clear in the Interpretation of the Law, 13 H. 5. cap. 8. 19. and 19 H. 7. cap. 13. and in the Sense of the famous Father *Tertullian*.

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3. *Sectaries*, is a Word, that whosoever has but Confidence enough to conceit himself in the Right, by Consequence wants none to suppose the contrary in the wrong, and so to call him a *Sectary*; but this is but a meer begging of the Question; For to say those are *Sectaries* does not conclude them such, nor does the Act speak so plainly of *Dissenters*: But granting it did, yet they must be *Seditious Ones*, or else all will be in vain; where we may observe, that purely to be a *Sectary* is not what the Act strikes at, but to be a *Seditious One*: For a Man may differ in Judgment about Matters of Faith, from the National Religion, and yet correspond with the Government in Matters Civil; so that ACT upon the whole aims not at *Sectaries* simply, but they must be such as are Enemies to the Civil Constitution to be rendred *Seditious Ones*, from which we have sufficiently clear'd ourselves.

4. *That we meet under Colour and Pretence, and not really to worship God*; we deny, and none can prove. 'Twere high Incharity to affirm positively, *This, or that People meet only under a Colour of Religion*; yet unless the Act had so express'd it self, we conceive their Authority lame and imperfect that Persecute us by it. It will help but little to say, *The King, Lords and Commons, by the following Words, in other Manner than according to the Liturgy of the Church of England, meant, that such meet under a Pretence that did not conform to that Worship*; since the precedent Words say, *under Colour or Pretence of any Exercise of Religion in other Manner, &c.* So that they are only struck at, who are not sincere Dissenters, but that are such, with Design to carry on another End.

Obj. But may some say, *'Tis granted, you have very evidently evaded the Force of the Act, so far as relates to these recited Expressions; but what if a Bill be ready, for an Explanatory and Supplementary Act to the former, wherein this Scope for Argument will not be found, because your Meetings will be absolutely adjudged Seditious, Riotous, and Unlawful.*

To which we Answer, That as the granting of the first, which none reasonably can deny, is a manifest Impeachment of such as have violently prosecuted People for being present at Religious Assemblies (almost to their utter Undoing) so shall we as easily answer the second, which amounts to the Force of an Objection, and briefly thus.

First, It is not more impossible for *Mankind* to preserve their *Society* without *Speech*, than it is absolutely requisite that the *Speech* be *regular and certain*. For, if what we call a *Man*, a *Lion*, a *Whale* to Day, we should call a *Woman*, a *Dog*, a *Sprat* to Morrow; there would be such Uncertainty and Confusion, as it would be altogether impossible to preserve *Speech* or *Language* intelligible.

Secondly, It is not in the Power of all the Men in the *World* to reconcile an absolute Contradiction, to convert the Nature of *Light* into that of *Darkness*, nor to enact a *Thing* to be that which it is not; but that Those endeavour to-do, who think of making our Religious Meetings *Routs* and *Riots*; for first they offer Violence to our common Propriety of Language, it being the first time that ever a Religious and Peaceable Assembly would be enacted a *Rout* or *Riot*: *Nature, Reason, the Law of the Land, and common Practice, and Observation*, give a clear contrary Definition of a *Rout* and *Riot*.

Secondly, They endeavour to reconcile Contradictions; for they would have a *Thing* that, which by *Nature* it cannot be; for that which is *Peaceable* cannot be *Riotous*, and what is *Religious* can never be *Seditious*. For any to say, our *Meetings* are not *Religious*, is not only a poor *Evasion*, but great *Incharity*; for that is properly a *Religious Assembly* where *Persons* are congregated with a real Purpose of worshipping God, by *Prayer*, or otherwise, let the *Persons* met be esteem'd *Doltrinally Orthodox*, or not. Can any be so Ignorant, or so Malicious, as to believe we do not Assemble to Worship God, to the best of our Understanding? If they think otherwise, they must

must, and do assume unto themselves a Power beyond the Arrogancy of the POPE himself, that never yet adventur'd to tell Man his Thoughts, nor the Purposes and Intents of his Heart, which he, or they must do, that definitively judge our Assemblies, void of Sword or Staff, Drum or Musket, Tumult or Violence, and circumstantiated with all the Tokens of Christian Devotion, a Rout or a Riot.* And truly, If Protestants deny the Legality of those Acts or Edicts, which were contriv'd and executed in order to their Suppression, by the respective Kings and Parliaments that own'd the Romish Faith and Authority, where they either did or do live, let them not think it strange, if we on the same Terms (namely, Scruple of Conscience) refuse Compliance with their Laws of Restraint. And as the first Reformers were no whit daunted at the Black Characters the Romanists fastened on them, neither thought their Assemblies in a way of profest Separation, the more unlawful, for their representing them such; no more are we surpriz'd or fear'd at the ugly Phrases, daily cast upon us by a Sort of Men, that either do not know us, or would not that others should: For we are not so easily to be Brav'd, Menac'd, or Persecuted out of our Sense, Reason, and Privilege.

They say, LOSERS have leave to Speak, at least, we take it; none being greater Losers, than such as for Dissenting from National Institutions in Point of Faith or Worship, are depriv'd of their Common Rights and Freedoms, and hindred as much as may be, from reverencing the God that made them, in that Way which to them seems most acceptable to him.

To Conclude, we say, and by it let our Intentions in our whole Discourse be measur'd, that we have not defended any Dissenters, whose Quarrel or Dissent is rather Civil and Political, than Religious and Conscientious; for both we really think such unworthy of Protection from the English Government, who seek the Ruin of it; and that such as are Contributors to the Preservation of it, (though Dissenters in Point of Faith or Worship) are unquestionably intitled to a Protection from IT.

A

Seasonable Caveat against POPERY.

OR

A Pamphlet, Entitled, *An Explanation of the Roman-Catholick Belief, Briefly Examined.*

By William Penn.

But in vain do they Worship me, teaching for Doctrines the Commandments of Men, Matt. 15. 9.

Now as Jannes and Jambres withstood Moses, so do these also resist the Truth; Men of corrupt Minds, Reprobates concerning the Faith, 2 Tim. 3. 8.

To the English Protestant READER.

WE hope it may not be too late to militate for Truth against the dark Suggestions of Papal Superstition: Nor can we think that it should be esteem'd Heterodox, for a dissenting Protestant (whilst almost gasping for

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his own Liberty) to vindicate that of Reformation, from the quaintest Stratagems, and most unwearied Endeavours of Romish Emisseries, to put both it and us into their Inquisition.

We know they have so far master'd their ancient Fierceness, and mask'd their sanguine Looks, with those more modest and familiar; that though we need not more Reason than before, we need more Skill and Caution, or else we may too fatally experience the Force of that vulgar Proverb: Laugh in thy Face, and cut thy Throat.

They are grown so Complaisant, as none seem more exasperated at Persecution than themselves, (whilst the very Fathers of it) decrying the Fierceness of some Countries (whose Incendiaries they were, and still are) and imputing all the Blood of poor Protestants to some unwarrantable civil Score (therein abusing the Civil Magistrate with the Execution of their own Conspiracies) nay, for all their venerable Esteem of the Pope's Infallibility, they have not stuck to Censure his roaring Bulls (though procur'd by their own means) and all that might express their new Tenderness; that many unacquainted with their Practices, are ready to believe them what they say themselves to be, whose Moral is to have two Strings to their Bow, to be ambo-dexter, and furnish'd with Meanings to suit the Compass of all Occasions.

In short, I premise three Things: First, that I cordially believe a great Number of Romanists may be abused Zealots, through the idle voluminous Traditions of their Church, whom I rather pity than dare to wrong.

Secondly, That I Design nothing less than incensing of the Civil Magistrate against them (were such a Thing possible) for I profess my self a Friend to an Universal Toleration of Faith and Worship.

Thirdly, That the Pamphlet answer'd, being but one Sheet, I confine my Examination to a narrow Compass: And the rather, because a more considerable Discourse is under my present Enquiry; which, if Providence so order it, may speedily be made publick.

However, let this go for Preface to that larger Tract, in which the Romanists may see both their Ignorance in the Marks of a true Church, and their little Share or Interest in those they attribute to her as such.

Pem, Buckinghamshire,
the 23d of the 11th Month,
1670.

W. P.

A Seasonable Caveat against POPERY.

THOUGH to argue against a Tribe of Men, that esteem all Reason Carnal; and Scriptures, imperfect; might rightly be judg'd a meer beating of the Air, and a Task only to be enterpriz'd by such as are desirous of no Success; yet to prevent those who may be deceived, and if possible to reclaim such as are; and lastly, to clear mine own Conscience, most of all in mine Eye, I shall descend to consider the unsound, as well as untrue Confessions of the Romanists, in the Pamphlet under Examination.

I. Of the SCRIPTURES.

Papist. **W**E believe the Holy Scriptures to be of Divine Inspiration, and Infallible Authority; and whatsoever is therein contained to be the Word of God, pag. 1.

Ans. Certainly these Men must either think we are wholly ignorant of their Principles, or we must needs conclude they have forsaken them. It is

is so manifest that they have robb'd the Scriptures of their Authority, that the *Pope* has all; and they have then only any, when he is pleas'd to stamp his *probatum est* upon them. That this is true, how frequent do we find the *Romanists*, in their Reflections upon the *Protestants* on this Occasion, *That they had not known the Scriptures to be such*; nay, they might have been as an idle Tale to them, had they not been receiv'd, believ'd, and deliver'd down, as Divine Writ, by their Church; as if the Ground of believing this to be true, and that to be false, had been as much that of true Faith, as we know it, by sad Experience, to be the Cause of that stupid Superstition, and brutish Zeal which reign amongst the abus'd *Romanists*. Besides, if the Scriptures be infallible, as they confess, why are those Doctrines and Practices retain'd in the *Romish* Church, which most expressly oppose the Sense of Scripture, upon the single Edicts of the *Pope*; as that of prohibiting *Priests* to Marry, and *Flesh* to be eaten upon certain Days, of which the truly Catholical *Apostle* gives this definitive Judgment, *they are the Doctrine of Devils*: Nor are their Practices, in Lieu thereof, less Diabolical, since their *Fasts* are most usually kept with excessive *Treats of Wine and Sweetmeats*; and their *Priests* are notoriously allow'd to frequent *Stews*, or to keep as many *Strumpets* as their *Purse* or *Lust* shall please; though it be a most Cardinal Offence, by marrying, to have one honest Woman. But those who travel *Italy* are not unacquainted with the *Pope's Gain*, or *Taxes* on such Places, for which they have his *Broad-Seal*, or *open Licence*.

Perhaps some will say, *These are but Minute Matters* (however good old *Paul* might zealously stile them *Doctrines of Devils*) and therefore we will instance in something more important, What think the *Papists* of their Images? 'Tis true, that, say they, they don't adore them now, but we know what Esteem their first *Erectors* put upon them, and the high Value the *Romish* Church places upon the *Inventors*; and 'tis as impossible we should give our Eyes the Lye, when we behold them *macerating* their *Breasts* and *Knees* before those Unsenfible *Stocks* and *Srones*, as *Romanists* are wont to think us most absurd in crediting our Senses, as if that Proverb were of no Moment, *Seeing is Believing, or rather Convincing*.

Alas, their *Popes*, *Cardinals*, *Friars*, *Nunneries*, *Holy-days*, with other Points more Doctrinal yet to be examin'd; Whence came they? What Scripture ever Authorized such Practices in the Christian Church? *Paul* told the Churches, *He had not been wanting to declare the whole Counsel of God unto them*; and yet were they wholly ignorant of these Things, and that for above three Hundred Years after.

Therefore we infer, that since there is that manifest Jar betwixt this Piece of their Profession, and their present Practice, as well as Doctrine, they have either relinquisht their former Faith, or play the wretched Impostors with the People; I wish the first, but fear the last.

Pap. But since in the Scripture there are some Things hard to be understood, which the unstable wrest to their own Destruction: We therefore profess, for the ending of Controversies, to submit our Judgments to that of the Church in a Free General Council.

Answe. A poor Shift to invalidate Scriptures, and entitle their own Traditions to the Honour of a Rule, and as what most aptly should decide all Controversies.

Peter's Words apply'd, to render this Pretence more plausible, are miserably mis-applied. The *Apostle* only says, that *Paul* had writ to them concerning the long Suffering of God, that it was Salvation; the present Subject handled by *Peter*; and that in those Epistles *Paul* had some Things hard to be understood; But what were those Things; not those in Controversie betwixt us and the *Papists*, nothing being more notorious: And who were they that wrested them, but the Unlearned and Unstable, not in the Wisdom of this World! ~~that~~ being Science, falsely so called! but Wicked

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Wicked and Ungodly Men, as the profuse Atheist of the Times, in his frequent Abuse of the Scripture, by his scurrilous Misinterpretation of it; for as the Wise Man said, *To fear God, is Wisdom* (or true Learning) *and to depart from Iniquity, that is a good Understanding*; and as Jesus Christ said, *They that do my Will, shall know of my Doctrine*: How then can the Papists infer from hence, that the Scriptures are imperfect, in the more Fundamental Points of Faith and Worship? Can it be the Word of God, and yet wanting Sufficiency.

A free general Council is a Monster, in the *Romish Church*; How dare they talk such Language here in *England*, who know the Severity of the *Jesuits* and *Papish* Faction, against it beyond the Seas? What meant those ill Resentments against *White* and *Serjeant of England*, and *Welch of Ireland* in *Rome*? If this Latitudinarian, or new Kind of Popery, had not disgusted: Nor can I take it for an Instance of their Return; but as the next best Step to the exorbitancy of *Papish* Infallibility.

What should a Council be called for? that Principles should be received or disowned; then must a General Council give Faith, and Understanding, or else Men must be concluded to believe against their Belief, by Plurality of Votes; a Thing ridiculous, with half-witted People. If God's Grace, and the Scripture Record, be not sufficient; Reason and Experience tell us that *Generals Councils* are much more insufficient; Besides, this were to usher in all Kind of Impiety, for whatever Interest in the *General Council* (as that of *Trent*) concludes as requisite, to be received or done, that must indispensibly be obeyed; so that the *Moral* or *Doctrinal Good* or *Evil* of an *Act*, or *Principle* (in, and from a Man's own Judgment) shall not be obliging; but he must be bound against his own Sense, Reason and Faith.

The Sense of Antiquity, and their own Authors.

Their Pretence of using *Tradition*, for a necessary Supply to the Defects of the Scriptures, is a meer Juggle: since they only evade the Clearness of the one, to shrowd their defective Doctrines under the abused Antiquity of the other. For it is well known, that by their *Expurgatory Indices*, they have endeavoured to purge the Works of the first *Fathers*, of such Matters, as might make to the Overthrow of their superstitious Doctrines. This is evident, out of *Junius*, in the Case of *Bertram* elder than *Theophylact*, *Oecumenius*, &c. *Bellarmino* himself, sticks not to allow it, but shifts it off to an *Arrian*.

This may be farther seen, in the Collection *Binius* made of the *Fathers* pag. 28. 2 Edit. An. 1611. In short, whole Sentences are put out, and whole Sentences put in: much might be said of this, but in my other Discourse I shall enlarge.

And what they mean by a *Free-General Council*, we may read in the Council of *Trent*, whose Simony and Cheats, out-do all Precedents: Besides, these Men little dream of one *Turrecremata*, that in so many Words tells us, *The Pope is the Foundation, Rule and Principle of Faith* (which is God's Gift) for to him it belongs, says that Doctor, to be the *Measure, Rule and Science of Things that are to be believed, and of Things which are necessary, to be believed unto Life Eternal*. *Turrecrem. Lib. 2. Cap. 107.* This is the *Sting*. Consider the Pope's Interest, and what that is, such will be his Impositions: horrible Slavery, and most unpardonable Idolatry! For as he can make a new Creed or Symbol of Faith, so he can multiply new Articles one upon another, says *Aug. Triumphus extravag. de Urb. Qu. 59. Art. 2. Salmeron Prolog. in Com. in Epist. ad Rom. part 3. pag. 176.*

II. Of the Blessed TRINITY; of Prayer to Saints and Angels.

Papist. *WE humbly believe the Sacred Mystery of the Blessed Trinity, One Eternal Almighty and incomprehensible God, whom only we Adore and Worship, as alone having Sovereign Dominion over all Things, to whom we acknowledge, as due from Men and Angels, all Glory, and Service, and Obedience, abhorring from our Hearts (as a most detestable Sacrilege) to give our Creator's Honour to any Creature whatsoever.*

Ans. These Fine Words look newly stamp'd out of the Jesuit's Mint: Were they as plain, as they are filled with Equivocation, the *Romanist* would deceive us all in our Opinion of him, concerning the Point in Controversie: *Observe his Cunning.*

His Words of the Trinity are modest, neither highly *Athanasian*, nor yet *Socinian*, as some phrase it, but Calculated to both *Meridians*: Yet how Men can own God, and deny the express Rules of His Spirit, as most precisely mention'd in the Scriptures of Truth, is to me a Paradox. But how much the *Progenitors* of the *Romanists* have been injurious to the Christian Faith, by their multiplied obscure Phrases about the Trinity, is not unknown to some.

He thinks to clear himself of *Imagery*, but plainly catches himself in his own Reservations: What Honour does he give to God? *That which is due to him, as having Sovereign Dominion over all Things*: He does not say that none is due to Saints or Angels. *They abhor to give their Creator's Honour to any Creature; but do they deny to give any Divine Honour to Images, or the Representations of Saints and Angels*: Of this they are Silent, but we know they do it.

Papist. *And therefore we Solemnly protest, that by the Prayers we address to Angels and Saints, we intend no other than humbly to sollicite their Assistance before the Throne of Grace; not that we hope any Thing from them as Original Authors, but from God through Jesus Christ our only Mediator and Redeemer.*

Ans. 'Twere endless to bring the Contradictions of their own Authors, to the Sense these Words seem to import, and yet they are so laid as to admit of various Constructions; *an Art they are greatly Masters of.*

First, What Ground have they to believe that such Sollicitations have such Effects; the Scriptures are silent in the Case; nor was it the Practice of several Ages after that of the Apostles; so that it is neither warrantable by the Scripture, nor the most unsporting Tradition.

Nor do we say, that the *Papists* ever held those Images to have any Virtue simply from within themselves, but that God was the Original Author: Yet their own Words imply, they may be mediate Authors of Benefit to us.

And what is it but to contradict themselves, to say, *Their own but One Mediator Christ Jesus*? And yet to allow a Mediating Power to Saints and Angels, at the Throne of Grace. If People will be phras'd out of their Religion they may; but such deserve to be *Papists* who have so mean an Opinion of their own Understandings, as to embrace these Crossing Confessions for Sincere Articles of Faith.

The Sense of ANTIQUITY.

Images of old were not admitted to be in Churches (so called) *Simon Magus* being their most notorious Founder, and by whose Example they were first revered. The *Gnosticks*, and *Carpocratians*, are charg'd with this Popish Veneration, as Hereticks, in *Theodoret lib. 1. August. Heret. Fabul.*

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Fabul — *Ireneus de Hæres. lib. 1. cap. 23.* It is forbidden to us to use that Deceitful Art (said *Clemens Alexandrinus*, more than 1300 Years ago) *lib. 6. Strom.* The Pictures of what was Worshipped, were prohibited to be painted on the Walls, or that there should be any Images (in Churches so called.) Thus in the Council of *Eliberis*, *Placuit Picturas in Ecclesiâ esse non debere; ne quod colitur, aut adoratur, in parietibus depingatur, Con. 56.* So *August. de Morib. Eccles. lib. 1. cap. 24.*

III. Of Justification of MERITS.

Papist. *WE* firmly believe that no Force of Nature, nor Dignity of our best Works, can merit Justification; but we are justify'd freely by Grace through the Redemption that is in Christ Jesus.

Answ. The Roman Catholick is so far from firmly believing what he says, that upon his own avow'd Principles he believes nothing firmly. Can any sober Person think, that to be justified for the Sake of Works, is to be justified by Grace? If so, Contradictions are most Reconcilable, and Darkeness may not unaptly be term'd Light: This is the very Case that *Paul* of old strenuously argu'd against the *Meritorians* of his Time, If of Grace then not of Works; if of Works, then not of Grace.

It is to mock the World to say, That *Romanists* expect to be justified by Grace, who have for Ages impleaded that Doctrine, as Dangerous and Heretical: *Bellarmino* in his Discourse of this Point is most plain, and more modern Authors follow his Steps: But they say,

Papist. All other Merits (according to our Sense of that Word) signify no more than Actions done by the Assistance of God's Grace, to which he has promised a Reward—thus we believe the Merit or Rewardableness of Holy Living (both which signifie the same with us) arises not from the Self-Value even of our best Actions, as they are ours, but from the Grace and Bounty of God.

Answ. Methinks these Men are run to a narrow Straight, who venture to reconcile Merits and Grace: They cannot wholly be divorced from Merits, and yet would they fain espouse Grace, and by seeking to Wed both, they do not a little manifest their own palliated Designs; for either they must confess themselves, and all their Ancestors most ignorant Persons, that they could never find any Distinction betwixt Merit and Grace before; or else they would retain the Force of their Meritorious Opinions, under their more General Concession of God's Grace; a Way of evading, they are not a little skilled at.

Nor is there less Difference betwixt Merit and Rewardableness, as they phrase it, than betwixt the Middle and the End: Grace and Merit, as stated by Calvinists and Papists, are taken for Faith without Works, and Works without Faith, like the Two Poles; Doctrines the most opposite; now Rewardableness is neither; but something in the Middle, and indeed the most True; for Grace is a Free Gift, requiring nothing: Merit is a Work proportioned to the Wages: Rewardableness is a Work without which God will not bestow his Favour, and yet not the Meritorious Cause; for that there is no Proportion betwixt the Work that is Finite and Temporary, and the Reward which is Infinite and Eternal; in which Sense both the Creature obeys the Commands of God, and does not merit, but obtain only; and God rewards the Creature, and yet so as that he gives too. But the Papists are very far from this Medium, and their shuffling this Doctrine of Merit betwixt Grace and Rewardableness, only shews how unwilling they are to venture it in the plain Field, and not that any Thing of Resemblance is betwixt it and them, they being of Three distinct Natures and Significations.

Besides,

Besides, 'tis wretched to think by what Ways the abused Romanists fancy to merit *Justification*; not by keeping the *Moral Law*, as we shall shew anon; not by fulfilling the *Evangelical Precepts*, but by their vain *Repetitions* of their *Ave-Maria's*, *Beads*, *Fasts*, *Fasts*, *Holy-Days*, *Adoration of Images*, *Frequenting of Masses*, *Praying to the Dead*; *Invoking the Virgin Mary*, for her *Intercession*; *Signing themselves with the Cross*; *abstaining from Flesh*, and *Priests from Marriage*; by *perpetrating some Notorious Fact*, for the *Good of their Church*, whether by *Killing a Prince*, or *Blowing up a State*. These, and the like Practices (strange and exotick to the *Primitive and Christian Faith and Worship*) are the *Grand Motives to Justification*, and sometimes they have gone so high, as to deserve a *Canonizing at Rome* it self. Thus briefly have I given an Account of their Merits of Justification.

IV. Of the Holy EUCHARIST.

Papist. IN the Holy Eucharist, or most Venerable Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Lord; we acknowledge that there are, as in all other Sacraments, Two Things: The Visible Sign, which is the Forms of Bread and Wine, to which no Catholick may, or doth direct his Worship; there is also Invisible Grace signified, the Body of our Lord, whom being present we Worship with all possible Reverence, for so Great a Blessing warranted herein by our Blessed Lord Himself in Two of the Gospels.

Ans. Above all other Instances, this is the most pregnant, for Defence of our Assertion, namely, That either these Men have relinquished their Old Doctrine, or else they go about to put the Trick upon us: We hear no Word at all of *Transubstantiation* herein, the Most Sacred of their Mysterious Absurdities, but what we are at great Pains to observe and collect; perhaps they are ashamed of it, and willing it should pass under some more General Phrase, and less Offensive: However by that Expression of the *Body of our Lord*, whom being present we Adore; we guess their Meaning, but how incoherent with their own Words, as well as Reason, may easily appear.

First, They acknowledge that it is a Sacrament, or Sign. If so, it is impossible that it should be at the same Time, both the Sign, and the Thing signified; for if the very Body of Christ be present, Corporally, (as they use to assert) it cannot be *Sacramentally* so, but Really and Corporally there; which is *Destructive of the Nature of a Sacrament*, which is but the Representative, or Image of something Mystical, thereby resembled and signified.

Secondly, If this Doctrine were True, their Lord would be made by their Priest; for till he says the Words, there is no Real Presence; and so the Creature (and sometimes a sad one too) makes his Creator, which is nothing short of wretched Blasphemy.

Thirdly, The Lord they Adore, and Reverence, they Eat; and he that made Heaven and Earth, is comprehended of the Creature.

Fourthly, I know but of one Gospel, perhaps they know of Two, because they seem to own Principles so contrary to the True One, but let that other be accurst. If they would have us understand by their Expression, Two of the Evangelists, then 'tis not unlikely but we may ken their Meaning, and what they refer to must be Christ's Benediction of the Bread and Wine, and the giving them both to His Disciples, saying, *Take, this is my Body; and take, this is my Blood*. But what then? Can any think that Christ gave his Body with his Body? That it was the Giver and the Gift? That it was the Body Blessing, and the Body Blest? Did the same Body hold the same Body in its own Fingers? And was it eaten by the Disciples, and yet without them? And was it no bigger than a small Piece of Bread, and yet of the Proportion of a Man? And was it insensible, and broken with their Mouths, and yet whole and sensible out of them; and all at the same Instant of Time.

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Lastly, Could every one of the Twelve Eat the very whole Body, and yet that very Body be Visible with them! And all this While one and the same Body? But methinks I hear echoing from some *Papish Zealot*, no small *Anathema*, for offering to affront so Sacred a Mystery, with so many Carnal Cavils, and Vain Interrogatories.

To whom I shall answer once for all, in this Point, that I stand amazed, how any Man of Sense can be a *Papist*, when the only Demonstration of his Religion, must be his not understanding it.

Many fond Absurdities unmentioned (for Brevity) might have been observed: For, *Reason never triumphed more over any Opinion, than this Senseless One of Transubstantiation*; which may be one very good Argument why so much Persecution has ever attended the Disbelief of it.

The Sense of Antiquity, and their own Authors.

Antiquity knows it not: For Eight Hundred Years after Christ it was never heard of, and, when started, with great Disgusts entertained.

The Council of Lateran, was the first that undertook to impose it; and the Decrees, as to this Point, were wholly Abortive; for they are not to be found as *Conciliary*; this was above Twelve Hundred Years after Christ.

Tertullian against *Marcion*, lib. 4. cap. 40. *Just. Mart.* against *Tryphon* the Jew. *Greg. Nazianz*, Orat. 2. in *Pass.* And Pope *Gelasius* himself, renounced and disclaimed it, attributing only to it, *The Nature of a bare Figure, as retaining the Substance and Nature of Bread and Wine*. And many of their Doctors, *Scotus*, *Bellarmino*, *Biel*, &c. assure us of it's Novelty.

But how far are such from the Spirituality of the Mystery and Knowledge of the True Heavenly Bread and Wine that descended from above (the Anti-Type) who ignorantly affirm the Certainty of such a Transubstantiation, as renders that very Visible Elementary Bread and Wine at the same Time, the very Invisible, Spiritual, and Glorified Body of Christ? By which they make Him a Glorified, Crucified, Visible, Invisible, Spiritual, Elementary Christ, all at the same Time. *But more of this in my larger Treat.*

V. OF COMMUNION in one Kind.

Papist. **W**E humbly confess, That from the Beginning of Christianity, the Holy Communion was administered frequently in both, and sometimes in each Kind, according to several Circumstances.

Ans. We may know him to be a *Papist*, by his frequent Confessions; and methinks it should not only prevent People from being seduced by them, but reduce those of their own Way, to an utter Abhorrence of so much allowed Apostacy.

How many Times has he confessed this, that, and the other Thing, not to be of Primitive Practice and Institution. If the Ancient Christians did Commune in both Kinds, upon what better Reasons or Motives was it so severely prohibited by *Romanists*? Is the Blood of less Virtue than the Body? Even that which the Scripture frequently commemorates, after this Manner, *The Blood of Cleansing, and saved by Faith in His Blood*. But they proceed further, and say,

Papist. Hence the Holy Church following the Piety of Christians, who insensibly became accustomed to receive it almost universally in one Kind, upon great Motives did afterwards Ordain to have it in one, as now administered, though the Receiving of it so, is not Matter of Faith.

Ans. Three Things are very observable from this Part of their Confession.

1. That

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1. That because it was sometimes Received in One Kind, according to Circumstances, it insensibly became Received by Holy Church, but in one Kind : More *Nonsense* and *Falshood*, could not well be in so many Words. (*Nonsense*) For what Consequence can the latter Words be to the former ; if in each Kind, then not any one more than the other, or why not Blood, and not Bread, as well as Bread, and not Blood : But among the *Papists*, the People only partake of the Wafer: (*Falshood*) for they neither have, nor can they give one Instance of that slippery or heedless Way of Receiving it, *as in each Kind* ; but whenever it was taken, for Three Hundred Years together, it was in both Kinds.

And what were those Circumstances, that we can hear of none of them ? *Horrible Cheats, and idle Impostures !* To delude the Unlearned and Unstable : Nor is it less Impudence for them to say, *That the Church Received it in but One Kind upon any such Score* : The Conclusion can never be right, where the Premises are false.

2. *That upon Great Motives, it was afterwards Ordained to be Received but in One Kind*, which great Motives they keep to themselves ; either they must think us such Fools as to credit them, Hand over Head, and so needed not to mention them, or else, they doubting their Great Motives, to be down-right *Diswaives* with all sober and intelligent People, chose rather to be silent, than more particular.

3. *That the so Receiving it is no Matter of Faith*, which is so notorious an Untruth, as their own *Annals* expressly tell us, that *Boniface* the 8th, and *John* the 22d, (if I mistake not ; for I was, when I met the Pamphlet, destitute of such Books) highly contradicted one another, *One* threatening the *Priests* to turn them out, if they did not administer it in both Kinds ; and the *Other*, to Excommunicate them, if not Burn them, in Case they did, which as it shews the Eagerness of the Popes, so there is a Choice Piece of *Infallibility* to be observed. *Two infallible Popes accusing each other of gross Falibility.*

Papist. Neither do we believe, Religious Communicants are hereby bereaved of any Benefit in obeying the Church's Order, since our Belief instructs us, that our Blessed Lord is equally present in one Kind, as in both.

Ans. To say that Religious Communicants are not bereaved of any Benefit by Receiving it in One Kind, would imply, that irreligious Communicants, the Receivers of *both Kinds*, have the Advantage ; if so, methinks it is Natural to believe, That Religious Communicants, in both Kinds, have the most Benefit : But what Church is it that gives those Orders ? *A Free General Council of Christians, where Men may speak without being in Danger of their Lives ?* No, but a Cabal of Persons, pickt, with a *Probatum est* stampt upon them, out of the *Pope's Closet*, or *Conclave of Cardinals*, before they be admitted into the Assembly of Judges ; as most of the Council of *Trent* notoriously were (often cited by the Author of this Pamphlet) so that in plain Terms, *The Church is what the Pope and his Cardinals will have it ;* to whose Interest most Councils have sacrificed their Priviledges, and thereby brought Universal Bondage upon whole Kingdoms and States.

That Belief which instructs them, *That Christ is equally present, and therefore no Need of Receiving in both Kinds*, must needs be Built upon the *Sandy Foundation of Papal Tradition* ; not that of Scripture, Reason, or Antiquity ; for if that very Specificall and Numerical Virtue, which is in the Bread, be in the Wine, then *Christ* is implicitly charg'd by the *Romanists*, of an unnecessary Matter : But if there be some Virtue signified by the Wine, more than by the Bread, *It is horrid Sacrilege to rob the Sign, much more the Thing signified : It is a Supper, and at Supper there should be to Drink, as well as to Eat.* There can be no Body without Blood, and the drinking of his Blood, shews *A Shedding of His Blood for the World, and a Participation of it.*

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Besides, the Sign is incompleat, and the End of that Sacrament or Sign not fully answered, but plainly maimed, and what God hath put together, they have put asunder; so that the Fallensels and Unscriptural Practice of these Men are very manifest.

The Sense of Antiquity and their own Authors.

Of their dismembring this Sign or Figure, their own Council of Constance is very plain, *That whereas some presume to affirm, that Christian People ought to Receive the Sacrament of the Eucharist, under both Kinds of Bread and Wine, &c.*

(Hence the Council decrees against this Error) *And that though Christ did so administer it, and although in the Primitive Church it was received, (Confessions very large of the Author, and Example) we Command under Excommunication, that no Priest Communicate to the People under both Kinds of Bread and Wine, C. C. Sess. 13. So says Aquin. Com. in 6. John. Lect. 7.*

And said Pope Gelasius, *Let them Receive in both Kinds, or neither: Thus Popes against Councils, and Doctor against Doctor; yet will the Foolish Romanists; (to say no more) vaunt of the Unity and Infallibility of both.*

VI. Of the Sacrifice of the Altar.

Papist. **T**HE Holy Sacrifice indeed of the Altar, we clearly believe ought to be celebrated in both Kinds; as now it is, according to the Divine Institution, as being done in Commemoration of the Lord's blessed Passion on the Cross, wherein the Body and Blood were separated.

Ans. Whether it be fair for the Papists, to Sacrifice at the Altar in both Kinds, and refer to Christ's Words Luke 21. 9. as a Divine Institution, and yet deny both Kinds to the People, as no Matter of Faith, or of eminent Regard; Let the Sober judge. Is the Passage of Divine Institution for the Sacrifice, and not for the Sacrament? But it plainly manifests the exorbitant Power they ascribe to their Church above the Scriptures, since with them an Order of her's, may, and ought to break, what themselves call a Divine Institution.

Papist. *Whatsoever therefore propitiatory Power, our Holy Religion attributes to this Commemorative Sacrifice; it is by Virtue of the Sacrifice of the Cross, as being by this applied to us: So that we still humbly acknowledge the Ground of our Salvation to be derived from our Lord's blessed Passion.*

Ans. Their Affront to God, and Juggle with Men, in this very Matter, are most detestable; for notwithstanding the Scriptures expressly tell us, that we have an High Priest, that needs not Sacrifice once a Year, but who hath offered one Sacrifice; and that by the Will of God, we are Sanctified thro' the Offering of the Body of Jesus Christ ONCE for all, and that by ONE Offering he perfected them that are Sanctified, Heb. 10. 10, 11, 14. Yet do they daily sacrifice him afresh, as if his first were insufficient, or their daily Sins required a new one. But what Man endued with the least Share of common Sense, can be so stupid, as to imagine, that Christ is sacrificed by every Popish Priest, when he offers up a Bloodless Fleshless Wafer. What greater Irreverence can be shown to the bitter Passion of the Lord Jesus Christ, making such a May-game of His most Dreadful Agony and Cruel Death, as the Jews did with a crucified Child.

This is so much worse than the Aaronical Priesthood, as that was before Christ, and so Typical of his Coming, and of Divine Authority; And this after his Coming, whose own Words and the Apostles (whom these Men pretend to Saint, and own) bear Record, That ONCE for all, and by

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ONE Offering of Himself, &c. And consequently void of all Commission, as well as Precedent.

The Cheat they put upon Men is plainly this, That whilst with fine Words they seem originally to ground their Salvation upon Christ's Sacrifice of the Cross, they craftily attribute to their daily Sacrifice of him, *no small Share of Merit, as so many mediate and secondary Causes*, which must needs be obvious to every unhyast Reader. Their curious *Epiethers* seem only to serve the Place of so many Covers, for the Malignity of their *Sophistical Doctrines*.

VII. OF PRAYER in Latin.

Papist. **W**E freely acknowledge that it is no Ways commanded by the Church, that the People should pray in a Language they understand nor.

Ans^r. I perceive the Man is still upon his free acknowledgments; certainly if what he so often confesses not to have been the Practice of the Primitive Church, and to be unwarrantable from her Example, were but abstracted, there would remain a very abrupt and narrow Faith for the Romanists to explain.

But he is too equivocal upon the Word Church: If by it he would have us understand, the *Ancient Christian Church*; it is true, that no Prayers were made in an unknown Tongue; for the Scriptures, of Divine Authority with her, expressly condemn it; as irregular, and unprofitable.

Let such keep silent said the Apostle Paul, 1 Cor. 14. 28. and Peter never contradicted him. But if by the Church, he understands the *Roman*, he is either careless of his own Reputation (that whilst he makes the moral Law, the ninth Head of his Confession, commits so great an Error against it, as to obtrude a Lye) or else he trusts to our Ignorance of her present Practice; for that she is guilty in this particular, and the Point defended too, I commend the Reader to the following Authorities.

Papist. Nay, there is given them all possible Encouragements, to increase their Devotions, by ordaining and publishing most excellent Prayers, in vulgar Languages for their use. There is an express Command of our Holy Mother the Church, in the Council of Trent, that Pastors in the Time of Divine Service, should expound to the People's Capacities, &c.

Ans^r. I shall return my Answer, in these four Particulars.

First, That all possible Encouragement is not given where more may: but that more may, view Spain, France, and Italy, where Prayers are in Latin, unknown to many Millions of Souls; and let us remark it, for a more infallible Truth, than any the Pope's Chair can afford us, That the great Depth of the Policy and Security of that Religion, lies in the Ignorance and Stupidity of the People,

Secondly, No thanks to the Romanists, that the People have any where so much Privilege, as at any Time to understand what they say: For this is only owing to the Light of Reformation; for that having given a Discovery of the gross Darkness of Popish Practices, they were necessitated to move somewhat from their ancient Customs, which is no better than a lame Excuse, made by a Thief caught in the Fall. Had there been no Luther in Germany, nor Zwinglius in Switzerland, we could not expect, nor ever believe, that the Council of Trent would have allowed of that Liberty; when to cloud the People, and to lock up their Understandings in the Pope's Arcanum, is the Dianian Project of his Conclave.

Thirdly, Its worth our Observation, that those very Books of Devotion are never doctrinal, I mean explanatory of their Principles (those they hide) but filled with elegant Phrases, and rare Cuts of Imagery, suited to the

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affectionate Passions, and voluntary Humilities, of a Sort of People, whose Judgment goes always in the Rear of their Affections, and that make their Religion of Shews and Complements.

Fourthly, But I deny that they have the Nature of Prayer in them, and therefore the People are almost as much to seek in their own Language, as a strange one. *Prayer is the Gift of God*; no Man can be said to pray, who has not, First, A deep Sense of his own Wants: Second, Of the Reasonableness of the Thing prayed for: Third, Enough of Faith to obtain: Fourth, A due Reverence of that God, to whom he makes his Supplication; *For the Prayers of the Wicked are an Abomination to the Lord*, says the Divine Writ (or are no Prayers at all in a religious Sense) But if these Books of Devotion were Prayers, then might the Wicked as well pray as the Righteous; for the Prayer is equally exposed to the use of both. 'Tis not Words make the Prayer; wherefore said the Apostle, *I will pray with the Spirit* (there is the most essential Part of Prayer, but this he might do with none but himself;) and *I will pray with Understanding also* (by this he meant not in an unknown Tongue) It was the Subject of his Discourse in his fourteenth Chapter in his first Epistle to the Corinthians, *But the Church of Rome has otherwise learnt, than had that good Apostle.*

In short, We need the less wonder, at the unparrallell'd Villany, which reigns throughout the Papacy, when we consider how Cardinal a Practice it is, *for the People not to understand how to be better*: Their late Profelytes forgot, or else never heard, *how criminal it was to have an English Testament about One Hundred and Fifty Years since.* But rather than not, *the Papists will turn Half-Protestants, to fetch back Protestants to be whole Papists again.* But such might deserve to be beg'd, had they but as much of Religion, as sometimes Fools use to have of Estate. What shall I say? They are fit to believe any Thing, whose Debaucheries have hardened them against any Belief: *when Sin has banisht all Fear of God, Interest steps in it's Place*; and that Religion, which most promotes it, must with such be the best, wherein the Papist has only the Advantage of all others upon Earth.

The Report of Antiquity, and their own Practice.

However in Protestant Countries, they are willing to bring their Devotion into vulgar Languages; yet that it's Matter of Necessity, and not of Choice, view *Italy, France, Spain, &c.* where they retain their *Latin Service*, as beneficial to the People, which is a Language that generally they understand not.

Origen was against it, lib. 8. cont. Cels. so Chrysost. Hom. 1. in 8. Johan. August de doct. Christi cap. 5. Ambrose upon 1 Cor. 14. Thus also their own Doctors; Aquin. in 1 Cor. 14. Cassander Liturg. cap. 18. so that they err from Scripture, Fathers, and their own Doctors.

VIII. Of Prayer for the Dead.

Papist. OUR Faith teaches us to exercise Christian Charity, by humbling our selves before the Divine Throne of God's Mercy, to beg Forgiveness of the Debts and Trespases of those middle Sort of Christians (as Austin, and the Council of Florence call them) who had not brought forth sufficient Fruits of Repentance, dying in the Communion of the Faithful; which indigent Condition of theirs, relievable by the Churches, or the Prayers of the Faithful surviving, speaks what the Ancients call Purgatory.

Ans^w. How much the Romish Faith, teacheth the Holders of it, to exercise Christian Charity, the Martyrologies of these Thousand Years may testify. But they would have you know, they don't intend such Persons as were

were alive in those bloody Massacres: for the single Merit of their horrid Murders is supererogatory, or more than sufficient to deliver them from the fiery Furnace of a cleansing Purgatory: They took a shorter cut to Heaven; for instead of travelling the main Continent, They (blown with the fresh Gale of their own Cruelty) say'd through the main Sea of Protestant-Blood.

But what Authorities have these Men for their Assertion? First, *St. Austin*; and Secondly, *The Council of Florence*. To these I will speak in the Close of this Head. Are these all? No, for says he,

Papist. (We are) Warranted herein, by the Practice under the Law, recorded in the Maccabees, Which being in no sort reprehended by our Lord, or his Apostles, amongst the Rest of the Jews unlawful Practices, was and is justly presumed to have been allowed by him, as many of the Fathers understood him, in the Mount, and by them, as is hinted by St. Paul; whereupon it hath been continued ever since, as even Grave-Stones, and all other Christian Monuments do witness.

Ans. I must confess I do not wonder that so little Reason should induce a Romanist to believe, than which, nothing scares him more. But I cannot otherwise than Admire, that any Protestant should make such poor Instances a ground of his Return to Popery.

First, His Story of the Maccabees is not cited, nor does he very plainly refer us.

Secondly, He knows the Protestants deny it the Credit due to other Scriptures, and the Papists cannot but be conscious to themselves of Insufficiency to prove its Canon.

Thirdly 'Tis preposterously silly to say, that because Christ did not particularly condemn the Practice of praying for the Dead, (suggetted to have been used by the Maccabees) therefore it was a laudable Custom; since I may with equal Reason argue, that because Christ never mentioned the Maccabees, nor did particularly own the Canon of their Writings, therefore there was no such People, and their Writings (if any) of no Authority.

Fourthly, The Father's Sense (if theirs) of these Scriptures, *Mat. 5. 29. 1 Cor. 15. 29.* must needs be Non-Sense in the Abstract, with all but Papists, who notoriously deny themselves the Use of Sense; altho' I am of Opinion, the Fathers are much abused by the Author of this Confession, or else we should have had their Names in Capitals; however, we will compare these Passages with this Opinion.

First, *If thy right-Eye offend thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee, for it's profitable for thee, that one of thy Members should perish, and not that thy whole Body should be cast into Hell-Fire, Mat. 5. 29.*

Ergo what? that there is a Purgatory after this Life (says the Romanist) O! Scandalous Folly and Weakness; is there any Thing plainer, than that Christ preached a present practical Doctrine? as that which stood every Man upon in this World, viz. The Denial of his Lusts, and Circumcision of his Corruptions. In short, since Christ was in the World, and when spake it; since it was to People in the World, and a Work then to be set about; it is most evident the Passage has no Relation to a State after this Life (I mean for Purgation) Nay, the strongest Argument that is well conceivable for the contrary, may easily be deduced from hence. For if such as pluck not out their Eyes here, (that is, purge not themselves of their Iniquities, by unfeigned Repentance) shall be cast into Hell-Fire, then there is no middle State called Purgatory, but that such Persons as pluck not out their right Eyes (that is) mortify not their Members of Corruption here, are to be cast into Hell-Fire, The Text proves: therefore there is no middle State; the contrary, of Heaven, may be affirmed, for Contrarium eadem est Ratio.

Secondly, Else, what shall they do that are baptized for the Dead? If the Dead rise not at all; why are they then baptized for the Dead? *1 Cor. 15. 29.*

This Scripture is as much to his Purpose as the former, and were I not used

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used so frequently to meet with the like *Incoherences*, 'twould amaze me to read such dis-joynted Matter, and unnatural Consequences; Things in their own Nature, so remote and opposite: what Relation has the *Resurrection* to the Souls entering *Purgatory*, or that Popish middle State? *Who are they that are baptized?* And *who those for whom they were baptized?* And *how have either any Relation to Prayers, for the dead Men, and Souls in Purgatory?* But the *Romanist* thinks, however, that God is not offended at this charitable practice: hear what he says.

Pap. Neither can we discern, how possibly this may be conceived offensive to God; whose Justice herein we hope, we do humbly appease, by an Exercise of Brotherly Compassion.

Ans. It is no Wonder at all, that blind Men do not see, and such as Error has hood-winkt for Generations, we can't think should discern Truth, till they dare trust their *Eyes, Ears and Understandings*, to answer the End for which God gave them.

There can be nothing conceived more offensive to God, as well as unreasonable with Men; than that a mortal Creature (*indebted himself, more than ever he can discharge*) should be able to appease the displeased Justice of an infinite God. *The Arrogancy of this Saying only fits the Size and Measure of a meritorious Papist.* But the Man fearing this Retort, would anticipate it's Force by an half Confession, and Solution thus,

Pap. There is no Law of God which assures us, in Rigour of Justice, of God's Acceptance of the Acts of another Man, for my Sins; yet this hinders not but that they may prevail by way of Suffrage and Impetration, for our Pardon.

Ans. If he could have given but one Place of Scripture, it would have helpt the Matter: but we take Leave to say, we will not be wise (in this Case) above what is written, and *quod non lego, non credo*. I shall return this short Answer to this Evasion. It is a poor Shift from the Force of the Objection; for not only in the strictest, but largest Sense too, God only, out of his free Gift and Mercy in Christ Jesus, is Author of our Remission, and Forgiveness. Since there can scarcely be a more absurd Posi-
tion, than that a Man unable to relieve himself, should be the Occasion of Relief to others, in the same Condition, whether by appealing Divine Justice or by Suffrage only, (a Word incongruous, and inapplicable in this Place.)

Besides, what need is there for praying for Souls in Purgatory? that they should be saved; that is held for granted before they go thither. Is it, that they should be delivered thence? that is the Consequence of the Opinion. Or would they, that God should forbear his Hand, and mitigate his Rigour? which seems the most natural Consequence of their Opinion.

If so, they are the greatest Enemies; for their holding that the End of the Chastisements of Purgatory, is to prepare them for Heaven; by how much the less they are chastised by those fiery Afflictions, by so much the less, they are purged, and consequently the more unfit for Heaven. So that since Heaven is soonest attainable, as their Souls come to be the soonest, and most effectually purged, they in Charity ought to pray, that God would mend his Fire, add Fuel to his Flames, and double his fiery Tortures, that they may be the sooner purged and more refined for Heaven.

Thus whilst the *Romanists* are arguing for Purgatory, they confute themselves by not understanding it.

I shall conclude my Sense of this Point, with the Authority of Scripture, Reason, and Antiquity.

First, Then shall the Dust return to the Earth, as it was, and the Spirit unto God who gave it, Ecclef. 12. 7. Gen. 3. 9. (then not to Purgatory.)

Secondly, For there is no Work nor Device, nor Knowledge, nor Wisdom in the Grave, whither thou goest, Ecclef. 9. 10. (then none in Purgatory.)

Thirdly, And they stoned Stephen, calling upon God, and Saying, Lord Jesus receive my Spirit, Acts 7. 59. (no Purgatory still, but a certain immutable State.)

That it is against all Reason, I offer these Considerations.

1st. No Man can merit for another; nor is it possible a poor indebted Man, should pay another's Debt (it may be greater than his own) and not be able to pay his own.

2d. The Repentance ought to be, where the Sin is, (*but the Sin is here*) therefore should the Repentance be here also.

3d. Where there is a Cessation from Sinning, there is a Cessation from Repentance; but there is a Cessation from Sinning, therefore is there a Cessation from Repentance.

4th. What ever attends the Soul, after Separation from this mortal Life, is Immortal and Eternal, this none can deny, but Purgatory is a State that attends the Soul after this mortal Life, and therefore say I, it is an Immortal and Eternal State. And if it be, it is either for something, or nothing; if for nothing, God makes Things in vain: If for the Souls of Men and Women; then they are never to be ransomed thence. But since the Romanists hold a Redemption from thence, their Confession of the Temporariness of that State proves it a meer Fiction, for when the Soul is withdrawn from this visible mortal Life, which stands in Time, it is centred in an invisible and immortal State, beyond the Wings and Reach of Time.

In short, this World is the Stage, on which all Men do act for Eternity; and every Venture of theirs, brings it true Weight of eternal Life or Death. Death is the Consummation of all, and when we cease to work, we enter upon Reward. But if Purgatory were in being; the greatest Work were to be done there; which, because it is absurd to affirm, we conclude that after Death, we cease from all our Labours, and enter upon our Recompence of everlasting Happiness or Misery.

I shall subjoin some Authorities from Antiquity.

The Sense of Antiquity, and their own Authors.

The Doctrine of Praying for the Dead, we know, was too old a Practice, yet not so old as the Apostle. But how? As for Souls in a third Place (for that these Romanists mean by their Purgatory, however modest they seem by their half Expressions) nothing less! However the Superstition of the Papists, has driven them into so foul an Apprehension. But the Ancients believing there would be a General Day of Judgment, prayed that God would shew Such Mercy in that Day. Gregory the first is said to be it's Father: Certain we are, that Superstition was both it's Mother, and it's Nurse: For that this fond Purgatorian Opinion is altogether new, read both their own Authors, and the Fathers. Polyd. cap. 1. *De Inven. rerum.* Alphonf. a Castro lib. 8. verb. indul. lib. 12. lib. Purgat. so Sextus Senensis, Medina, Cassander, and Bellarmine himself.

That the Fathers disown'd it, in the Sense asserted by the Romanists; and particularly their great Saint Austin. Let them peruse these Places, *Just. Martyr, Resp. ad quest. 75.* Cyprian ad Demetrian. Sect. 16, 22. and in *Serm. de lapsis.* Greg. Nazian Orat. 15. in plag. grandinis. August. Enchirid. cap. 68, 69. Again de Dogmat. Eccles. 6. cap. 79. But above all, that the Romanists should pray for those, to whom they pray to intercede for them, is most absurd; yet this is frequent. But for this Time enough.

IX. Of the Moral Law, of Obedience to Civil Magistrates.

Papist. **W**E further do firmly believe, and highly Reverence the moral Law, being so solemnly delivered to Moses upon the Mount,
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so expressly confirm'd by our Saviour, in the Gospel, and containing in it self so perfect an Abridgment of our whole Duty both to God and Man.

Ans. We may take his Belief to be as hearty, as his Confessions are sincere; I know not what to say more truly, Than that his whole Discourse is an Irony; we are to measure it by contraries, especially when the Fruits give the Tree the Lye.

How far the *Roman-Catholicks* reverence the moral Law, is best seen by considering, how many Laws they have made to destroy it.

1. *That of Images.* For though God did expressly injoin *Moses*, That the *Israelites* should not make to themselves, the Likeness of any Thing in Heaven or in Earth (whence the primitive Christians abhorred Painture) or when they had so done, *that they should not bow down unto it*: Yet, how many Edicts are there in being, that require them to be set up in their Churches, as Laymen's Calendars, to whom daily Homage is performed; they are the Splendid Ensigns of the *Papish-Pagantry-Religion*.

2. In not only dispensing with Disobedience in Children, but in exciting them to it, if they apprehend some Service to their Church, be it to make a Fryar, &c.

3. In those frequent Bulls for Massacres, that can no more be denied, than Light at Noon-day, by which People have been stirred up, upon the Promise of Forgiveness of Sins, Redemption from Purgatory; and Eternal Salvation; or dreadful Denunciation of Eternal Damnation; to enterprize that Work of murdering many Hundred Thousands of Men, Women, and Children, without any legal Presentment, Tryal or Conviction. But the Consideration of these Things is too much out of Fashion in *England*; since many embrace them upon their present Disguises, and not in their true sanguinary Appearances.

4. The Breach of the moral Law is signally manifest in their Dispensations of publick Stews, especially at *Rome*; where the Pope's Revenue is not a little greatned by those ungodly Licenses. And it is too fatally known, that by such immoral Courses, they have crept into the most Cabinet-Counsels of Princes; and not only rendred themselves Masters of their Secrets, but insinuated their Projects by the Force of effeminate Temptations; which, if deny'd, might easily be prov'd in the Case of *Hen.* the fourth of *France*, and others.

5. That Religion hath proved the greatest Thief in Nature: It's *Popes*, *Cardinals*, *Arch-bishops*, *Bishops*, *Deans*, *Chapters*, and whole Orders of *Fryars*, have near engrossed the greatest Share of the Wealth of *Europe*, I mean of those Countries, where yet they are Regent. Before *Constantine*, how mean and meek were Christian Ministers? But in his Time, and a few Ages after, to what a strange Degree of exorbitant Pride and Avarice did the Clergy mount, when it could dare entitle *Peter's-Chair* to the whole World; Kingdoms and Empires must be given and taken with a **WE WILL, OR WE GRANT, &c.**

View those Countries, and the universal Poverty of them impute to those Swarms of Locusts and Caterpillars, who both corrupt and beggar them: This is a Theft, though less sharking, yet more Criminal.

6. They notoriously break the Moral Law, in that great Command, *Thou shalt not bear False-witness against thy Neighbour*; which comprehends all Truth-speaking.

For as no Witness is bound to answer further then by Interrogatories he is provok'd, so is it utterly impossible, that ever Truth should be told, or Men sin in Lying (whilst one of the greatest Sins) if the *Romish* Maxims were but once practis'd: Some of which I shall touch upon in the Sequel of this Chapter.

As to that Part of their Confession, which may relate to their Keeping of Promise, and Paying Subjection to the Civil Magistrates of what Religion soever, and much more to those under whom they live: I purposely over-look it, because it is well known, that they have been so far from yield-
ing

ing Obedience to the Magistrates of any Religion, that they have not stuck to Assassinate those of their own, to whose Power they owed their Civil and Religious Protection. And truly, if such *Double Cords of Duty* cannot tie the Hands of Men from murdering their Natural and Religious Princes (as *Henry* the third and fourth of *France*, both Kings of their Country, and therein of their Religion; because a little refractory to the Sinister Designs of an insolent Clergy-man or two) I think it needless to give their plainer English of Obedience, who so excellently render it in the *Paraphrase* of their *Life*.

I speak not this to incense the Powers against them; for it is my real Belief, that neither are all of them such, nor would I take the Burden off my own Shoulder, to lay it on theirs (being a profess'd Abettor of an Universal Toleration) But this being Matter of Fact, as they cannot deny it, so should I gladly hear of their Confession of these Impieties; and that they disown the like Practices, not by fine glosses, but an Amendment of Life, and Reformation of Doctrine; which would really entitle them to that Verity, they do but hitherto fictitiously attribute to themselves.

The Sense and Opinion of their own Authors.

First, *Vasquez* teacheth, That not only an Image of God, but any Creature in the World, reasonable or unreasonable, may without Danger be worshipp'd with God, as His Image. That we ought to adore the Relicks of Saints, tho' under the Form of Worms, *De Adorat. lib. 3. disp. 1. cap. 2.*

Secondly, They teach, That Children may disobey their Parents, in being Nuns or Fryars: And this Girls may do at Twelve, and Boys at Fourteen Years of Age. But the Council of Trent enlarged the Parent's Authority to Sixteen. This wretched Doctrine was taught and decreed by Pope Clement the Third: *Th. Aquin. and after him his Scholars taught the same, Cap. cum virum de regular. Aquin. 2. 2. qu. 88. art. 9. lib. 1. cap. 101. also in Case the Parents were Hereticks.*

Thirdly, If a Noble-Man be set upon (says Cardinal Toller) and may escape by going away, he is not oblig'd to do it; but may kill him that intends to strike him with a Stick, *Instruct. Sacerd. Lib. 5. Cap. 6. Num. 15.*

Fourthly, If a Man be beastly drunk, and then commits Fornication, it is no Sin, *Lib. 14. Cap. 13. N. 4.* Also, That a Man may lie with Women, to satisfy his carnal Desire, or for his Health-sake, *Lib. 5. Cap. 10, 13. A Man may bed with his intended Wife; nay, it is good to do so if the Marriage be deferred, says Emmanuel Sa. Aphor. tit. debitum conjugale 6.*

Fifthly, They instruct how to be an honest Thief. It is lawful to deceive or rob a Brother, when to do so is necessary, to preserve a good Name. For no Man is bound to restore stolen Goods, thus *Navar. Cardinal Cajetan, and Tolet*; who further add, That this is a Doctrine taught by many, and which may be followed with a safe Conscience, *Tolet. Instruct. Sacerd. Lib. 5. Cap. 2. Manual. Cap. 18. N. 7.*

Sixthly; How just they may be to their Promises, how subject to the Supream Magistracy, and of how eminent Service to humane Societies, may best appear out of these following Maxims.

If a Man swear he will take A. C. to wife, he may secretly mean (if hereafter she please me) *Instruct. Sacerd. lib. 4. cap. 21, 22.*

If a Man swear he will give a Thief Twenty Crowns, he may secretly say, (if I please to do it) and then he is not bound. Of this rare Invention *Vasquez* vaunts not a little, as being gathered out of *August. and Aquin. In. 3. Tom. 4. qu. 93. art. 5. dub. 13.*

There are two distinct Tribunals (says *Becanus*) and the Ecclesiastical is the Superior: And therefore, if a secular Prince gives his Subjects a safe Conduct; he cannot extend it to the Superior Tribunal, nor by any Security given, hinder the Bishop, or the Pope to exercise their Jurisdiction, *Theol. Schol. 13.* That this is so, let us call to mind, that the Pope, and other of his

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Ecclesiasticks, did prevail at Constance, for the Burning of their Prisoners, J. Hufi, &c. to whom safe Conduct was given.

In short, If a Man have taken an Oath of a Thing lawful and honest, and in his Power; yet, if it binders him from doing a greater Good, the Pope can dispense with it; thus Canus Bishop of the Canaries, Relist. de pœnitent.

The Popes Denunciation against an Excommunicated Prince, dis-engages his Subjects from their Obedience; this was once our Case, as in Henry the Eighth's Time, Concer. Eccl. in Angl. fol. 336.

Nay, even before the Sentence be denounced, though the Subjects are not bound to it, yet lawfully they may deny Obedience to an Heretical Prince, thus Greg. de Valentia. Tom. 3. Disp. 1. Qp. 12. punct. 2:

To conclude, the Ingenuity of Panormitan and Mosconius out-does all.

The first affirming, That the Pope hath Power to dispense in all the Laws of God, Cap: propositui de concess. prebende, N. 20.

The second, with as much Zeal asserting, That the Pope can dispense above Law, and against Law; for the Popes Tribunal and God's is but one: And therefore every reasonable Creature is subject to the Pope's Empire; as may be seen in his Discourse of the Majesty of the Church Militant, & in lib. 1. de summo Pontif.

X. Of Ecclesiastical Hierarchy.

Papist. **W**E firmly believe, that according to Divine Ordination in the Catholick Church, there is an Hierarchy, consisting of Bishops, Priests, and Ministers. He gave some Apostles, and some Prophets, and others Evangelists, and others Pastors and Doctors, to the Consummation of the Saints, unto the Work of the Ministry, unto the Edifying of the Body of Christ, untill we all meet in the Unity of Faith, and the Knowledge of the Son of God, &c.

It's a great Truth, that Bishops, Pastors, Teachers, &c. were given by Christ Jesus, for the Work of the Ministry; but what then? Can Romanists make use of this to justify their most injurious and tyrannical Hierarchy? Do the Scriptures of Truth tell us, that ever God gave lordly, proud, and voluptuous Popes, Cardinals, Primates, Archbishops, Deans, Chapters, Fryars, Nuns, &c. for the edifying of the Church, and Body of Christ? The primitive Bishops were to be blameless, not living in all Manner of Uncleanness; gentle, no Strikers, no Brawlers, nor Persecutors of their Brethren, as are the Popes of Rome; apt to teach, not by roaring Bulls to Excommunicate; to eat and drink such Things as were set before them; not racking and grinding the Faces of the Poor, the Widows, and the Fatherless, and extorting their Labours, to greaten their Revenues, to live in Idleness, Pomp and Lust. The Husband but of one Wife, not Condemners of marrying of one honest Woman, and Dispensers with as many Whores as Lust may require; Cardinal and Eminent Points and Practices among the Romanists.

In short, the Romish Hierarchy is so far from being suited within the Order of the Gospel, by them quoted in their Confession; that the whole Design of their Lordly Popes, Cardinals, Archbishops, Bishops, Jesuits, and other Priors of many Sorts, (esteem'd of the Religious Tribe) is but to over-balance the Civil Power, and render themselves Masters of the Swords and Purse of Princes, and Common-wealths; to maintain them in Idleness, Plenty, and Pleasure; and to blind the Understandings of them they abuse, that they may abuse them as the Philistines did Sampson, when they had put out his Eyes, to answer their own wicked Ends, with the greater Security.

To conclude, If we would not receive a Thief, untill he has repented: Let the Papist first recant his voluminous Errors (not known in Scripture, nor ever heard of for Three Hundred Years together after Christ.)

But

But above all, let us have good Testimony of his *Leaky Sorrow*, for that *Sea of Blood*, shed in England, France, Holland, Ireland, Spain, Italy, Savoy, Switzerland, and Germany, of many Hundred Thousands of poor Protestants, that for pure Conscience could not conform to their most exorbitant Practices, as well as new Doctrines, imposed upon them: Such inhuman and barbarous Inventions and Cruelties, as no Age could ever parallel; and are the only Demonstrations of their wicked Wits, that liv'd in that; and that not only upon the Parties themselves, but their poor, little, innocent Babes: For that *English Protestants* should so far neglect these weighty Considerations, as to be gull'd and cheated out of the Religion purchas'd them, by their Martyr'd Ancestors; and persuaded to embrace that Old, Bloody, Apostatiz'd Church again, with all her slavish, as well as ridiculous Superstition, is a Crime so offensive to God, and intolerable to Men, as the Time hastens, *That the very Stones in the streets will rise up in Judgment against them.*

Thus while some Protestants (and those chiefly concerned in these Affairs) are mostly busied in persecuting Dissenters; I hope it will not be ill resented, that one of them has, in the mean time, undertook (though with much Brevity) an Enervation of the Romanist's Faith, at least a Detection of their Craft, their horrid Couzenage, and present Way of Insinuation amongst the People.

But we must once more declare, it is not to our Purpose to bring them under Persecution; but to present the People with such an Information, as may prevent them from ever having Power to persecute others.

A Questionary POSTSCRIPT.

I Here subjoin these few following *Queeries*, which if the Romanists will frankly answer, and with that grave Sincerity that becomes so weighty an Affair; we may easily know whereabouts they are.

I. *Whether we ought to believe and accept any Principle, as fundamentally True and Orthodox, that is not laid down, and avouch'd to be such, by evident Scripture, and the most pure and primitive Tradition?*

If they say, *we ought*, let them tell us out of what Scripture we may read it; but if we ought not—— Then,

II. *Whether the Doctrine of Papal Infallibility; of Transubstantiation; of the Sacrifice of the Mass; of Images; of Auricular Confessions; of Indulgences; of Prayers for the Dead; of Purgatory; of Prayers in Latin; of their whole Ecclesiastical Government, and pretended Religious Orders; be allowed or recommended as Matter of Christian Faith, and Discipline, by Scripture and Antiquity?*

If they are not to be found there, why should any be so absurd as to receive them? if they are taken thence, let them assign us the Places both in Scripture and primitive Antiquity; for the first three hundred Years after Christ (and in some Particulars much more) are wholly silent in the Matter, any farther than to furnish us with pregnant Instances against those idle Dotages, and gross Superstitions. But,

III. *Whether in Case they could not be conformed to, they would allow a Toleration, were they powerful?*

IV. *Whether in Case they should say YES, we ought to believe them? Since it's one of their most sacred Maxims, Not to keep Faith with Hereticks; as was seen in the Case of those of the Alpine Valleys, J. Hufs, &c. and in that they have in all Ages brought so great Deluge of Blood upon the European World.*

V *Whether*

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V. *Whether it be the Interest of the English Nation to subject her self to a Toak? Considering the incomparable bloody Massacres of that Sort of Men in several Reigns, with the spiritual Tyranny she would bring upon her self, which must end in the draining of her People to enrich the Papacy, who make it a fundamental Maxim, That the Enriching of the Church (or rather the impoverishing of the People) is the Securing of it: For Seculars (the Laitry) being impoverish'd, as of old, the Church-Party will have the Treasury, and consequently the triumphing Power in their Hands, which brings to the ancient Arrogancy of Popes, viz. Setting their Feet upon the Necks of Princes.*

VI. *And lastly, Whether the Design of Popery be not an utter Destruction of all true and solid Religion, and the Introduction of Formality and Superstition, to the inscuring of civil Authority, and putting the Peoples Judgments into the Priests Inquisition? Since the most ignorant and careless, or the most vitious and prophane, are generally found to be their Profelytes; Their Religion (by Reason of its Latitude in Point of Indulgence) being an open Sanctuary for refuge to all loose and debauch'd Livers.*

TRUTH rescued from IMPOSTURE.

OR

A Brief REPLY to a meer Rhapsody of Lies, Folly, and Slander;

But a pretended Answer, to the Tryal of W. PENN, and W. MEAD, &c. writ and subscrib'd, S. S.

By a profess'd Enemy to Oppression, W. P.

A Fools Lips enter into Contention, and his Mouth calleth for Strokes, Prov. 18. 6.

A Whip for the Horse, a Bridle for the Ass, and a Rod for the Fool's Back, Prov. 26. 3.

TO the READER.

I Take him to be an *unhappy* Man, that knows not an Enemy upon Earth; and therefore judge my self not a little *happy* to be so ill reputed by S. S. that, of all Men, I have Reason to believe one of the most *infamous*. Yet, that I may be just to him, as well as to my self, I do beseech the Reader, first to peruse his *Fardle* of Impostures, and Abuse, before thou read'st me; lest thou should'st think I have wrong'd him in Citation: *So scurrilous, so false, and withal so ridiculous is he, in his whole conceited Enterprize, that but a little Charity would make one think, that no Man could be so great an Enemy to Truth, and to Himself.*

Surely, his Fondness of being in Print wholly blinded his Discretion, or else methinks he would have stopp'd to give so great an Evidence of his Folly.

*One would have thought it Impudence enough, to act such Tyranny without an Apology to defend it. But as that's an Aggravation of his Guilt; so let the Man remember, that *Litera scripta manet*.*

* I know it well becomes his *Front*, and every Part thereof bears exactly his Resemblance.

* 'Tis Pity but all the *People's Enemies* should give as *wise* Grounds of their Abuse, of them, and their *Laws*, as this *Man* has done.

* I am concern'd in a double Sense : First, in Defence of my *Conscience*, and therein, the *Liberties* of my *Country*. And next, of the *Reputation* of my *deceased Father*, by him injur'd, beyond the Instance of a *Precedent*, or Allowance of an Excuse.

* Being then thus boisterously attack'd in my *Religious*, *Civil* and *Natural Capacity*, let not any wonder, that I employ the *Force* of all to my just Defence ; And if I have so much Credit with the *Reader*, believe me, I will (without the least Scruple) give him his *complete Weight and Measure* : For I desire not to hold my *Life* or *Liberty* on better Terms, than whilst I am bold to justify the *Truth*, at any Cost, against the false and peevish *Effays* of her *Adversaries*.

TRUTH rescued from IMPOSTURE, &c.

PART I.

I Have to do with one, who dares to profess himself a *Patriot*, and that of so great Importance to his Country, as on his happy Cry of (*Miles noli Regem ferire*, Pag. 1.) the Safety of King and Kingdom have their sole Dependence.

But, as I am persuaded, that Piece of *Arrogancy* was unexpected by most, and his Inability too notorious, to admit any the least Jealousy of such an Enterprize ; so has he given the greatest Stroke imaginable to himself, and those he would seem to vindicate, in offering at the poor *Quakers*, for whom his *Weakness* makes *sufficient Apology* ; and amongst them, I am not the least that ought to account my self indebted.

The second Discovery of himself is not less *Uncharitable*, than the first was *Proud* and *Impudent*.

He does not only take occasion to fall most foolishly upon our Trial, but as unwarrantably believes 'twas I that writ it ; but should I grant him so much *Faith* (for I believe him to have little, Page 1.) I shall appeal to all impartial Men, if a bare Conjecture (and more he proves not) be Ground sufficient for him to vent so many rank Reflections, and that not only upon my self, but my *deceased Father* : It either argues he had better Intelligence in the following Pages, or that his Desire I should be *Author* of it, had changed his *Faith* into a *fancied Certainty*, which gives sufficient Testimony of his Prejudice.

And as if he thought there might have been another *William Penn*, that might be an whole *Quaker*, he is pleased to distinguish me from him, with this diminutive Expression, of *William Penn the Half Quaker*, thereby intimating how much worse he supposes *Half Quakers* than *Whole Ones* ; for none can think he said so out of *Kindness* to me, when his Discourse not only singles me out for all Abuse ; but, as not contented with that, *disturbs my Father's Grave* with his forg'd Aspersions, and then places them to my Account.

But whilst I think not my self a little injured by his scurrilous *Epithets* (believing he meant, I was not a sincere, but interested and turbulent One) I heartily rejoyce, that out of his own Mouth he has justified my Friends, by preferring an *Inire Quaker*, before all *Half*, or *Mungrel Ones* ; yet if an *Half One* be so fatal, and heavy on the Shoulders of Oppressors, that they do scarce dare to own their own Apologies, how dreadful must an *Whole One* be ? He says in this Expression so much for us, that he scarcely needs more against himself.

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But because he believes I writ it, *therefore he can give it no other Name* (to use his own Words, Page 1.) *but the Second Part to his Blasphemous Treatise, called the Sandy Foundation shaken*: O egregious Nonsense! This ridiculous *Non sequitur* either shews him to have been a Man of a very Phlegmatick Head, or else that he has ill bestowed his Time, who can write no better Sense yet; for that these two Subjects are in the Nature of them very different, is manifest. But perhaps he thinks it no small Piece of *Blasphemy*, to tell the World of the late irregular Proceedings at the Old-Baily: Nor does he less wound his own Cause by acknowledging the Book entituled, *The People's Ancient and Just Liberties Asserted*, (which designs to detect, on what Foundation, the Mayor, Recorder, &c. did proceed) to be the second Part to the *Sandy One*, manifestly implying *theirs to be such*.

His Sense of my *Faith*, or rather *Disbelief* of the *Trinity* is a wretched Mistake, not to say a voluntary one; for I never quarrell'd the Word *Trinity*, it being borrowed of the Latin Word *Trinus*, in English *Three*, but always did, and do believe the same.

But why should I insist upon a Point so abstruse; and that, to a Man so unintelligent in more minute Matters, as that he hath not yet learnt a Distinction betwixt Discourses of *Civil Liberty*, and *Divine Faith*, but ignorantly makes the one to be a necessary Consequence, from the (*Supposed*) Mistake in the other.

I might here over-look his abusive Reflections upon me, as *Author of the Trial, &c.* (which he urges with no small Zeal) by unconcerning my self in the Matter: But I confess to owe so much of Real Kindness to the Author, and many Parts of the Discourse, that I shall gladly imbrace the Occasion of making his Defence.

The Man resolving I must be the Author, sets me up as such, and then fights me, or rather pelts Dirt at me: He says, (Page 1.) that Penn *does not blush to vilify the King's Court, and falsely Reproach the King's Justices, and revile all Methods of Law, calling Indictments detestable Juggles; and his, a Romance Indictment; and W. Mead, his, a Bundle of Stuff*: (Page 2.) Penn *designing, in a popular Way, to subject the Laws, making the Jury Judges both of Law and Fact*.

If I had blush'd, it must either have been from mine own Guilt, or by Way of Reflection from the Bench; but as I was wholly innocent of that Crime, which could have made me conscious; so was there not *Modesty* enough, amongst some of the Bench to *blush* at their *Irregularities*.

I detest that *Aspersions*, of *vilifying Law, or reproaching the King's Justices*; since the greatest Crime some observed against me, whilst at the Bar, was my frequent Demands of Right, by those very fundamental Laws, I am charged to have contemned.

These are but meer *Phrases* of Abuse, ready at every Man's Hand for his Interest.

Indictments I esteem not *Juggles*: Nor do I believe the Author intended so; but that way of crowding most unnecessary and untrue Allegations, under the Pretence of Form of Law, contrary to all Reason, is no less: This is explained by him, and his own Sense fully vindicated.

He therefore understood what he said, when he compared the Falsity of our *Indictment*, to that of a *Romance*, which however methodical, yet is but meer *Fancy* still. For those Things being absent that render an *Indictment* true, it will follow that such an *Indictment* is altogether incongruous and inapplicable. It is an hard Case that Men should so *Nickname* Things, as to call an *honest Confidence*, *Impudence*; and my asserting of the *Supremacy of Fundamental Laws*, against their *new Inroachments*, a subverting of them;

I rejoice to think, that many were there present, whose Relation of that Transaction has done me the Justice of a Vindication, and given our *Trial* the Credit, which it is utterly impossible for the Endeavours of S. S. and his *malicious Cabal*, ever to diminish or traduce.

He

He makes it a Capital Crime to assert the *Jury, Judges of Law and Fact*, but poorly shifts off those Arguments aptly used by the Author of the Trial, in Defence of his Position: For farther Satisfaction I refer the Reader to the Fourth Part of this Discourse.

He says I was commanded to the *Bale-Dock* for Turbulency and Impertinency: I confess, if I had been as Guilty as I was Innocent, of being so offensive, they had been very incompetent Judges, whose own Passion rendered them so much what they say of me, that many Spectators questioned, *If they were themselves.*

They that read the Trial may quickly inform themselves of my Kind of Impertinency, and with the same Trouble, of their *Billingsgate Rhetorick*, in Phrases so scurrilous, that never did Men subject themselves, to a more deserved Censure of Want of common Civility, than at our Trial.

But the Man breaks forth into an Extatical Caution, to those of the *Long-Robe*, lest we should assassinate their Persons, at least besiege and rattle their *Westminster-Hall*: (Page 2.) His Words are these, *Now Gentlemen of the Long-Robe, look to your selves, and your Westminster-Hall. And why? Because that Juries are affirmed to be Judges of Law and Fact*; as if that were an overthrow to the Law, that the most learned and honest of the *Robe* made an hearty Profession of, in the Sense urged.

But I appeal to those of the *Long-Robe*, (as he styles them) whether such arbitrary Proceedings, as over-ruling all Pleas, Verdicts, Prisoners, and Juries, at the Rate of the *Old-Baily*, 1st, 3d, 4th, 5th, of *September, 1670.* with their severe Rebukes and harsh Menaces, be not more apparently destructive of the Fundamental Laws, in the free Course of them, and Practice of Lawyers; than the Author's Assertion, in his Discourse of the *People's Ancient and Just Liberties, &c.*

He urges this Caution to the Lawyers, with no small Pretence to Reason and Rhetorick; For says he, *If that these learned Reformers of Religion, shall likewise reform your Laws and Methods of Proceedings (as doubtless they design it) farewell then to your great Acquisitions, &c.*

But I must tell him, that as he is an incompetent Judge of Religion, that Practices so little of any, so I publish a plain Challenge to him, and the old Man within the Curtain (*the Oracle of his Law-Gibberish*) to produce an avowed Instance, by any Lawyer, of the Irregularities and Arbitrary Actions, they vainly attempt to defend.

And whether our well-meant Plea, for *English Privilege*, be most destructive of great Acquisitions, or their unhinging the well hung Laws of England, to turn all Trials upon the sole Pin of Will and Power; let the very Lawyers judge.

I affirm, such give the justest Ground of bidding farewell to all great Acquisitions, that are so ready to welcome *INQUISITIONS*.

He ventures to urge the *Great Charter*, and to give an Exposition, as ridiculous, as the other is fictitious; his Kindness for the Law, being to kill it, in palliating his real Fear, and Abhorrence of all good Laws, with his pretended Respect for them.

But of this I will say little, leaving it to an whole Part by it self; and proceed to consider the Rest of his Wild Reflections.

His Comparison of us to *John of Leyden*, is ignorant and malicious. Ignorant, because he seems to know no better our Principles, that utterly abhor to promote Religion by Blood. Malicious, because he slanders us, without the least desert; and seems not so much to heed the Truth, as Odium of his Comparison: And but that it is a vulgar Trick, to put the *Wolf's Skin upon the Sheep, and the Sheep's Skin upon the Wolf*, I should enlarge upon his ugly Epithets.

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PART. II.

S. S. his Answer to the pretended Calumnies of the
T R I A L Considered.

HAVING given my self a loose shake of the Calumnies of his first Section (saying that Part which concerns the Power of Juries, to be considered by it self) I shall descend to examine his second, if possibly I may find more of *Truth, Sense, and Civility*.

He pretends to so much Scripture (and which is worse, applies it to his own Shame) as to front his second Section with the 9th and 10th Verses of the Epistle of *Jude*.

Ver. 9. Yet *Michael*, the Arch-Angel, when contending with the Devil, he disputed about the Body of Moses, durst not bring against him a railing Accusation, but said, *The Lord rebuke thee*.

Ver. 10. But these speak Evil of those Things which they know not.

Upon this Text he preaches thus. pag. 4.

• These People called Quakers (if they are to be believed) will tell, they have this Angelical Spirit, the Meekness of Moses, the Patience of Job, and all other Graces; but the contrary appears, fol. 57. of W. Penn's Book, vide this Passage.

But above all, Dissenters had little Reason to have expected that boarish Fierceness from the Mayor of London, when they consider his eager Prosecution of the King's Party under Cromwel's Government; as thinking he could never give too great a Testimony of his Loyalty, to that new Instrument, which makes the old Saying true, viz. That one Renegado is worse than three Turks.

To which I answer, not as W. P. but as one they call a Quaker.

His Application of the first Scripture will be this,

If *Michael* did not bring a railing Accusation against the Devil— then the Author of the Trial should not have brought one against him.

It is so plain what he has said of him, that we need not further blacken him.

But this latter Part he grossly mis-understands, and mis-applies; for 'tis denied, that any Part of this Scripture affords one just Reproof, of that so much abused Author.

We know how frequently the Devil himself has taken to the Scriptures for a Refuge; and after this Man's strange Construction, it will be railing to tell a Man his Faults: and truly, when I seriously consider, how gross and numerous his are, as by his very Book appears, methinks he was hard put to it for a Cover.

A railing Accusation, is a false, as well as wrathful one, which he proves page 5. therefore a true, though sharp Reproof is none.

I know it is the Humor of such, who would live unrebuk'd, to render it more criminal to reprehend, than to commit a Fault; that they may save their Heads from the Knock of just Censure.

But who the Railer was, we shall take leave to mention in its Place: However, what has this to do with W. P.

The second Verse, we are equally unconcerned in. Could he have found a Text that says, *But these speak well of those Things, they know not*; he might have more Approach'd the Matter, by excluding our Science in the Law, in owning our great good Will unto it. Of the latter, our Tryal, as by him represented, is a Demonstration, but I could wish he were no worse, than those concerned in that Scripture, which was to speak evil of Things they knew not: For I am perswaded, he spoke malignantly evil of Things, he knew did not deserve it.

We

We do not only tell the World, the Tendency of our Doctrine, is to incline Mankind to *Meekness*, and *Patience*, &c. but we bless the God of Heaven und Earth, many ten Thousands do believe the same; and that on better Evidence, than Hear-say, or bare Report.

But whether S. S. or his *Junto*, can with any tolerable Shew of Modesty condemn the *Quakers*, as destitute of *Meekness* and *Patience*, who have so much wanted both, as they (instrumentally,) have given the clearest Evidence of the contrary, by *their inhumane Persecutions*, as well as we have done it, by suffering the same, *I am sure will be the Question*.

He begins his Apology thus, Page 5. *An high Charge against Sir Samuel Starling, then Lord Mayor (if true) Cujus contrarium Verum; and therefore a railing Accusation; and that Light (which is as they say) within themselves (by which they are acted, and speak as they pretend) is the Spirit of the Devil, The Father of Lyes.*

These Words both deny, and give a Charge, but with how much Truth and Reason I shall examine, and begin with the latter.

I take this Expression to be the most venomous of all his *Libel*, and seems to come hot from a blaspheming gnashing Spirit, *through a vexed Consciousness of Guilt*.

The *Light* we profess to be guided by, is so far from being the *Spirit of the Devil*, the Father of Lyes; *that it's of God the Father of Truth*.

Here may we read the Text, inserted in the Period of his Title Page, *For he speaks evil of Divine Dignities*, who speaks against the Light; for God is Light.

And he that says he has Fellowship with God, and walks not in the Light, he lyes, and deceives himself.

And if this scurrilous *Libeller* had ever known, what it was to obey this holy Light, he would have forbore so impudent an Assertion: But 'tis an evident Sign of a seared Conscience, as well as great Ignorance, to publish to the World, *that Light is the Spirit of the Devil*, and not of God.

How many Times do the Scriptures commemorate God, and Christ by this Epithet? Christ was promised by that very Name, *I will give him for a Light, to lighten the Gentiles*, and John said of him, *that he was the true Light, that enlighteneth every Man*. And Christ gives this Testimony of himself, *I am the Light of the World*. Also the Apostle Paul, whatever is reprov'd, *is made manifest by the Light*, and John thus, *God is Light, &c. If you walk in the Light, as God is Light, &c.* And in the Revelations, The Lamb shall be thy Light, &c. And of God, it's said, he dwells in Light: God is Light, and in him is no Darkeness at all, &c. But in this Man there is the very *Blackness of Darkeness*, who calls *Light, Darkeness*, and *Darkness, Light; Evil, Good, and Good Evil*.

Next I cannot chuse but observe, how abruptly he falls from the Matter of his Chapter, to blaspheme our holy Light, *an high Charge, the contrary whereof is true: And that Light, which is in them, is the Spirit of the Devil*. Behold the Confusion and Incharity, of the Man, nay, a rude pulling upon his own Head, the Vengeance of the God of Light.

Did he, or any else, ever hear us pretend to own another *Light*, than in the Phrases, and from the Scriptures before mentioned? I am assured they did not: And though I deny his Imputation, yet whar if I, or any *Quaker* on Earth, or all of them, had acted injuriously to him, or any Man; must that blessed Light, we say, is given of God (and more than pretend we are guided by) be vilified for our Failings.

Nor is it less than wretched Blasphemy, for any to say, that because S. S. is a most horrible Impostor, *therefore the Grace, or Light, which God has given him, is the Spirit of the Devil*.

But this proves to me his Impiety beyond all other Demonstrations; for nothing's more common, than where Men with wilful Obstinacy, have lived a rebellious and wicked Life against God's Light and Spirit in their Consciences, there to spurn with gnashing Teeth, and scalded Tongues, in

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Blasphemous Expressions against God, and his Tabernacle, and those that dwell in Heaven.

But besides, his very Words carry such Weakness and Confusion with them, that I will easily from thence infer, *A Vindication of our Light and Friends.*

And that Light which is (as they say) *then he does not say it, which implies, that he thinks (we i.e., at least are mistaken) within them (by which they are acted and speak, as they pretend) which supposes that he believes we are not really so acted, nor do we speak by it, only that we make it our Pretence* is the Spirit of the Devil, the Father of Lyes. If I understand him, or his Words, this is the Genuin and true Construction of them,

That Light, that is in them, is the Spirit of the Devil, the Father of Lyes; yet I won't say it; and I believe it's their Pretence to say they act or speak by it.

If this weren't the very Sense of the Words, none can be; and if this Sense doth not vindicate our *Light*, in his own Thoughts, from being Diabolical, and *Us*, from being led by such a lying Spirit, let the Understanding Reader judge.

In short, this I must and will say, by the Knowledge of that Light, and for it, *That as it gives Man the true Discerning, Weight, and Measure of Spiritual Things, with their Differences; so can no Man have Access to God, in any Duty or Action of his Life, nor feel true Peace with him, or the cleansing Benefit of the Blood of Jesus Christ (who is God over all, blessed for evermore) but as he comes to be directed and guided by it, to keep the Commands of God, and himself unspotted from the World.* But Trouble and Remorse of Spirit ever was, and ever will be the Portion of such, as rebel against it. *In him was Life, and his Life the Light of Men; If ye walk in the Light, as he is in the Light, ye shall have Fellowship one with another, and the Blood of Jesus shall cleanse you from all Sin.*

More might be said of this Particular, but I am perswaded, here is enough to satisfy the Consciences of all unbiass'd Readers.

The former Part relating to his Denial of the Charge of Disloyalty and Temporizing, against him they call Sir S. Sterling; I shall so far take into my Consideration, in Defence of the aspersed Author of the Tryal, as to tell this Parasite Libeller only what the World says of him, and particularly the City of London, which if not true, it's both little to the Purpose, and he is the more belyed; but first we will hear the Defence.

I think it necessary (says this Apologist) in his Vindication, to desire the courteous Reader, to enquire of Sr. Ed. Deering, Dr. Whitcock, Mr. Christopher Flower, and Francis Pemberton, Esquires. of the Middle Temple; who can bear Witness of his Loyalty at Cambridge, in the Years 1643, 44, 45.

And in the Years, 46, 47, 48, 49. *he apply'd himself to the Study of the Laws, and could not be admitted to the Bar, because he utterly refused to subscribe the cursed Engagement: Witness, Cornelius Hooker Esquire, Nicho. Jacob Esquire, both Barristers of Greys-Inn, and his Contemporaries.*

We want the Consequence. What? Was he therefore no Temporizer? Nothing less. Not that the Reputation of the Persons named must therefore be impeacht, or lessened.

But some are ready to ask, why S. S. should think it fit to name so many Persons, in his Defence, and yet omit to insert a Certificate from any one of them: Their Testimonies are at best, but in *Embryo (unborn to us)* nor is it possible they should be Witnesses of all the *Actions of his Life.* But granting what is said, to be true: Was he accused of Temporizing when a Boy at Cambridge? Although methinks it's indiscreetly urged, that we should ask of Dr. Whitcock, if he were not compelled to leave the University (Loyalty being out of Fashion,) who remained a Master of a College there. I do not mention it to spot that Doctor; for I know none of that Coat of a more universal Temper, and worthy of being esteemed Learned; but to detect this ridiculous Scribler of Inadvertency.

I must confess the first he refers to, I have an experienced Knowledge of, and to whom I esteem my self obliged by many high Instances of Kindness, which, not so much as his own Evenness of Temper, would make me entertain more favourable Thoughts; but as he is cited to determine a Case, not timed to the Charge, so is he wholly silent in the Matter: And though his Name, with me, gives the most of Reputation, to his whole Paragraph; yet *Quod non Lego, non Credo*.

Nor is the Instance of being at *Greys-Inn*, esteemed material to the Purpose, it being of later Times, to which the Reflection quarrelled with has no Relation, and therefore overlookt as frivolous to this Occasion, though some say, they talk as if there were no such Matter.

But he hopes, to supply this Defect, with this general and dubious Addition, *From 1650. until his Majesties Restauration, he was a Trader in the City; and how he demeaned himself, in those Cromwellians Times, all that knew him, will witness he walkt Antipodes, to the Genius of that Age, to the endangering of his Life and Estate.* pag. 6.

Ans. That this is a general Reference, is manifest, and of whom to enquire he does not tell us; Would he have us send to enquire who knew him then, in Order to know what he was then; some think it might have been as cheap for S. S. to particularize one in those ten Years Time of Loyalty, which was to the Purpose, who instanced so many before, to no Purpose; this leaves a stronger Jealousie than before, but with none less than the *Quakers*, because none are less concerned in the Matter.

But that he was this invincible *Royalist*, he gives us this Instance

His Majesty being by God's Providence restored, he was esteemed for his Loyalty, a fit Person to be of the Jury, upon the King's Judges, and passed a Furor upon no less, than Eighteen of those assassinating Traitors

But how unwise, if not disloyal, this Expression is, some think may concern the King, at least his Justices to consider: as if that those Persons had not been condemned by indifferent Men, swayed by the only Force and Sense of Law, but such as were therefore esteemed fit to be of the Jury, because averily principled, in Point of Judgment and Affection. I boldly affirm it a Reflection so indiscreet and malignant, that it deserves a Check severer, than any Expression in the Discourse, entituled, *The People's ancient and just Liberties asserted*; and that not more from the King's Justices, than the Person he would be thought to vindicate.

After all that he has said, the *Apologist* thinks it needless farther to vindicate his Loyalty, since never questioned by any, but those sceptical *Quakers*, whose Business is to asperse our Religion, Laws, and all Men, that are not of their Cursed Principles.

Therefore he makes this Offer: that if W. P. can make out that the late Lord Mayor, ever wronged any of the King's Friends, either in Body, Goods, or good Name one Penny, that he shall Restore to the Gentleman, whosoever he be, a Thousand Pounds, for every penny-worth of Wrong.

But as I do assure this Libeller, that some of eminent Rank, and no *Quakers* (as he is pleased to term them) were the first that took Occasion to speak of that Persons temporizing; and therefore question'd by others; so is it an Aspersion wickedly groundless, that we defame Laws, Religion, and all Men, that are not of our Principles, since we have ever been on the suffering Hand; and still proclaim it as one of our fundamental Points of Doctrine, to live peaceably and inoffensively, which we have not only done (notwithstanding all Provocations) but resolve, in God's Strength, to continue the same passive People we have ever been.

Besides, I would fain know, why above others, this Offer should be made to *William Penn*; perhaps the Author of the Libel, thought him so great a Child, as to be insnar'd into such Reflections, as would subject him to the Lash of His *Sir Samuel*, for a Defamer; but as I have learnt more Prudence, so indeed more Religion.

I abhor the use of Scurrility instead of Reason, and so should this Libeller, of supplying the Defects of his Cause by Railing.

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Were I a Man as bitter, as S. S. shews himself cholerick; and but as apt to revenge, as he is to wrong, I might take this Occasion to write the Stories of the Times, concerning his Patron; But since I hear he denies it any Patronage; and that I know that these Things are no ways profitable to the Reader, but meer Incentives to Prejudice; I heartily forgive all, having otherwise learnt Christ; and think it as well unmanly, as it is Unchristian, to place the Miscarriages of any Man, to the Account of his Cause. For though a good Principle may be profest by a bad Man; yet is it impossible that a bad Man should make that good Principle bad; and therefore it's clear of any just Suffering by his Miscarriages. Nor is there any such Indigency in the Case; for the Cause defended by S. S. is in it self so weak (not to say wicked) as we need not take Sanctuary to personal Miscarriages, the Matter being too fruitful of them.

His base Reflections on my Father, shall be considered by themselves, and therefore I omit to answer them, as placed by him. But shall proceed to examine the remainder of his Section.

He charges the Author of our Trial of false Accusation, against Alderm. *Bludworth*, That he mov'd at the Sessions to have a Witness against Harrison the Fryar, and Firer, sent to Bridewell and whipt; affirming, that neither did Ald. *Bludworth* make any such Motion, nor did it appear, that Harrison was a Fryar, or Firer, pag. 7.

But as a bare Denial is a weak Apology; so that he either threatned, or mov'd to have an Evidence against a suspected Firer, sent to the House of Correction to be whipt, I have heard several affirm: But whether this be true or false, it concerns not the Legality or Illegality of the *Old-Bailly* Procedure.

As for Harrison's being a Fryar, I never believed it, nor can I think so meanly of the Contrivers, as that they should employ so witless an Emisfary (at least for an eminent Agent) But if Harrison may be exempted from that Concern, it follows not that the Firer should.

He pretends heartily to wish, That these Libelling, Lying, and Discontented People, were as free of the Design of putting the whole Kingdom in a Flame, as Harrison was, from the actual Firing of the City. But I as heartily believe, that if as strong an Evidence, and but half the Circumstances (urged against Harrison) had been brought against Us, to prove so detestable a Design, as that of inflaming the Kingdom, we should have hardly found that candid Release, I am sure, not so kind an Apology; since S. S. sticks not to suspect Us, more of the One, than he does Harrison of the other.

But whilst he hypocritically uses Michael's Words to the Devil, *The Lord rebuke thee*, they are truliest apply'd to Himself, whose Diabolical Suggestions are plain Discoveries, how chearfully he could Sacrifice us, to his Malice and Fury; for which the God of Heaven and Earth, will judge and recompence.

The Indiscretion of the Recorder, he rather aggravates, than defends; but it is so much his Practice, through his whole Discourse, that the wonder would be, to find it otherwise.

He begins thus: *The Accusation against the Recorder is twofold*. First, *That he should say, that there would be a Law made the next Session of Parliament, that no Man should have the Protection of the Law, but such as conform to the Church*.

This saying of the Recorder is falsely and maliciously recited. For he said, we shall not always be at this Trade with you; you will find, the next Session of Parliament, there will be a Law made, that those that will not conform to the Law, shall not have the Protection of the Law, pag. 8.

I hope, for the Reputation of this Famous City, their Recorder was not at the finding out of this malicious Difference in the Recital, as S. S. is pleased to term it. How much the two Expressions differ, or rather, how little, is obvious; since 'tis the Word Church that makes it (if it makes any) I am of Opinion, that the former is but a necessary Explanation of the

the latter; for if the Law we must be conformed to, relates to *Ecclesiastical Affairs*, then what's the Difference, *betwixt our not receiving the Protection of the Law, unless we conform to the Church*, and our not receiving the Protection of the Law, *unless we conform to a Law relating to the Church, or a Church-Law*. The wretched Folly, and bald Stupidity of this Libeller, has wounded more the Persons he would vindicate, than what the Author of the Tryal was supposed to do, with all his Opposition.

What he means by these *Blessed Saints*, whom he says, *we follow, that made a Law, that those that would not subscribe the wicked Engagement against King and House of Lords, should not have the Benefit of the Law, &c.* we are to seek; and are as far from finding, by the help his ill-stockt Ingenuity may afford us; but I perceive the Man can venture to prophane as well as lye, though his Wit fails him more in the former, than his Wick-edness does in the latter. 'Tis sad, that nought but holy Ground will serve such Swinish Spirits to trample on.

But what if they acted irreligiously, and inhumanly too, must that be laid at their Doors, *who not only were unconcerned with them, but persecuted by them?* and that for writing against the Imposition of that Engagement, and refusing to take it, But if it was then esteemed so great an Evil by S. S. how comes it now to be transmuted to a moral Good?

Was it unreasonable then, and is it reasonable now? Can the Nature of a Persecuting Act be changed, because the Parties in Point of Power be?

His *lex Talionis*, is not *lex Talionis* to us; for never having suffered by us, *there is no Ground for Retaliation or Revenge.*

But we understand the Man's Meaning, and still fail not to meet with frequent Instances of his wishes for us. I shall conclude this Section with one of them, and the most fatal both to Religion and the Law.

The Second *Accusation* against the Recorder is, that he should say, *Till now I never understood the Reason of the Policy and Prudence of the Spaniards, in suffering the Inquisition amongst them, and certainly it will never be well with us, till something like the Spanish Inquisition be in England.* page 9.

The Inference the Libellers make, is, *what doth this but justify that hellish Design of the Papists, to have prevented the first Reformation?*

This is a wretched and uncharitable Construction of the Recorder's Words. These Words do no Ways justify the Papists, if these Libellers had but the least Grain of Charity, they would have construed the Words, cum grano salis, as the Rule of Charity directs all Words to be construed.

And they will admit of no other Construction, but this, *viz. That if the Papists be so politick and prudent by their Inquisition, to maintain their false Religion, surely it will be the Protestants Prudence to find Ways, for the Preservation of their true Religion.* pag. 9.

I have been very faithfull and patient in the Recital of this poor Defence; of which I can give no better Character, *than that 'tis like the Rest.*

'Tis manifest, *the Words are granted*, I now hope they will not be longer disbelieved when confirmed by the Hands of two Witnesses, the Author of the Tryal, and this privileged S. S.

But he says, it ought to be construed *cum grano salis*, with Allowances, and in the best Sense, which Counsel had been tolerable from any but from him that has shewn himself so void of any; and that which is the Master-piece of all his Foolery, is, his ridiculous Construction he makes of it Himself; as if that could be a good Way of preserving the Protestant Religion; that is an *Hellish ONE* in the *Papists*. But why an *Hellish One*? Because it intends to force to an Heterodox Religion? and not rather by Reason of the coercive barbarous Nature of the Punishment it self. And can any think, that an Inquisition, to inforce Men to Confess to the Protestant FAITH, is not equally Cruel, with that of the *Papists*.

The Protestants would be so far from having any Advantage upon the *Papists*, for the Inhumanity of their Inquisition, that their own Practice would

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would seem but *The Second Edition of the Papists Cruelty*. It is not either of those Names that renders it more or less Lawful, but the Nature of the Thing it self. And had this Libeller but ever read the ancient *Protestant Apologies*, he might have better informed his peevish-Mind of their Opinions.

The true Religion took ever Sanctuary to its own Innocency and Verity, and not to the *Dumb Materials of External Force*.

But this Expression would make one think, that under a *Protestant Profession*, there lodgeth a *Popish Spirit*; and that the same Interest, which urg'd Spain to erect an *Inquisition*, in the Recorder's Sense, should oblige England to employ the same Hellish Tyranny, to torture her poor Dissenters, (though Free-born Natives.)

But if that were his Meaning, and such Counsel should be taken, it were endless to consider the unexpressible Miseries, that would attend us: *All Law would be subjected to the zealous Anathemas of Ecclesiastical Officers; and Religion speak no other Language, than that of INQUISITION*. We have hitherto boasted much in the *Self-evidencing Verity of the Protestant Faith*, but this were to bring it justly into jealousy with all; that having so long decry'd *Coercive Power*, should vehemently employ it, to its own *Promotion*. The *Papists* would not only have Cause to believe the Ground of Primitive Separation, was single Interest, but an Example to their Hand, what Measure they ought to meet to the *Protestants* abroad; which reduceth all Religion in a Way of subserviency to the Government, and Conscience to its Conveniency: But this had been forgotten, as well as it is forgiven, had not the Inadvertency of S. S. brought it the second Time upon the Stage.

PART III.

A Vindication of my deceased Father's Reputation, from the False and Unworthy Reflections of this Scandalous Libeller.

SINCE to Disturb the Grave, and Rake into the Ashes of the Dead, was ever held detestable with Infidels; we may on easie Terms inform our selves, to what an Ebb of Virtue this Man has brought himself, who is so dry of all Christianity, that there remains not the least Drop of that vulgar Decency, eminently in vogue with very *Heathens*: For as with them such might justly be accus'd, as were not disabled from answering for themselves; so Death having dislodged the Persons of any, *their Charity esteem'd it a Protection to their Names*; from whence came that common Saying, *De mortuis nil nisi bonum*, Let us speak no ill Thing of the Dead.

But though this be urg'd, yet that it's as ill observ'd by S. S. I shall proceed to shew.

He takes Occasion in the Close of his Defence of *S. Starling*, to fall thus heavily upon me and my Father, as if he could not do the one without the other.

But I suppose this wild rambling Colt, W. Penn, mistakes, when he chargeth these Things upon the late Lord Mayor, he meant his *SIRE* deceas'd.

Doubtless the Man was touch'd: What course Similitudes are these? Did ever Man so Brute himself in Print? But I despise his Drayish Terms, and apply my self to scan the Matter; leaving him to wipe himself, of that Dirt, he thought to cast on others.

I had so little Reason to doubt my Fathers Constancy, that in the Sense debated, I know few of greater.

'Tis true, He was actually engaged, both under the Parliament and King, but not as an Actor in our late Domestick Troubles; his Compass always steering

steering him to eye a National Concern, and not intestine Wars; and therefore not so aptly theirs, in a Way of Opposition, as the Nation's.

His Service therefore being wholly Foreign, He may be truly said to serve his Country, rather than either of those Interests, so far as they were distinct to each other; and for this Evil, I hope he may be held excusable.

But the Railer proceeds [*Who from a Captain was made Oliver's High Admiral, for his great Service, in promoting that new Instrument.*] Which is a Lye so impudent, as both his Commission, and Men of note can prove, That First, he made no such extemporary Leap, as is suggested to have been his Recompence, for promoting *Cromwell's* Interest; but pass through many known Offices, as of Rear-Admiral, Vice-Admiral, and Admiral of Ireland, and Vice-Admiral of England, before he had the *Generalship* conferred on him.

And Secondly, That *Oliver* was but then General himself, and not proclaim'd *Protector* till several Months, if not above a Year after the Death of General *Dean*, whom my Father immediately succeeded. And therefore a very Forgery, that for promoting that new Instrument, he first was advanced to the Office of *High-Admiral*. I would that this Libeller should know, that from a Lieutenant, he had pass through all the Eminent Offices of Sea-Employment, and arriv'd to that of General, about the Thirtieth Year of his Age; in a Time, full of the biggest Sea-Action, that any Story mentions; and when neither, Bribes nor Alliance; Favour, nor Affection, but Ability only could Promote. I write not this to Vaunt; it is below my Principle and Practice; but to defend an abused Relation, I could say no less.

He adds [*Who afterwards did eminent Service, for the English Nation, at Hispaniola, when he delivered the Flower of the English-Soldiery a Sacrifice to the Cow-killers.*] This is an Untruth so manifest, that no Man, making Conscience of telling Lies, did ever charge it on him. 'Tis most notorious, that his Employ, was only as General of the Fleet: And that the Miscarriage lay not there, the History of that Affair not only relates, but the Libeller's own Words prove: For what had he to do with the *English Army*? Who, First, had no command over them, it being the Charge and Office of a distinct General. And next, He never went ashore during the whole Exploit (but at *Barbadoes*, many Hundred Leagues short of the Theater on which that Tragedy was acted.) And Lastly, Let me tell the Man, *That when the Forlorn and Land-General's Regiment were Routed*, it was the Sea-Regiment (commanded by Vice-Admiral W. Goodson) that flood the Shock, and stop't that Deluge.

And not to reflect on any, but Vindicate my deceas'd Father; that Conquest, which was in any Respect obtained, was owing mostly to the Fleet, and that no less by Land than Sea.

But why the FLOWER of the *English Army*? 'Tis manifest. The Man had better Thoughts of those Times than he dares express; For what he rails furiously against elsewhere, as *Persons imposing the Wicked Engagement, and Assassinating Traitors, &c.* He now entitles to the Defence of the English Nation.

And since the then *English Army* was the Remainder of those Soldiers, that not only subverted the King's Forces, but protector'd *Oliver Cromwell*; it is evident he makes it his Army (at least) so far as he was concerned in being an *Englishman*.

Besides, methinks the Man bemoans their Loss, *though in Circumstances very untrue*; for neither were they the Flower of that Army (I thought they had been all Weeds in his Account) Nor could the Flower of them have been sacrificed to the Cow-killers: But the Author of that ingenious Pamphlet, of the World's Mistake in *Oliver Cromwell*, has rendred a true Reason of that Miscarriage, viz. That because the Design was laid in Avarice and Pride, hoping by the inexhaustible Wealth of the Indies, to have esta-

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bliss'd a new Gentry and Nobility, as a Foundation for a new Monarchy; Heaven set it self against the Enterprize. And therefore 'twas not so much the Miscarriage of the People there, as the just Vengeance of the Almighty, for making that unjust War with Spain, and disguising the Design to the Spanish Ambassador, with reiterated Dissimulations, and horrible Impostures, as the same Author more at large relates.

I then submit to the Judgment of sober Men, if this Reflection carries the least of Weight or Verity with it.

But he will not leave the Matter here; for says he, *This was the Renegade worse than three Turks, that performed such excellent Service in the late Dutch Wars, in Plundering the two East-India Dutch Ships of the Prize-Goods, for which he was turn'd out of the House of Commons.*

I shall still wave his Scurrility, and attend the Matter: His Service in the last Dutch War will not be questioned by any Man, that dates to set his Name to it: Not that I would be thought to justify Wars; I know they arise from Lusts. But this being Matter of Fact, I shall take leave to tell this Libeller, that the Success of the first Engagement, where about Twenty Four Ships were Taken, Burnt, and Sunk; Two Thousand Five Hundred Prisoners (said to be) brought home, besides what were slain, and wounded of the Hollanders; at the Expence of but one old Dutch Prize (that for Want of Sail fell into their Body) and about Three Hundred English Men slain, has been greatned, beyond all common Eulogies, by the Unsuccessfulness of later Engagements, whence greater Things were promised and expelled.

In short, how far he was a Master of his Art, both as a Seaman, and as a General; I leave to the Observation of his Friends, his own constant Success, and what hereafter may come to publick View of his own Remarks.

As for that false Aspersion, of Plundering the Dutch East-India-Men, I shall avouch my Narrative of the Fact to be true, being an Eye-Witness and more than any concerned in what related to his Proportion.

'Tis not unknown that two such Ships were taken, though it was never known, nor believed, by any in their Wits, that they were worth the fifth Part of what was vulgarly bruited in the World. One of them was taken by a Captain, belonging to his Squadron they call the *Earl of Sandwich*; and the other, by one of my Father's: But that my Father was ever on board of either, or that he would suffer her to be man'd by any of his own Ship's Company; or that he ever took, or caused to be taken, one Clove, Nutmeg, Blade of Mace, or Skain of Silk, the common Lading of the Prizes; but by written Order from his Superiour, as his Share of the Dividend (for about sixteen Months Service at Sea, and the Expence of a constant Table) I utterly deny, and am persuaded, no Man on Earth can ever prove; for could it have been, I am not ignorant how some of the Libeller's Complexion would have compass'd Sea and Land to have fetch'd him to Brook-House; but to as little Purpose as others were; so that as from wrong Premises there can be no true Conclusion; so to say he was therefore turned out of the House of Commons (or for any Thing else) was a downright Falshood; but Suspensions, upon Bills against any Man, are Customary.

He concludes his Slanders and Scurrility with this Hope, *That my Father leaving so great an Estate of Just (he means Unjust) gotten Goods to so Conscientious a Son, as my self, I will make Satisfaction to the King.*

But as this Fool's Bolt is soon shot, (and that to have an Estate in this Age, there seems nothing more requisite, than that it be thought so) so do I affirm upon very good Knowledge (if I may be credited) That after all my Father's great, many, and continual Employments in the World, for near Thirty Years past, and his frequent Opportunities of enriching his Family; he could never call himself Master of half that Estate, which is the private Acquisition of ordinary Merchants (not to say Brewers, and for ought I know, just gotten Goods too) and if War be allowable with S. S. and the Consequence of it; he has had many single Hits, each of which might have

have enricht him more, than what he left, had he been but as forward to *search his own Nest*, as he was heartily inclined to acquit his Conscience, in the Discharge of his Trust to his Country; of which I will give an Instance, to be attested by many.

Being *Admiral* in the *Streights* of the *Mediterranean*, about the Years 50, and 51, many Prizes were taken, and some of great Value: Amongst the rest, was one, that had Five Chests of *Silver* and *Gold*, amounting to several Thousands of Pounds; which he was so far from embezzling (to his own Use) or admitting of the Plea of his *Captains* (*distribute it amongst us, and if ever it be demanded, it shall be paid, or we will serve it out*) as that he wholly denied his *Wife* the *Curiosity* of changing of *but one Piece* of *foreign Gold*, for its equal Weight of our own. And as in those Times, there was too great a Watch over such Men in Employment, to enrich themselves at the Cost of the Publick; so must I say that his whole Employment at Sea since the *King's Return*, was not above sixteen Months; and for his other Offices they admitted not of *Perquisites*; and I challenge the whole World, to lay the *just Ignominy* of but one *Bribe* to his Charge; though to speak modestly, a thousand Families owe their Advancement to his Favour.

But of how ill Report and Consequence it is, that Men devoted to *Life and Estate*, to the Service of the Publick, should meet with so ill Entertainment from the Hands of such *Privateers*, that never knew what it was to be of Publick Importance, may deserve the Notice of all true Patriots.

But perhaps the Libeller thought, that I ought as well to inherit my *Father's Miscarriages* (if, any) as his *Estate*; which is contrary to God's Practice, that imputes not the *Father's Iniquity* to the *Son*: but that may be one Reason why it is his; he shews a Mind not a little *Anger-Bit*, who is not contented with the Living, but besieges the Tomb of the Dead, for farther Satisfaction.

Yet after all his *Impudent Folly*, and *Slander*, he concludes with [*Taceo cetera, de Mortuis nil nisi bonum.*] but as he would make one believe, he could say worse, so he would have us to think he had said nothing; who not only vented his worst Abuses, but what are in themselves most wretchedly false.

And as his Saying, He should speak well of the Dead, when he had said so ill, is a Contradiction; so his Pretence of not saying more, is not less injurious; for his Silence has wronged us more, than his Discourse: Since to *Brow-beat* the Dead, and triumph over their Graves, shows a greater Want of Humanity, than I was willing to think, the Debauchery of our Age had reduced any Man to; but the pregnant Instance of S. S's Accomplishments have better informed me. And whosoever he is I wish him Repentance of these Impieties, and sincerely declare my hearty Forgiveness of all his aggravating Injuries.

PART IV.

The Grand Case in Controversie, about the Power of *Juries*, clearly Stated and rationally Resolved.

AS a deserted Path, overgrown by Time, makes Men to question if it had ever been a Way, So the neglected Case of *Juries Power*, overrun by the Incroachments of the *Bench*, make many doubt if ever they had any.

I shall therefore endeavour to State and Vindicate the Power of *Juries* from the Assault of Innovation; and re-instate them in that Authority and Privilege, they are entituled to, and defended in, by the Fundamental Laws of England.

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1st. [*Per Judicium parum*] As explained by the universal Concurrence of *Laws and Lawyers*, we are to understand, a Jury of our Equals.

2d. That no Man shall be taken, or Imprisoned, or be disseized of his free-Hold, Liberties, Free-Customs, or be out-lawed, or exiled, or any other Way destroyed; nor we shall nor pass upon him, nor condemn him, but by the Lawful Judgement of his Peers, Or, by the Law of the Land, 3 Hen. 9. 29.

This is the ancient Law of the Land, confirmed by thirty two Parliaments, acknowledged by all *Lawyers*; nay confessed and quoted by the Man in Hand, pag. 3.

3d. The Question will be this, Whether from this Clause, and what is recorded as explanatory and Confirmatory of it, there be sufficient to prove, That *Juries are Judges of Law and Fact*.

First, In Order to the clear Stating and full resolving of the Question, I shall explain briefly, and rescue the latter Part of this Law-Text, from the wretched Construction of S. S. which is this.

Or, is either Disjunctive or Copulative; if disjunctive, then it must imply some other Judges besides the Jury: if Copulative (Or for And) it still implies another Jurisdiction, besides that of the Peers or Jury; his Consequence is, that *per Legem Terræ* (or the Law of the Land) in that Place, cannot (as this Novice insinuates) be understood to be the Tryal of the Jury, but to be the Tryal both of Judge and Jury, according to that Maxim, *Ex Facto Jus oritur*.

I must confess my self to be a Novice to this preposterous Way of Phrasing out of pure Reputation.

Why, if (Or) be disjunctive, it must imply some other Judges, I cannot see, and wonder at the Man's Impertinency, (if what's so natural to him, were to be wondred at) for though Expressions, or the Manner of Phrasing Things, may be disjunctive, yet that does no Way follow, that the Matters included in them, should be so disjunctive of each other, as to imply a Thing not *con-natural*: For Instance, If I should say by Way of Promise to a Man, *do me such a Service, and I will give thee an Hundred Shillings or five Pounds: Does Or imply another Sum? Or that such a Child is one thousand ninety and Five Days, or three Years old: does or suppose a different Age?*

In short, [*Per Legem Terræ*] or by the Law of the Land, cannot be understood exclusive of a Judgment by Peers, it being but a more ample and comprehensive Way of Phrasing the People's Right and Priviledge, of Tryal by Juries.

If (Or) be considered Copulatively, he thinks it will fetch in the *Justices*, as *Co-Judges with Juries*; but that Conclusion is wrong; for as such Copulation disowns an Exclusion of Judgment by Peers, and makes it Part of the Law of the Land; so let me tell him, that what is conceived to be additional (as by the Law of the Land) cannot so easily be understood of *Justices*, as of the whole legal Form and Method of Tryal in the Case mentioned, with the whole Rights and Priviledges of Juries and Prisoners.

That this is not my own Sense, but the Law's, if his so much honoured Lord Cook, be to be credited, let him turn to Fol. 50. of the second Parr of his Institutes, where he will find this Doctrine, *Tryals by the Law of the Land, are by due Course and Process of the Law, and they are by Indictment and Presentment of good and lawful Men: And what is this, but, Per Judicium parum, or Judgment by Juries?* But of this more in the Appendix.

Next, That as *Juries are Judges of Law and Fact*, (as hath been unhappily distinguished) Men's Interest, putting that asunder, that Reason and Law originally joyned together) I shall proceed to evidence.

1. The first Argument is drawn from the Record of their own Indictments.

The Indictment is found and given into the Court, *Billa Vera*, or a true Indictment, by the *grand Inquest*, or Jury of twelve Men, before the Court can take Cognizance of the Cause; upon this, it's recommended to the

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Petty-Jury, to judge the whole Matter, and to deliver in their Verdict or Opinion, whether *A. B. be guilty in Manner and Form*.

If then the Indictment comprehends both *Law* and *Fact*, and that the Jury is to give their Judgment in *Manner and Form*, and that *Manner and Form* take in, and include the whole *Law* and *Fact* of the Indictment (as they manifestly do) then, with great Strength and Clearness we may infer, *That the Jury is Judge of Law and Fact*.

2d. My Second Argument is drawn from the Nature of the Verdict given.

Judgment is the Determination and Result of Law, *therefore those who are Authors of such Determinations or Resolutions, must needs be Judges of the Law*. How is it possible, that the Jury can pronounce *legale Judicium*, Legal Judgment, and yet not be Judges, whether the *Fact* proved be obnoxious to the Law, or not? *Judicium, quasi Juris dictum*, or the Mouth of Law, which being the Juries, they pronounce Law as well as Fact, A Verdict is a Child composed of Law and Fact, and inspirited with the Opinion of the Jury.

This is further evidenced from their own Proceedings at the *Old-Baily*, where they imprison the Jury, for not bringing in their Verdict, so as to render our Meeting *unlawful*, which they could never do, and not be Judges of that Law, the Meeting was supposed to have transgressed.

In short, Since *Guilty*, and *not Guilty*, are Verdicts; and that they cannot be given, but where a Fact is obnoxious, or not obnoxious to Law, and since none are to give that Verdict, but the Jury; it follows, that the Jury are only Judges, because they only can criminate or clear. And where the Power of Determination is, there is the Judgment of Law; but that is in the Jury.

Where there is no Law, there can be no Transgression. Now such Transgression being supposed, in the Verdict of *Guilty*, it is most plain, that *Guilty* cannot be pronounced but with a Reference to the Law transgressed; and that Reference cannot be made, but by such as are Judges of the extent of the Law.

3. My third Argument shall be drawn from the Punishment of Malefactors.

To punish any as a Malefactor, it is requisite he be proved such; but it is impossible he should be so, but with respect to some Law transgressed: Nor can he be concluded such a Transgressor, unless his Fact be judged obnoxious to the Law: And where this Judgment is, *there rests the Judge-ship of Law and Fact*; for that he should be legally punished, pursuant to a legal Judgment, and yet the Authors of this legal Judgment, not to be Judges of the Breach of Law, is some of the profoundest Non-Sense in Nature: What is this but to render the Jury meer *Cyphers*, when they shall only tell the Court, that which the Witnesses shall swear to their Hand? But because their Verdicts are *Guilty*, or *not Guilty*, which determine the *Fact* meritorious of Punishment, or Acquittance; therefore have they the only Power of Judgment.

4. My fourth Argument shall be drawn from a Maxim of their own, viz. *Ex Facto Jus oritur*. Therefore, says S. S. *The Jury are not only Judges*.

It is such a Way of drawing Consequences, as I have not been acquainted with; for nothing can be clearer than the contrary to this Conclusion, If out of the Fact the Law arises, then those who are Judges of Fact, cannot escape being Judges of Law also; for Fact gives it.

This Passage puts a *Ne plus ultra* to the Pretence of Difficulty, and the Necessity of always asking Questions of the Justices; since the Nature of the Fact clearly proved, carries the Legality, or contrary in the Bosom, if not in the Front of it: and is therefore obvious to the plainest and most rustick Capacity.

5. My next Argument shall be drawn from the ill-Consequences of the opposite Opinion, viz. *That Men may be bought or sold out of their Lives, Liberties and Estates*.

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For if any enraged Bench, or otherwise *interested*, be the sole *Judges* of Law, then let any Man be indicted of the most lawful Act imaginable, it being such as he cannot deny, and which is proved by Evidences, the Jury must bring him in Guilty, and so expose him to the Sentence of the Justices, by leaving the Judgment of the Law, to their prepossession Breasts.

6. My last Argument will be this, that upon the Opinion of our *Adversaries* there must be *two Evidences, one of the Fact, which is the Juries, and one of Law, which is the Justices*. But because the Law knows no such Conceit, and that the single Verdict of twelve Men, is, and must be legally binding, therefore are they *Judges both of Law and Fact*.

Object. Their main Objection is, That if Justices be not Judges of Law, *How comes it to pass, that the Jury asks the Sense of the Law at their Mouths?* according to that *Maxim*,

Ad Questionem Juris respondent Judices, & ad Questionem Facti, respondent Juratores, as in page 2. of the Libel under Examination.

Ans. This is so far from lessening the Force of our Preceding Arguments, that from this *Objection* we will fetch Matter enough, to make a subsequent one, and that of no small Import to the Business controverted.

I grant a Possibility of such an Ignorance in Juries, that there may be a Necessity to inform them of the Law, by the better Skill of the Justices: But what then? therefore must they not be Judges of Law, *so far as concerns the Fact?* nothing less; For though the Justices may tell them the Law (and it's their Place) yet that's no Part of the *Verdict*, as so said by the Justices; but as *understood, digested, and judiciously made the Juries*, by their own free Will and Acceptance, upon their Conviction of the Truth of Things reported by the Bench: As a Man may be educated in any Religion; but to make it his proper Religion, 'tis requisite that he believe and embrace it judiciously, not implicitly.

Thus we frequently find the House of Lords, to ask the Opinion of the Justices in Parliament; is the *Vote, Order or Act, therefore the Judges, and not the Parliament's?*

The like in the *King's Council*: Is the Opinion of the *King's Attorney, or Solicitor, the Judgment, Resolve, and Order of the Council*, because he said it, and not because they made it theirs, by submitting to the Reason, or legality of the Thing debated and delivered?

And in *London*, are the Orders of the *Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council, the Recorder's or City Council's, because his, or their Opinion in Point of Law was asked?* Experience shews the contrary.

From all these Premises, 'tis Time we draw this one most evident Conclusion; That notwithstanding Juries of late are grown so out of Fashion, and of Power with some, that to shew any, is to incur the Threats and Menaces of the Court, to have their *Noses slit, their Throats cut, their Bodies Imprisoned, and drag'd at a Cart's Tail through the City, &c.* Yet that they are by the ancient Laws of England, and Force of Reason, the only right and proper Judges, as well of Law as Fact.

PART V.

The Tryal, as related by S. S. Examined, and his Notes thereon Animadverted.

THAT I may appear to all impartial Men, unworthy of those Reflections, and hard Names S. S. is pleased to heap upon me, I shall conclude the Vindication of my Innocency, with his own Relation of my Tryal. And truly, when I weigh his *frank Confessions*, concerning Passages, the most

most *notorious*, I should be amazed at his Indiscretion, did I not know how usual it is with God to leave such Men under strong Infatuations. For, to give it a short *Character*, its almost *Verbatim*, *The Second Edition of our own Tryal*; I mean that Part which related to the Transactions of the Court and Prisoners.

And whether he has vindicated them from those Expressions, which to all sober Men are most detestable, or back'd the Accusation of the *Author* of our *Tryal*, by his publick Acknowledgment of them; let any bur S. S. and his *junto* judge. How then the *Author* of that *Tryal* could justly be condemned for his Relation as scurrilous, and malicious, which is to exactly copied after by S. S. will be hard for any Man of Sense to think, unless he brings his own *Account* under the same Imputation.

But he tells us, ' That he thought good to set down the Names of those Justices, who were present (*Honoris Causâ*) with all their Additions and Titles; that so the World may know that the City of London wants not worthy Patriots, who dare call to an Account these vile railing *Rabshakebs* of this Age. And the rather, because the Libeller hath in a disgraceful Way prefix'd their Names without any Additions to his *Narrative*, thereby intending to make them odious to the People.

The PERSONS Nam'd are ;

Sir Sam. Starling, *Knight, then Lord Mayor.* Sir Jo. Robinson, *Knt. and Bar.* Sir Tho. Bludworth, *Knt. and Alder.* Sir Will. Peak, *Knt. and Alder.* Sir Jo. Howell, *Knt. and Recorder.* Sir Rich. Ford, *Knt. and Alder.* Sir Jo. Shelden, *Knt. and Alder.* Sir Jo. Smith, and Sir Sam. Edwards, *Sheriffs.*

To which I must needs say, I knew a Time, when the City of London had a better Advocate. What Man in his Wits would not despise the Folly and Meanness of this wretched *Pedagogue*? The Weakness of whose Discourse eminently shews the *rickett'd Constitution of the Author*.

First, He has but little of *Religion*, that dares to lye in the common Field of every Man's Knowledge; since he denies that ever the *Author* of the *Tryal* gave the aforementioned *Persons* any *Additions*, when (*Alder.*) is to every one of them, that really is so.

Next, I cannot choose but observe his Vanity, as if the omitting of the Title (*Sir*) had been a robbing them of their Honour (I am sure they have very little that have no more.) But if to give them their own *Names*, be Matter of Disgrace, it is worth our while to consider, how disgraceful those *Persons* were in this *Libeller's* Account, before they had that Title given them; though I am apt to think, they were not less reputed before, than since; and because they write not themselves so much as that *Author* printed them, and that none can suppose them to omit those Titles, disgracefully to themselves; it is both ridiculous and false to charge such a Design upon the *Author*. But whilst he calls me and my Fellow-Prisoner the vile and railing *Rabshakebs* of this Age, and ventures to load us with Slander and Reproach; methinks he proves himself to be of that ill-bred Tribe, in accusing us for such.

But to his NOTAS upon the Tryal.

Nota I. Pag. 13. *The Prisoners in stubborn Manner refusing to take their Hats, they were put on again by the same Person.*

Answer. This is a Lye, to be confirmed by Hundreds; we never did nor never shall refuse to take our Hats, and put them on too, which we had no Time to do; for having been taken off by the Keepers (I suppose in Kindness) seeing the Court displeas'd, (or rather some in it) the Mayor (I think it was) cried out, *Sirrah, Who bid you pull off their Hats?* Put on

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on their Hats again. At which the same Keepers put them on, of which the Author of our Tryal has been more particular.

Nota II. pag. 13. *The Court observing that the Prisoners standing on the Leads behind the Bar, with their Hats on, facing the Court all that Day, as it were daring the Court to a Tryal; so that the Court, and all the Spectators look'd upon them, as offering a great Affront to the Honour of his Majesty's Court; the Justices were resolv'd to chastize them for the same.*

Ans. His second Nota is his second Lye. For first we were not upon the Leads at any Time of the Day, as many can attell, but in the Baledock, or within the Bar, attending upon the Tryals of *Thieves* and *Murderers*, to the Displeasure of the Spectators, but not on our Part. Besides, that this was done upon meer Design, is evident, because neither were the Goalers; nor we, so hardly treated the first Day of our Appearance, when there was equal Ground for it.

Nota III. pag. 14. *This is a great Falshood; for their Hats were put on, behind the Bar, before they came into Court.*

Ans. But it is a great Truth that we were not behind the Bar at all, until towards the Evening, when cast into their stinking Hole, and there indeed they stay'd us behind the Bar three Hours. And for mine own part, I do declare, my Hat was clapt upon my Head by the Keeper's Hand, within a very little Space of the Place in which we usually stood during the whole Time of our Tryal.

Nota IV. pag. 14. *This is insignificant Canting.*

Ans. What? W. Mead's saying, *Fear God, and dread his Power.* O stupendious Impiety! That ever any profess'd Protestant should have so much our-sin'd all Sense of God, and his Dreadful Power, as to repute that Seasonable Exhortation, *Insignificant Canting*: But this makes us the less to wonder at our Sufferings from such.

Nota V. pag. 14. *It was by Sir John Robinson observed, that Bushel, the Tender Conscienced Jury-man, made an Offer to kiss the Book, but did not; wherefore he was called upon by the Court to be Sworn again.*

Ans. How much that quick-sighted Lieutenant had more Jealousy and Prejudice than others in his Eye, the many Spectators present can best decide; for mine own Share, I did not observe him to gratify the common Custom of the Court, more in the latter than former Tender of the Oath unto him: But with what prepenſe and disdainful Ketch he was treated, was obvious to those about him.

I perceive it is as Criminal to be Tender-conscienced, as it is esteemed Canting, to bid Men Fear God: For as that Religious Advice was made Matter of Mockage, so this good Quality is not less render'd Suspicious. But how Tender-conscienced such Persons are, that make so ill use of such Expressions, is best manifest in their severe Prosecutions of Men that really are so.

Nota VI. pag. 17. *As clear Evidence as ever was offered to any Jury, Two Witnesses prove the Fact against both the Prisoners, and the Prisoners confess the whole matter in Effect, and justify themselves, and declare they will do the like again, whatever Laws the King and Parliament can provide against the same. O confident Impudency! Surely both King and Parliament will take notice of Penn's Arrogancy.*

Ans. It will be wholly needless to repeat the Evidence, twice done already; but to his Nota I answer thus, First, That the Witnesses did not swear, that we were at an Unlawful Assembly, and that they were there, the Jury never scrupled. That Part of the Indictment, which was so Indigestible with the Jury, was the *Illegality of the Assembly*; and since the Court was not content with their Verdict upon a meer Fact, it argues, that they would have made them Judges of Law, by determining the Legality,

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or *Illegality* of the Meeting, nor sworn to by the Witneffes. Secondly, The *Mayor* and *Recorder* differed in the Point; the *Mayor* was for sacrificing me only; the *Recorder* thought it unreasonable that I should go without a *Mate*, and justifies his Apprehension, from the Word *Conspiracy*; but where the Conspiracy was, we have leave to think.

The *Bench* being thus divided in the Point, 'twas ill observed by S. S. since the *Person* he most vindicates lies most liable to Reflection. Thirdly, Though we confess to have been there, yet we deny to have been at an *Unlawful Assembly*, which being the Purpose of the Indictment, it was unseasonably observed. But fourthly, we acknowledge before *God, Angels, and Men*, that MEET we must, and encourage others to do the like; yet so, as never to *Contrive, or Ahet the least Disturbance to the Civil Peace*: And if from hence he styles Me *Impudent, and Arrogant*, I am contented to bear his scurvy Epithets 'till he is better learnt.

One Passage I cannot well omit, because it gives the Man the Lye that spoke it. When *W. Mead* ask'd *R. Brown*, *What he did there? Was he a Justice, or no?* If not, desired him to come down: *R. Brown* is said to answer him, by the Relation of S. S. *Sir, I am a Justice, and you are an impudent Fellow.*

Which Answer carries as much of Falshood, as Incivility and Folly. For, First, he was no Justice in that Place, the Ground of the Question. And next, He might have spared the Insolency of styling him an *Impudent Fellow*, who is, in external Respects, a Person no ways inferior to himself. And lastly, He shews not a little Folly, or S. S. for him, who ventures to call him an *Impudent Fellow*, in the End of the Sentence, that he styled (*Sir*) in the Beginning (a Title of so much Honour with S. S. pag. 10.) But if the Author of the Tryal gave not *Titles and Additions*, this Man hath not been wanting in either.

Nota VII. pag. 17. *How Mr. Penn plays upon the Word Common.*

Ans^r. I play'd upon nothing, But for working in Defence of the *Common Law*, *Some were so prodigal, as to play away my Liberty.*

But S. S. will have it, that the *Mayor* had *Law enough*, to define the Common one; but at the Rate he expresses it, he might have let it alone, unless his *Exposition* had turned more to his Account: For, if the Common Law be Common Reason, (as he says the *Mayor* defin'd it) and that, being a Man, I have common Reason (which none of them had so much extraordinary Reason, as to evince the contrary) methinks they might have forbore so great an Instance of no Reason, as their commanding me to the *Bale-dock*, for demanding Common Reason.

I am well assured, that common Reason criminales no Assembly, peaceably met to Worship God, without the least Appearance of Weapons Offensive or Defensive.

Nota VIII. pag. 19. (This Nota referring to the Jury's being Judge of Law and Fact (as unhappily distinguish'd) I omit to consider it farther, it being fully answered already in the fourth Part of this Discourse.

Nota IX. pag. 21. *Penn made such an uncivil Noise, that the Court could not give the Jury the Charge, he was therefore put into the Bale-dock, which stands even with the Bar; and the Prisoners might hear the Charge there, as well as a Prisoner might hear at the Bar; this therefore was a causeless Exclamation.*

Ans^r. If my Noise was *uncivil*, it was because it was *Legal*; and I expect not a better Character from such, as proclaim me a *Braacher* of new Heresies, because I honestly demanded the free Course of the fundamental Laws of England. The plain Truth was this; that because I endeavoured to inform the Jury of my Case, and to take off the Asperity of some Men's Passions, they turn'd me and my Companion into the *Bale-dock*, which, though even with the Bar, yet besides the main Court, and so decp-

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ly impaled, that we could not see the Court, nor hear the Charge; but upon Information, that the Recorder was charging the Jury, I *stept up, and my Fellow-Prisoner after me*, and exclaimed against the Irregularity of such Proceedings. And for this plain Reproof, and but necessary Demand of the English Right of Prisoners being present at the giving of the Charge, they commanded us into the Hole, a Place so noisom and stinking, that the Mayor himself would have thought it an unfit Sty for his Swine.

Nota X. pag. 23. *Six or seven of the Jury-men did agree to the Mayor's Question; upon which Bushel, Hammond, and two others opposed themselves. They allowed of no such Word, as an unlawful Assembly in their Verdict.*

Ans. It's not the least Unhappiness this Libeller is attended with, to be frequent in Self-Contradiction; for in the Interrogatories immediately precedent, the Mayor speaks thus to the Foreman of the Jury.

May. *What, was it not an unlawful Assembly?*

Fore-m. *My Lord, This is all I had in Commission.*

And yet this Man was one of the seven S. S. would have a Dissenter.

I hope, since the Fore man had no more in Commission, S. S. is to blame for so impudent an Assertion, as that seven at that time dissented from the rest.

Nota XI. pag. 25. *A peaceable innocent People indeed; that when the King had seized the Meeting-House into his Hands (as by Law he might) would come and break open the Doors; they violently over-power'd the Constable, and his Watchmen; and 'tis prov'd, that the People at this time kick'd and spurn'd the Constable, and his Watch-men; he endeavouring to dissipate this unlawful Assembly, as is sworn by Read the Constable.*

Ans. This does but still aggravate, how much S. S. is an Enemy to all Truth: What if the Door was broken open? Had not the Quakers (in Justice and Equity) Right to the Place? However, it is a most false Consequence, that they spurn'd the Constable, because he was spurn'd at their Meeting, since many are accustom'd to crowd after the Constables and Soldiers, who are no Quakers, but come to see their Usage.

Nor does Read swear they were the Quakers, but some People present: And some of the Jury fully answered that Part of the Evidence, in this discreet Observation, That it was impossible any Man could pass through so great a Throng, and not be push'd, or his Feet trod upon.

Besides, It does not appear, that the House was seized pursuant to any Tryal, Conviction, or Judgment by the Laws of England, and that such Seizure is not according to the Sense of them, appears by the Statute of the seventeenth of Charles the First, Cap. 10. where it is expressly said, 'That neither his Majesty, nor his Council, have, or ought to have any Jurisdiction, Power, or Authority by English Bill, Petition, Articles, Libel, or any other arbitrary Way whatsoever, to examine or draw into Question, determine or dispose of the Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments, Goods and Chattels of any Subjects of this Kingdom; but that the same ought to be tried and determined, in the Courts of Justice, and by the ordinary Course of Law.'

Nota XII, pag. 26. *The Jury in Mr. Penn's Opinion, and Bushel's both, are perjured Men, for that at last they brought in a Verdict contradictory to this.*

Ans. Those that have read the Tryal will apprehend his Meaning; for upon their bringing me in, Not Guilty of an Unlawful Meeting; but Guilty only of Speaking in the Place called Grace-Church-Street (and the Court menacing them much, and saying, They would have a Verdict, meaning Guilty,)

I said, the Consent of Twelve Men is a Verdict in Law; and if they bring in another Verdict, contrary to this, they are Perjured Men. But what then?

then? Therefore when they brought me in Not Guilty, had they perjured themselves? Nothing less. I am ashamed to read so ridiculous a *Non Sequitur* in Print.

If I understand what Contraries mean, the opposite to *Not Guilty* must be *Guilty*: But that they gave no such Verdict absolutely, is manifest from the Court's not receiving it; for above all Things they waited and press'd hard for it. *Therefore to be Guilty of Speaking in Grace-Church-Street, and not at an Unlawful Assembly, is not being Guilty in Law*; and consequently their Verdict no Contradiction.

Nota XIII. pag. 26. *At this time some of the Jury complained to the Court, that the four Men, viz. Bushel, Hammond, and the other two, would starve them, and that they had brought Strong-Water-Bottles in their Pockets designedly.*

Ans. 'Tis not the *Quakers Light*, but *S. S. his Darkeness* that is the *Father of Lyes*; and Miserable will be the End of such, as make them their Refuge.

For, First, There was no such Complaint made.

Secondly, Nor was there any just Occasion for one.

And Lastly, Methinks this Libeller might remember that if he thought me condemnable, for not giving the *Justices* more *Titles* and *Additions* than their own Names, and that of *Aldermen*; he upon greater Cause deserves a Check, that cannot afford those able and honest Citizens more than half their Names, and scarcely that too.

Nota XIV. pag. 26. *The Court having Regard to the Health of the Jury, adjourned 'till Seven next Morning, altho' it was Sunday, which otherwise they would not have done.*

Ans. It was, and is a real Question, Whether the Health of the Jury, or Condemnation of the Prisoners, was most in their Eye? but no matter which: I shall briefly insist upon their Adjournment to that Day.

I suppose it is not unknown to those that know Law, that *Dies Dominicus non est in Lege Dies*; or, *That the Lord's Day is not a Day in Law*: That is, There ought not to be Assizes, Sessions, or Terms held on that Day; because it is a Time the Law takes no Cognizance of, nor has any Relation to; thus *Coke* in his first Institut. Sect. 201. Fol. 155: where he excludes that Day from the Number of those he calls *Dies Juridici*, or *Days in Law*.

The Consequence of which must needs be this, That their whole Procedure at that Session becomes question'd, and void in Law. But to justify those Transactions, they got a Commission after Sessions, ante-dated from the Time of that Adjournment.

I shall not much reflect upon the Passage; it carries its own Comment with it: But methinks more Skill in Law, or Moderation to the Prisoners and Jury, might have prevented such an *extrajudicial* Procedure.

Nota XV. pag. 28. *This is the fourth Time the Jury brought in this insignificant Verdict, viz. That they find Penn guilty of speaking in Grace-Church-Street, and how this answers the Question, viz.*

What say you? Is W. Penn guilty of the Matter whereof he stands indicted, in Manner and Form, or not guilty? Let the World judge whether this be a Verdict, or not: They thus often abusing the Court, made the Displeasure of the Court against them, and surely not without Cause.

Ans. This *Nota* is upon the Juries Continuance of their Verdict, of only bringing me in *Guilty of Speaking in Grace-Church-Street, delivered First-Day Morning*: But how reasonable will be the Matter of our Inquiry and Answer.

If *S. S.* will have the *Jury only Judge of Fact* (which the Recorder expressly affirmed on the Bench, using Words to this Purpose, *We will have you to know, that you shall not be Judges of what the Law says, &c.*)

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Why are they here condemned for undertaking no farther? They brought in the Fact, but that the Court thought incomprehensive of the Indictment, which being complicated of Law and Fact, they were to answer the Question in Manner and Form. And if this doth not inthroneth them Judges, how far the Fact reaches the Law, and whether by Law *A. B.* is guilty, or not guilty, I must confess my self mistaken; and I am sure to have Company enough of all Men of Sense and Sobriety.

So that what the Jury is deny'd elsewhere, is given here, and *S. S.* equally angry, for their being, and not being, *Sole Judges.*

Nota XVI. pag. 28. William Penn made such a Noise in the Court, that the Court could not hear the Jury, nor the Jury the Court.

Answ. If to speak to be heard be Noise, I was guilty of his Observation; but I need the less to vindicate my self, who have so many living Witnesses of Credit, to do it for me: If they would not hear me, they ought not to have condemn'd me; but if they could condemn me, they in Conscience ought not to over-rule, but hear me.

But would any know the Noise I made, read my Words, and 'twill be found *S. S.* has only nois'd a Fiction. Upon their Menacing of the Jury, I thus spoke;

It is intolerable that my Jury should be thus menaced? Is this according to the Fundamental Laws? (Thus far, S. S.) Are not they my proper Judges by the Great Charter of England? What Hope is there of ever having Justice done, when Juries are check'd, and their Verdicts rejected? I am concerned to speak, and grieved to see such arbitrary Proceedings. Did not the Lieutenant of the Tower render One of them worse than a Felon? And do you not plainly seem to condemn such for seditious Fellows, who answer not your Ends? Unhappy are those Juries, who are threaten'd to be fined, and starved, and ruined, if they give not in Verdicts contrary to their Consciences.

This was the Noise charged upon me, and for this Fetters commanded to be brought by the Mayor; how justly, let the ingenious Reader judge.

Nota XVII. pag. 29. Upon this Mr. Penn was silent and quiet, though Nothing was done to him.

Answ. I perceive the Man will rather play at small Game (as the Proverb is) than sit out. What? Would he suggest my Fear to the World, after his own Relation has given such large Testimony of my Boldness, in so much as to dare the Court to a Tryal, pag. 13? Or is he angry that I held my Tongue (as he says) And yet the Mayor and Recorder so angry, that I spoke, as that I must be Staked with Iron Fetters to the Ground; an Unkindness I forgive, but which will render their Carriage Infamous with all Sober and Moderate Men. But three Things I observe, and conclude this ridiculous *Nota.*

First, That my Retort upon the Mayor's Menace was omitted by *S. S.* which was this.

Do your Pleasure, I matter not your Fetters. Which was very far from being over-aw'd by their Displeasure, as the Remainder of my Tryal manifested (which I speak to God's Glory, whose holy Power carried my Mind over the Heads of all that there arraign'd or judg'd me.)

Secondly, There was no Occasion for much Discourse, as by the Tryal appears, the Court being ready to break up, and then to whom should I speak.

Thirdly, I would that *S. S.* and his Brethren should know, That I only Worship, Fear, and Bow, before the Glorious Everlasting God of Heaven and Earth, and therefore Dread not Mortal Man, whose Breath is in his Nostrils, and has Power only to hurt the Body, and that no farther than is permitted him of God; whose holy Will I am resigned to answer, in Doing and Suffering, as he shall enable me. And whatever my Portion be from this Generation, whether Good Report, or Bad Report, Acceptance or Suffering,

Suffering, I matter not; but bless his Providence, and shall accept it all as an Earnest of his Eternal Love, and rest in Glory.

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Nota XVIII. pag. 29. These Men were very like to be starved, when they had Roast-Beef, Capons, Wine, and Strong-Drink sent them (as is ready to be proved) during the Time they were considering of their Verdict.

Answer. This is but a vain Surmize, and how positively so ever asserted, the Proof remains behind, which had there been any, it is not to be thought this Libeller would have omitted it; besides, the Officers of the Court were sworn to keep them from all Sort of Refreshment. But had it been so, I see no Evil in the Thing, unless it be an Evil to prevent Men from starving, especially since they were not there encloister'd for not agreeing in their Verdict, but for agreeing in a Verdict some Persons Humours would not allow for one, as the Juries frequent Cries, *We are Agreed, We are Agreed, &c.* do plentifully evidence. This ends his *Notas*, and I shall now take leave to remark on him.

Nota 1. My first Observation will be this, That in his Relation of my Tryal, though in many Things he does me Right, yet in some Places he does both me and the Law Wrong; for it's familiar with him to slip over those Expressions of mine, which tell the World, how vehemently I called for Right; and how willing I was to be tried by the Fundamental Laws of England, whilst represented as a Seditious Person, which my Soul abhors; thus pag. 17, 28, 31.*

But more especially that Clause, *I can never urge the Fundamental Laws of England, but you cry, Take him away, take him away: But 'tis no Wonder, since the Spanish Inquisition hath so great a Place in the Recorder's Heart.* To which I might add his threatening to Cart the Jury about the City, &c. pag. 19. The Intent of which unfair Dealing must needs arise from an Apprehension of the *Disadvantage* and *Guilt* that would be attributed to them; whilst nothing more manifests both, than the Partiality of these Parts of the *Narrative*.

Nota 2. My second Remark will be upon the Folly of this Boaster, which shews itself so great, that it is become already the Scorn and Rallery of the Town: For instead of casting a friendly Covert over the Nakedness of his Patrons, he brings them out stript in Print, and allows, nay vindicates, those Indiscretions, which are irreconcilable with the Sense of every sober Man, and that hitherto were scarcely credited by their Enemies in the Relation of our Tryal; but now believed by their best Friends, because divulged with a seeming Privilege in the Account given by S. S. This appears.

First, Pag. 1, 22. In *Jo. Robinson's* Expression to *Edw. Bushel* a Jury-man, *That he deserved to be indiltd more than any Man, that had been brought to the Bar that Day.*

Secondly, Page 22. In the Recorder's Saying to that Person, *You manifestly shew your self an Abettor of Faction.*

Thirdly, Page 3, 27. In the Recorder's Menace, *I'll have a positive Verdict, or you shall starve for it.*

Fourthly, Page 28. The same Person to *Edw. Bushel*, *You are a factious Fellow, I'll set a Mark upon you; whilst I have to do in the City, I'll have an Eye on you.*

Fifthly, Page 29. Again, *You will find the next Sessions of Parliament, There will be a Law made, that those that will not Conform to the Law, shall not have the Protection of the Law.*

Sixthly, Page 29. The very same Person thus again, *Bring another Verdict, or you shall starve.*

Seventhly, Page 29. And as that which is fittest to bring up the Rear of all his Threats, because the most Malignant, I shall insert that notorious Passage of the Inquisition, as by S. S.

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Till now I never understood the Reason of the Policy and Prudence of the Spaniards, in suffering the Inquisition among them, and certainly it will never be well with us, till something like the Spanish-Inquisition be in England.

Of the Mayor, he gives us this Account.

Eighthly, Page 22. The Mayor to Ed. Bushel thus, *You are an impudent Fellow, I will put a Mark upon you.*

Ninthly, Page 24. To the Jury, *What will you be led by such a silly Fellow as Bushel, a canting Fellow.*

Tenthly, Page 27. To Edw. Bushel again.

You are a seditious Fellow, and a Course ought to be taken with you.

Eleventhly, Page 27. Edward Bushel to T. B. *I have done according to my Conscience.*

Mayor, *That Conscience of yours would cut my Throat.*

E. B. *No my Lord it never shall.*

Mayor, *But rather than you shall cut my Throat, I will in Defence of my self, cut yours first.*

This last Expression horribly belies the Mayor, and wrongs his Words; for many sufficient Witnesses will depose, that he fairly said, *But I will cut yours, as soon as I can.*

Twelfthly, Page 28. And speaking to the Jury, in reference to E. Bushel, saith he, *Were I of the Jury, rather than he should starve me, I would slit his Nose for him.*

It was fairly done of S. S. and the whole City and Kingdom are great Debtors to his frank Discovery, and plain Acknowledgments.

We may now easily understand the meaning of the Word MARK, by the Paraphrase of *Slitting of Noses*; for that Expression seems to be the Key that opens the Mystery of the former: Of how ill Consequence that Threat has proved, the late tragical Assassins in several Places shew. I will not say, they may be imputed to so ill a Precedent as the Mayor's Menace to Edward Bushel, from his Tribunal Seat, in all his Court Formalities; *But certainly they must be as near a-kin, that offer such barbarous Assaults to Parliaments and Juries, as threatening and doing are.*

It is hoped, there will be no farther Need of such Remarks, and that the Act expected, will prove as well a Protection to the Noses of Juries, as Members of the high Court of Parliament.

By this Time the Courteous Reader cannot but see, with how little of Truth and Reputation he triumphs over us, and vindicates his Friends; since more could scarcely have been said for us, and against them, than the imprudent Repetition of Things so Scurrilous, Injudicial, and ill-timed: And indeed, the cold Reception it finds, with all that read it, might have saved me this Labour; but that I was informed, how much a Reply was expected from me.

And that I am not ignorant, how natural it is, for Men of this Man's Form of Understanding, to conceit their Pamphlets unanswerable, because not answered, though the only Reason of it, may be it's indefect of so much Pains.

To conclude, However busie some Sort of Men may be (and I hear not a little of their Projects) to mis-represent me to the King, and Persons of eminent Employ, that with less Hazard to themselves, they may sacrifice me to their unjust Hate;

I do declare my Judgment, and that of my abused Friends, in Things relating to Civil Government, and by it we would be measured, and in the Strength of God resolve to stand.

First, That we acknowledge Government to be necessary, because of Transgressors.

Secondly, That this Government should consist of wholesom Laws to suppress Vice and Immoral Practices, as Oaths, Whoredoms, Murders, Lies, Thefts, Extortion, Treachery, Prophaneness, Defamation, and the like Ungodly

godly and immodest Actions; and in the Encouragement of Men contrarily qualified: These are Fundamentals in Law and Gospel. In short, We heartily own the English Government upon its ancient Civil Basis.

Thirdly, That there be many other Temporary Laws suited to State Emergency, in civil Matters, as in Trade, &c. to which we also account ourselves oblig'd.

Fourthly, That we there only Dissent, where Conscience in Point of Faith and Worship towards God is concerned.

Fifthly, That we utterly renounce, as an horrible Impiety, the Promotion of our Interest or Religion, by the Blood of our Opposers.

Sixthly, That if we are deny'd our Freedom, in the Exercise of our Conscience to God (though otherwise peaceable and industrious) as it has been, so will it still be our constant Practice, (However it appears intolerable to Flesh and Blood, that we should always be the Anvil, on which the Hammer of every Power beats the heavy Stroaks of its unmerited Displeasure) to sustain all in Peace and Patience, because Vengeance belongs to God, who certainly will repay it.

If therefore any, that think themselves concerned in this Treatise, shall offer to suggest the contrary to these Assertions and Confessions, I do hereby declare them Slanderees of the greatest Innocency upon Earth, and give them this publick Challenge once for all, that as we will never baulk a fair Debate, where every Point in Controversie may receive a full Discovery and Decision; so do we charge such Adversaries for the future, if they would have the Reputation of true Men, to bring their Names and Scruples into open View, that so their Apprehensions of us may be justified, or our Innocency relieved from the heavy pressure of their unjust Slanders.

Newgate, the 12th
Month, 1670.

W. PENN.

An APPENDIX; Wherein the fourth Section of S. S. his Pamphlet, (entituled, *The Fining of that Fury, that gave two contrary Verdicts Justified, to prevent a Failure of Justice in London*) is Examined. By T. Rudyard.

READER,

UT obstruat or iniqua loquentium, Have I undertaken to answer this scurrilous Libeller: And in clearing these Jurors from his so foul Aspersions, shall manifest to the World, not only the horrid Falseness of his Charge against them; but lay open the Unjustness and Arbitrariness of those Proceedings, which this Author seems to have the Confidence now in Print to vindicate.

The Wise-man asserts, That he that uttereth a Slander is a Fool, Prov. 10. 8. And the Psalmist commands, That the Lying Lips be put to silence, Psal. 31. 18.

And to evidence his Folly, let Truth (the Mother of Justice) arise, and plead their Innocency, against one who endeavours to abuse and traduce, as well the Liberties of all the Free-men of England, as these respective Jurors, whose Actions have rendred them worthy Citizens of London, and faithful Friends to their Country.

THE Cause for which the Jurors were fined and imprisoned (by the Bench at the Old-Baily) S. S. boldly asserts was for [their giving in two Contrary Verdicts.]

The Falshood of which Assertion may not only be manifested by many Hundreds of Citizens, who were Eye and Ear Witnesses of their Arbitrary

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and Illegal Procedure (as well toward the other Prisoners there, as these Jurors) but also testified by many of this Libeller's own approved Authorities.

1. Let us look back into the third Section of his Pamphlet, where he has given frequent Tests against the Verity of his fourth Section's Assertion.

The Jury having had no Evidence of any unlawful Act done by *W. P.* could not bring him in Guilty *Modo & Formâ, &c.* Yet four Times brought in so much as was by Witnesses proved against him, viz. *That W. Penn was guilty of Speaking in Grace-Church-Street*, as pag. 23, 24, 27, 28. Which (being all the *Fact proved*, yet far short of what was laid against him in the Indictment) the Recorder declared was no Verdict in Law, redoubling the Expression or Substance thereof, no less than four or five Times, as pag. 23, 24, 27, 28, 29. And in pag. 30. the Jurors brought in *W. P. Not Guilty in Manner and Form as he stood Indicted.* Other Verdict I never heard that the Jurors brought in, neither doth *S. S.* in his Relation of the Trial pretend it.

And why he should thus Reproach the Jurors, Groundlessly, and so palpably give the Lye to himself, Let the Judicious judge.

2. Let us examine the *Return of the Cause* of the Jurors Imprisonment, which now lies before the Justices of Common-Pleas at *Westminster*. (Wherein *S. S.* Mayor, *J. H.* Recorder, and their Council, with long and tedious Consideration had accumulated so much Formality and needless Circumstances, as swelled up the Bulk to at least Twelve Sheets of Paper.) The Matter or Cause of their Imprisonment therein is only this, viz. *De eo quod ipsi pred. Jur. modo hinc eisdem Wil. Penn & W. Mead de pred. transgr. contemt. assemblac. & tumult. contra legem hujus Regni Angliæ, et contra Plenam & manifestam Evidentiam, et contra Directionem Curiz in materiâ legis hinc de & super præmissis eisdem Jur. versus prefat W. P. & W. M. in Cur. hic aperte dat. & declarat. de præmissis eis prout in Indict. pred. acquietaverunt in contemt dicti Dom. Regis nunc legumq; suorum, &c.* The Substance of which is, *That the aforesaid Jurors did acquit the said William Penn and William Mead from the Trespas, Contempt, and unlawful Assembly, and Tumult against the Law of this Kingdom of England, and against full and manifest Evidence, and against the Direction of the Court in Matters of Law openly given and declared in Court against the said W. P. and W. M. in Contempt of the Lord the King, and his Laws, &c.*

By which it's plainly manifest and evident that these Jurors were never guilty of giving *two contrary Verdicts*, or fined and imprisoned by the Bench for any such Fact, as *S. S.* hath falsely and scandalously suggested.

And truly if *S. S.* has been an Eye and Ear Witness of all that passed in this Affair (as he affirms, page 10.) we may without Breach of Charity, charge him with having a very treacherous Memory, which is an ill Companion for a Liar.

But next we come to enter upon the Matter promised, and to examine whether or no he has justified the Fining of that Jury, by reason Law and Authority, or any of them, in order to which let us recite his Words (he saith)

Page 31. In Regard that this is a Case, that very much concerns the King and Kingdom, and is now under the Consideration of all the Judges, I shall only make four Remarks upon this Case, and leave the Determination of the same to the honourable Sages of our Law.

Answer, Surely our Author had but a small Stock of Courage, that it should fail him in Writing half a dozen Lines. What? (in uno statu) to justify the Fining of a Jury, and to leave it again to the Determinations of the Sages of the Law.

He might have left it at first to their Determination, and have spared his Pains of appearing in Print, and yet have been thought never the unwiser Man for his Silence,

S. S. *His First Remark Examind.*

As Nature (*says he*) abhors a Vacuum in the Universe, so is it the Honour of our Law, that it will not suffer a Failure of Justice, according to that Maxim, *Ne curia regis deficeret in Justitia exhibenda*. Therefore it is that although our Law appoints all Trials to be by Juries, yet in Six Cases cited by my Lord Cook, 1. p. Inst. §. 102. fol. 74. the Tryal is by Certificate, as in Case a Person be in Scotland, in Prison, and at Bourdeaux, &c.

Answ. Our Author who quotes Cook, might also have remembered this Maxim used by him, 4 Inst. 308. *Ubi non est lex ibi non est Transgressio*; Where there is no Law there is no Transgression: As for the Matter, of Trials by Certificate, it is as Foreign to the Matter in Debate, as Bourdeaux or Scotland is distant from Westminster-Hall. Neither does S. S. in any wise, by his Discourses, apply it to that Purpose, but barely proceeds.

In like manner Petty-Jurors, that have given their Verdict contrary to their Evidence, have been fined by the Justices, in Cases where the Law hath provided no other Punishment, as by Attaint, &c.

Answ. First, Observe the Strangeness of S. S. his Consequence: Because the Law provides, that Foreign Matters acted (*in partibus transmarinis*) shall be evidenced or tried by Certificate from those Parts: Therefore *Facts* done or acted at Home, in publick Courts of Justice, shall not be determined in ordinary Courts of Law (*per legale judicium parium*) but by the arbitrary Judgment of the Bench or Court.

Secondly, Observe how various this latter Matter is to S. S. his Text, viz. *Juries Fined for giving in a Verdict Justified*; changed into *Juries Fined for giving in a Verdict contrary to Evidence*. And since the latter is the Text to his subsequent Discourse, let us try and examine his Doctrine.

Our Author to prove, That Justices have fined *Jurors*, for bringing in Verdicts contrary to Evidence, gives us his Authorities thus:

‘ Vide *Wharton’s Case*, *Telverton*, fol. 23. *Nay* reports the same, fol. 48. And Judge *Popham* said, there were divers Precedents to that Purpose, and cites divers, One by *Justices in Eyre*.

‘ *Watts* vers. *Braines*, in an Appeal to B. R. *Crook* l. 3. 779. Vide *Leonard* l. 2. 102. pl. 175. and l. 3. 147. pl. 196. *Southwell’s Case* in the Exchequer. *Moor* 730. *Lemon’s Case* in the Court of Wards. *Cook* l. 12. 23. *Price’s Case* in the Star-Chamber.

Answ. That these Cases are Material to our Author’s Purpose (more than to amuse the Reader with Quotations) I cannot find, neither doth S. S. set forth the Substance, whereby this Age might understand their Drift and Intent.

But Cook, whom he quotes in his Justification, was clearly of another Opinion to what S. S. would suggest; for in the Case he cites, 12 Reports 23. (*Par. 5. 3a.*) That Lover of his Country, and England’s Liberties, speaking of Juror’s Freedom by Law to give their Verdicts, declares, *That the Law will not suppose any Indifferent, when he is Sworn to serve the King, &c. To which agrees*, says he, the Books in 22 *Aff.* 77. *Affise*, p. 12. 21 E. 2. 17. 19 H. 6. 19. 47 E. 2. 17. 27 H. 8. 2 F. N. B. 115. A — And the Law presumes that every Juror will be indifferent when he is Sworn: Nor will the Law admit Proof against this Presumption.

But S. S. as Conscious of the Nullity of those before recited Authorities, to justify his Cause, gives us one, as he supposes, to Purpose, viz. *Wagstaff’s Case*, *Trin.* 17. C. 2. in B. R. This (*says he*) agrees with our present Case in all Points.

And concludes with this, ‘ *Mich.* 16. *Car.* 2. in *Banco Regis*: *Leech* and Five other, being of the Jury, at *Justice-Hall* in the *Old-Baily*, the last Sessions, refused to find certain *Quakers* Guilty, according to their Evidence, and upon that they were bound to appear in the King’s Bench the

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‘ First Day of the next Term : They appeared accordingly, and the Court directed an Information against them, and upon that they were Fined.

Upon which S. S. concludes, *The Fining of Jurors, that find contrary to their Evidence, is no Innovation, but always practised, and that by as Learned Judges, as ever England bred.*

We shall not much insist upon the *Imparity* of this last Case in it's Points, to that in Hand, being of little farther Use than to manifest the Ignorance and Falsity of our Author, so only say this to it,

(1.) See his Ignorance, that appears by his own showing. *Leech's Jury*, (says he) were Fined upon an Information brought against them in the *King's Bench*, which much varies from the Case of *Elw. Bushe*, &c. in that they were Arbitrarily Fined by the Bench at the *Old-Baily*, without Information or Matter of Record, or being brought to answer by any Process of Law, expressly against the Stat. 25 E. 3. cap. 3.

(2.) See the impudent Falsity of this Libeller; it's acknowledged that *Leech*, with Five other Jury-Men, of whom were *Anthony Selby*, Oilman in *Pudding-Lane*; *Edward Briscoe* in *Lothbury*; — *Brown*, a Dyer in *Thames-Street*, *London*, &c. Persons of Good Reputation, and well known in this City, were (as S. S. alledges) bound to appear in the *King's-Bench*, by *R. Hyde* then Chief Justice, who after many foul Reproaches and daring Menaces to those Citizens of *London*, (as is too frequent a Practice in that Court) commanded an Information to be exhibited against them in the Crown-Office, for acquitting some *Quakers*, who were given them in Charge at the *Old-Baily*, to which they all willingly appeared; but that they were fined thereon (as asserted by S. S.) is a most *Horrid Untruth*; for *Hyde* never afterwards in his Life-Time was so hardy to prosecute the same to Trial; nor had *J. K.* his Successor so much Courage to compleat his Predecessor's — Enterprize, but prudently furcous'd the Suit: So this Case cited by S. S. is but like the rest of his Authorities, with which he would patch up and save his Patron's illegal and arbitrary Procedures.

But that we may come more closely to the Point in Hand, *First*, We absolutely deny S. S. his Conclusion, and do affirm, that as well the Fining and Imprisoning, as otherwise punishing a Jury of Twelve Men (Impannelled to try, &c. betwixt the King and a Prisoner) for giving a Verdict according to their Conscience, though (in the Sense of the Bench and Justices in Eyre) contrary to Evidence, is an Innovation, and the Practice of it against Reason, the Law of *England*, and the Liberties of it's Freeborn People.

This Point is so considerable, that I may say and affirm, That the fairest Flower, that now grows in the Garden of the *Englishman's* Liberties, is a fair Tryal by his Peers, or Twelve of his Neighbours, which so much Artifice and Violence is used, by the wild Boars of our Age, to pluck up by the Roots.

In order to its Defence and Security, let us first remove that Grand Objection of our Adversary, which he makes a Foundation for his after Superstructure of *Violence and Oppression*; And that is from the 29th Chapter of the Great Charter, on these Words, *Or by the Law of the Land*, intimating therefrom, that by, (or by the Law of the Land) is meant some other Judges, Judicature, or Jurisdiction, than Judgment of Peers, as in the third Page of his Pamphlet.

The Judgment of *Cook*, (2 Instit. 50.) an undeniable Author, and Authority, may serve to clear the Point, who writes thus upon his Exposition on (*per legem terræ*)

First, For the True Sense and Exposition of these Words (says he) *See the Statute of 37 E. 3. cap. 8. where the Words, By the Law of the Land, are rendred, without due Process of Law. For there it is said, though it be contained in the Great Charter, that no Man be taken, imprisoned, or put out of his Freehold without Process of Law, that is, by Indictment, or Presentment of Good and Lawful Men, where such Deeds be done in due Manner, or by Writ Original of the Common Law.* 25 E. 3. & 4.

Secondly,

Secondly, *Without being brought in to answer, but by due Process of the Common Law.*

Thirdly, *No Man be put to answer without Presentment before Justices, or Thing of Record, or by due Process, or by Writ Original, according to the old Law of the Land.* 28 E. 3. 3. 37 E. 3. 8. 42 E. 3. 2.

By which is most apparent to every Reasonable Understanding, that by the Words (or by the Law of the Land) is not meant other Jurisdiction, Judges or Judicature (wherein, or whereby any Man is to be tried,) as S.S. would ignorantly have it; but that the Proceedings against a Freeman of England, in order to the Judgment of his Peers, or Twelve Neighbours, shall be according to the Laws of the Land, as by Presentment, Indictment, &c. 37 E. 3. cap. 8.

And Cook declares, that the said 29th Chapter was but *Declaratory of the Old Law of the Land*, which knew no other Judgments, or Jurisdictions for its Free Inhabitants, but *Legale Judicium parium suorum*; neither have the Freeman of England heard of any such, except by those Arbitrary Innovators, who have felt the Smart of their sore Oppressions, by the Hand of Justice, and have received condign Punishment, as due Rewards for their introducing of new Jurisdictions, as the Reader may see at large, *Cook* 2 Instit. fol. 51. *Cook* 4 Instit. fol. 41. And *Horn's Mirrour of Justice*, cap. 5. §. 1: And this seasonable Caveat and Caution, *Cook* has left as a Legacy to such Time-Servers, *Qui eorum Vestigia insistant, eorum exitus perhorrescant*:

Thus having SHAKEN HIS SANDY FOUNDATION, by the Stabilished Fundamental Laws, and the *Responsis Prudentium*, upon the Ancient Statutes of England, let us try the Strength of his *Babel-Superstructure* by the same infallible Rules and Measures.

Says S. S. [*The Fining of Jurors has been always practiced,*] as pag. 33.

Ans^r. Truly his Prescription for Time is unquestionable, if he but prove by Authority, what he barely affirms, but this I fear he will fall short in: Does he bring his Examples, Usages or Customs (so to Fine Jurors) from the Times or Laws of *Alfred, Athelston, Edmundus, Edgar, Canutus, Edward the Confessor, William the First, Henry the First*, Noble and Famous Princes of this Nation; (many of whose Laws are yet in Force) from our Charter of Liberties, or Ancient Statutes of this Realm? Nothing less.

But should I grant that he had brought a Precedent of later standing to countenance the late illegal Procedure (as by *Wagstaff's Case* it appears he has) will it not deservedly fall under the Censure of a Tortious Usage (having neither the Statute-Law of the Land, nor Reason, the Ground of the Law, to warrant or justify it) which *Andrew Horn*, a Writer of the Law, in the Reign of E. 1. accounts no more of, *Than those of Thieves, whose Usages are to Rob and Steal*, *Mirrour of Justice*, cap. 5. sect. 1.

And that we may as aptly suit a Case to our Libeller's, as he would have that of *Wagstaff's* to answer us, Take a Resolve of a Court not inferior to the *Consideratum est* of the K—Bench, whose Reason and Authority was never subjected to the Opinion of three or four interested Persons, as S. S. by his bold Pamphlet would have it: I mean the Parliament of the Commons of England, who upon Justice K—Fining of *Wagstaff's* Jury Resolved, *That he had used an Arbitrary and Illegal Power, which was of Dangerous Consequence to the Lives and Liberties of the People of England, and tended to the introducing of an Arbitrary Government.* 11 Dec. 1670. Lib. asserted, pag. 60, 61.

And that the Precedent and Practice of Fining and Imprisoning Juries for Verdicts, is illegal.

Hence we may observe, that (*Illo die*) England's Fountain of Justice, was clear and wholesom, although the Rivulets, or lesser Streams, might be troubled and corrupted.

Therefore it's worthy our Observation, what *Cook* (4 Instit. Epilog.) that Master of Reason (directing himself to the subordinate Courts, or Seats of Justice said, *Quod satius est petere fontes, quam sectare rivulos* (adding) *That they should assuredly prosper and flourish in the Distribution of Justice,*

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if they derived all their Power and Strength from their proper Roots: Adverting them, Not to fear to do Right to all, and to deliver their Opinions justly according to the Laws.

Wagstaff's Case, 17 Car. 2.] This wholesome Advice, had it been but timely received by *J. K.* might have prevented that Precedent of Oppression, quoted by our Author, which rash and unadvised Sentence of his the Parliament, took Occasion so to rebuke, though *S. S.* &c. to commend and imitate.

The Arguments and Reasons against Arbitrary Fining of Jurors, respect a Twofold Interest, *viz.* The Freedom of Jurors in Particular, and the Freedom of the People of *England* in General, who are equally hurt and wounded by the Consequence of such Tortious Proceedings, as appears thus;

1. *First*, It's unreasonable Severity, that a Juror should be enforced to appear (*Nolens aut volens*) at Assizes or Sessions of Peace, and there to be Sworn, Well and truly to Try, and True Deliverance make, between, &c. according to Evidence; and when he has Conscientiously performed his Duty, (for which he receives no Reward) to be Fined at the Will of a Mercenary Justice.

2. *Secondly*, If a Court has Power Arbitrarily to Fine a Jury, that given not in a Verdict according to their Sense of this or that *Fall in Issue*, it must be because the Bench is presumed to have a fuller or nearer Understanding of the Matter in Issue, than the Jurors can, which is clearly otherwise in the Sense of the Law; and appears in that the Juror's Summons is for Persons (*Per quos rei Veritas melius sciri poterit*) by whom the Truth of the Matter may be better known.

3. *Thirdly*, If the Integrity and Honesty of Persons judging are to be esteemed of Weight, to evidence the Equality of the Judgment given; then, surely Twelve Honest Men of the Neighbourhood, where the Offence (if any) was committed, are the most proper Judges; since that Twelve Men may neither be so easily corrupted as one Single Person, nor their Judgment of such *Fall*, (Twelve Men agreeing in One) so likely to be Erroneous, as the single Apprehension of one.

4. *Fourthly*, If Satisfaction is to be made to a Party grieved, how can it be done more fully and equally, than at the Choice of the Person offended. The People or Neighbourhood, who are pretended to be wronged or injured, are called to be Judges, to redress their own Grievances; and surely that Satisfaction they measure out to themselves, shall be judged *Correspondent* to their sustained Damages.

5. *Fifthly*, If our Predecessors had thought that the Arbitrary Determination of a Bench of Justice, had been as equal a Judgment as that of our Peers, surely in vain did they expend so much Blood for the repriming the latter, and extirpating the former, *Cook* 2 Instit. Pref.

6. *Sixthly*, If a Bench, or single Justice, Recorder, Bailiff, &c. shall have Power to fine and imprison a Jury of Twelve Men, until they gratify their Wills and Pleasures in their Verdicts, which of our Lives and Liberties can be secured against the Lusts of such petty Prerogatives, when the Court's Discretion, not the Law of *England*, (our Birthright) shall be the Standard to measure out every Man's Desert and Portion. *Vide Cook* 4 Instit. fol. 42.

We might in this Sort much more enlarge, to evince of how evil Consequence these Arbitrary Practices are, and will be to the *English* Constitution of Government: But I have here used the more of Brevity, in as much as this Case needs no greater, or farther Argument to enforce it into any Man's Understanding, than his being an *Englishman*, and so Born Free, and not a Slave.

But altogether to omit our Stablished and Fundamental Laws, would be as Blame worthy, as tediously to enlarge upon them: Therefore I shall from them, and some Maxims of the Law of *England*, farther prove the Unreasonableness and Unjustness of such Arbitrary Proceedings, upon, and against Juries.

1. *First*,

1. *First*, Such Proceedings are absolutely against the Great Charter of Liberties, (as cap. 14. *No Freeman to have Amercements assessed upon him, but by Good and Honest Men of the Vicinage.* Cook 2. Inst. As also cap. 29. *No Freeman to be Condemned without the Lawful Judgment of his Peers.* (2 Inst. 48.) Which two Chapters, by Reason and Arguments (in that Discourse of Liberty asserted, at the Trial of *W. Penn* and *W. Mead*) are by that Author expounded, and applied to this present Case, as the Reader may find at large, pag. 46, 47, and 48 of that Treatise.

2. *Secondly*, Such Arbitrary Judgments are against the Statute of 25 E. 1. cap. 1. which saith, 'That Justices, Sheriffs, Mayors, and other Ministers, which under us have the Laws of our Land to guide, shall allow the said Charters to be pleaded before them in all their Points. *This is a Clause* (says Cook) *Worthy to be written in Letters of Gold, that the Laws are to be the Judge's Guides, and therefore not the Judges by their Arbitrary Glosses, to guide the Laws, which never yet misguided any that truly followed them.* Cook 2 Inst.

Now to fine and imprison Jurors for their Verdicts, which by the Laws of England they are to give freely, is waving the Rules of Law, and embracing their own Discretion for a Guide in giving of Judgment. Notwithstanding it's expressly Enacted, Stat. 25. E. 1. cap. 2. *That if any Judgment be given contrary to the Point of the Great Charter* (which was Declaratory of the Common Law) *by the Justices, or other the King's Ministers, it should be Undone, and holden for Nought.* Cook 2 Inst. Pref.

3. *Thirdly*, By the Statute of Westm. 1. Anno 3 E. 1: it's thus Enacted, *Rex vult & precipit quod Justitia singulis tam—quam—nulla habita Personarum ratione*, That Justice shall be done to all without respect of Persons. Cook 2 Inst. 161.

This (says Cook) is an ancient Maxim of the Common Law, repeated and affirmed amongst the Laws of King Edgar. And Fleta (says that Author, lib. 1. cap. 29.) reciteth this Fundamental Law in few Words, *Quod Communis Justitia singulis pariter exhibeatur*; That Common Justice be afforded alike to all.

If Jurors then be Freeman of England, I know not wherefore they should be denied that Common Right, (in Case they offend the Law) of Trial by their Peers, and have a Judgment passed upon them against this Common and Fundamental Law, which is commanded by the express Words of the Statute, *Inviolabiliter Observari*, to be inviolably observed, *That Peace may be kept in this Land.* Cook 2 Inst. 161.

4. *Fourthly*, Cook in his 2d Inst. fol. 689, affirms, that *Ratio Legis est Anima Legis*, The Reason of the Law is the Soul of the Law; and therefore says he, *Quaecunque intra Rationem legis inveniuntur, intra ipsam Legem judicantur*: Whatsoever shall be found to be within the Reason of the Law, shall be adjudged to be within the Law.

Had the Law of England presumed, That a Mayor, Justice, Bailiff, Sheriff, &c. had been more knowing, and so more proper Judges, who might give a better and more equal Determination (of such Facts, which for Decision came before them) than a Jury of Twelve Men could, or would do: Surely the Law would then have left all Controversies to their sole Arbitrary Determination, and never have required and commanded Trials by Jurors, which are not only chargeable to the Jury-Men (Freeholders of this Nation) by Reason of their Attendance and Expence at Assizes and Sessions, but also dangerous, and hazardous to perform, and do their Duty there.

But according to that Maxim, Cook 1 Inst. 78, *Lex intendit vicinum vicini facta scire*, The Law presumes that each Man best knows his Neighbour's Actions: Therefore the most proper Judge, whether to condemn his Neighbour as Guilty, or to acquit him as innocent. So we must either lose our Reason, or conclude it illegal and irrational, that Justices whom the Law (*quo ad hoc*) concludes ignorant, should judge or condemn Jurors (for Ignorance) whom the Law (*quo ad hoc*) concludes more knowing than themselves.

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5. *Fifthly*, the fifth Reason and Argument to evince the Illegality of such Arbitrary Proceedings, may be drawn from that Maxim of Law, more than once used by the Learned *Cook*, 2 Inst. 56, and 526, viz. *Lex est iustissima Cassis*, The Law is the surest Sanctuary that a Man can take, and the strongest Fortrefs to protect the Weakest: Yea (saith that Author) *Sub elypeo Legis nemo decipitur*, It fails none that put their Trust in it. We have no Reason to believe, that that Author put an Encomium upon the Laws of *England* (we mean the Fundamental Laws, the Charters and Liberties, of which he then treated) beyond their real Worth and Value: But must rather conclude, that such Arbitrary Proceedings, which leave the Freemen of *England* void of Defence, and Remediless of Relief, are not according to the Rules and Maxims of Law, but clearly otherwise.

And that the Fining and Imprisoning of Jurors are such, may farther appear in these Particulars.

First, In that the Jurors are condemned without a Trial, whether they have done their Duty or not; that is, whether they have found with or against their Evidence, &c.

2. *Secondly*, In that the Judgment against them (be it Vicious or Erroneous, either in respect of the Irregularity of the Proceedings, or Nullity of the Fact charged upon them) cannot be examin'd or revers'd by Writ of Error.

3. *Thirdly*, In that no such Superiour Court can receive, or hear their Appeal, as upon Indictments, and all other Proceedings by due Course of Law they might;

Manifesting that such Arbitrary Proceedings against Jurors, are far more severe and hard, than any Convictions of Traytors, Thieves, and Murderers, (who are apprehended *Flagranti Delicto*) and tryed by due Course of Law.

And since they are so unreasonable, that they allow not a Jury of Twelve (*Boni & Legales Homines*) Good and Lawful Men, neither Liberty of Defence before Judgment, nor an after Trial or Examination of the Fact for which they were condemned, we must necessarily conclude them illegal and irrational, so null and void, according to that known Maxim, *Cook* 2 Inst. 11. *Cessante ratione Legis cessat ipsa Lex*: And leave them to that just Censure of the Parliament of the Commons of *England*, THAT THEY WERE INNOVATIONS IN THE TRYALS OF MEN FOR THEIR LIVES AND LIBERTIES. *Votes Par. Ang.* 11. Dec. 1667.

S. S. His Second, Third, and Fourth REMARKS *Examin'd*.

(Saith S. S.) If it be objected, That in the present Case, being an Indictment for a Trespass, an *Attaint* doth lie, and therefore ought to be punished in *Attaint*: Which he thus himself answers, *Brook* Title *Attaint* 130, saith, *Et sic admittitur, quod si le Roy fuit merement Party, Attaint ne gist*. Where the King is sole Party, *Attaint* doth not lie: In our present Case, the King is sole Party, and therefore by the Old Law no *Attaint* doth lie.

In the answering of his own Objection, the Author has taken up no less than four or five Pages of his Discourse; and the whole of his second, third, and fourth *Remarks*, in quoting nine or ten Book-Cases and Statutes, to prove his Assertion, that no *Attaint* lies where the King is Party; ending his Libel thus ———— *From these Four Remarks I conclude Nothing, but leave the Determination of this important Affair to the Honourable Sages of our Law; and pray, that in this, and in all other Busineses of Concernment, God (the Great Judge of Heaven and Earth) would guide and direct them.*

Answe. First, The Righteous God (whom this Libeller imprecates) has declared, That the Prayers of the Wicked are an Abomination to him, Prov. ix. and 28, 9.

Secondly,

Secondly, The Frivolousness and Impertinence of this Ribaldry to the Controversie in Hand, will appear to the meanest Capacity, that will take the Pains to compare it with the Libeller's own Text, viz. *The Fining of that Jury that gave Two contrary Verdicts Justified.*

Thirdly, *The King being Party, so no Attaint lies* (the Matter of these Three last Remarks) is so far from being an Objection, to be offered by the Friends of those Oppressed Jurors, that they not only grant to him, that no Attaint lies against such Jurors, but that it is horrid Injustice and Oppression to punish them by that, or any other Way; which we shall clear briefly in these Particulars.

1. First, It might suffice any Rational Man, That Jurors, betwixt the King and Prisoners, ought not thus (by Arbitrary Fines, or other Means) to have Punishment inflicted upon them, in as much as the Ancient Common Law of England, is so far from directing of Pains, that it declares, *That all Restraints of Jurors are Abusions of the Law*: Which we have from Andrew Horn, a Learned Writer of the Law in the Time of Ed. 1. who amongst the great Abuses of the Common Law (for some of which King Alfred executed several of his Corrupt Judges) sets down this, viz. *It is Abuse to compel Jurors to say that which they know not, by Distress of Fine and Imprisonment, after their Verdict.* (Title. Abusions of the Common Law, cap. 5. §. 1.

2d. In that the Grand Councils of England in Parliament, *Vide Polson's Statutes, Title Attaint.* Have no less than Twenty several Times, given their Judgments about the false or vicious Verdicts of Jurors; enacting twenty one Statutes for the correcting and punishing of of such Defaults. And doubtless, (they having been so often near the Point) had the Law of England, and Right and Liberty of it's People, admitted of such Punishments, as the Adversaries of both, at this Day put in Practice, they would have let us understood it, and not suffer the Law so many Ages, to be, (*Vagum & incognitum*) but those Councils making no such Breach, upon our Fundamental Laws, Rights, and Liberties, and this our present Parliament, by their Resolves, confirming the same, we may and must aver the contrary Procedures, Innovations, so illegal and oppressive. But to conclude,

3d. *Lex semper intendit quod convenit Rationi*, the Law, (says Cook, 1 Inst. sect. 103.) always intends that which is agreeable to Reason. And Reason will with Ease reconcile, wherefore the Law has not prescribed nor directed a Punishment, for Jurors, who give a Verdict according to their Consciences, though contrary to the Sense of a Court or Bench of Justices, in Causes where the King is Party, as for Felony, Trespass &c. viz. As our English Government is now stablished (*Potestas Regis est facere Justitiam*, Co. 2. In. 375.) It's legal Power to do Justice. And therefore all Indictments are prosecuted in the Name of the King, although the Felony, Trespass, &c. was committed upon the People, who really received the Tort, and Wrong; yet because the King has undertaken, for the Safety, Defence and Protection of his Subjects, the Trespass &c. is said to be done to him: Yet Experience and Reason tell us, that the People of England are not therefore the less interested in, nor will be the less careful of the Security of their Persons and Estates, but do and will use their utmost Endeavour, to defend the first from Violence, and preserve the second from Ruin. So 1st. the (*Boni & Legales Homines*) or Jurors impannelled to do Justice upon such Felons, &c. being free-born English Men, are as nearly interested and concerned in the Punishment of publick Offenders, as any who are said to prosecute. And 2dly, the Law presuming they would be no more treacherous to their own Peace and Safety, the King, faithful to preserve them, thought good to lay no other Obligation or Engagement upon Jurors in such Cases, but the Consideration of their own Weal, Peace, and Safety, which many hundred Years, has by Experience been sufficient, Till Justices on the Benches and Seats of Judicature, turned Informers and Prosecutors, and instead of not knowing Persons in Judgment, appeared (contrary to their Oaths)

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Oaths) as Council for the King, and Prosecutors, and Executioners upon the Prisoners. (*Stat. 28. E. 1. Vide Cook 2 Inst. 178. 169.*)

This I shall take the Liberty to remark upon S. S. the Writer of that *Scandalous Libel*, that however he would recommend himself to the King and Country, as a Man of Reputation and Truth, or at least to the deserving the Estimation of *Learning* and *Ingenuity*, this Work of his has given them an Opportunity to take other Measures of his *Deserts*, who has in this one Section of his Libel, not only manifested meer Falshood in his Charge, but also Ignorance in his Proofs.

First, His Falshood appears, in Calumniating the *Jurors* with meer Untruths, and that by his own shewing.

Secondly, His Ignorance, in that he has not in the least colourably Justified his Assertions, or those Practices of his Patrons (whom he appears for) against the Jurors. Yea, I may say that his *Folly*, has so accompanied his *Knavery*, that he needs no other Character than his own Work in Print.

And whether he has Reason to assume that *Title*, he takes to himself in the Front of his Piece, viz. *To be a Friend to Justice and Courts of Justice*. I submit to those of the *Long Robe*, he alarms to look to themselves, and to the judicious Reader, that will weigh his *Discourse*; For my own Part, I am not in the least jealous, that he is any such *Person*: But if this Author would favour us with the Knowledge of his Name, then *Justice* and it's *Courts* might express their Gratitude, for his seasonable Vindication of them; and the *Mayor's*, *Recorder's*, &c. Candor and Integrity in their judicial Proceedings, at the *Old-Baily*, against the *Fury* and *Prisoners*.

Less than this I could not say, by Reason of those false Aspersions, that this *Libeller*, has cast upon my Friends the Jurors, to enlarge I shall forbear, inasmuch as the Author has closed his Discourse with Pretence to leave the important Affair to the Judges Determination, whose Judgment I desire may, and I hope will be measured by the streight Metwand of the *Fundamental Laws* of England, and not by the crooked Line of *Discretion*, for says the wisest of Men, and noblest of Princes, *Qui derelinquant Legem, laudant Improbos; at qui observant Legem, miscent Prælia cum illis*, Prov. 28. 4.

I had no other End in this short Discourse, but to vindicate *Truth* and *Justice*, from *Falshood* and *Violence*; so my earnest Zeal is, that the first may ever stand over the Heads of their *Opposers*, and *Oppressors*.

Newgate Prison in London,
the 12th Month, 1670.

T. Rudyard

POSTSCRIPT.

TO answer the *Libeller's Challenge*, and defend the Author of the *Tryal*, &c. in Reference to S. S. S. it may not be impertinently observed, that if he will please to enquire of one *John Barnes*, of *Hornsey*, whether the late Mayor was not a Commissioner for settling the late Powers Milliria, and so brisk and sharp a Reflector upon those that went under the Notion of *Cavaliers*, above the rest of the Committee, as to incur the Rebuke of his Brother-Commissioners; we hear that he may receive very ample Satisfaction, if it may be any to be found in a Mistake of what he so confidently ventured to assert.

Nor is it less worthy of Notice, that upon Enquiry made of Dr. *Whitcock*, he could not but acknowledge, that *S. Sterling* was so far from deserting the University, for Want of Conformity to the *Scottish Covenant*, that it never was tendered to any of that Colledge.

Which is not remarkt out of Prejudice to the Mayor, but Love to the *Truth*, and a Desire to manifest his *libellous Apologist*, who rather than his defensive

defensive Flatteries should fail his *Diana*, or his unjust Slanders miss us, resolves to break through all the Bounds of *Truth, Law, and Religion*. Nor that we would render it so criminal to serve the Nation under both Governments, as (having served both) *to persecute either*.

1670.

But we will end the whole with this solemn Declaration and Protest,
First, *That we are Free-born English Men, and esteem our selves undoubted Heirs of our Countries Liberties, not to be dis-inherited upon any Religious Difference, it being no Clause or Proviso in our first civil Constitution, or Fore-Fathers last Will and Testament.*

Secondly, *That we have been deprived of our dear Liberty and Property, and that meerly for Worshipping the God that made Us; against all Law, Reason, and Scripture (particularly at the Old-Baily.)*

Thirdly, *That notwithstanding such daily Provocations, we do as heartily forgive, as we are maliciously persecuted; (bearing no ill-will to the Persons, of any) The Title and Tenure of our Holy Gospel being Glory to God on High, on Earth Peace, and Good-Will towards all Men.*

And we could desire of God (if it might please him) to open their Eyes, and affect their Hearts with a Right Sense of Things, *that they might understand how much more it would be their true Interest to rebuke Vice, than punish Opinion, and that in themselves first: So would Oppression cease, the Spring-Tides of Intemperance fall; and Mercy, Truth, Justice and Peace flow over the Banks of Animosity, Self-Interest and Revenge; to the once more refreshing of our Weary, Dry and Parched Country, with the pleasant Streams of thorough Reformation.*

From Newgate Prison in London,
the 1st Month, 1671.

W. Penn.

THE
CHRISTIAN-QUAKER,
AND HIS
Divine Testimony,
*Stated and Vindicated, from SCRIPTURE,
Reason and Authority.*

1673.

By WILLIAM PENN.

Veritas fatigari potest, vinci non potest. Ether. & Beat. lib. 1.

The P R E F A C E.

To the Noble Bereans of this AGE.

WHEN our Dear Lord Jesus Christ, the Blessed Author of the Christian Religion, first sent forth his Disciples, to proclaim the Happy Approach of the Heavenly Kingdom, among several other Things that he gave them

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them in Charge, it pleas'd him to make this One of their Instructions; Into whatsoever City or Town ye shall enter, enquire who in it is Worthy: Fore-seeing the ill Use Unworthy Persons would make of that Message, and with what Unweariness the implacable Pharisee and subtil Scribe would endeavour to Pervert the Right Way of the Lord, and thereby prejudice the Simple against the Reception of that Excellent Testimony.

This being the Case of the People called Quakers, who above every Tribe of Men are most maliciously Represented, Bitterly Envied, and Furiously Oppugn'd by many of the Scribes and Pharisees of our Time, for as Impious Wretches as Those of that reputed our Blessed Saviour and his Constant Followers; it becometh us in a Condition so desperate, to provide our selves with some Worthy Readers, Men that dare trust their Reason above Reports, and be Impartial in an Age as byass'd as this we live in; whose Determinations shall not wait upon the Sentence of Ignorance nor Interest, but a Sincere and Punctual Examination of the Matter.

And since there are None recorded in Sacred Writ, on whom the Holy Ghost conferr'd so Honourable a Character, but the Bereans of that Age (for that they both searched after Truth impartially, and when they found it, imbraced it readily) for which they were entituled Noble) Therefore it is that to you, the Off-spring of that Worthy Stock, and Noble Bereans of our Age, I in Behalf of the so much Calumniated Abettors of the Cause of Truth, chuse to dedicate this Defence of our Holy Profession from the Injurious Practices of a Sort of Men, who not unlike to the Jews of Thessalonica, that, Envyng the Prosperity of the Gospel among your Ancestors, made it their Business to stir up the Multitude against the Zealous Promoters of it. And no Matter what it be, provided they can but Obtain their End of fixing an Odium upon the Quakers: They do not only boldly condemn what they esteem Worst in us (how deservedly we will not now say) but slyly insinuate what is Best, to be Criminal.

The Sobriety of our Lives, they call a Cheat for Custom; and our Incessant Preachings and Holy Living; a Decoy to Advance our Party: If we say Nothing to them when they interrogate us, 'tis Sullenness or Inability; if we say Something to them, it is Impertinency or Equivocation. We must not believe as we do believe, but as they would have us believe, which they are sure to make obnoxious enough, that they may the more securely inveigh against us. Nor must our Writings mean what we say we mean by them, but what they will have them to mean, lest they should want Proofs for their Charges. It was our very Case that put David upon that Complaint, Every Day they Wrest my Words: All their Thoughts are against me for Evil: But to David's God we commit our Slander'd Cause, and to you the Bereans of our Age.

Degenerate not from the Example of your Progenitors; if you do, you are no longer True Bereans, and to such we inscribe this Work: If you do not, we may assure our selves of the Justice of a Fair Enquiry and an Equal Judgment.

The God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ augment your Desire after Truth, give you clearer Discerning of the Truth, and enable you both more readily to Receive, and with greater Resolution to Maintain the TRUTH. I am

A Christian Quaker, and

Your Christian Friend,

William Penn.

T H E
Christian - Quaker, &c.

C H A P. I.

Chap. I.

The Introduction. Three Questions proposed, stating the Matter to be Treated upon. First, What is Salvation? Ans. To be saved from Sin as well as from Wrath, and not from Wrath without Sin.

BEing to Write of the *Light of Christ within*, the Great Principle of God in Man, the Root and Spring of Divine Life and Knowledge in the Soul; that by which Salvation is Effected for Man, and which is the Characteristick of the People called *Quakers*, their Faith and Testimony to the World: I chuse to consider it under these Three following Questions, as Stated by none of the meanest of our Adversaries, being comprehensive of the Principle, it's Force, and Friends; wherein I endeavour to solve those Objections, as they naturally arise, which either have been, or may be advanced against what is Asserted by us, in Favour of this Divine Principle, and it's Effects upon Mankind: Which I Recommend to my Reader's serious Consideration; desiring that Patience and Impartiality may keep them Company in the Perusal thereof; it being writ for their Advantage, as well as our Vindication, that they may have a nearer and clearer Prospect of that Way the Blessed ever trod to Glory.

1. *What is that Salvation, which the Light leads to?*
2. *What is this Light, and how does this Light lead to It? And,*
3. *Who this HE or THEY are, that Obey this Light, and in Obeying, attain Salvation?*

I. By *Salvation*, we understand, as by Scripture is deliver'd to us, *Man's being saved from Sin here, and the Wages of it, which is Wrath to come*. Whereby we are taught, Utterly to renounce and reject the Common Acceptation of it, as the full and compleat Force of the Word, *viz. Barely to be saved from Punishment hereafter*: In which Security, through a vain Expectation of Salvation, whilst not Really and Actually sav'd from the Power of Sin, through the Invisible Power of Christ, Thousands die. In short, We call Salvation, *Christ's making an End of Sin, Destroying the Works of the Devil, Finishing of Transgression, Binding the Strong Man, and Spoiling of his Goods* in the Hearts and Consciences of Men and Women; *and bringing in his Everlasting Righteousness into the Soul, whereby to Cleanse, Wash, Regenerate, Renew and Refresh the Soul*; in one Scripture-Phrase, *to save His People from their Sins*.

These are the Times of Refreshment, and this is the Day of Restitution; and thus is HE King, to Reign; Prophet, to give Vision; and High Priest, to Anoint with the Holy Unction, that leadeth his People into all Truth, *Whose Lips alone preserve Knowledge*; and therefore is It the Unchange-Gospel-Rule to Believers: And those who are thus freed or saved here from the Power, Nature, and Defilement of Sin, are the alone Persons, that are or shall be hereafter saved from Eternal Wrath and Vengeance, the heavy Recompence of Sin. All this we understand by that Word *Salvation*; and in this Center the Great and Glorious Prophecies and Performances of Christ.

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Chap. II.

C H A P. II.

The Second Question stated: Particularly what is meant by Light. It is a Principle that discovers the State of Man, and leads to Blessedness.

THE Second Question runs thus: What is that *Light* which leadeth to Salvation, and, How doth it lead to Salvation?

By *Light*, I understand not the Metaphorical Use of the Word; as when Christ said to his Disciples, *Ye are the Lights of the World*; or, as the Apostle speaks, *Now are ye Light in the Lord*; nor yet the meer Spirit or Reason of Man. But Christ, that Glorious *Sun of Righteousness*, and *Heavenly Luminary* of the Intellectual or Invisible World; represented, of all Outward Resemblances, most exactly by the Great Sun of this Sensible and Visible World: That as his Natural Light ariseth upon All, and gives Light to All, about the Affairs of this Life; so that *Divine Light* ariseth upon All, and gives Light to All that will receive the Manifestations of it, about the Concerns of the other Life. Such a Light I mean by *That Light which lighteth every Man that cometh into the World*, and that leadeth those that obey it, to Eternal Salvation.

The Scripture says no less, *John 1. 4. 9. In the Word of God, was Life, and that (very) Life was the Light of Men, that enlighteneth every Man that cometh into the World.*

But to demonstrate it the most obviously that I can, to the lowest Capacities, I shall evidence the Nature and Virtue of this Principle, *Light*, by the Holy Effects of it, which is the *How*, or the Which Way it leadeth to Salvation. This is so necessary in order to explicate the other, that as the *Tree is known by it's Fruits*, so is the True Saviour by His Salvation. If then I can make it appear, that the *Light*, as obey'd in all its Discoveries and Requirings, is *Sufficient to Salvation*, All must yield to the Efficacy of the *Light* within.

I shall then by the Properties of this *Light*, prove it Saving: In order to which, I shall begin with the first Step towards Salvation, *viz. A Sight of the Cause of Damnation*; and this is given us by *The Light within*, the Scripture is very plain, which is the great Record of Saving Truth, and of that Blessed Testimony Christ has left to his Flock.

C H A P. III.

Chap. III.

That the Light within manifests Sin; yea, All Sin. That Apostacy, or Sin in any, is no Argument against the Light. That the Services of the Jews shew no Imperfection in the Light, but in the People, whose Minds were abroad. If Insufficiency against the Light should be admitted, because of Wickedness in Men; the same may be objected against the Scriptures, which overthrows our Adversary's Assertion concerning their Sufficiency.

THE *Light*, with which Christ Lighteth all Men, manifests Sin, as these Words import; *For every one that doth Evil, bareth the Light, neither cometh to the Light, lest his Deeds should be reprov'd*: Implying, That if they would have brought their Deeds to the *Light*, the *Light* would have detected them, and tryed them; which makes the *Light* the Touchstone, Rule and Judge of Conversation and Practice. To which the Apostle *Paul* bears express Testimony, in his Epistle to the *Ephesians*, *That whatsoever is Reprov'd, is made manifest by the Light; For whatsoever makes manifest, is Light*: Where the Universality of the Apostle's Assertion shews, That nothing that is Reprov'd, as all Sin is, is, or can be excluded from the Search or Knowledge of this *Light*: Which takes in as well Thoughts, as Words and Deeds. So that nothing being reprov'd, which the *Light* doth not first Manifest, how obvious is it to every Understanding, that

John 3. 20.

Eph. 5. 13:

the Light must needs have been, and be in *all Men*, in order to such Manifestation and Conviction, or Man could not have known Sin.

It is as much as if the Apostle had said, ' * Sin is that which Damns all Men ; now it could not Damn, if it were not Reproveable, and it could never be Reproveable, if the Light did not Manifest and Condemn it as *Such*. So that our Adversaries affirming the Light not to be Sufficient to Discern all Sin, is a flat Repugnancy, and a down-right giving of the Lie to the Apostle. For, says the Apostle, *All Things that are Reproved, are made manifest by the Light*. But say they, all Things that are reprov'd, are not made manifest by the *Light*. Sober Reader, dwell here a while, and after a little Pause, tell me, Who deals most Unworthily with the Apostle, and the Holy Scriptures of *Truth*, *They* or the *Quakers* ?

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* That is the Cause.

Obj. But it is Objected, *If there be that Light in all Men, how comes it, that all Men are not Convicted of their Disobedience and Duty, as the Heathens of Old, and many Infidels at this Day? Did the Light in Saul reprove him for Persecuting the Church?*

I Answer, That this Objection does no way Impugn or Lessen the Efficacy of the Light, although it greatly aggravates their Evil that so Rebell'd against it. But that there were *Heathens*, who became a Law unto themselves, through the Degree of Light they had, *by which they did the Things contained in the Law, and were preferred far before the Circumcision that kept not the Law*; the Apostle Paul himself, is very express in that known Passage to the *Romans*, Ch. 2. Nor are other Histories silent, but loud in their Acknowledgment of very Divine Attainments, which, by this Light, several Famous *Gentiles* arrived at; who, for their Belief of *One Eternal Being*, his Communication of Divine Light to Men, the Necessity of Holy Living, and of an Immortality, with their Strict Manners, are left with Honour upon Record by credible Writers, and their Praises not a little augmented by After-Ages, even of those called Christians too. Such were, *Pythagoras, Timaeus, Selon, Bias, Chilon, Anaxagoras, Socrates, Plato, Plotin, Antisthenes, Xenocrates, Zeno, Antipater, Seneca, Epictetus, Plutarch, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus*, and others.

But what if *Jews* and *Gentiles* at any Time did Apostatize; and, particularly, what if *Saul* persecuted the Church of God, putting Disobedience for Duty; Murder for Service, Will it follow, that the Light was insufficient? By no Means, but rather that *Saul* was Rebellious, Stiff-necked, Resisting the Holy Ghost, as did his Fathers, so did he: And thus much the Words themselves shew; for 'tis said by the Text, *He kickt against the Pricks*. Then it seems there were Pricks: And where were they, if not in his Conscience: And what were they, if not the Convictions of the Light of Christ within him, which Manifests Evil, and Reproves the Deeds thereof? Otherwise called the Son of God, which to the *Galatians*, he said, *It had pleased God to reveal to him*: Though Paul knew him not, nor his Voice of a long Time, his Eye being darkened, and Ear stop't by the God of this World, who had crept into the outward Forms of Religion, then, as now, and therein employ'd many emissaries to decry that Pure, Heavenly and Invisible Life of Truth and Righteousness, which was then, and is now begotten in the Hearts of many, not only to confound the Idolatries of the *Gentiles*, but to end the Formality and Outward Services of both *Jews* and Carnal Christians.

Gal. 1. 16.

And I affirm on God's Behalf, and with the Reason of a Man, That it is most absurd for any to Charge the Rebellion of Men, to the Insufficiency of the Light: For if Men are Wicked, is it not against Knowledge? And if it be, where is the Fault? Else, if Men are so, not because they would not be better; but because they neither see nor know, nor are able to do better, how Heavy, how Black, and how Blasphemous a Character doth the Consequence of such an Opinion fasten upon the Good and Righteous God of Heaven and Earth; since it supposes him, not to have given

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given Means sufficient to do that which he requires of them, and for not doing of which, they are to be sentenced to Eternal Misery? But I confess, How deep soever this may stick with Impartial Spirits, I almost despair of entering some of our Adversaries, whose Souls are pinch'd up within the narrow Compass of a most Unmerciful Kind of Predestination; making the Eternal God, as partial as themselves; like some Ancients, That because they could not Resemble God, they would make such Gods as might Resemble them.

I say, what else can be the Tendency of this Kind of Doctrine, against the Sufficiency of the Light Within, than that the Gift of God is not Perfect, or Able, because Men don't Obey it; and that the Talent God has given to all, is Therefore Insufficient for the End for which it was given, because Man Hides it in a Napkin?

Again, Let them tell me, Would it be a good Argument, that if the same Corn should be sown in a Fertile, and a Barren Soil, that Growing in one, and not in the other, the Fault should be in the Seed, and not rather in the Ground?

Who knows not, how Tradition and Custom have Overlaid much of Conviction, and benumbed the World, and that it is through Lusts and Pleasures, become Blind and Stupid as to the Invisible Things of God. Alas! there had never been so much Need of many exterior Dispensations and Appearances of God, in Reference to Religion, so much preferred by the Professors of this Day, had not Men's Minds been departed from the Inward Light and Life of Righteousness: So that they being Outward and Abroad, God was pleas'd to meet them there in some External Manifestations: Yet so, as to turn them Home again to their first Love; to that Light and Life, which was given of God, as the Way and Giver to Eternal Salvation.

Nor could any of those Things cleanse, as concerning the Conscience; wherefore God still, by his Servants and Prophets, admonished and warned the People of Old, *To Put away the Evil of their Doings, and Cease to do Evil and Learn to do Well, and to Wash themselves, and to Cleanse themselves*; for that all their Exactness in outward Services, was otherwise, but as the *Cutting off a Dog's Neck*: A Sacrifice equally pleasing. Wherefore the Abrogation of all outward Dispensations; and the reducing Man to his first State of Inward Light and Righteousness, is called in Scripture, *The Times of Refreshment, and the Restoration of all Things*.

In short, Though there have been External Observations, and Ordinances in the World, by God's Appointment, as Figures and Shadows of the good Things to come, either to prevent the *Jews* from the outward splendid Worship of the Idolatrous *Gentiles*, that he might retain a Peculiar Sovereignty over them, or to shew forth unto them a more Hidden and Invisible Glory; this remains sure for ever, That Light within there was, and that the Ancients saw their Sins by it, and that there could be no Acceptance with God, but as they walk'd up to it, and were Taught to put away the Evil of their Doings by it: Suitable to that notable Passage, *The Path of the Just is a shining Light, that shines clearer and clearer unto the Perfect Day*. I would fain know, what this Day was, if not that of Salvation? Can there be any Night or Darkness in the Day? Surely no. What if their Light was not so large, Was it therefore not Saving? Yes surely. But as, where much is given, much is required, so where little is given, but little is required. If the Light was not so Gloriously manifested before the Coming of our Lord Jesus Christ in the Flesh, Less was then required than since; yet it follows not, that there were Two Lights, or that the Light was not Saving before the Visible Appearance of Christ to as many as lived in an Holy Conformity to it.

And if it be agreed, that Blindness in Men can be no Argument against the Light of the Sun, neither is this Light Insufficient, because the People of any Nation remain Blind through their Vain Customs and Evil Practices. Nay, should any such Doctrine be admitted, what would become of

Ista. 1.

Ch. 66.

of our Adversaries Opinion, *That the Light of meer Scripture is sufficient of it self to give Men the Knowledge of God?* For if those that have the Scriptures, do not know, believe and obey God, as they ought to do, will it not follow upon such a Principle, that the Defect is not in them, but in the Scriptures? Certainly, the Consequence will hold as well against the Scriptures, as against the Light within. If then such must wrong the Scripture, who so dispute, *Let them that think so, endeavour to Right the Light,* and not longer maintain a Position, that, being admitted, would *Overturn the Authority of the Scripture, as well as that of the Light Within.*

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Another Objection against the Light's Sufficiency, to manifest what ought to be done, though it were able to discover what should be avoided. It is answer'd, the Light not telling Man all it knows, or Man may know in Time to come, is no Argument to prove it knows not All Things. Men know more than they DO; let them first Obey what they know, and then what is convenient will be further Revel'd. It is proved from the Reason of Contraries, because it shows what ought not to be done, from Scripture at large; it does instruct what to do; and that there is Virtue in it, to the Salvation of All that Believe and Obey it. That there is no Essential Difference between the Seed, Light, Word, Spirit, Life, Truth, Power, Union, Bread, Water, Flesh and Blood: Only so denominated from the various Manifestations, Operations, and Effects of one and the same Divine Principle in Man.

BUT there is a Second Objection, viz. *That there seems to be a manifest Insufficiency in the Light, because, though several Things are Revealed by it, yet several necessary Matters are not, nor cannot; So that, though it should manifest all that is Reproveable, yet cannot it discover all that is Necessary to be either believed or done.*

I Answer. This is but a Piece of the former Objection already considered. I perceive the Pinch lies here, That because Men do not what they should, or don't know all that may be fit for them to know, therefore the Light is *Insufficient*. The first will be answer'd by what I have already said, the Reason being the same for the Sufficiency of the Light, against such as charge it with Defect, because they do not what they should, as against those who so impeach it, because they do those Things which they should not.

As for not knowing by this Light, all that is fit to be known, I deny it utterly: For Things are necessary in reference to their proper Times: *That may be requisite to Morrow which is not to Day.* It is fit for Children to learn to read, yet it is most necessary, that they should begin first to *spell*. If a School-master should be charg'd with Insufficiency, because he tells not little Children as soon as they come, all that he knows, or all at once when he initiates them in the *First Principles of Learning*, he would think himself unreasonably dealt with. What then must we conclude, but that the Master may be very capable to teach, were his Scholar so, and willing to learn? That if the Scholar observes and obeys his Master, he will increase in his Learning: That the Defect of the Scholar should not be laid upon his Master: That to tell or amuse him about Things unsuitable to his present Capacity, were the ready Way to overcharge and wholly spoil him: And consequently that the Tutor not telling his Pupil all that is fit to be known at once, implies no Defect or Ignorance of those Things, in the Tutor: Which, to apply Scripturally, is in brief thus: *If you do my Will, you shall know (more) of my Doctrine: I have yet many Things to say, but you are not able to bear them now.* If to say, that the *Light of the Gospel* is to be charg'd with Insufficiency, because it discover'd not to every Believer, all those *ineffable* Things revealed to the Apostle, be both False and Antichristian, to what an Extremity of Zeal are they led against the *Blessed Light of the Son of God*, as he is the Enlightner of Mankind, who charge it with *Insufficiency*, because it reveals not at once to every Individual, in every Age, all that he *shall ever know, or that shall be known to others in future Times.*

John 7. 17

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The Light then is not insufficient, though it does not tell me all at one Time, which may be a Duty to the End of the World, especially in extraordinary Cases, whilst it informs me, or any Man, of Daily Duty. Yea, the Light is sufficient in Point of Discovery, whilst it shews People much more than they do, and yet what they ought to perform. If such will say, and can prove, that they are come to the *Upshot* of the Light's Teachings, and that they have learnt whatever it is possible for the Light of Christ to teach them, and yet are able to make appear, that there is something further wanting, they will prove themselves, not only above Men, but *God also*, who is the *Fountain of all Light, that searcheth the Heart, and Trieth the Reins of Men by the Inshinings of his manifesting Light, and which, as obey'd, lead to God, who is the Fulness of all Light and Life*. But indeed, this Light is the Saviour of Death, the Wages of Sin, to all that rebel against it, and the Saviour of Life to those only, who are obedient to it: For such shall not walk in Darknes, but have the Light of Life.

To conclude, if the Light be allowed to manifest all Things that are reproveable, then by the just Reason of Contraries, should it be sufficient to discover all Things that are approveable, with respect to Man's Faith, Salvation and Duty. If the Light tells us, it is Evil not to Believe in God, it follows, that to Believe in God, is according to the Convictions of the Light Within. And if it reproves a Man for not being, it consequently teacheth him that he ought to be. If the Light condemns Theft, does it not necessarily instruct to Honesty? If it reproves me for doing my own Will, it implies, I ought to do his Will to whom I owe all: And if it checks a Man for Sin, it instructeth him thereby to Holiness, *without which none shall see God*. In short, if it manifest reproveable Things to be such, at the same Time it condemns them, and teacheth Things quite contrary: The Unfruitful Works of Darknes are judg'd by the Light, that the Holy Fruits of the Light may appear: *Ye were Darknes, but now are ye Light in the Lord*; and *The Reproofs of Instruction are the Way of Life*. He that comes out of the reprov'd Darknes, walks in the approv'd Light; and who so answers the Holy Reproof, unto *such is Sealed up the Instruction of the Way of Life*. And this brings me to the third Property of the Light, with respect to Men, and that is, it doth not only manifest and condemn Sin, and discover and incline to Purity, but as adhered to (or rather that Principle which is this Light) it is able, in Point of Power and Efficacy, to redeem from Sin, and lead to a State of highest Felicity. *I am the Light of the World*, (saith Jesus himself) *he that follows me, shall not walk in Darknes, but shall have the Light of Life*. In which it is very evident, That the same Light, which manifesteth Darknes, redeems from it, and brings to a State of Life: That is to say, Those, who confidently believe in Christ, as he manifesteth himself a Light in their Consciences, to condemn Sin in every Man's Flesh (whom he hath therefore illuminated) and that obediently follow the Holy Requirings of it; (relinquishing the Pleasures of Sin, which last but for a Season, and taking up the *Daily Cross* to their own Lusts and Wills) shall most assuredly find this *Divine Principle*, which, in Reference to the dark State of Men, and the Discerning and Conviction it brings with it, is rightly denominat'd *Light*, to have also Power and Efficacy, to save from that which it manifesteth and condemns Men for, and to bring them unto that Glory, of which it gives a True Revelation and Hope. For the same Word of God, who is call'd the *True Light that enlighteneth all Mankind, is also the Life, Power, Wisdom, and Righteousness of the Father, in whom are hid all the Treasures of Wisdom, and unto whom all Power, both in Heaven and Earth is committed, who is Heir of all Things*: Who also saith, when in the World, *While ye have the Light, walk in the Light*, (for their Day of Visitation was almost over) or, as some Translations more truly have it) *While you have a little Light in you, believe in the Light, that ye may be the Children of the Light*. Again, *I am come a Light into the World, that whosoever believes in me should not abide in Darknes*: So that a Sincere Faith in, and Obedience to the Light of Christ, as it shines in the Heart,

Eph. 5. 8.
Prov. 6. 23.

John 8. 12.

John 12. 36,
46.

Heart, whereby to give the Living and Experimental Knowledge of the Glory of God unto the Creature, is the Way to be redeemed from Dark-ness, and to be made a Child of Light; or that there is Power and Virtue sufficient in the Light of Christ, to Ransom the Souls of such as diligently adhere to it, from under the Power of Darkness. For as the True Know-ledge of God is Life Eternal, so *whatever may be known of God, is mani-fested within*; which Manifestation cannot well be without this Light, whose peculiar Property it is to discover, reveal, or manifest the Mind and Will of God to Mankind; as saith the Apostle; *For whatsoever doth make manifest is Light. In Him was Life, and that Life was the Light of Men*: But not therefore the Life of Men, Spiritually and Unitedly considered. That was the peculiar Privilege of those only who believ'd in it, and walk'd according to it.

There is a great Difference, tho' not in the Principle, yet in it's Appear-ance to Man, between Life and Light. Such as truly believe in it, the Word-God, as he appears to illuminate the Heart and Conscience, and o-bey it, do really come to know and enjoy a New Nature, Spirit and Life: And in that Sense it may be said, As the Life in the Word became the Light in Man, so the Light by Obedience became the Life in Man. *He that follows me shall not walk in Darkness, but have the Light of Life*, (saith Jesus). Not, that they differ in Kind, only in Operation, with respect to Man: For as it is the very Life of the Word (in the Word) it is the Light of Men; and so much it is, let them reject the Virtue of it, if they will: But 'tis no more than so in Man, unless received, and believed by him, and then it begets Life, Motion, Heat, and every Divine Qualification in the Soul, suitable to the State of the New Birth. And thus the Life of the Word, which is Light common, becomes the Life of every such Particular, by communicating to, or ingenerating Life in the Soul; so that 'tis no more he that lives, but Christ (the Word-God, whom he hath now put on, and who is become his very Life, as well as Light) that liveth and dwelleth in him.

Let not Men then in their dark Imaginations, with their borrowed Know-ledge from the meer Letter of the Scriptures, contend against the Suffi-ciency of what they obey not; neither have tryed, and so cannot judge of it's Power, Virtue, and Efficacy; which works out Salvation for as many as are turned to it, and abide therein.

And indeed, so very exprefs are the Scriptures in Defence of the Suffi-ciency, and Necessity of the Light to Salvation, that it seems to have been the great Design of our Lord Jesus Christ, in delegating his Disciples to preach His Everlasting Gospel, viz. *That they might open the Eyes of People, and turn them from Darkness to the Light, and from the Power of Satan unto God, that they might receive Remission of Sins, and an Inheritance among them that are Sanctified through Faith that is in Me. Who is this ME? He that is both the Light of the World, and the Power of God unto Salvation*. Now certainly the Eyes that were then blind, were not the Natural, but Spiritual Eyes of Men, (and such must also be the Darkness and Light also) blinded by the God of this World, who Rules in the Hearts of the Chil-dren of Disobedience: No Wonder then if the Light was not comprehended of the Darkness, and that Blind People did not see the Light: But it plainly proves, That Light there was, though not seen. Now the Work of the Powerful Ministry of the Apostles was, To open this Blind or Dark Eye of Man's Mind, which the God of the World hath blinded, and then to turn them from that Darkness to the Light: The Darkness or Evil was within, so was the Light also; since the Illumination was necessary, where the Darkness was predominant: Consequently, the Way to be Translated from Satan's Power unto God; and to have Remission of Sins, and an Inhe-ritance with them that are Sanctified, is, to be turned from the Darkness, or Sin in the Heart, unto the Marvellous Light, that had long thined there uncomprehended, to wit, the Gospel, which is called both the Light and Power of God.

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John 17. 3.
Rom. 1. 19.

Ephes. 5. 13.
John 1. 4.

John 8. 12.

Acts 26. 18.

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Rom. 13. 12,
13, 14.

The same Apostle in his Epistle to the *Romans*, is more express concerning the Holy Nature and Efficacy of the Light to Salvation, when he thus exhorts them: *The Night is far spent, the Day is at Hand; Let us therefore cast off the Works of Darkeness, and put on the Armour of Light: Let us walk Honestly, as in the Day; not in Rioting and Drunkenness, not in Chambering and Wantonness, not in Strife and Envy, but put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make no Provision for the Flesh, to fulfil the Lusts thereof.* From whence I shall briefly remark Three Things, greatly to our Purpose, and the Truth's Defence in this Matter.

2 Cor. 6. 14.

1. That there is an absolute Opposition betwixt Light and Darkeness: As Darkeness can only Vail the Light from the Understandings of Men, so Light only can discover and dispel that Darkeness. *Or thus: That the Light manifests and condemns the Works of Darkeness: For, what Communion hath Light with Darkeness?* Their Difference shows the Divine Efficacy of the Light,

2. That in this Light there is *Armour*, which being put on, is able to defend against, and conquer Darkeness, and secure the Soul from the Evil of it: Otherwise, it would be very strange, that the Apostle should exhort the People to put it on, to defend them against the Worker and Works of Darkeness.

Rom. 13. 12,
13, 14.

3. That putting on the Armour of the Light, and putting on the Lord Jesus Christ (the Light of the World) are Synonymous, or one and the same Thing, and for one and the same End; as may be observed from the Apostle's Words, *Let us put on the Armour of Light, and walk Honestly, as in the Day, not in Rioting and Drunkenness, not in Chambering and Wantonness, not in Strife and Envy.*

But put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make no Provision for the Flesh, to fulfill the Lusts thereof.

I hope then, neither will it be disallow'd, that Christ is *That Light*, with which Men are inlightned, (but more of that anon) nor is that Light Men are exhorted by us to obey, a *Naked and Insufficient, but a Searching, Expelling, Powerful, and Arming Light*, against Darkeness, and all it's unfruitful Works, and consequently Saving.

1 John 1. 5,
6, 7.

Thus the Beloved Disciple testifies very emphatically, in his First Epistle, where he gives us a Relation of the Apostolical Mission: *This then is the Message which we have heard of him, and declare unto you, That God is Light; and in Him is no Darkeness at all; if we say, we have Fellowship with Him, and walk in Darkeness, we Lie, and do not the Truth; But if we walk in the Light, as he is in the Light, we have Fellowship one with another, and the Blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from All Sin.*

Here is a brief Stating of the whole Great Case of Salvation. (1.) What God is; Light. (2.) Who they are that can have no Fellowship with Him; *Such as walk in Darkeness, that is Sin.* (3.) Who they are that have Fellowship with him; *Such as walk in the Light, as He is in the Light.* (4.) The Reason, Why, is given; because such as walk in the Light, are therein sure to feel the Virtue of Christ's Blood, to cleanse them from All Unrighteousness. Where observe, that the Light's leading us out of Darkeness, that is, Unrighteousness, is the same Thing with the *Blood of Jesus Christ, cleansing from all Sin*: Sin and Darkeness, and to be cleansed from the one, and to be translated from the other, is in the Text *Equivalent*: Otherwise, a Man might be delivered from Darkeness, and walk in the Light, and not be cleansed from Sin, which is *That Darkeness*: A Thing absurd and impossible. In short, they go together.

By this it is evident, that the Light being walkt in, doth directly lead to God, and Fellowship with him, who is the Saving Light and Health of all Nations, and consequently, that the Light leads to Salvation; for that is *Salvation*.

Many are the Denominations that are given in Scripture to one and the same Thing: Christ is called, *the Word, the Light, the Way, the Truth, the Life, the Quickening Spirit, the Saving Health, the Saviour; Emmanuel, a Rock,*

Rock, a Door, a Vine, a Shepherd, &c. A State of Sin is sometimes called, *Darkness, Death, Disobedience, Barrenness, Rebellion, Stiff-neckedness, Eating of Sour Grapes*: And wicked Men, *Briars, Thorns, Thistles, Tares, Dead-Trees, Wolves, Goats, &c.* On the contrary, a State of Conversion is sometimes expressed by such Words, as, *Purged, Refined, Washed, Cleansed, Sanctified, Justified, Led by the Spirit, Baptized by One Spirit into One Body, made Circumcision without Hands; Regenerated, Redeemed, Saved, Bought with a Price, &c.* And Persons so qualified, *The Children of God, Children of Light, Children of the Kingdom, Heirs of Glory, Lambs, Sheep, Wheat, &c.* And that by which they became or continued thus, *Light, Spirit, Grace, Word, Fire, Sword, Hammer, Power, Seed, Truth, Way, Life, Blood, Water, Bread, Union, that leadeth into all Truth.* All which, respectively, is but one and the same in Nature, notwithstanding the great Variety of *Epithets, or Names* given in Scripture. So Sin or a Sinful State, is variously denominated, from the divers Operations and Discoveries of the Nature of it, in Wicked Men. The like may be said of the several Virtues in Good and Holy Men, as of that one divine Principle, which so qualifies and preserves them. For as the Primitive Saints felt the Operation of the one holy Principle, so they denominated it: To men in Darkness they called it Light; to such as believed and obeyed, it became a Leader: And those who had witnessed their Sins conquered, their Lusts cut down, their Hearts broken, and their Souls washed, Redeemed, and daily nourished up in the Truth, they called this Divine Principle, a *Sword, a Fire, an Hammer, Water, Flesh, Blood, and Bread, and Seed of Life.* In short, the same heavenly Principle became *Light, Wisdom, Power, Counsel, Redemption, Sanctification, and Eternal Salvation* unto those who believed in it. So that the Variety of Expressions in the Scriptures, must not be taken for so many distinct Things in Kind, no nor sometimes in Operation.

And indeed, notwithstanding the Light some would lodge in the bare Scriptures, *exclusive* of the Spirit, all the Wise Men of the World, met together, would be confounded, to give a Right Account of the Matter therein contained, if they were not Living, Experimental Witnesses of the Work of the Holy Spirit therein expressed. For as He is not an Evidence sufficient by Laws Human, that was not an Eye or Ear Witness, neither are they the Right Evidences for God and Christ, who have not been Eye and Ear Witnesses of the Light, Spirit, Grace, and Word of God in their Hearts. And I can with Boldness affirm, they have no more Title to the Glorious Promises, declared in Scripture, than a Man has to a large Deed of Gift, where he is not at all named or intended. It is Time then for such to look about them, lest the Midnight Cry overtake them, and their Lamp be found without Oil: For I must needs tell them, in the Beloved Disciple's Language, *He that saith, he is in the Light, and hateth his Brother, is in the Darkness even until now.* And in my own Language, that I take it to be their State, who shew so much envious Displeasure against an Harmless Suffering People, that never yet offended, much less justly provok'd them. But would they bring their Thoughts, Words and Deeds to this Light of JESUS, in their own Consciences, and let True Judgment pass upon Evil Thoughts, Words and Deeds, and patiently undergo the Heavenly Chastisements thereof, for their Disobedience to it, and vilifying of it, they would come to witness a Conviction from Darkness to Light, and continuing to walk therein, as that Holy Way, in which the *Ransomed* of the Lord always did do, and shall walk through all Generations, and which leads to the Enjoyment of Eternal Peace: And such is the Excellency of Christ, the True Light of the Soul, that as He was the First, so shall He be the Last; yea, when all outward Performances, Writings, and Worships, and the whole World shall be at an End, the Use and Excellency of this Light will remain for ever Divine, as saith *John* the Divine. *And they shall see his Face, and his Name shall be written in their Foreheads, and there shall be no Night there, and they need no Candle, neither Light of the Sun, for the Lord God giveth the Light, and they shall reign for ever and ever, Amen.*

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An Objection against the Light's Antecedency to Christ's Coming. The Light Saving from Adam's Day, through the Holy Patriarchs and Prophets Time, down to Christ's, proved from Scripture.

Tit. 2.
John 14. 6.
John 1. 1, 2,
3. 4, 9;
1 Cor. 15.
45, 47, & 1.
24.
1 John 2. 27.
and 5, 6, 7, 8.
John 6. 51,
52, 53.

HAVING then plainly shewn from the Scripture, (1.) That the Light is *Saving*, since the Time of Christ; beginning with it's first Appearance in Man, as manifesting of Sin. (2.) Condemning of it. (3.) Redeeming those from Sin, that obey it: And that the same Principle which is called Light, is the Seed Grace, Truth, Word, Spirit, Power, Union, Water, Way, Life, Flesh, and Blood, Mystical; and therefore not another Being, than that, which, all that own plain Scripture must confess, doth save; I call it the *Light of Salvation, or that leads to Salvation.*

But there remains yet several *Objections* to be answered, which done, we shall immediately proceed to give Judgment upon the Question, *Who, or What this Light is, with Respect to all our Adversaries Cavils.*

Obj. Though the Universality of a Saving Light, from the Scriptures since Christ's Life, Death, Resurrection and Ascension, be proved and allowed, yet the Pinch of the Controversie will be this, Where was this Light before? Had any this Saving Light, (they had a Light) before the Coming of Christ in the Flesh, as they must, if your Doctrine of the Light be true?

To which I shall give my Answer, both from Scripture, History and Reason.

Gen. 1. 27.

I. The first Scripture I shall quote, is in the first of *Genesis*: So God created Man in his own Image, in the Image of God created he him.

From whence I draw this Argument, That if Man was made in God's Image, then because, God is *Light*, Adam must necessarily have had of the Divine Light in Him, and have been the Image of this Light, so long as he walked in it; because no Man walks in the Light, but he becomes the Child of Light. And as the Apostle Paul expresseth it, of such as were converted to that Light they had once erred from, *Ye were Darkness, but now are ye light in the Lord.* That is, through Obedience to the Light of the Lord Jesus, with which he hath lighted you, you are become *Light in the Lord*, and *Lights* in your Generation. For any Man then to say, Adam had not Light, were to suppose his innocent State to be that of Darkness, and instead of being God's Image, who is, and ever was, and always will be *Light*, he would have been wholly ignorant of him, in whose Image he is said to have been created.

Deut. 30: 11,
12, 13, 14,
15.

II. This *Moses* directed the Children of *Israel* to, when he, in God's Stead, recommended, and earnestly pressed the keeping of the Commandments, and *Word in the Heart*, as we read in *Deuteronomy*. For this Commandment which I command thee this Day, is not hid from thee, neither is it far off, It is not in Heaven, that thou shouldst say, Who shall go up for us to Heaven, and bring it unto us, that we may hear it, and do it? But the Word is very nigh unto thee, in thy Mouth, and in thy Heart, that thou mayst do it. See, I have set before thee this Day, Life and Good, and Death, and Evil.

From whence I cannot but observe these three Things.

1. That the *Commandment* and the *Word*, are so called by Way of Excellency, and Preeminence, to all *Written* Commandments or Words.

2. That this Commandment or Word is nigh, even in the *Heart* of Man it self: None need or ought to plead Distance or Ignorance, to excuse their Disobedience.

3. That the Setting of *Life*, and *Good*, *Death* and *Evil* before them, was and could only be in and through the *Shinings* of the *Light* within, else

else how could they have seen Good and Evil set before them. And that it was in their Hearts, the Lord set those States before them, the Verse immediately follows that, wherein the Word is by *Moses* argumentatively proved, as well as affirmed, to be in the *Heart* of Man. Now I hope, it shall not be charged upon me as a Fault, and I know who will bear me out, if I say, This Commandment is that which *David* spoke of, when he said, *The Commandment of the Lord is pure, enlightning the Eyes*; and this holy Word, the same with that, which he said, was a *Lamp unto his Feet, and a Light unto his Path, which he hid in his Heart, and by hearkning to which the young Man cleanseth his Way*: And not another Word, than what *Paul* called the *Word of Faith*, which he preached, by which the just live, consequently a saving Commandment, Word and Light it was, and is, to such as believe and obey it.

Psal. 119. 8.
119. 105.
119. 11.
119. 112.
Rom. 10. 8.

III. The next Scripture I will urge shall be this: *for thou art my Lamp O Lord, for the Lord will lighten my Darknefs*. Now if God was the Light and Lamp of that Day, as certainly then they had a Light, and such an one as was Saving too; unless we should blasphemously deny God to be Light, or Saving, who is most certainly both. And if it should be said, this was a *Metaphorical Way* of Speaking in the Royal Prophet, I answer, be it so, it was to shew, that they had something to manifest to them, the Way God would have them to walk in, or a discovering Power, that attended them, by which to walk uprightly, and safely, to Glory; and this is what we say.

9 Sam. 22.
29.

IV. Wicked Men were not without Light to condemn them, as Good Men ever had Light to preserve them. *They are of those that rebel against the Light, they know not the Ways thereof, nor abide in the Paths thereof*, said *Job*. In which Passage it is very obvious, that wicked Men have Light, otherwise it would have been utterly impossible for them to have rebelled against it: Nay, *against the Light*, implies, That it is the same Light in Nature, with that, which righteous Men are guided by; answerable to another Emphatical Passage in the same Book of *Job*, *Is there any Number of his Armies, and upon whom doth not his Light arise*? Certainly, this Universality strongly pleads on the Behalf of our Belief of the Light: And if People would but venture to let it come close to their Consciences, I cannot be so Uncharitable as to think they should not make some Acknowledgment to its Universality, antecedent to the Coming of Christ. I shall omit to say much of its Efficaciousness at that Time (tho' one would think that Light always shows us a good Way from a Bad one) referring it to another Place: Only I shall observe, how that *Job* expressed himself, when he was in his deep Troubles of Spirit: *O that I were as in Months past, in the Days when God preserved me, when his Candle shined upon my Head, and when by his Light I walked through Darknefs*; where it is most apparent, that *Job* attributes his Salvation from the Darknefs (which stands both for *Sin* and *Affliction*) unto the Light, wherewith God hath enlightened him. And certainly, It had been utterly impossible for divers weighty Things, that are delivered in that Book of *Job*, to have been known, and said so lively, had they not been seen by the Light, and Candle of the Lord: For in all the whole Book I find not one Verse cited out of any other Scripture. It seems an Original, and doubtless very early.

Job. 24. 33.

Job. 25. 31

Job. 29. 31

V. To this Doctrine *David* was no Stranger, who so very often commemorates the Light, and the Divine Excellencies of it: Some few Places I shall mention of those many that I might offer.

The Lord is my Light and my Salvation, whom shall I fear? The Lord is the Strength of my Life, of whom shall I be afraid?

Psal. 27. 1.

This weighty Passage of the Prophet is a lively Testimony to the *True Light*, wherein *David* confesseth to what the Beloved Disciple call'd his Evangelical Message, *viz.* That God is *Light*. Next, that not only God is Light, but which doubtless was most of all to his Comfort, *His Light*; *The Lord is My Light, and My Salvation*: As much as if he had said, Be-

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cause the Lord is become my Light, I have known him to be my Salvation, or him by whom my Salvation hath been wrought.

In short thus, *That God is My Salvation, as he is My Light*; or, *because I have obeyed Him, and made Him my Light*, I have witnessed his Salvation. O! that such Professors of Religion, in whom there is any Moderation, would but be pleas'd to weigh, what was *David's* Light, and what was his Salvation; who made it his Rule at that Time of the World, of which he farther speaks:

Psal. 118. 27,
119, 105, 102.

God is the Lord, who hath shewed us Light. Thy Word is a Lamp unto my Feet, and a Light unto my Paths. I have not departed from thy Judgments, for thou hast taught me. This made him far Wiser than his Teachers in the hidden Life and Mystery of Things, whereby *David* had long seen beyond all Types and Shadows of the good Things to come, even to the very Substance it self, from whence came his excellent Prophecies: Agreeing with that famous Passage, *The Path of the Just is as the shining Light, that shines more and more unto the perfect Day.* This strongly implies, that *David*, and not he alone, but the Just of all Ages, were attended with the Discoveries and Leadings of a Divine Light; which, through the Obedience of Faith made Just Men, and always led them the Way of Salvation; unless the just Way was not the Saving Way: But if it was, certainly it is so still; for it is the Lord himself that *David* calls a Lamp, as he here doth the Word, which *Moses* said was *Nigh in the Heart, that Men should obey it and do it.* This was the Word of Reconciliation in every Generation, whose Holy Water washed their Consciences from Sin, that heard and obeyed it.

Prov. 4. 18.

Again, that this Light was not confin'd to *David*, or such Good Men, take these two Passages.

Psal. 50. 19,
20, 21.

Thou givest thy Mouth to Evil, and thy Tongue frameth Deceit; Thou sittest and speakest against thy Brother, thou slanderest thine own Mother's Son: These Things hast thou done, and I kept Silence, thou thoughtest that I was altogether such an one as thy self, but I will reprove Thee, and set them in Order before thine Eyes, (saith the Lord.) Again, *His Lightnings enlighten'd the World, the Earth saw, and trembled.* In which two Places it will appear, upon impartial Consideration, that God hath enlighten'd the World, and that by his Light which discovers the Works and Workers of Darkness, he doth reprove the Inhabitants of the World, set their Sins in Order before them, and cause such Guilty Ones to Tremble at his so appearing, which is expressly confirmed in that notable Passage of the Prophet; *For Lo! He that formeth the Mountains, and createth the Wind, that makes the Morning Darkness, and treadeth upon the high Places of the Earth, and declares unto Man, what is his Thought; the Lord, the God of Hosts is his Name.*

Psal. 99. 4.

Amos 4. 13.

Psal. 139. 7.

This the Psalmist was well acquainted with himself, when he uttered these Words, *Whither shall I go from thy Spirit, or whither shall I flee from thy Presence?* Which plainly shows to us, that the Spirit of the Lord and his Presence were every where; and that the Light thereof discovered Darkness to Mankind: For the Question was not, whether God by his Spirit was not every where; for that all must grant, or he could not be God? But whether it was possible for *David* to withdraw himself into any Place, where the *Eternal Spirit* and *Presence of God* (who is Light it self) were not *Present* with him, in some Sort or other to his Instruction; as the fore-going Words intimate? Again, *O Lord thou hast searched me, and known me, — Thou understandest my Thought as far off — Thou art acquainted with all my Ways.* Which, tho' God knew them, it stands firm, that *David* could not have known God or them, or that God had known them but by the *Light of the Spirit*, of which he says in the *seventh Verse* following (which I have already cited) *Whither shall I go from thy Spirit?*

Ver. 1, 2, 3.

In short, it must needs be evident to all unprejudic'd Readers, *David* meant that he had the Light of God's Holy Spirit *Present* with him, as a Reprover, Informer, or Comforter; since he makes it impossible for him

to

to be any where without it. Which may prove to us, that however he lived above a thousand Years before the Apostle *Paul*, he very well knew the Meaning of that Doctrine he preach'd to the *Athenians*, *God is not far away*, or at a Distance from every one of us. Which truly known and experimentally witnessed in the Soul, and that not only as a *Reprover*, but by an humble and holy Reception of him into the Heart, as a Comforter, Shepherd, Bishop, King, and Lord; is the Glory of the Evangelical Dispensation, where *God dwells in his holy Temple, and Tabernacles with them*. This is the blessed *Emmanuel-state*, *God with*, and *God in Men*.

I might here sub-join the Account we have of the great Illumination of *Daniel*, and the *Gentiles* clear Acknowledgment of the same, as it is given us in the Scripture; which they could never have done with that Seriousness and Conviction, but from some Glimpse of the same Divine Light, for it must be the same *Light*, that shews the same Truths; but that I shall pass over with several other Passages of the lesser Prophets; and conclude my Scripture-Proof of the Gift of the Light of God's Spirit, antecedent to Christ's Coming in the Flesh, with *Stephen's* Testimony, *Howbeit the Most High dwelleth not in Temples made with Hands, as saith the Prophet: Heaven is my Throne, and Earth is my Footstool; what House will you build me, saith the Lord? or what is the Place of my Rest? Hath not my Hand made all these things? ye stiff-necked and uncircumcised in Hearts and Ears, ye do Always Resist the Holy Ghost; as your Fathers did, so do ye.* By which 'tis plain, that the *Rebellious Jews* had the Spirit of God; it strove with them, but they resisted it: And if the *Rebellious* had it, the *Obedient* were not without it.

And lest it should be objected, that it was only the Spirit in *Stephen* then, and the holy Prophets of old, that both they and their Fore-Fathers resisted, and not in themselves; Remember, Reader, that weighty Passage in *Nehemiah*, *Thou gavest also thy Good Spirit to instruct them, and with-heldest not thy Manna from their Mouth*; by which it is most evident, that they that had the *Manna* to Feed them, had the *Spirit* to instruct them; but all had their Portion of the *Manna* to feed them, therefore All had also their Portion of the *Spirit* to *Instruct* them. So that the Light of God's Spirit, or the Spirit of God, was given as well to the *Rebellious* as *Obedient*, that it might condemn for Sin, as well as lead into all Righteousness: And since we are to suppose God's Spirit, and the Light thereof, to be sufficient to Salvation, (for God's Gifts are *Perfect* in themselves, and are given to accomplish their Ends perfectly) we may, without any Offence, I hope, conclude, that during those many Ages before the Coming of Christ in the Flesh, He did illuminate Mankind with a sufficient Measure of his Divine Light and Spirit.

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Chap. V.
Acts 17. 27.

1 Cor 6. 19.
20.

Acts 7. 48,
49, 50, 51.

Neh. 9. 20.

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Another Objection, that though the Jews had it, it will not follow that the Gentiles were so illuminated. It is Answer'd by several Scriptures, that they were not exempted; but had a Measure of Light, some Divine Seed sown in their Hearts, some Talent given, and that it was sufficient. A Challenge to give an Instance of one that by the Light within was reproved for not believing that Jesus was the Christ, is Answer'd. Such as believed in the Light, and walk'd up to it, did receive Christ when he came. The high Pretenders were they who opposed the Scriptures, and Crucified him. The Light from Scripture concluded Universal and Saving.

BUT here I expect this Objection, having run our *Adversaries* unavoidably to it:

Object. Very well, Taking for granted, what you have said in Reference to a Saving Light or Spirit, universally bestow'd upon the Jews, THAT WERE A DISTINCT PEOPLE from the rest of the World, under very many peculiar Rights; yet cannot we think it good Arguing to infer the

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the Gifts of God's Light and Spirit to the Gentiles, that make far the greatest Part thereof, from these Scriptures, that only seem to prove it the Priviledge of the Jews.

To which I Answer, That I conceive I have urg'd those Scriptures already, which give a plain Conviction of the Truth of that general Inference: But because I am desirous from my Soul, in perfect Love to theirs, that shall read this Discourse, of removing what Objections I am able to foresee it may meet with, after it shall have pass my Hand, I will yet endeavour to make appear, first from *Scripture*; and next from the best Account we have of the *Doctrines* and *Lives* of *Heathens*; and lastly from *Reason*, the Thing; That God's Love in the Illumination of his Spirit was *Universal*; or that Mankind was before Christ's Coming in the *Flesh* enlightened with such a Measure of the Light of his Spirit as was *Saving* in it self, and so experienced of all such as received and obeyed it, in the *Love* of it. In order to this, I shall briefly insist on a few Scriptures, some of which have been already quoted, though not so directly to this Matter.

Gen. 6. 3.

I. *My Spirit shall not always strive with Man.* Here observe, That no one Nation was interest'd more than another, but Man stands for the whole *Adam*, or *Mankind*: From whence I conclude, that Mankind was not destitute of the Spirit, or Light of the Almighty, though it might be known in no higher Degree, than that of a *Convincer* or *Reprover* of Sin: Yet it follows not, but that if *Man* had yielded to the Strivings of it, he had been thereby redeemed from the Spirit of Iniquity, that was the Ground of his grievous Revolt and Resistance, which Redemption I call *Salvation* from Sin.

Job. 24. 13.

II. *They are of those that rebel against the Light; they know not the Ways thereof, nor abide in the Paths thereof.* Here is no Mention made of *Jews* more than *Gentiles* in this Chapter, if at all in the whole Book. For *Job* is here giving the Character of wicked Men in general, without Respect to any particular Nation. So that we may well infer, he did not understand that the Light whereof he spoke should be limited in its Illumination to any particular People. In short, I argue thus; if such as pluck the Fatherless from the *Breast*, and take a *Pledge* of the Poor, (as the Context relates) are those that *Rebel* against the Light, and walk not in it's Way; then because that Vice was never limited to the *Jews*, but other Nations wrought that Wickedness as well as they; it will plainly follow, that the *Light*, against which such Offenders rebell'd, was not limited to the *Jews*, but extended to the *Gentiles* also: Unless we should say, That what was Rebellion and Wickedness in the *Jews*, was not so in the *Gentiles*. But because Sin was, and is, Sin in its own Nature, all the World over; *Light* was, and is *Light*, all the World over, whether Men bring their Deeds unto it, or not.

Job 25. 3.

III. But again, let us hear the same Book speak, *Is there any Number of his Armies? And upon whom doth not his Light arise?*

This Question carries in it a strong Affirmative of the *Universality* of God's Light, as much as to say, Who is there among all the Sons and Daughters of Men, that can justly say, *I am not enlighten'd by him?* If then none can, it must needs follow, That all are enlighten'd, as well *Gentiles* as *Jews*.

Neither is it our *Construction* only, but the Judgment of Men fam'd in the World, for their Exactness in the Original Text, or Letter of the Scripture. They interpret it to be the *Light of the Divine Wisdom*, the *Fountain of Light*, yea *God himself*: That rebelling against the Light is against God *אֱלֹהִים*, the *Light of Israel*: Alluding to the Psalmist, *The Lord is my Light and my Salvation*. Nay, to the Light mention'd by the Apostle Paul, *Ye, who were sometimes Darkness, are now Light in the Lord*. And that very Light, which is said to have sprung up to them that sat in Darkness, which is the *Light of Truth*; and by All allow'd to be

be the Evangelical, and spoke of Christ's Manifestation. Also that the Ways of Light, are *Light*, leading to the Light it self which Wicked Men turn from, and spurn at. That this is the Light, which there is none, but it rises upon, whereby to give them true Sight of Themselves. See the Criticks, *Munsterius, Varabius, Clarinus, Castellio* on the 17th Verse; but especially *Drusius* and *Codureus*, who say, * *All Men Partake of that Light*, and that it is Sufficient to manifest and drive away the Darkness of Error, and that it is the Light of Life; Nay *Codureus* calls it, an *Evangelical Principle*, and seems to explain his Mind by a Quotation of the Evangelist's Words, John 1. 9. *That was the true Light, that enlighteneth all Mankind coming into the World.*

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Munster.
Varab.
Clar. Castell.
Drus. and
Codur. Crit.
in 24, 25, Ch.
Ver. 13, and
3 Job. p. 3284
to 3308.
Chap. 25. 3.

IV. Thus much those two Notable Parables teach us of the Sower, and the Lord that gave his Servants Talents. They who believe Scripture, must acknowledge them to represent God's Dealings with Mankind, in reference to *Gifts, Duty and Reward*. Observe the first Parable.

The same Day went Jesus out of the House, and sat by the Sea-side; And great Multitudes were gathered together unto him, so that he went into a Ship, and sat, and the whole Multitude stood on the Shore. And he spake many Things unto them in Parables, saying, Behold, A Sower went forth to sow, and when he sowed, some Seeds fell by the Way-side, and the Fowls came, and devour'd them up; Some fell upon Stony Places, where they had not much Earth, and forthwith they sprung up, because they had no Deepness of Earth, and when the Sun was up, they were scorched, and because they had not Root, they wither'd away; and some fell among Thorns, and the Thorns sprung up and choak'd them; But other fell in Good Ground, and brought forth Fruit, some an Hundred-fold, some Sixty-fold, some Thirty-fold. Who hath Ears to hear, let him hear.

Matt. 13:
1--14.

It is granted by all that I know of, that the Seeds-Man is Christ: The Scripture saith, the Seed is the Word of the Kingdom, which must needs be the Spiritual Word nigh in the Heart, suitable to the Heavenly Kingdom, which Christ said was within, other-wise call'd *Light*, that is said to be sown for the Righteous; or the Grace which comes by Christ, that appears unto all Men, and brings Salvation to them that are taught by it; or the Spirit that Quickens us: And lastly, common Sense tells us, that the several Grounds comprehend Mankind; for they must either include the Bad with the Good, or the Good only must be Sown: But the very Scripture expressly distinguisheth betwixt the Good and Bad Ground, yet affirms the One to have been sown with the Seed as well as the Other: Therefore God's Gift is Universal, however Men, by Wicked Works, may have render'd their Hearts Stony, Thorny, or otherwise defective and incapable of bringing forth Fruit.

Ver. 19:

The other Parable is also very Weighty, and much to our Purpose: *For the Kingdom of Heaven is as a Man Travelling into a far Country, who called his own Servants, and delivered to them his Goods; and unto one he gave Five Talents, to another Two, and to another One; to Every Man according to his Ability, and straight-way took his Journey. Then he that had received Five Talents, went and traded with the same, and made them Other Five Talents; and likewise he that had received Two, He also Gained other Two; But he that had received One, went and Digged in the Earth, and Hid his Lord's Money. After a long Time, the Lord of those Servants cometh and Reckoneth with them: And so he that had received Five Talents came and brought Other Five Talents, saying, Lord, Thou deliver'dst unto me Five Talents, Behold, I have gained, besides them, Five Talents More. His Lord said unto him, Well done thou Good and Faithful Servant, thou hast been faithful over a few Things, I will make thee Ruler over many Things; Enter thou into the Joy of thy Lord. He also that had received Two Talents, came and said, Lord, Thou deliver'dst unto me Two Talents, Behold, I have gained Two other Talents besides them; His Lord said unto him, Well done Good and Faithful Servant, Thou hast been faithful over a*

Matt. 25. 14.
to 34.

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few Things, I will make Thee Ruler over many Things, enter thou into the Joy of thy Lord. *Then he who had received One Talent, came and said, Lord, I knew thee, that thou art an Hard Man, Reaping where thou hast not Sown, and Gathering where thou hast not Strawed; and I was afraid, and went and Hid thy Talent in the Earth: Lo, there thou hast that which is thine. His Lord answer'd, and said unto him, Thou Wicked and Slothful Servant, thou knewest that I Reap where I sowed not, and Gather where I have not strawed, Thou oughtest therefore to have put my Money to the Exchangers, and then at my Coming I should have received my Own with Usury: Take therefore the Talent from him, and give it unto him who has Ten Talents; For unto every one that hath shall be given, and he shall have Abundance, but from him that has not, shall be taken away, even that which he hath: And cast ye the Unprofitable Servant into utter Darkness, there shall be Weeping, and Gnashing of Teeth; when the Son of Man shall come in his Glory, and all the Holy Angels with Him, then shall He sit upon the Throne of his Glory, and before him shall be gather'd all Nations, and He shall separate them one from another, as a Shepherd divideth his Sheep from the Goats, and He shall set the Sheep on his Right Hand, but the Goats on the Left.*

Serious Reader, I have the rather repeated the Scripture at large, because of that great Strength it carries with it, methinks to the Conviction, at least Confusion of that Narrow Spirit, which confines the Infinite Goodness of God, and renders him, whilst he is the Universal Creator, but a narrow Benefactor; Shutting up his Gifts within the straight Compass of a Few; representing him thereby as Partial, as some Parents, who, they know not why, bestow their own unequal Wills, do frequently bestow their Favours (indeed their whole Affection) upon an Elected Darling, to the manifest, though Causeless Neglect of the Rest. But to speak the Truth of the Matter, the Over-fondness some carry to their Opinion, joyn'd with the Envy rais'd towards those who conform not to it, has so emptied them of all natural Affection, that looking upon God in that Condition, They dare think him as Unnatural as themselves. For my Part, I have not a great while believ'd but that it rather rises from an Unwillingness in some that Dissenters from them should be saved, (thereby endeavouring a Compliance upon Necessity) than that God had not been propitious unto all his Creatures. For who sees not, that can or will see, that God is this Sovereign Lord, that he made Mankind to be his Servants, that these three Servants Represent Mankind, and to the End They might not be Unprofitable, He gave them Talents to improve against his Return, that is, against the Day of Recompence, for which they are accountable; that Those who improve their Talents may be rewarded, and they who make no Improvement of their Talents, may be punish'd with Eternal Separation from the Presence of God, and all his Holy Angels.

I will conclude with these Five Observations.

1. That God, though it be his Sovereign Prerogative to give what He will, has given a Talent out of his Celestial Treasury unto Every Man and Woman.

2. That this Talent is in it self Sufficient: But as the best Corn, so this Talent, put up into a Napkin, must needs be Unprofitable: Yet, that the Fault is in the Party Neglecting or Hiding of It, not in it self.

3. That those who improve not their Talent, are most apt to charge God with Reaping where he sows not, as do many Professors we have to do with, that make God to require an Account of all, and yet deny, in order to rendring up this Account with Joy, that he has given to all a Talent Sufficient thereunto.

4. That the Eternal Estate of Men and Women, as Sheep and Goats, depends upon their Improving, or not Improving of that Heavenly Talent wherewith God has indu'd them.

Lastly, Neither is there any Shelter for these Men, under the Inequality of the Number of Talents; for it is not how many Talents are given, but What Improvement is made of what is given: Wherefore greater is his Reward,

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ward, who makes one Talent three, than his, who of Ten, advances but to Fifteen; since the one makes but half, whilst the other makes Treble Improvement. Blessed therefore are you all, and will you assuredly be in the Day of the Lord's Recompence, who disregarding the Vanities, Pleasures, Cares, Honours and Carnal Religions of the World, Diligently mind your own Talent, and are in the Pure Fear and Holy Counsel of the Lord, making your daily Improvement of the same, *Laying up Treasure* in the High and Heavenly Place, that is Durable and Everlasting.

V. This Reasonable Truth is yet further manifest, from the weighty Words of our Lord Jesus Christ; *For every one that doth Evil hateth the Light, neither comes to the Light, lest his Deeds should be Reproved.* To which I would add as before, that of the Apostle, *Whatsoever is reprov'd is made manifest by the Light.* Certainly then, unless Men will be to Unjust to God, as to think (contrary to Scripture and Reason) He should let Millions of Men, and Scores of Generations live in Sin, *without a Light* to shew it them, or a Law to limit them, it must be yielded, that they had Light and Law in their Hearts and Consciences, by which they were convicted of Sin, and that such as obey'd it, were helpt. and led to work Righteousness; since their refusing to bring their Deeds to the Light, was not an Act of Ignorance, but Design; because they knew their Deeds would be condemn'd, and they for them, which loudly asserts, that they both had a Light, and knew they had it, though they rebell'd against it. And if I should grant that whatever was Reprovable, was not made manifest unto them, yet this will no Ways impeach the Capacity of the Light to do it. 'Tis evident, That some Things which the Gentiles did, were reprov'd, therefore they had the Light: And if they had it not in all the Extent of it's Revelation, the Light was no more to be blamed, than that Guide was, whose Passengers never came to their Journey's End, because they never would begin, at least proceed by his Direction. Had the Heathens been Faithful to the Light that God had given them, and not been blinded by the Vain Idolatries and Superstitious Traditions of their Fathers, they had more fully known and learn'd the Mind and Will of their Creator; which some of those Gentiles notwithstanding did, as will anon appear.

John 3. 20

Eph. 5. 13

VI. Thus the Apostle Paul teaches us to believe, in that remarkable Passage of his in the first Chapter to the Romans: *For I am not Asham'd of the Gospel of Christ: For it is the Power of God unto Salvation, to every one that believeth, to the Jew first, and also to the Greek. For therein is the Righteousness of God reveal'd, from Faith to Faith: as it is written, The Just shall live by Faith, For the Wrath of God is revealed from Heaven against all Ungodliness and Unrighteousness of Men, who hold the Truth in Unrighteousness. Because that which may be known of God is manifest In them, for God hath shewed it unto them. For the Invisible Things of Him from the Creation of the World are clearly seen, being understood by the Things that are made, even his Eternal Power and God-head, so that they are without Excuse; because that when they knew God, they glorified him not as God, neither were Thankful; but became Vain in their Imaginations, and their Foolish Hearts were Darken'd. And even as they did not like to Retain God in their Knowledge, God gave them over to a reprobate Mind, to do those Things which are not Convenient.*

Rom. I. 16,
17, 18, 19,
20, 21, 23.

These Notable Lines of that great Apostle, give an apparent Overthrow to all Objections against, either the Universality or Sufficiency of the Light within: Which will further appear, if the Reader be but pleas'd to observe these few Particulars. (1.) That in the Gospel of Christ is the Righteousness of God reveal'd, and that from Faith to Faith. (2.) That this Faith the Just have ever lived by; for he quotes a Time past, as it is written: Which Writing was about 700 Years before he wrote that Epistle. (3.) That many had Degenerated from the Righteousness of God, so wit, the Gentiles into Ungodliness, against which the Wrath of God was revealed from Heaven. (4.) That they however *Once knew* the Truth. (5.) That

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they came to the Knowledge of this Truth from the *Manifestation of God* (who is Light) *within*, since the Apostle says, what *might be known of God was manifested in them, because God had shewed it unto them.* (6.) That the Cause of their after Darkness, was their Rebelling against that Manifestation or Light, not glorifying the God that shewed it to them, when they both saw it, and knew 'twas He that shewed them: Consequently, that God had given them Light Sufficient, both to know and obey him. And since they liked not to retain God in their Knowledge, the Deficiency was Theirs, and not the Light's. (7.) If therefore their foolish Hearts were darkned, that is, by Disobedience, it follows, that Darkness came by Sin into their Hearts; and that they had Light in their Hearts, or a Light within, to know their Duty and Square their Lives by. (8.) Lastly, If the Wrath was therefore revealed, because they held the Truth in Unrighteousness; and when they knew God *by the Manifestation of Light within*, they glorified him not *as God*, but became vain in their Imaginations, and their foolish Hearts were darkned; Then certainly, had they kept to that inlightening Principle, we call Truth, and the Manifestation of God within, and so preserv'd their Faith in God, as he had reveal'd himself to them, glorifying him as God, and *Delighting to retain him in their Knowledge*, not Wrath, but Mercy and Peace had been revealed from Heaven; as faith the same Apostle in his following Chapter, to them, *who by Patient Continuance in Well-doing seek for Glory, and Honour, and Immortality, Eternal Life.*

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In short, This we may safely conclude, that the Righteousness reveal'd in the Gospel of Christ (of which *Paul* was not ashamed) from Faith to Faith, by which Faith, he testifies the Just Ancients Lived, or were accepted, is one in Nature, though not in Degree with that Truth the *Gentiles* Apostatized from, and therefore are said to have lived without Faith, Righteousness, or God in the World; for which the Wrath was revealed: Whereas, had they lived up unto it, glorifying God, *as God*, according to the Manifestation of himself in their Hearts and Consciences, they would have had, not the Revelation of Wrath, but of the *Righteousness of Faith*, by which the Just in all Ages have liv'd acceptably with God: For without Faith no Man can please God, in any Age; as without Holiness (that flows from true Faith) *no Man shall ever see the Lord.*

VII. And Lastly, I do earnestly intreat the unprejudic'd Reader, to observe these two notable Passages, which, with my Consideration of them, shall conclude the Scripture-Proofs I have urg'd for the Universality of the Light, and Spirit of God, Antecedent to Christ's Appearance in the Flesh.

Then Peter opened his Mouth, and said, *Of a Truth, I perceive that God is no Respecter of Persons, but in every Nation, He that feareth him, and worketh Righteousness is accepted with him. For nor the Hearers of the Law are Just before God, but the Doers of the Law shall be justified: For when the Gentiles which have not the Law, do by Nature the Things contained in the Law, these having not the Law, are a Law unto themselves, which shew the Work of the Law written in their Hearts; their Consciences also bearing Witness, and their Thoughts the mean while Accusing or else Excusing one another, in the Day when God shall judge the Secrets of Men by Jesus Christ, according to my Gospel.*

These Scriptures are a severe Check to all undervaluing Apprehensions of the blessed Light of God in Man, and this appears in several Particulars.

1. That God is no Respecter of Persons in any Nation; From whence I conclude, that *All Persons and Nations were and are lighted*, as well *Gentiles as Jews.*

2. That here are Men (not of the Circumcision made with Hands) who fear God, work Righteousness, and are Doers of the Law, not from the Obligation of an Outward Law, for they had none, but the *Inward Work of the Law writ upon their Hearts*; which is a Demonstration, that they had

Acts. 10. 34,
35.
Rom. 2. 13,
14, 15, 16.

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Ecclef. 12. 13.
14.

had not only the Light as a Reprover, but as a Teacher and Leader, whereby they came to fear God, and work Righteousness: Which is elsewhere said to be the *Conclusion of the Matter, and Whole Duty of Man*. Since then no Man that fears God, and works Righteousness, and keeps the pure Law of God in the Heart, which the Scriptures testify some *Gentiles* did, can be said to do so, and yet be void of the True Light, that Objection of the Heathen's Ignorance of the True God, and that none by the Light within was ever Reproved for not believing Jesus to be Christ, vanisheth of Course. For such as lived up most sincerely to the Lord in their own Consciences, acknowledged, most readily, that glorious Appearance of Light when in the Flesh.

They were the great Pretenders to Scriptures that would not come to Christ: The Traditional, Literal, and Ordinance-Men, who also rejected and crucified him. On the other Hand, had not *Cornelius* and the *Centurion*, with many others, been *Upright Livers to the Light within*, neither had *Peter* been so received by the one, nor *Christ* so follow'd by the other: But that Measure of the Divine Light, which they had hitherto obey'd, as the *more sure Word of Prophecy*, led them naturally unto the Rising of the *Day-Star*, which, tho' a more glorious Manifestation, yet not of another Light, Life, or Spirit, for there are not *Two Lights*, Lives, Natures or Spirits in God: He is *One* for ever in Himself, and his Light *One* in kind, however variously he may have declar'd himself, or manifested it at sundry Times of the World: His *Truth* is one, his *Way* is one, and his *Rest* one for ever.

But last of all, that which greatly rejoices Good Men is this, that the Narrowness of some Men's Spirits in this World, will not be found able to exclude *Virtuous Gentiles* from their Reward in the other: But maugre all the Heat, Petulancy, Conceitedness, and Fleishly Boasting of Carnal Christians, such as fear God, and work Righteousness, and are Doers of the Law written in the Heart, we are assured, shall be Accepted and Justified of God, in the Day that he will judge the Secrets of all Men by *Jesus Christ*, according to *Paul's Gospel*: And if any Man bring another, let it be accursit. Amen.

I have here, on purpose, overlookt many very pregnant Instances, both in the Old and New Testament-Writings, for Brevities Sake, in which the Righteousness of the *Gentiles* hath, in several Cases, more evidently appeared, than that of some of the *Jews*, and which undeniably testifies to the *Sufficiency of the Light Within*, both to manifest that which was *Good*, from that which was *Evil*, and also to give *Ability* to such as truly minded it's Illumination, whereby they were enabled to do the one, and to reject the other. Such were *Abimelech*, *Cyrus*, *Darius*, the *Ruler* that came to Christ, and many others, which I shall omit to mention more particularly; the Chief Bent of my Mind being to demonstrate the Truth of my Assertion from their own Writings.

Gen. 20. 4.
and 21. 22.
2 Chron. 36.
23. Ezra 1. 2.
3. 4. 5. and 6.
3. 12.
Dan. 6. 26.
27.
Mat. 9. 13.

CHAP. VII.

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That the *Gentiles* Believed in One God. That He enlightened All Men with a Saving Light. That Men ought to Live Piously. That the Soul is Immortal. That there is an Eternal Recompence. The Whole called Gentile-Divinity. The First Points prov'd by Sixteen Testimonies.

HAVING prov'd briefly, tho' I hope fully and truly, from the Scriptures, that the *Gentiles* in General were Lighted with a Divine Light, I shall now make it my Business to evidence the Truth thereof, by most undeniable Instances, out of their own Writings. And because I am willing my Defence both of the Light within, and Those of them who obey'd it, should turn to the clearest and best Account, I will endeavour to resolve the Whole into as plain a Method, as the Matter, and their Way of delivering it will allow me.

First,

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First, Then from their own Authorities I am taught to affirm, *That the Gentiles Believe in One Holy, Infinite and Eternal God.*

Secondly, That they did therefore so believe, because God had imprinted the Knowledge of himself on their Hearts; or in our Language, that he had *Lighted All Mankind with a Divine Light, which if obey'd, would lead to Eternal Happiness.*

Thirdly, That they held and practised high Sanctity of Life.

Fourthly, That they affirmed the *Immortality of the Soul, and Eternal Rewards of Felicity, or Misery*, according to Man's Obedience to, or Rebellion against the Eternal God his Creator: Which excellent Principles, true and clear, being the Result of their Discourse on those Subjects, do worthily deserve, in my Esteem, the Stile of Divinity; which is the *Denomination*, I hope, I may, without Offence, bestow upon them in this Discourse.

That the *Gentiles* did acknowledge and believe, *There was but One Supreme Being, that made all Things, who is Infinite, Almighty, Omnipresent, Holy and Good for ever.* I shall produce some of those many Authorities that assert the same, and by divers Scriptures underneath, of the like Tendency (tho' of *Higher Authority*) show their *Agreeableness* to Divine Revelation, in which I have the Practice of very Ancient Fathers of the Church to justify me.

Clem. Alex.
Strom. l. 5.

I. *Orpheus*, One Thousand Two Hundred Years before *Christ*, thus expresseth his Belief of God: (*a*) *His Hand reaches to the End of the Sea, his Right-hand is every where, and the Earth is under his Feet. He is Only One, begot of himself, and of Him alone are all Things begot; and God is the First and the Last.*

Hereby not only telling us, there was a God, but attributing that Almighty Power and Omnipresence, which shows he meant no Statuary-Deity, but God that made the Heavens and the Earth.

Clem. Alex.
Strom. l. 5.

II. *Hesiod*, (*b*) *Of all, which do not Dye, thou art King and Lord: None can contend with Thee concerning thy Power.*

This emphatically proves God to have been but One, and Omnipotent, in their Belief.

Clem. Alex.
Strom. l. 5.

III. *Thales*, a very Ancient Greek Philosopher tells us, (*c*) *That there is but One God, that He is Glorious for ever and ever: And he openly confesseth, That He is called KAGNOPYRONS, HE WHO KNOWS HEARTS.*

Thales being demanded what God was, *That* (saith he) *which has NEITHER BEGINNING NOR END.*

Another asking, *If a Man might do ill, and conceal it from God? How,* (saith he) *WHEN A MAN THAT THINKS IT CANNOT.*

Men ought to believe, saith * *Cicero*, in his Name, *that God sees all Things.*

Clem. Alex.
Strom. l. 5.

IV. *Sibylla*, (*d*) *There is One God, who alone is Infinite, and without Beginning* —

Again, (*e*) *Who can see with Fleeshly Eyes the Heavenly, True and Immortal God, whose Seat is in the Highest Heavens?*

This *Sibyl* is Aged above Two Thousand Years. The Question implies her Faith, that God was a Spirit, as *Christ* himself also testifies.

(*a*) He stretcheth out his Hand over the Sea, *Isa.* 23. 11. --- For the Lord your God, he is God in Heaven above and in the Earth beneath, *Josh.* 2. 11. *I am Alpha and Omega, the Beginning and the End, the First and the Last*, *Rev.* 22. 13.

(*b*) God is not the God of the Dead, but of the Living, *Mat.* 22, 32, --- The Lord is King for ever, *Psal.* 10. 16. A Great King above all Gods, 95, 3, King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, 1 *Tim.* 6. 15. Thy Throne O God is for ever and ever, *Psal.* 45. 6.

(*c*) Glorious in Holiness, *Exod.* 15. 4, --- God had Glory before the World began, See *Joh.* 17. 5, --- I the Lord search the Heart, I try the Reins, *Jer.* 17. 10. --- He declarerth unto Man his Thoughts, *Amos* 4. 13, --- God is from Everlasting to Everlasting God, *Psal.* 90. 2.

(*d*) Thou art God alone, *Pf.* 86. 10. Besides Me there is no God, *Isa.* 44. 6. There is but One God, 1 *Cor.* 8. 5, 6.

(*e*) No Man has seen God at any time, 1 *Joh.* 4. 12. Heaven is my Throne, *Acts* 7. 49. The Lord's Throne is in Heaven, *Pf.* 11. 4. And hear thou in Heaven thy Dwelling-Place, 1 *Kings* 8. 30.

V. *Pythagoras*, a modest, but diligent and retired Man, in his Search after Heavenly Things, saith (f) *That it is Man's Duty to believe of the Divinity, that it is, and that it is in such a Manner, as to Mankind, that it overlooks them, and neglects them not: For we have need of such a Government, as we ought not in any Thing to contradict; such is that which proceeds from the Divinity: For the Divinity is such, that to it doth of Right belong the Dominion of all. Again, God resembleth Light and Truth. In another Place, God himself inhabits the Lowest, and Highest, and the Middlemost; there is no Being nor Place without God.*

(g) *God is One: He is not, as some conceive out of the World, but entire within himself, as in a compleat Circle, surveying all Generations. He is the Salt of all Ages, the Agent of his own Powers, and Works; the Principle of all Things: One Heavenly Luminary or Light, and Father of all Things; Only Wife, Invisible, yet Intelligible.*

Just. Mart.

Which very Pathetical Account of the Divine Being, so correspondent with Scripture, yet he a Stranger to it, (I mean the Words only, for the Matter, in this Point, he weightily hits) deserves very Serious Consideration and Acknowledgment from all, especially those who would not Narrow God's Mercies to their own Time or Party.

VI. To the same Purpose speaks *Heraclitus*, that sensibly Afflicted Philosopher, for the World's Impieties and Idolatries; whose very sorrowful, yet sound and smart Expressions, shew they came from a Mind deeply touch'd. In one of his Epistles to *Hermodorus*, his Friend, he thus seemeth after a While, to address himself to *Euticles*, and the rest of his Enemies, that impeacht him for being an Enemy to their *Stony Gods*: (h) *Thus I shall be condemned of Impiety by the Impious. What thinkest thou? Shall I seem Impious to them for Dissenting from their Gods? If Blind Men were to judge of Sight, They would say Blindness were Sight: But O ye ignorant Men, teach us first, what God is, that when ye declare us to be Impious, you may be believed. Where is God? Shut up in Temples? O Pious Men! Who place God in the Dark: You ignorant People! Know you not that God is not made with Hands.*

This is a most clear and ample Testimony against their Idols; mixt with a Religious Derision; yet qualified by a kind of Lamentation: Surely *Heraclitus* believed in God, yea, and that he was *Light* too, and such an one as should never set; by whom he elsewhere says, *He had overcome the Enemies of his Soul.*

Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 2.

VII. *Anaxagoras*, esteemed Noble by Birth, but more Noble for his Knowledge and Virtue, who was Master to *Socrates*, taught thus concerning God: (i) *That God is an Infinite Selfmoving Mind, that this Divine Infinite Mind is the Efficient Cause of all Things; every Thing being made*

Laët. Fals. Rel. l. 5. Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. Aug. de Civ. Dei. lib. 8.

(f) He that cometh to God, must believe that he is, and that he is a Rewarder of them that diligently seek him, *Heb.* 11. 6. The Eyes of the Lord run to and fro throughout the whole Earth, *2 Chron.* 16. 9. God is Lord of Heaven and Earth, *Acts* 17. 24. --- And the Government shall be upon his Shoulder, *Isa.* 9. 6. --- Again, God is Light, and in him is no Darkness at all, *1 John* 1. 5. --- I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life, *John* 14. 6.

(g) A God nigh at hand, see *Acts* 17. 27. *Fer.* 23, 23. --- One God who is above all, through all, and in you all, *Ephes.* 4. 6. --- God is Light; and upon whom doth not his Light arise? *1 John* 1. 5. *Joh* 25, 3. --- One God and Father of all, *Eph.* 4. 6. Now to the King, Eternal, Immortal, Invisible, the Only Wife God, be Glory, &c. *1 Tim.* 1. 17.

(h) The Heaven of Heavens cannot contain thee, *1 Kings* 8. 27. *2 Chron.* 6. 18. --- What House will ye build me? *Acts* 7. 49. --- God dwells in the Light, *1 Tim.* 6. 16. --- To whom will ye liken God? What Likeness will ye compare unto him? *Isa.* 40. 18. God is a Spirit, *John* 4. 24.

(i) But to us there is but One God, the Father, of whom are all things, *1 Cor.* 8. 6. --- Where wast thou when I laid the Foundation of the Earth? *Joh* 3. 4. --- And the Earth was without Form: Read the Chapter, in which is declared, God's Making and Beautifying Heavens and Earth, and all Living Creatures therein, *Gen.* 1. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, and so to the End. --- Thou Lord madest the Heavens: and the Earth, and all that in them is, *Acts* 4. 24.

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according to it's Species, by the Divine Mind; who, when all Things were confusedly mingled together, Came and reduced them to Order.

Which doubtless is so true, that *Anaxagoras* had no small Share of True Light, to give this Account, of both God and the Creation. And indeed, his Memory was celebrated by the *Greeks*, for having very much improved their Understanding concerning God and Immortality.

Plat. phæd.

VIII. *Socrates*, That Good-Heaven, if, without Offence to the Professors of Christianity, I may say so, not only confesseth to One God, but, I am of Opinion, they will think he gives good Reason why he doth so. He lays down, (k) *That the Mind, which they frequently called God by, is the Disposer and Cause of all Things.* Or in other Words of his, thus, God is One, *τὸ δὲ αὐτὸν ἕναον, ἕναον αὐτῷ, τὸ κατὰ αὐτὸ, τὸ ζῶν ἑαυτῷ, Perfect in Himself, giving the Being and Well-being of every Creature.*

* Xen. mem. 1.

And this he giveth his Reasons for: * That God, not Chance, made the World and all Creatures, is demonstrable from the Reasonable Disposition of their Parts, as well for Use as Defence, from their Care to preserve themselves, and continue their Species: That he particularly regards Man, in his Body, from the excellent upright Form thereof, from the Gift of Speech, from *τὰς τῶν ἀποδοσιῶν ἡνδρὶ συνεκὴς παρῆχεν.* In his Soul, from the Excellency thereof above others, both for Divinations, and Predicting Dangers: That he regards Particulars, from his Care of the whole Species; that he will Reward such as Please him, and Punish such as Displease him; from his Power to do it, and from the Belief he hath imprinted in Man, that he will do it; professed by the most Wise and Civilized Cities and Ages. That he at once seeth all Things, from the Instances of his Eye, which at once overruns many Miles; and of the Mind, which at once considereth Things done in the most distant Places. * That God knoweth all Things, whether they be said, done, or secretly desired. That God takes Care of all Creatures, is demonstrable from the Benefits he gives them, of Light, Water and Fire, Seasonable Production of Fruits of the Earth: That he hath particular Care of Man, from the Nourishment of all Plants, and Creature's for Man's Service: From their Subjection to Man, though they exceed him never so much in Strength: From the Variety of Man's Sense, accommodated to the Variety of Objects, for Necessity, Use and Pleasure: From Reason, whereby he discourses, through Reminiscence, from sensible Objects, from Speech, whereby he communicates all that he knows, gives Laws and governs States. That God, notwithstanding he is Invisible, hath a Being; from the Instances of his Ministers, invisible also, as Thunder and Wind; And from the Soul of Man, which hath something with, or Partakes of the Divine Nature, in Governing those that cannot see it. Finally, That he is such, and so great, as that he at once sees all, bears all, is every where, and orders all.

* Id. cod.

* Id. 4.

So that here we have *Socrates's* Faith in God, and his Reasons for it, drawn from the outward Creation, and the Inward Divine Sense; which he had from Divine Instinct or Nature in him; in which he lived, and for which he willingly dy'd, as afterwards will be related.

(k) These Notable Arguments, urged for the Proof of a Divine Super-intelligent Being, and his Creation and Providence, may well agree with those Pathetical Expressions of *Job*, the *Psalmist*, and several *Prophets*, *Evangelists* and *Apostles*, concerning God's Creating the World, and upholding it to this Day; his laying the Foundations thereof; his Providence over the Lillies and the Sparrows; his bringing forth Fruits in due Season; his Lights by Day, and by Night; that the Disciples should take no Thought what they should Eat and Drink, or put on; that there is a Spirit in Man, and the Inspiration of the Almighty gives Understanding: And lastly, Can any hide himself in secret Places that I shall not see him, saith the Lord, *Jer. 23. 24* --- No; If I take the Wings of the Morning, and flee to the uttermost Part of the Earth, thou art there, *Pl. 139. 9* --- And by me Kings Reign, and Princes Decree Justice, saith God, *Prov. 8. 15* --- And is every where, *Joh. 2. 11* --- And orders all, *Wild. 11. 20* --- There is but One God, and none else besides him, *Eph. 4. 6*. In the Beginning God Created the Heaven and the Earth, *Gen. 1. 1, 2, 3* --- In him we Live, Move, and have our Being, *Acts 17. 21* --- Thus he sees and bears all, and is every where, *Psal. 34. 9, 10, 11*.

IX. Timæus Locrus, in his *Work of Nature*, thus Argumentatively expresseth himself of God: (1) *One Principle of all, is Unbegotten; for if it was Begotten, then were it no more that Principle, but that of which it were Begotten would be the Principle,*

Suitable to this faith Clemens Alexandrinus, * namely, *Hear O Israel, the Lord thy God is one, and Him only shalt thou serve.*

Thus did he endeavour to refute the *Gentiles*, and prove the Scriptures out of their own Writings. But again,

Timæus affirms, (m) *That God is, and that He is a Spirit, and that He is the Author of all Light.* Which how Sober and True it is, let the Scriptures here inserted testify.

X. Antisthenes, one of Socrates's School, as it were by Way of Paraphrase upon that Saying, *Whom have ye likened me unto saith the Lord?* thus speaks? (n) *He is like none, because no Man can know him from a LIKENESS or IMAGE.*

By which we may perceive he did not believe Him to be an Image, who could not be known by an Image, nor any Thing that could be seen with Carnal Eyes: A Step beyond the Romanists, that teach, as they darkly fancy, by Images.

XI. Plato, the famous Doctor of *Gentile-Divinity*, Scholar to Socrates, whom the Greeks for his Heavenly Contemplation, and Pious Life, firman'd, Divine, gives us his Faith of God in these Words, (o) *God is First, Eternal, Ineffable, Perfect in himself; that is, needing none, and ever Perfect; that is, absolute in all Times; and every Way perfect; that is, absolute in every Part, Divinity, Essence, Truth, Harmony, Good: Neither do we so name these, to distinguish one from the other, but rather by them all to understand one. He is said to be GOOD, because he bestows his Benefits upon all, according to their several Capacities, and so is the Cause of all Good: Fair or Beautiful, because he is in Essence, both More, Better and Equal Truth, because he is the Principle of all Truth, as the Sun is of all Light.*

Moreover, God not having many Parts, can neither be locally mov'd, nor alter'd by Qualities: For if he be alter'd, it must be done by himself, or some other; if by some other, that other must be of greater Power than he; if by himself, it must be either to Better, or to Worse; both which are absurd.

From all these it follows, That God is Incorporeal; and by all which it is as evident, how True, how Reasonable, and how Firm a Belief Plato had, of One Eternal Being and Father of all.

XII. And Lyricus Menalippides praying, faith, *Hear me, O Father, thou Wonder of Men, who always Governest the Living Soul.*

This plainly preaches to us their Belief of One Eternal God, and his Excellent Attributes.

XIII. Parmenides Magnus, as faith Plato in *Sophista* writes concerning God on this wise, (p) *He is not Begotten, neither is he liable to any Death; like a Chain, whose Links are whole and round, and always firm, and void of a Beginning.*

What was this Chain but the Eternal God, by whom all Things were made? *The First and the Last.*

(1) In the Beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God all things were made by him, &c. John 1. 1, 2, 3, 4.

(m) God is a Spirit, John 4. 24. --- God said, Let there be Light, and there was Light, Gen. 1. 3. --- He is the Father of Lights, James 1. 17.

(n) That thou may'st know, that there is none like me in all the Earth, saith God, Exod. 9. 14. and 8. 10. --- Who in Heaven can be compared unto the Lord? Who among the Sons of the Mighty can be likened unto the Lord? Psal. 89. 6.

(o) I am Alpha and Omega, the First and the Last, Rev. 22. 13. The Everlasting God Isa. 40. --- The Way of the Lord is Perfect, Psal. 18. 30. He is a Rock; his Work is Perfect; for all his Ways are Judgment; A God of Truth, and without Iniquity, Just and Right is He, Deut. 23. 4. --- For I am the Lord, Isa. 45. 5. --- I change not, Mal. 3. 6.

(p) Thy Throne is established of Old, thou art from Everlasting, Psal. 93. 2. In the Lord Jehovah is Everlasting Strength, Isa. 25. 4.

*Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 5.
2 King. 19. 19.
Mark 12. 32.
1 Tim. 2. 5.

De Anim. Mund.

Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 5.

Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 5.
Exod. 15. 11.
Psal. 136. 4, 5, 6.

Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 5.

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XIV. *Zeno*, a Grave and Wise *Philosopher*, who instituted the Way of the *Stoicks*, but not of *Virtue*: For both the *Cynicks* and *Stoicks*, mostly teaching such Doctrine as tended to good Life, may well be said to have been the Followers of *Socrates*, the Excellent Man of his Time, only they a little differenced themselves by some particular Severities, too affected, to which the Mild, Serious, and Unaffected Piety of *Socrates*, gave them no Encouragement, though none of them trod in a more Self-denying Path, than History tells us he walkt in. This *Zeno* and his Disciples, were Vigorous Assertors of One Infinite and Eternal God, as by their Doctrines may appear.

Laert.

Zeno tells us, (*q*) That GOD is an Immortal Being, Rational, Perfect, or Intellectual in Beatitude, void of all Evil, provident over the World, and Things in the World; Not of Human Form, MAKER OF ALL, AS IT WERE FATHER OF ALL. Again, God, and the Power of God is such, as that it Governs, but is not Governed: It Governeth all Things; so that if there were any Thing more Excellent, He could not possibly be God.

This was *Zeno's* Faith of God, and I cannot believe, that the worst of our Antagonists has so far abandon'd all Reason, as to call it False, or Idolatrous. That he taught it as well as thought it, let us hear some of his Followers.

Laert. de Ira
Dei 6. 10.

XV. *Chrysippus* also avers, as his Belief of a God, that the World was made by Him; consequently he believed there was one: (*r*) For if (saith he) there be any Thing which can procreate such Beings, as Man endued with Reason is unable to produce, that (doubtless) must needs be Stronger, and Greater, and Wiser than Man; but a Man cannot make the Celestial Things, therefore that which made them, transcended Man in Art, Counsel, Prudence and Power; And what can that be but God?

Thus far *Chrysippus*, the *Stoick*, in reference to God. But again,

Plut. Antip.
de Mund. l. 7.

XVI. *Antipater*, a Famous, Serious, and Acute *Stoick*, in his Discourse of God and the World, declares himself to us after this Manner, (*j*) We understand that which we call GOD, A Spirit full of Intelligence or Wisdom; a Living Nature, or Divine Substance; Blessed and Incorruptible, doing Good to Mankind, PRESENT through the whole World, receiving several Denominations from the Diversity of his Appearances, and the various Operations and Effects of his Divine Power shewn therein.

Which Kind of Evangelical Definition, may very well induce us to believe Him to have been, at least of those who knew God; but we hope, not of those, who when they knew Him, *Glorified Him not as GOD*.

Indeed, what we have hitherto produc'd of them all, may worthily be accounted Divinity; and not the worse for being *Gentile*, since GOD is also therein to be admired: So Forcible, so True, and so Conspicuous are their Assertions, and their Reasons for them, that who will yet believe, there was not a Measure of the Eternal Fullness of all Divine Light shining in the Hearts of these Heathens, to give them some Knowledge of the Glory of the Only True and Invisible God, must not think it strange, if upon their

(*q*) Now to the King Eternal, Immortal, Invisible, the Only Wise God, be Honour and Glory for ever, 1 *Tim.* 1. 17. --- The Rich and Poor meet together, the Lord is the Maker of them all, *Prov.* 22. 2. --- Come now let us Reason together, saith the Lord, *Isa.* 1. 18. Be ye Holy, for I the Lord your God am Holy, *Levit.* 11. 44. --- One God and Father of all, of whom are all things, *Eph.* 4. 6. 1 *Cor.* 6. 8. 6. --- Who is a God like unto thee? *Exod.* 15. 11. --- The Almighty is Excellent in Power, *Job* 37. 23. --- And his Kingdom rules over all, *Psal.* 103. 19.

(*r*) Lord, thou art God, which hast made Heaven and Earth, and all that in them is, *Acts* 4. 24. God that made the World, *Psal.* 90. 2, All Nations are unto God, but as a Drop of the Bucket, and the Dust of the Balance, *Isa.* 40. 15.

(*j*) God is a Spirit. *John* 4. 24. --- In whom are hid all the Treasures of Wisdom and Knowledge, *Col.* 2. 3, of the incorruptible God, *Rom.* 1. 23. --- The Lord is Good to all, and his tender Mercies are over all his Works, *Psal.* 145. 9. --- God is not far away from every one of us, *Acts* 17. 27.

Example

Example of Incredulity, after all their Proteſtations for, and Profeſſions of the Chriſtian Religion, any ſhould believe them to be *Arrant Pharifees*, and that they are over-caſt with the darkeſt Clouds of Envy and Uncharitableneſs: For my Part, I am of the Mind, that many Thouſands of Chriſtians, at leaſt ſo reputed, I mean not of the Rabble neither, believe not God ſo clearly, nor are able to give better Reaſons for what they do believe of him, than theſe exhibited in this firſt Part of the Gentile-Divinity.

Thus much concerning God, with Reſpect to *Himſelf*, his *Creation*, and *Providence*.

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The ſecond Fundamental of Gentile-Divinity, viz. That God hath imprimetd the Knowledge of himſelf on the Minds of all Mankind. Proved from Twelve Pregnant Teſtimonies, as well of whole Societies, as particular Perſons. Compared with Scripture.

IT will be now requiſite, that I give an Account of their Belief in God, with Reſpect to that Diſcovery, he is pleaſed to give of himſelf unto Mankind, how and where, which amounts to what is laid down, in my ſecond Aſſertion, viz. *That God imprinteth the Knowledge of himſelf, in the Minds of Mankind; or, that God's Way of manifeſting himſelf to Mankind, is by enlightning the Soul with his own divine Light, which being obeyed, leads to Bleſſedneſs.*

That this was their Doctrin, and the Ground of their Knowledge, they had of God, be pleaſed to weigh theſe their following very plain, yet very weighty Expreſſions.

I. (a) The Mind, ſaith Pythagoras, and his Diſciples, only ſeeth the eternal God, the Ruler and Father of all Things.—*What greater Pleaſure than to behold the Serene Aſpect of God?—What Things are agreeable to God, cannot be known, unleſs a Man hear God himſelf. They mutually exhorted one another, not to divide aſunder the * GOD THAT WAS IN THE M; for that it ought to be their Care, to preſerve their Union with God, and one with another.—Again ſaith, *Timæus, one of the exalteſt of that School; The moſt excellent Thing the Soul is awakened to, is her Guide or Good Genius (that is, a Meaſure of the divine Light and Spirit) but if ſhe be rebellious to it, it will prove her Demon or Tormentor. But having overcome theſe Things, ſaith Pythagoras, (to wit, Evils) thou ſhalt know ΖΩΑΙΟΝ the Co-Habitation or dwelling together of the IMMORTAL GOD and MORTAL MEN; whoſe Work is Life, the Work of God is Immortality, Eternal Life.*

Tim. de A.
nim. Mund.
Jamblich.

* Jambl.

* De 'Anim.
Mund.

Thus far the Pythagoreans, and certainly far enough to prove the Aſſertion; for next to *Hearing* and *ſeeing* God himſelf, his *dwelling* and *tabernacling* with Men, what is there of greater Spiritual Intimacy or Union? O the Folly and great Uncharitableneſs of thoſe Profeſſors of Chriſtianity, that exclude both ſuch Men, and ſuch Knowledge the Kingdom of God, becauſe it is not delivered in abſolute Scripture-Phraſe, whiſt it imports much of the very Subject of them, as to *Divine Viſion, Union with God, and Eternal Life!* I wiſh they don't take *Imagination* for Knowledge, and *Preſumption* for Enjoyment. But to go on,

The pure in Heart ſhall ſee God. Mat. 5. 8. — He dwellèth in Immortality; no mortal Eye can approach or behold him. 1 Tim. 6. 16.— One Thing have I deſired of Thee O Lord, to behold the Beauty of the Lord, Palm 27. 4.— The Things of God knows no Man, but the Spirit of God, but God hath revealed them to us, by his Spirit, 1 Cor. 2. 10. 11. I will dwell in them. 2 Cor. 6. 16.— Is Chriſt divided? 1 Cor. 1. 13. And I heard, a great Voice ſaying The Tabernacle of God is with Men. He that overcometh, ſhall inherit all Things: I will be his God, and he ſhall be my Son. Rev. 21. 3, 7.

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II. Hieron,

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II. *Hieron*, that ancient *Philosopher*, intituled the Universal Light shining in the Conscience, which ever witnessed, by its Reproof, against Evil; and if obeyed, led Man to Immortality, (b) *A DOMESTICK GOD, or GOD WITHIN the Hearts and Souls of Men.*

The eternal Mind is God, MANIFESTING HIMSELF IN EVERY PARTICULAR OF US. God is that which in mortal Men gives them to know aright concerning God.

Certainly these *Gentiles* had an high Veneration for that Light, which manifested Darkeness, who made it their *Rule*, their *Guide*, their *Domestick God*; they set him not at a Distance without them; but believed in him as God, the Word, speaking to them in their own Consciences. In which Respect, the Minor Poets notably express'd themselves.

Valer. Max.
7. 2.

III. *Byas*, Prince of his Country *Priene*, being invaded by Enemies, and several of the Inhabitants put to Flight, with their greatest Wealth; being asked, why he also carried not his choicest Goods with him? answered, (c) *I do carry My Goods with me. He bore them* (saith *Valerius Maximus*) in his Breast, not to be seen by the Eye, but prized by the Soul, inclosed in the narrow Dwelling of the Mind, not to be demolish'd by Mortal Hands; Which is always present with those who stay, and never deserteth or forsaketh those that flee.

Certainly then, they thought this Divine Principle the *Greatest Treasure*, the *Surest Companion*, the *Best Comforter*, and *Only Sanctuary* of the Soul in the greatest Extremities, enduing it with Piety and Patience, and giving that *Contentment*, which was able to wade through the deepest Calamities.

Oedip. Tyr.

IV. *Sophocles* is also of that Number that bears Testimony to Divine Illumination. (d) *God grant* (saith he) *that I may always be so happy, as to observe that Venerable Sanctity in my Words and Deeds, which is commanded by these Noble Laws* (speaking of the Laws written in Men's Consciences) *which were made in Heaven*; God is their Father, not Mortal Nature, neither shall they ever be forgotten or abrogated; for there is in them a Great God, that never waxeth Old.

This is (saith he again) *with respect to Men's Conscience, a Divine, a Sacred Good, God the Overseer.*

Clem. Alex.
Strom. l. 5.

Certainly in themselves very Seraphick Sayings, shewing a clear Faith of God, and that Way of inward Discovery he is pleased to make of himself to Mankind. For it was he that said, *Truly there is but One only God, who made the Heavens and the Earth.*

Plutarch. de
Gent. Socr.

V. It is frequently said of *Socrates*, (e) *He had the Guide of his Life within him; which, it was told his Father Sophroniscus, should be of more Worth to him than Five Hundred Masters. He called it his Good Angel or Spirit; that it suggested to his Mind, what was Good and Virtuous, and inclin'd and disposed him to a strict and pious Life: That it furnish'd him with Divine Knowledge, and very often impuls'd or moved him to preach* (though in

(b) In the Beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God, *John* 1. 1. — The Word is nigh thee, in thy Heart and in thy Mouth, *Rom.* 10. 8. — I dwell in the High and Holy Place, with him also that is of a Contrite and Humble Spirit, *Isa.* 57. 15. Ye are the Temples of God. and that the Spirit of God dwells in you, *2 Cor.* 6. 16. Whatever may be known of God is manifested within, for God shews it unto them. *Rom.* 1. 19.

(c) Lay up Treasure in Heaven, where neither Moth nor Rust can corrupt, nor Thief break through and Steal, *Mat.* 6. 20. — This Treasure have we in Earthen Vessels, *2 Cor.* 4. 7. — Fear not, for the Lord thy God it is that doth go with thee, he will not fail thee, nor forsake thee, *Deut.* 31. 6. In all their Afflictions he was afflicted, *Isa.* 63. 9. The Lord is a present Help in the time of Trouble, *Psal.* 46. 1.

(d) Shall not the Uncircumcision that is by Nature, if it fulfil the Law, judge thee, who by the Letter and Circumcision dost transgress the Law. For he is not a Jew that is one Outward, implying such as keep the Law is an Inward Jew, *Rom.* 2. 27, 28. And the Word of God (nigh in the Heart) shall abide for ever, *Isa.* 40. 8.

(e) There is a Spirit in Man, but the Inspiration of the Almighty giveth Understanding, *Job* 32. 8. For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the Sons of God, *Rom.* 8. 14.

the Streets) to the People, sometimes in a Way of severe Reproof, at other times to Information: And otherwise gently to dissuade them from Intemperance, and Vanity of Life; particularly, from seeing of Plays, and to exhort them to Repentance, Reformation, and Self-Denyal, in Hopes of Immortality.

VI. *Plato* is not wanting to bring in his Vote, for farther Confirmation of our Assertion, on the Behalf of the Gentiles: (f) *The Light and Spirit of God, faith he, are as Wings TO THE SOUL, or as that which raiseth up the Soul into a sensible Communion with God above the World, which the Mind of Man is prone to slug or bemire itself withal.* And adds *Plotin*, (e) a famous Platonist, *God is the very Root or Life of the Soul.* Again, *Man hath a Divine Principle in him, which maketh it true and good Man.* And the Platonists in general held Three Principles to be in Man; the first they called *Νῦς*, Mind, Intellect, Spirit, or Divine Light. The Second, *Ψυχή*, the Soul of Man. The Third they called *Εἰδικὸν ἔκτεν*, the Soul's Image, which, say they, is her vital Energy upon the Body, and the Feminine Faculty of the Soul.

In Phyl.

Ænead. 1.
cap. 1.

By all which it is evident, tho' I could produce many more Testimonies from their Writings, that they believ'd and held Divine Illumination and Inspiration, and that such a Principle resided in Man, even the Eternal *Νῦς*, or Mind; which is to say in plain English, God Himself; by which alone the Soul could become what God would have it be.

VII. *Cleanthes*, the Stoick, alloweth not Mankind to be governed of Right by the Dictates of their own Nature, which barely renders them Men, but by that Divine, Infinite, and Eternal Nature, which is God universally diffus'd or fown through the whole Race of Man, as the most sure and infallible Guide and Rule. To live (faith he) according to this Knowledge and Direction, is truly to live according to Virtue; not doing any thing that is forbidden. The Virtue and Happiness of a Man depends upon the close Correspondence of his Mind, with the Divine Will of him, who governeth the Universe.

Again, faith the same *Cleanthes*, (b) **THE KNOWLEDGE OF GOD IS** imprinted upon the Minds of Men.

VIII. *Menander*, signifying God to be good, faith, (i) *Every Man hath a Good Dæmon as soon as he is born, an Holy Instructor in governing of the Life; as that I may confess him to be an Evil Dæmon, who hurts the Life of a good Man.* Then subjoyns he, That a Good God is in all, that God is perfectly Good, and that he is Good in all. Again, on another Occasion, faith he, *God, who is always Near, sees this; for God is not a God afar off.*

Clem. Alex.
Strom. L. 5.

IX. *Philo*, though a Jew born, yet a very serious and refin'd Philosopher, gives us his Judgment in this Particular, very positively and to Purpose: (k) *How should the Soul of Man (faith he) know God, If he did not inspire her, and take hold of her by his Divine Power?*

Leg. Alleg.
L. 1.

(f) God is Light, 1 John 1. 5. — In thy Light shall we see Light, Psal. 36. 9. — God is not far from every one of us; for in him we live, move, and have our Being; for we are also his Offspring, as certain of your own Poets have said, Aët. 17, 27, 28. — One of whom was *Aratus*, whom the Apostle quotes as speaking Truth, and employs it against them, to prove a True God, and to introduce his Gospel; which if it shewed their Apostacy, it also implies, that there had been *Heathens*, rightly apprehending of God, else surely the Apostle would never have cited the Poet's Saying for a Confirmation of his own Doctrine.

(g) Without me ye can do nothing. The Spirit of Truth shall lead you into all Truth, John 16. 13. For the Grace of God that bringeth Salvation hath appeared unto all Men, teaching us, that denying Ungodliness and worldly Lusts, we live soberly and righteously and godly in this present World, Tit. 2. 11, 12. God hath shewn unto thee, O Man, what is good, Mich. 6. 8.

(b) Which shew the Works of the Law writ in their Hearts, Rom. 2. 15.

(i) A Manifestation of the Spirit is given unto every one to profit withal, 1 Cor. 12. 7. — One God, and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, — The Lord is Good unto all, Psal. 145. 9.

(k) The Things of God knoweth no Man, save the Spirit of God, 1 Cor. 2. 11. — I will put my Law in their Minds, and write them in their inward Parts; I will be their God, and they shall be my People, Heb. 8. 10, 11. Again,

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Again, *That the Divine Reason we have from God is an Infallible Law, not a Mortal Rule given by this or that Mortal; No lifeless Precepts written in Papers, or upon Pillars, but Immortal, being ingraven by the Eternal Nature in the Minds of Men.*

This is an undeniable Testimony to the Law written in the Heart, as a more *Excellent Dispensation*, than that which is written in Paper, or engraven on Pillars. But farther,

Plut. Dion.
Prof.

X. Nor is *Plutarch* wanting to the Proof of this Assertion, on the Behalf of the *Gentile-Divinity*, who thus delivers himself, speaking of the Principle of God in the Conscience: *(1) It is a Law (saith he) not written in Tables or Books, but dwelling in the Minds, always as a living Rule, which never permits the Soul to be destitute of an interior Guide. Again, To debase this ancient Faith of Mankind, and Natural Belief which is planted in all Reasonable Souls, is to overthrow the strong and everlasting Foundation of Virtue.*

He is doubtless very zealous and sensible, on the Behalf of an *Inward Divine Principle*.

Dis. lib. 1.
cap. 14.

XI. But be pleased to hear what *Epillettus* says in this Matter, who was admired for his great Virtue and Living, and whose Memory is preserved in great Respect among many who would think themselves much wrong'd if they should not be accounted Christians, *(m) When you have shut your Gates (saith he) and made it all Dark within; that is to say, are retired to your own Dwelling, as alone, do not say that you are alone, for you are not alone, but God is Within: What need have you of outward Light to discover what is done, or to light to good Actions, who have God, or that Genius, or Divine Principle for your Light, as the following Words do farther import.*

But above all the *Gentiles* that have been mention'd, I mean in Point of plain and positive Expression, *(for I will prefer the Life of none before that Self-denying Martyr Socrates)* let us hear with great Attention what kind of Lecture *Seneca* will read us upon the Subject handled, truly something very weighty.

Senec. Ep. 41.

XII. *The Multitude, saith Seneca, is the worst Argument: Let us inquire what is best to be done, not what most usually is done, and that may settle us in the Possession of Everlasting Happiness; not what is allotted by the Vulgar, the worst Interpreters of Truth. (n) I have (saith he) a clearer and more certain Light, by which I may judge the Truth from Falshood: That which appertains to the Felicity of the Soul, the Eternal Mind will direct to; that was the Light within, doubtless Seneca meant. Again, It is a foolish Thing for thee to wish what by thee cannot be obtained. God is near thee, and he is in thee. The Holy Spirit sits or resides within us, the Observer of our Good and Evil Actions; as he is dealt with by us, He deals with us. But yet farther, we have this great Gift, saith Seneca, That Virtue (meaning the Principle, or God) HATH SENT HER LIGHT BEFORE INTO THE MINDS OF ALL; for even they that follow Her not, see Her. Where observe, Reader, how he confesseth to the Universality of the Light, yet lays the Fault of Rebellion against it, not upon the Light (as do our Enemies) but on such as refuse to follow it; implying their voluntary Rejection*

De Benef.
c. 17.

(1) Because whatever may be known of God is manifest within; for God hath shewed it unto them: But because they liked not to retain God in their Knowledge, God gave them up to vile Affections, *Rom. 1. 19, 26, 28.*

(m) O Lord, thou hast searched me, thou understandest my Thoughts afar off: Whither shall I go from thy Spirit, *Psalms 139. 1, 2, 7.*

(n) We have a more sure Word of Prophecy, *2 Pet. 1. 19.* — The Lord hath shewed unto thee, O Man, what is Good, and what he doth require of thee, *Micah 6. 8.* — In him we live, move, and have our Being, *Acts 17. 28.* — Such as Men Sow, such shall they Reap, *Gal. 6. 7.* — That was the true Light, which enlighteneth all Mankind, *John 1. 9.*

of it's Heavenly Discoveries. Again, (o) *Wonderest thou that Men go to God? God comes unto Men: Nay, which is more near, he cometh INTO MAN; and he makes the Heart of every good Man his Habitation. Yet again hear him; Nothing is closed from God, he is within our Souls, and he cometh into the Midst of our Thoughts. And lastly, Every Man (saith he) has God indued with that, which if he forsake it not, he shall arise LIKE God.*

How much more weighty, O Sober and Impartial Reader, are these inward Doctrines of the *Virtuous Gentiles*, than the vehement Clamours, and uncharitable Exclamations of empty Christians against them? Who seem as if they were afraid of nothing more than inherent Holiness, tho' of Christ's Working: Reputing it a kind of Undervaluing of his Blood, to feel the inward Benefit of it; accounting us the greatest *Hereticks* for assenting to the greatest Truth, to wit, The *Sufficiency* of his Universal Light, in the Hearts of Men, to *Salvation*; challenging us to prove it by Scripture, or any Credible History, and objecting the Heathens Ignorance and Idolatry against the Truth of its Discoveries and Efficacy of it's Power. Which the very *Gentiles* defend us against, and confirm the Universality and Power of it.

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Chap. VIII.
Epist. 73.
Epist. 83.
Epist. 31.

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That this was not only the Doctrine and Faith of the Gentiles, but the very Primitive Doctors, or Fathers, both so held, and so expressed themselves, Eight Testimonies produced for Proof thereof.

BUT as I have hitherto shewn, both that the *Gentiles* believed in *One God*, and had a very clear Apprehension of the *Light*, or *Divine Principle* placed in *Man*, from which all Heavenly Knowledge is derived; and that this Divine Light, or Spirit, or Principle was by them asserted to be the *most certain Guide*, and *Infalible Rule* of Faith and Practice; and farther, that the Scriptures produced do abundantly verify their Doctrines; so to the End the angry Men I have mentioned should not count it a *Prophaning* of Holy Writ, or think I am the only Man that ever had that favourable Apprehension of these *Gentile-Doctrines*, I am willing to instance some of the most Primitive and Approved Fathers of the Christian Church; and by a short View of what they believed in Reference to the present Subject, with their way of phrasing such Belief, we may the more clearly perceive, how far those *Gentiles* are by them reprehensible, either with Respect to their Soundness in Judgment, or Expression; that if it be possible, we may solve their Objection against the Universality and Sufficiency of this Blessed Light.

I. (a) *Justinus Martyr*, whom I therefore chuse to begin with, because from a *Learned Philosopher*, becoming an *Honest Christian*, and *Constant Martyr* (from whence he was surnamed Martyr) he could the better tell us the Difference of the Change: But so far was he from reputing the Principle of God within Men, *Heterodox*, or inconsistent with the Purity of the Christian Religion, that with no small Earnestness he therefore pleads against all Coercive Power upon Conscience, and the Pompous Worship of

Liv'd after
Christ, *Ann.*
123.

(o) Behold, the Tabernacle of God is with Men, *Rev.* 21. 3. — He that declareth unto Man his Thoughts, the Lord, the God of Hosts is his Name, *Amos* 4. 13. — While ye have the Light, walk in the Light, that ye may be the Children of the Light. God is Light, *John* 12. 36. — 1 *John* 1. 5.

(a) If the Reader will please to inform himself of the Reasons that induc'd *Justin* to turn Christian, he will find the *Light Within* acknowledged to be the Efficient Cause thereof; for it was the Principle of God in his Conscience that continually pleaded the *Christian Cause* within him, and who at last overcoming, *Justin* Believes in *Christ*, and Dyes for him too. Now what Disgrace is this to the *Light Within*?

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the Heathens, in their Temples (as his Apologies will inform us) *Because*, (saith he) God hath built to himself a Natural Temple in the Consciences of Men, *as the Place wherein he would be worshipped; and that it is there Men ought to look for his Appearance, and reverence and worship him; or to that Purpose.*

Liv'd after
Christ, 190.

II. To this doth *Clemens Alexandrinus*, that earnest Contender against the *Apostate Gentiles*, plainly assent; who often, but more particularly in these few Places following, recommends to us the *Light*, or *Word Within*. *It is the Voice of Truth*, saith he, *that Light will shine out of Darkness*. Therefore *doth it shine in the HIDDEN PART of MANKIND*, *that is, in the Heart; and the Rays of Knowledge break forth, making manifest, and shining upon the inward Man, which is hidden.* — *Christ's Intimates and Coheirs, are the Disciples of the Light.*

Admon. ad
Gent.

Strom. L. 5.

He farther expresseth himself in another Place; *Man cannot be void of Divine Knowledge, who Naturally, or as he cometh into the World, partaketh of Divine Inspiration; as being of a more pure Essence, or Nature, than any other Animal.*

Clem. Alex.
in Admon. ad
Gent.

And as assenting to the Doctrine of some Ancient Philosophers and other Gentile Authors (for against the Gentiles of his time, I suppose, he may make use of no less than Two Hundred and Fifty) he doth frequently attest the Truth of the Doctrine of the *Divine Light in Man*, as Man's Concomitant, to all good Works; as one Passage eminently proves. *I earnestly, says he, exhort thee, because I would have thee saved, and that would Christ also, who offers thee Life in one Word: But thou may'st say, What is it? It is the Word of Truth, the incorruptible Word, which Regenerates Mankind, and leads him again to Truth; the Spur that pricketh on to Salvation, who expelleth Destruction, chaseth away Death, and hath built a Temple in Mankind, that it may PLACE GOD in Man.*

I know not any of the Ancients that was more profoundly read in the Doctrines of the *Gentiles*, than this *Clemens Alexandrinus*: And who, to prove the Verity of the Christian Religion against them, doth frequently cite and insert the Writings of the more Venerable of them, and with the very Books of their admired Ancestors accurately argue the Unreasonableness of their Opposition to Christianity, the very Top of Virtue, and Perfection of Goodness; as did *Christ*, to prove himself the *True Messiah*, urge the Scriptures to those (Pretended Great) Believers in them, as an *Aggravation of their Incredulity.*

Liv'd Anno
195.

III. *Tertullian*, than whom there was not any more sharp against the Dissolute Gentiles of his Time (as his most quaint Apology for the Christians, and in it his severe Charge against their Enemies, doth particularly shew) thinks it to be neither Heresy, nor Heathenism, as it is commonly understood, to believe and assert, *That a Life, according to the Holy Guidings of the Universal Light in the Conscience, is a kind of Natural Christianity*, or, to be *Naturally a Christian.*

And though in his *Apology* he stabs with the sharpest Points of Wit, Reason and Truth, the Cause of *Degenerate Philosophy*, or those that were *undeservedly* called Philosophers, yet he lays it still on the Side of their great *Apostacy* from that Noble Principle, which worthily renowned their Predecessors; the Being of whose Stock, and Assuming whose Titles without their Virtue they vainly esteemed Warrant enough for their Pretensions to real-Science; not unlike the *Pharisees* among the *Jews*, as hath already been observed.

Liv'd about
Anno 203.

IV. *Origen*, who I may say was twice a Christian; first, by Education, and next, by Choice; a strong Defender of Christianity, as his notable Books against *Celsus* and others, do abundantly witness: Treating of that Divine Light, with which God has illuminated Mankind, as his Universal Endowment, calls it, *An immutable Law, which with the Knowledge of Good and Evil, is engraven upon the Heart, and grafted into the Soul of Man.*

V. *Lactantius*,

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Chap. IX.
Liv'd about
Anno 315.
De Cult. Ver!

Lib. de Irā,
cap. 2.

Liv'd about
Anno 325.

Athanas.
cont. Genq

Lived about
Anno 380.

Lived about
Anno 394

Lactantius, Scholar to *Arnobius*, who writ smartly against the Apostate Gentiles, esteemed a good and acute Man, thus delivers himself about the Matter in Hand: *The Law of God (saith he) is made known unto us, whose Light, like the Stars to the Mariner in the Night-Season, Clearly discovers to us the Path of Wisdom: That Law is pure and unsupported Reason (not inconsonant with, nor unintelligible by Nature) Diffused through all the World; in it self Unchangeable and Eternal, which, that it may deter Man from Vice, doth faithfully by it's Injunctions and Prohibitions declare unto Man his Duty— Again, The Way to ascend up to the House of Truth, is to behold within Us, that there is one most High God, who made and governs all Things: That Christ is God's Ambassador and Builder, sent unto Men, and as they receive him into their Hearts, he buildeth a Divine and Immortal Temple in them.*

VI. But let us deliberately read what the so much admired *Athanasius* says to the Gentiles, who did frequently cast out that (Vulgar) Objection to the Christians, which is now made against us. *How know you that yours is the right Way?*

The Way whereby to attain to the Knowledge of God, is Within Us, which is proved from Moses; who saith, the Word of God is within thy Heart; and from this Saying of Christ, the Faith and Kingdom of God is within You. If then, says Athanasius, the Kingdom of God be within Us, Just so are we able to understand the Word or Voice of the Father.

Which solid, ancient and great Truth, could not but highly aggravate the Blame of such as were Infidels to it, because it was but the Doctrine of their fam'd Philosophers, more clearly and scripturally exprest, as it doth abundantly testify to us; upon which Ground it was, the Christians believed, and practis'd their Religion. Not Tradition, however holy, but sound Internal Conviction and Revelation; from no Words without, but the Eternal Word of God In the Heart, the great Discoverer of the Will and Way of God to Men. He that knows this Word, or divine Principle, to reign in his Heart, knoweth the Kingdom of God come there, and his Will done, even the Sanctification of the Soul.

VII. *Chrysostom* also is not wanting to ascribe some Honour to this holy Light, we contend for; who not only confesseth the Light mention'd in the first of *John*, to be *Christ, the Word-God*, who lightneth all Mankind coming into the World, but also avers it to be of a *Saving Nature* unto all, who believe in it, and follow it: Wherefore saith he, *Let none blame the Light they are not Saved, but their own Rebellion, who refuse to be saved by it.* This he very solemnly calls, *A Teacher or Instructor, dwelling in Man's Nature, or that no Man is without a Teacher to instruct, inspire, Help and Assist him in the Way, that leads to eternal Life.*

I will conclude these Christian Testimonies with a Passage of *Augustin*, not unsuitable to the Business in Hand.

VII. *Augustin*, in his Discourse on *John*, has this very notable Passage, viz. *That God is properly King of Minds, or Souls, because when he is received in, he governeth by his Divine Power and Spirit in the Heart; therefore is not his Kingdom after the Manner of this World, but within: and much to this Purpose.*

Again he distinguisheth upon the Word Reason, *There is a superior and inferior Reason, saith he; the inferior is a meer rational Creature, or that Understanding which distinguisheth a Man from a Beast; But the superior Reason is a Light, or as it were, a Power in Mankind, dictating, revealing, and injoyning Divine, Eternal and intirely good Things; As for Example, when it shall say, This is Sin, thou oughtest not to commit, but avoid it; Why? Because it offends God.*

Thus far of Primitive Christian-Divinity. from about 132. Years after Christ, to about 400 Years after Christ; by Way of Confirmation, of that Part of the Gentile-Divinity, which might, with least Credit, be embraced? For to cite never so many Primitive Christian Authors, to prove a God, Holy Life, and the Immortality of the Soul, the other Points of Gentile-Divi-

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nity, would look like Labour in vain; since none that believes them to have been Christian, ought to doubt of their holding such General Truths; but the Wonder is, to quote them in the Language of the so much, yet so undeservedly *Decri'd and Abused Quakers*, viz. That not only the *Best Gentiles*, but most *Approved Christians*, of the *Primitive Times*, confess to a *Divine Light, Principle, Word or Spirit in Man*, whose Inspiration gives infallible Understanding, and as Man is guided by it, he shall be recovered out of that Dirt and Mire Sin hath plung'd him in, and it will free him from the Snares of Pleasures, enlighten his Eyes, inspire his Soul, and lead him gently by the Hand in the Way of Eternal Righteousness; whose Reward from God will be Immortal and Eternal Life.

Chap. X.

C H A P. X.

The Third Part of Gentile-Divinity, viz. That they were Men of Virtuous Lives, and taught the Indispensibleness thereof to Life Eternal. Prov'd by Numerous Instances.

IT may now be Time, that I dispatch the other Two Parts of the *Gentile-Divinity*, which I shall endeavour with all convenient Brevity.

There are many Instances of their Pious Doctrine, and singular Examples of their Virtue; I will instance in a few, to convince, if I can, such as scarcely believe any Good of them, (and the rather) (I fear) that they may charge the Bad upon the Light) that their Doctrines and Practice with respect to good Living, were, and are very commendable, and approved of all Good Christians.

Lived about the Year of the World, 3313. before Christ about 630 Years, which is 2330 Years since. Stob. 28.

I. Pittacus *Mirilenæus*, one of the Seven Wise Men of Greece, as they were called, his Apophthegms were these:

'What thou tak'st ill in thy Neighbour do not thy self. Reproach not the Unhappy; for the Hand of God is on them. Restore what is committed to thy Trust. Bear with thy Neighbour. Love thy Neighbour. Reproach not thy Friend, though he recede from thee a little. Acquire Honesty; Seek Obsequiousness; Love Discipline, Temperance, Prudence, Truth, Faith, Experience, Dexterity, Society, Diligence, Oeconomy and Piety.

Lived at the same Time. Laert.

II. Chilon, another of them, he was so Just in all his Actions, that in his Old Age he professed, 'He never had 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. Agellius relates it thus: '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 repent of, which perhaps you also know: 'Truly, even at this Time I am certain, I never committed any Thing, the Remembrance whereof 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 Necessity 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 con-

(d) Thou therefore which teachest another, teachest thou not thy Self, Rom. 2. 21. Love thy Neighbour as thy self, I am the Lord. Levit. 19. 18. Finally Brethren, whatsoever Things are true, whatsoever Things are honest, just, pure, lovely, and of good Report, think on these Things, Phil. 4. 8.

ceived, that which I put in Practice, to be of all other the most easie to be born: *Silently I condemned him, and perswaded those others who judged, to Absolve him:* Thus preserved (in so great a Business) the Duty both of a Judge and Friend; but from the Act I receive this (x) Trouble, that I fear it is not free from Perfidiousness and Guilt; *in the same Business, at the same Time, and in a publick Affair, to perswade others contrary to what was in my own Judgment best.* Doubtless a Man of Light, Sight and Conscience.

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Of his *Apophthegms*, or Sayings, these few are delivered to us by *Laertius*. (y) *He said, Providence of future Things, collected by Reason, is the Virtue of a Man. Being demanded, wherein the Learned differ from the Unlearned? He answered, in a Good Hope. When asked, what is hard? said, to conceal Secrets, to dispose of Leisure well, and be able to bear an Injury, Therefore said Chilon, to his Brother, I can bear Injuries, thou canst not.*

III. The Precepts of the seven *Sophists of Greece*, in general; *Thales, Solon, Periander, Cleobulus, Chilon, Bias, and Pittacus* (called seven wise Men) collected by *Sosiades*, who flourished above two Thousand Years ago.

(z) Follow God, obey the Law, Worship God, Reverence thy Parents, Suffer for Justice, Know thy Self, consider Mortal Things, Respect Hospitality, command thy Self, honour Providence, Use not Swearing, speak Well of that which is Good, disparage none, praise Virtue, do what is Just, abstain from Evil, instruct thy Children, fear Deceit, be a Lover of Wisdom, judge according to Equity, curb thy Tongue, examine without Corruption, do that whereof thou shalt not repent, when thou hast sinned, be penitent, confine thine Eye, perfect quickly, pursue what is profitable, be in Childhood modest, in Youth temperate, in Manhood just, and in old Age prudent, that thou mayst dye untroubled.

Stob. 28.

Thus far the Wise Men, which were therefore so called, because of their Extraordinary Virtue, and truly deserved the Name of Christian and Virtuous, more abundantly than they who bear it now.

IV. *Pythagoras* very truly tells us, 'The Discourse of that Philosopher is Vain, by which no Passion of a Man is Healed. And indeed to what serves their Preaching, and Hearing, and Sacraments, that are neither Cured nor Curing.'

Stob: 22.

'All which is determin'd to be done, should aim at, and tend to the Acknowledgement of the Deity.'

Jamblich.

'Endeavour not to conceal thy Faults with Words, but to amend them by Reproof.'

(a) 'This is the Principle (saith *Pythagoras*) and the whole Life of Men consists in this, that they follow God, and this is the Ground of right Philosophy.'

(b) 'Purity is acquired by Expiations, and by refraining from Murder and Adultery and All Pollution.'

'We ought either to be silent, or to speak Things that are better than Silence.'

'Temper is the Strength of the Soul: (c) For it is the Light of the Soul, clear from Passion.'

(x) The *Gentiles* who had not a Law, became a Law unto themselves, doing the things contained in the Law; their Consciences bearing Witness, and their Thoughts the mean while accusing or excusing, *Rom. 2. 14, 15.*

(y) To depart from Evil is a good Understanding. *Job. 28. 28.* And the Hypocrites Hope shall perish, *Job. 8. 13.* Why do you not rather take wrong, *1 Cor. 6. 7.*

(z) Reader, these weighty Sayings are very Scripture it self, and that as well of the new, as old Testament (so called) especially where Christ saith, *I swear not at all*, though spoke about 700 Years before he came into the World.

(a) Let us hear the Conclusion of the whole Matter: *Fear God, and keep his Commandments; for this is the whole Duty of Man, Eccles. 12. 13.*

(b) *Pure Religion and Undeiled is, to keep himself unspotted from the World, Jam. 1. 27.*

(c) In this Sense I fear, we may say, that some have no Light in them.

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'It is better to dye, than to cloud the Soul by *Intemperance* or *Passion*.
(d) *Pythagoras* returns not Reproaches for Reproaches. Though some Professors of Christianity Reproach when they are not Reproached. Behold the Difference betwixt a sober *Heathen*, and such scolding Christians, but therefore no True Christians.

Laert.

V. *Anaxagoras* held, 'That *Contemplation of God* was the End of Life, and that Liberty of Mind, which proceeds from such Heavenly Meditation.

To one who blam'd him for neglecting his Country; 'Wrong me not (said he) *my greatest Care is my Country*; Pointing to Heaven.

Suidas saith, 'That he was cast into Prison by the *Athenians*, for introducing a *New Opinion* concerning God, and banisht the City, though *Pericles* undertook to plead his Cause.

Josephus saith, 'That the *Athenians* believing the Sun to be God, which he affirm'd to be *without Sense and Knowledge*, he was by the Votes of a few of them condemn'd to Death.

However, thus they writ upon his Grave, as English'd by T. Stanley.

*Here lies, who through the truest Paths did pass
To 'rb World Celestial, ANAXAGORAS.*

Which was an high Testimony to his Good Life, and their Belief of his attaining of Immortality.

Plat Phed,

VI. *Socrates* tells us, '(e) 'Right Philosophy is the Way to true Happiness; the Offices whereof are two, *To contemplate God, and to abstract the Soul from Corporeal Sense*.

(f) 'To do Good is the best Course of Life.

'Vertue is the Beauty, Vice the Deformity of the Soul.

'Nobility is a Good Temper of Soul and Body.

'The best Way of worshipping God is, *To do what he Commands*. An hard Saying to Professors of Christianity, but a great Truth.

(g) 'Our Prayers, should be for Blessings in General; for God knows best what is good for us. *God considers Integrity, not Munificence*. This judgeth Formal Christians, with their exterior Worship.

'The Office of a Wise Man is, to discern what is Good and Honest, and to shun that which is Dishonest.

(h) 'They who know what they ought to do, and do it not, are not Wise and Temperate, but *Fools and stupid*.

Libanius saith, 'Of all Things which Man can call his, *Socrates* considered the Soul to be chief; and that, (i) *He only is truly happy who purifies that from Vice*.

He taught every where, 'That a Just Man and an Happy Man were all One.

He said, 'He wondered at those who carve Images of Stone, that they take such Care to make Stones resemble Men, whilst they neglect and suffer themselves to resemble Stones. He meant, they had *Stony Hearts*, as the Prophet expresseth it.

(d) *Who when he was Reviled, Reviled not again*, 1 Pet. 2. 23.

(e) *The Fear of the Lord is the Beginning of Wisdom*. Plal. 111. 10.

(f) *If any Man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his Cross, and follow me*, Luke 9. 23.

(g) Reader, These sententious Expressions to have every one of them a Scripture, would be tedious and superfluous; for they are almost Word for Word Scripture it self, as who knoweth Scripture may plainly see.

(h) *So saith Christ*, Mat. 7. 26, 27.

(i) *The Fire in Heart shall see God*, Mat. 5. 8.

Being demanded, who live without Perturbation? He answered, *(k)* *They who are Conscious to themselves of no evil Thing.*

Being demanded whom he thought Richest? he answer'd, *(l)* *He who is contented with least; for Content is the Riches of Nature.*

Being demanded, what Continnence is? he answered, *Government of Corporal Pleasures.*

Good Men must let the World see, *that their Manners are more firm than an Oath.* This Saying shews a State of Integrity above Swearing, that *Socrates* had a Sight of, and prefer'd before Swearing, as I may again observe. But to proceed, let us hear the Charge of his Enemies, and his Defence.

Melitus, Son of *Melitus*, a Pythian, accused *Socrates*, Son of *Sophroniscus*, an Alopecian: *Socrates* violateth the Law, not believing the Deities which this City believeth; But introducing another God: he violates the Law likewise in Corrupting Youth: the Punishment, Death.

The Charge is the same to this Day; Good Men are made Offenders for a Word, and Darkness called Light, and Light Darkness.

Soon after *Anytus*, who caus'd that Bill to be prefer'd by *Melitus*, in that *Socrates* industriously assay'd his Overthrow, and the Rest of his Comical Associates (for they were *Comedians*) sent privately to him, desiring him to forbear the mention of his Trade; and assures him, that he would *thereupon withdraw his Action.* But *Socrates* returned him Answer *(m)* *'Thou he would never forbear speaking Truth so long as he Lived: That he would always use the same Speeches concerning him; That this Accusation was not of Force enough, to make him refrain from speaking those Things, which he thought himself before oblig'd to say. Again observe his Resolution.*

It is likely, God in his Love to me, hath ordain'd, that I should Dye in the most convenient Age, and by the Gentlest Means. For, if I dye by Sentence, I am allow'd the Benefit of the most easie kind of Death; I shall give my Friends the least Trouble: Further, If, when I give an Account of my Actions towards God and Men, the Judges think fit to condemn me, I will rather chuse to Dye, than to beg of them a Life worse than Death.

Yet that I dye unjustly, it will not trouble me, it is not a Reproach to me, but to Those who condemn'd me; I am much satisfied with the Example of *Palamedes*, who suffer'd Death in the like Manner: He is much more commended, than *Ulysses* the Procurer of his Death. I know, both future and past Times will witness, I never hurt or injured any, but on the contrary have Advantag'd all that convers'd with me to my utmost Ability, communicating what Good I could Gratis, and not for Gain.

I think it most unbecoming a Philosopher to Sell his Advice, and extremely contrary to my Practice; for ever since by God's Command, I first enter'd into *(n)* *Philosophy*, I was never known to take any Thing, but keep my Exercises in publick, for every one to hear that will. I neither Lock the Door when I teach, nor go abroad to the Multitude, and exact Money of the Hearers: As some heretofore have done, and some in our Times yet do.

Did not *Socrates* then excel the Priests of our Day, I mean as well some Creeping Non-Conformists, as any other, who make a Trade of it, and

(k) The Fruit of the Spirit is Peace, Gal. 5, 22.

(l) But Godliness, with Content is great Gain, 1 Tim. 6. 6.

(m) Nothing they could do was able to draw him out of his Endeavours to detect the low Comedians, that sought therefore his Ruin.

(n) The Word *Philosophy* hath been otherwise appropriated since those Days, as many other Words have been; for it then signified a Love of Wisdom given by *Pythagoras*, which Wisdom was the Way of Holy Living, not Vain and Untoward Contests about Impracticable Things.

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indeed it is their best? The Righteousness of this Gentile condemns their Mercenary Practice, who pretend to be *Christian-Ministers*; and giveth Proof of an higher State, than that to which they have yet attained.

Laert. & Suid
 in vit. Antisth.
 th.

VII. *Antisthenes*, Institutor of the Cynicks, as they were called, and Scholar to *Socrates*, taught, (o) 'That Virtue was the truest Nobility, that Piety was alone needful to lasting Happiness— That true Virtue stood 'not in Saying, but Doing that which was Good. Not in much Learning, 'or many Words, but Upright Actions. In short, that the Principle of Virtue is sufficient to what Wisdom is needful, and that all other Things ought to have reference thereto. (p) That Piety is the best Armour, and 'Virtuous Persons are always Friends. That Virtue is an Armour, none can 'either pierce, or take from Good Men. He prefers a Just Man before his 'Neighbour, and gives Women's Souls the same Priviledge to Vertue, with 'Men's. He accounted Pleasures one of the greatest Mischiefs in the World; 'and being ask'd, what Learning was best? he answered, That which un- 'learns Men Evils; for those, saith he, who would live for ever, (q) must have 'a Care that their Lives be Holy and Just in this World.

Stob.

IX. From *Diogenes*, his constant Scholar and Friend, take this one very true and notable Saying. Of Spiritual Exercitation *Laertius* makes him speak to this Purpose, in his Account of his Doctrine: (r) 'That where 'Men's Souls are deeply and frequently employ'd in that Spiritual Retirement, and waiting for Divine Strength: and are often exercised in Meditations upon the Eternal Mind; *Holy Revelations or Illuminations* will 'occur, which enlighten the Soul, and enable it, the better to Live and Act, 'Virtuously.

Valer. Max.
 2. 10. Cic.
 pro. Bal.
 Laert.

X. 'Nay, so greatly were the Picty and Wisdom of *Xenocrates* reverenc'd at *Athens*, about four Hundred Years before, *Swear not at all*, was 'spoken by our Lord Jesus, that the Judges of that Place would not offer 'to put *Xenocrates* upon his Oath in an high Matter of Evidence, in case 'he would have Sworn; because they thought it an Affront to his Integrity, that his bare Word should not be prefer'd before all the Oaths of 'other Men; Dispensing, says *Valerius Maximus*, with that to him, they 'would not have excused in one another. Which is no small Proof, that the Light among the Heathens, impeach'd Oaths in Evidence of Man's Imperfection, as being but only supplemental or in the Place of Remedies, against want of Honesty; and obviously esteem'd it an higher, and more noble State, to arrive at the Integrity, which needs not the extraordinary and affrighting Obligation of an Oath, where meer Fear of the Curse intail'd upon Perjury, and not an innate Faithfulness, most commonly extorts true Evidence: Which is a sufficient Answer to this Question how, and by what Light we could have aim'd at that Perfection, or have known that Doctrine, had not the Scriptures been?

Cic. de
 Fin. 2.

XI. The Chief Good therefore, said *Zeno*, (s) is to square our Lives according to the Knowledge given us from the Eternal Being, when the Soul, entering into the Path of Virtue, walketh by the Steps and Guidance of right Reason, and followeth God. Which brings to my Remembrance these Stoi-

(o) Ye are an holy Nation, a Royal Priesthood, 1 Pet. 2. 9. ---- And hath made us Kings, and Priests, &c. Rev. 1. 6. ---- Blessed are they who hear the Word of God, and keep it, Luke 11. 28. ---- Where is the Wife? where is the Scribe? where is the Disputer of this World? 1 Cor. 1. 20.

(p) Put on the Breast-Plate of Righteousness, Eph. 6. 14.

(q) The Just shall live by Faith, Heb. 2. 4. ---- Without Holiness no Man shall see the Lord, Heb. 12. 14.

(r) They that wait upon the Lord shall renew their Strength, Isa. 40. 31. ---- The Secret of the Lord is with them that fear him, Psal. 25. 14.

(s) Rom. 2. 14, 15.

cal Maxims deliver'd by *Laertius, Cicero, Quintilian, &c.* and collected by *T. S.* for us, charg'd upon *Zeno*, and his Disciples: Some of which I had formerly an Occasion to mention in another Discourse. They are these:

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(1) *A Wise Man is void of Passion. A Wise Man is Sincere. A Wise Man is Divine; for he hath God with himself: but a Wicked Man is an Atheist. The Wicked are contrary to the Good: God, he is Good, so against God. A Wise Man is Religious, he is Humble. He only is a Priest. He only is a Prophet. He Loves and Honours his Parents. A Wise Man only is Free. A Wise Man is void of Sin.*

Laert.
Ibid.
Stob.
Laert.
Stob.
Laert.

Upon which I query, whether this amounts not to as much as what the Scriptures teach, and these here inserted tell you; That the Fear of the Lord is the Beginning of Wisdom, and to depart from Iniquity a Good Understanding?

But farther, to the same Purpose; (u) *A Wise Man is Innocent. A Wise Man is Free; Wicked Men are Slaves. Again, A Wise Man is only Perfect; for he wanteth no Virtue, a Wicked Man is Imperfect, for he hath no Virtue.*

Idem.
Cic. Parad.
Stob.

Whereby it is evident, that the Wisdom they meant was *Virtue*, in Opposition to *Vice* which they esteemed *Folly*, as doth the Scripture frequently: As much as to say, those who are thus Good, are only Wise.

Again, *A Wise Man never Lyes. A Wise Man is Peaceable, Meek, Modest, Diligent, Virtuous, Constant, and only is Incurable to Virtue; Fools are not.*

Idem

Where it is obvious, that by *Fools* they meant *Wicked and Indocible People*, who are *Stiff-necked, Rebelling against God, not delighting to retain God in their Knowledge.*

XII. *Plato* thus; (w) *To be like God is to be Holy, Just, and Wise, which is the End of Man's being born, and should be of his studying Philosophy; that Virtue and Honesty are all one, as saith Clemens Alexandrinus out of him.*

Theatr.
cap. 3. 10.

This, Reader, was the Doctrine; *This* the Study; and, which is best of all, *This* was the Practice of many of the Virtuous Heathens, who became a Law unto themselves, Bounding their Appetites, whether Corporal or Mental, within the approved Limits of an *Inward Holy Guide*, like Careful Mariners, steering the Course of their Lives by the Direction of that Heavenly Star, which in the *Gentile-Night* arose in their Consciences to guide them unto a Blessed Immortality, which shall be the last Point of their Divinity, and then we close this Discourse with Respect to them.

C H A P. XI.

Chap. XI.

That the Last Point of Gentile-Divinity, to wit, Immortality and Eternal Rewards, is also very clearly and positively held forth by the Ancient Heathens. Six Testimonies from them, to prove it. Socrates's Great Faith in particular; and the Lusty Strain of the Pythagoreans.

THAT the Gentiles believed there was an Immortality, and that all Men should hereafter be accountable for the Deeds done in the Body (a Point, but obscurely laid down among the Jews themselves) be pleased to take these few ensuing Authorities, as a Proof of what is asserted.

I. *Pythagoras*, and the *Pythagoreans*, that they all held the Immortality of the Soul, Consider his and their Doctrine in the Point.

(1) The Fear of the Lord is the Beginning of Wisdom, *Psalms* 111. 10: The Rulers take Counsel together against the Lord, *Psal.* 2. 2. The Wisdom which is from above, is first Pure, then Peaceable, *Jam.* 3. 17.

(u) *Psal.* 111. 9, 10.

(w) Be ye Holy, for I the Lord your God am Holy, *Levit.* 11: 44, 45.

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Chap. XI.
Plut. Plat.
4, 7.
Stob. Phys.
Plat. Phed.

A.1. Amph.

Clem. Alex.
Strom. 1. 3.

Plat. Phed.

Idem,

Observe
Socrates his
Distinction
betwixt being
Dead and
Departed.

First, he said, *That the Soul is Immortal.*

Next, (a) *That the Soul is Incorruptible, it never dyeth; for when it goes out of the Body it goes into the other World, the Pure to God, the Impure bound by Furies in indissoluble Chains.*

Here *Immortality* and *Rewards* are asserted.

(b) *But when a Man, who hath lived Justly, dieth, his Soul ascendeth to the pure Æther (or Heaven) and lives in the Happy Ævum (or Everlasting Age) with the Blessed.*

II. *Heracitus.* If my Body be over-pres'd, it must descend to the destin'd Place: Nevertheless, my Soul shall not descend, but being a Thing Immortal, shall fly up on high to Heaven.

III. *Euripides,* a Grave Tragædian, whose Work was to undo what *Wan-ton Comedians* had done to undo the People, speaks thus, (c) *Who knoweth, whether to Dye be not to Live, and to Live to Dye.*

Surely he said so not of any Distrust of Immortality, but in Belief of it, and that Reward that would attend Good Men.

IV. *Socrates.* (d) *The Body being Compounded, is Dissolved by Death; The Soul being Simple, passeth into another Life, incapable of Corruption.*

(e) *The Soul of the Good after Death are in an happy Estate, united to God in a Blessed inaccessible Place: The Bad in Convenient Places Suffer Con dign Punishment.*

This puts the Case of the Sufficiency of the Light, to discover Immortality to the very Heathen, out of all Doubt, and not only so, but Rewards too; since we have them here believing, The Righteous shall be Saved, and the Wicked Damned. This made *Socrates* so chearful at his Death, something of which I think fit here to insert.

(f) Truly, says he; did I not believe I should go to the Just God, and to Men better than any Living, I were inexcusable for contemning Death: But I am sure to go to God, a very good Master, and hope to meet with Good Men, and am of good Courage, hoping that something of Man subsists after Death; and that it is then much better with the Good than with the Bad.

When he had made an End of speaking, *Crito* (one of his Followers) asked him, what Directions he would leave concerning his Sons, and other Affairs; and if they could do any thing that might be acceptable to him? I desire no more (saith he) than what I have often told you, If you take Care of your selves, whatsoever you do, will be acceptable to me and mine, though you promise nothing; if you neglect your selves and Virtue, you can do nothing acceptable to us, though you promise never so much. Thar, answer'd *Crito*, we shall observe; But how wilt thou be buried? As you think good (saith he) If you can catch me, and that I give you not the Slip. Then with a Smile applying himself unto us, I cannot persuade *Crito* (saith he) that I am any thing more than the Carcass you will anon behold, and therefore he takes this Care for my Enternent: It seems, that what even now I told him, that as soon as I have taken the Poyson, I shall go to the Joys of the Blessed, hath been to little Purpose: He was my Bail, bound to the Judges for my Appearance, you must now be Sureties to him, that I am Departed: Let him not say, That *SOCRATES* is carried to the Grave, or laid under Ground; for know, dear *Crito*, such a Mistake were a Wrong to my Soul; be not dejected, Tell the World, My Body only is Buried, and that after what Manner thou pleasest. Yet (saith *Socrates*) I may pray to God, and will, that my Passage hence may be Happy, (g) which I beseech him to grant. And in the same Instant Drank it off easily, without any Disturbance.

(a) Rev. 20. 12, 13, 14. Chap. 21. 7, 8.

(b) 2 Cor. 5. 8.

(c) 2 Cor. 5. 8. Philip. 1. 21.

(d) Eccles. 12. 7.

(e) The Sheep on the Right Hand, and the Goats on the Left, Mat. 25. 31, 32, 33.

(f) 1 Cor. 15. 28, 29, 30, 31.

This (saith Plato) was the End of the Best, the Wisest, and most Just of Men. A Story, which Cicero professeth he never read without Tears.

This ends Socrates upon the present Subject; and happy Man was he to make so happy an End, as to Dye for the only true God. He had great Reason to believe (maugre the Envious Uncharitableness of some) that he would reward him, when it shall be said to many bawling pretended Christians, *Depart from me; I know you not; For as Men sow, so shall they reap in the Day of God.*

I need not to tell the World, that Plato and other Heathens have written accurately upon that Subject, when it is so notorigus: Wherefore to close up my Testimonies upon this Head, and whole Discourse of *Gentile-Divinity*, I will present the Reader with two short Passages, the one from *Virgil*; the other of the *Pythagoreans*, thus translated to my Hand, only a little varied by an ingenious Author.

V. *Donec longa Dies peracto temporis Orbe
Concretam exemit Labem, purumque reliquit
Aethereum Sensum, atque aurai simplicis ignem.*

Virg. *Aeneid.*
Lib. 6.
v. 745.

In English thus:

'Till that long Day at last be come about
That wasted has all Filth and foul Desire,
And leaves the Soul *Caelestial* throughout,
Bathing her Senses in Pure Liquid Fire.

To which agrees that *Golden Distich* of the *Pythagoreans*, as it hath been called;

VI. *Ἦν δ' ἀπολείψας Σῶμα ἐς ἀθανάτων ἐλθὼν ἔλθης,
Ἑσσαι δὲ δάνατον, θεὸς ἀμβροτόν, ἐν ἐτι θνήσκει.*

Pythag. *Aur.*
Carm.

* To this Purpose:

Who after Death once reach the Heavenly Plain,
Become like God, and never Dye again.

The Greek has it, as *Immortal Gods*. Which *Hierocles* interprets thus: Herein shall Good Men *Resemble the Deity*, that they shall be Immortal, like God himself.

Thus, Reader, have I given thee a very true Account of the *Gentile-Divinity*, what was the Faith, what the Practice, and what the Prophecy and Hope of many Gentiles through this Light within, each of which had numerous Followers.

Observe, They began where *Jews* and *Christians* began, that is, with God; and they end with what they confess to be theirs, namely, a *State of Immortality*, in which every one is rewarded according to their Works. Only they are thus far to be commended before either of them, if we consider many of our Times, That they were more Certain, Plain and True in their Acknowledgment of a *Divine Light, Law or Principle in Man*, which being obey'd, supply'd them with daily Wisdom and Strength, and finally led them to God: And also were more Just to their Faith, by a Life excelling the most of them in *Virtue* and *Self-Denial*. And certainly in that Great and Terrible Day, when God will judge the Secrets of Men by Jesus Christ, according to *Paul's Gospel*, such pious Gentiles, who knowing God, glorified him as God, and conscientiously did the Things contain'd in his Law, will be finally acquitted and rewarded.

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Chap. XII.

C H A P. XII.

That the Heathens had a Sight of the Coming of Christ. That and their Refusing to Swear, prove the Sufficiency of the Light.

OVER and above what I promised, being rather willing to err on that Hand, if yet it be erring; I shall briefly observe two Things greatly importing our Defence of the Light, and the Satisfaction of our Adversaries, if it be true that they seek to be satisfied.

1. That the Testimony of *Socrates* and *Xenocrates* about Swearing sufficiently prove to us, that by the Light they had they saw a State above Swearing, or a Righteousness excelling that of the Legal *Jews*, which manifestly corresponds with what Christ said; who, above Four Hundred Years after them, taught, as what properly became the Evangelical Righteousness, *Swear not at all*.

2. That though their Light did not tell them the express Names Christ should be called by, yet they fore-saw and prophesied of his Coming, and how he should come of a Virgin, and both what he was, and the Work he came to do, which the Names given of the *Holy Ghost* did plainly import. Neither is it the meet knowing of so many Letters, Syllables; or Words that gives the true Knowledge, or Salvation, but the Experiencing him to be that which he is, and wherefore he is so denominated: For to that End came He into the World. Christ signifies *Anointed*, eminently with Respect to that peculiar Manifestation. *Jesus* a Saviour, for he should save his People from their Sins. *Emmanuel*, which is to say, *God with us*, &c. that in this Sense he was *Prophetically* held forth by the *Gentiles*, through that Measure of Light they had: Hear *Plato* and *Virgil*.

Marcil. Ficinus, who writ the Life of *Plato*, that Great *Gentile*, tells us among many other Things, that, *Being very seriously ask'd by some that visited him, as the last Thing they had a Mind to be informed about, How long Men should attend to his Writings? Of which he seem'd so chary, Living and Dying in the Belief of what he recommended to the World, He solemnly answer'd, 'TILL THAT MORE HOLY AND DIVINE PERSON SHALL APPEAR TO VISIT THE WORLD, WHOM ALL MEN OUGHT TO FOLLOW.* At once, both believing such an one to appear, and then forbidding all to prefer that lesser Discovery he had given the World, thro' the Improvement of his Talent of Light, before that greater Manifestation, which that *Divine Person* would bring with him into the World: As if he had said, Mine may help you with Respect to that Knowledge which is your Duty in this Generation, and so point at him that afterwards shall come; but I am not He, neither do I believe this the most excellent Discovery that can be made: But as the *Lesser Light* may lead to the *Greater*, and is at last swallow'd up of it; so can I only point at him, and when he is come, all I have done must *Yield* to him: For I declare that All ought to follow him; because, in following of him, They will obtain Eternal Blessedness.

See Const.
Orat. in Euf.
Virg. Bucol.
Eclog. 4.

Let us now see what *Virgil* will add to this Matter, as translated in *Eusebins*.

Sicelides Musæ paulo majora canamus.

Ye Muses, with a lofty Wing,
Let us of higher Matters sing.

And what be they?

Ultima Cumæi venit jam Carminis ætas.

Who

Who lives this Age, will clearly see,
Cumæa's Verse accomplish'd be.

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 Chap. XII.

This *Cumæa* (so called of her City) was a *Sybil*, who liv'd about 600 Years before Christ, and *Prophefied* of him.

Virgil writ these Verses about Forty Years before Christ was Born. I query if the *Jews* themselves had so positive a Sense of the *Messiah's* Coming. But to Proceed;

Magnus ab integro seclorum nascitur Ordo :
Jam redit & Virgo, redeunt Saturnia Regna.
Jam nova Progenies Cælo demittitur alto.

Iſa. 7. v. 14,
 15, 16, 17,
 18, 19, 20,
 21, 22, 23,
 24, 25.
 Iſa. 2. 2, 3,
 4, 5.

Th' Integrity of Times shall now renew again,
 A *Virgin* also shall bring back Old *Saturn's* Reign.
 Now is from Heaven high
 Descended a new Progeny.

This is a *Direct Prophecy* of the Marvellous Conception, that he should be Born of a *Virgin*, and the *Good* that would redound to the World thereby, as he farther addeth;

Tu modo nascenti Puero, quo ferrea primum
Desinet, ac toto surget Gens Aurea Mundo,
Castra fave Lucina —
Hoc Duce, si qua manent sceleris vestigia nostri,
Irrita perpetua solvent formidine terras.

The Birth of that most happy Child, by whom
 The Iron Age shall end, and Golden come,
 Chast *Lucina* favour—
 He shall the Pow'r of *Wickedness* Destroy,
 And Free the World from Fear and all Annoy.

Chap. 9 & 108
 1 John 3.
 5, 6.

Yet again:

Ipsæ lacte domum referent distenta Capellæ
Ubera: nec magnos metuent armenta Lænes.

The Goats shall bring their Udders Milk-fill'd home,
 And th' gentle Flocks great Lyons shall not shun.

Iſai. 11. 9, 7, 8,
 9, 10, 11.

Yet farther:

Ipsa tibi blandos fundent cunabula flores,
Occidet & Serpens, & fallax herba veneni
Occidet: Assyrium vulgo nascetur amomum.

Thy Cradle fairest Flow'rs shall send forth still,
 Which shall have Pow'r, the Poy's'nous Herbs to kill,
 The Serpent he shall to Destruction bring,
 Assyrian Amomum shall each where spring.

Iſai. 2. 3:

Hinc ubi jam firmata virum te feceris ætas.

When thou shalt attain at length
 To Years of Manhood and firm Strength.

Now let any tell me, if this be not a most *Pathetical* Account of the *Virtue* and *Power* of Christ, and the very *End* of his Coming into the World, as, by a Comparison of it with the Scriptures in the Margin, will plainly appear.

Pſal. 2:
 Pſal. 45:
 Iſa. 9. 6, 7;
 Chap. 11. 12
 2, 3, 60 92

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Chap. XII.

Isai. 60. 1,
2, 3, to the
End.
Chap. 61: 1;
2, 3, ---
Matt. 1. 21:
to the End.
Luk. 2. 10.
to 33.
1 John 3, 5, 8.

Et dura quercus sudabunt roscida mella.

From the hard Oak there shall
Sweet Honey sweate forth and fall.

To Conclude;

*Cedet & ipse mari veltor; nec nautica pinus
Mutabit merces: omnis feret omnia tellus.
Non rastros patietur bumus, non vinea falcem,
Nec varios discet mentiri lana colores.
Sponte sua sandyx pascentes vestiet agnos:
O mihi tam longè maneat pars ultima vitæ,
Spiritus & quantum sat erit, tua dicere facta!*

The Sea shall then be Quiet, no Ship shall range
Abroad, her Wares with others to exchange:
Then ev'ry Land shall Ev'ry thing produce,
And then to Plow the Earth they shall not Use:
Vines by the Hook shall not be Reddify'd,
Nor Wool wirh divers Colours shall be Dy'd:
Fair Fleeces, voluntary, shall proceed,
And Clothe the Lambs, while they do gently Feed.
O might my Days be lengthen'd, so that I
Might sing of thy great Deeds before I dye.

Thus, to say no more, though much more might be said of this Kind, have *Heathens*, by the *Light* we have been hitherto defending, not only *Fore-told* Christ's Appearance, but the very *Work*, for which He did come, and for which He received those peculiar Names of *Christ*, *Jesus*, *Emmanuel*, *The Restorer of Breaches*, *Redeemer*, *Saviour*, &c. So that I hope our Adversaries will either disprove these Writings, or confess that the *Light* God gave to the *Gentiles*, they obeying it, was *sufficient*, and that by it they had some of them a *Sight* of *Christ*, with respect to the great *Performance*, for which he was so named.

I have omitted any mention of those *Sybills*, so much regarded by *Justin Martyr*, *Tertullian*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and Abundance of the Ancients, for *David Blondell's* Sake, an Accurate *French-man*, who endeavours to prove the Books that go under their Name to be *Spurious*; writ since *Christ*, by some *affected* to Christianity, to *promote* it with the *Gentiles*, and therefore not *Genuine* Prophecies of his Coming: Though he grants, *Sybills* there were of old, and *Excellent* Things they wrote, but that they were *Burnt* in the *Capitol* of *Rome*, several Hundred Years before *Christ* came in the *Flesh*, and *Scattered Remnants only extant*; yet among them enough will be afforded, as *Virgil* from the *Cumean* already mention'd, by which to prove the great *Fore-sight* some of the *Gentiles* had of *Christ's* being conceived by the *Holy Ghost*, Born of a *Virgin*, and finally, Coming in the *Flesh* for the Salvation of the World: And which is more than any, before *Virgil*, had done, the *Time when*, namely, *Within that Age*; which was the Reign of *Augustus Caesar*; in the Beginning of which *Virgil* wrote, and about the End of which *Christ* was Born.

Chap. XIII.

C H A P. XIII.

It is granted that the Jew, and much more the Christian, hath the Advantage of the Gentile. Yet that the Gentile had enough for Salvation.

BUT that I may provide against both Ignorance and Malice: Let none unworthily infer from hence, that I prefer the State of Gentilism before the State of Christianity: No, nor yet that I so much as intend to equal

equal it to *That of the Jews*, to whom pertained the *Adoption, Glory, Covenant, and the giving of the Law, whose were the Fathers, and of whom Christ himself came after the Flesh, who is God (the only God) over All, Blessed for ever, Amen.*

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For this let all know, that far greater were the Privileges that both *Jew and Christian* were blessed with, than those of the ancient *Gentiles*. God gave the *Jews* what the *Gentiles* had, but he was not pleas'd to endow the *Gentiles* with all that he freely bestowed upon the *Jews*: Yet that he gave them what was sufficient to Godliness, is altogether as certain: For the Difference lay not in the Root of the Matter, but only in some extraordinary Helps, and several visible Services, Figurative of, and that pointed at a further Glory.

The Word *Nigh in the Heart*, of which *Moses* testified, was not the only Privilege of the *Jew*, but of the *Gentile* also. The Spirit of God strove as well with the *Gentile* as the *Jewish Man*; and God himself declared, *Their New Moons, Solemn Assemblies, Sabbaths, &c. to be an Abomination; and bid them cleanse themselves, and put away the Evil of their Doings, and that they would make them a New Heart, and a New Spirit*: Intimating, that though he did attend their Childhood with many Helps, that were wanting to other Nations, yet he required *Fear, Purity and Righteousness, and that which was the most Essential Thing*: Which, because it was required of the *Gentiles* as well as *Jews*, and that many *Gentiles* believed so, and accordingly lived; unto which, declaring they were inclined by the same *Good Spirit*, which (*Job* says) is in *Man*, and that *Understanding of the Almighty which gives Understanding*, I cannot in Justice but conclude, they wanted not the Ground-work any more than the *Jews*. So that the Sum of what I have been urging, is but this, and thus much it is, *That tho' God was more Beneficent to the Jew, especially to the Christian, than the Gentile; and consequently that as the Jew had those Assistances the Gentile had not, so the Christian-Dispensation is the Perfection of the Divine Light, Life and Immortality, more weakly seen both by Jew and Gentile. Yet also, That God did communicate to the Gentiles, such a Measure of his Divine Light and Spirit, as diligently adhered to, and faithfully followed, was sufficient to their Salvation from Sin here, and consequently from Wrath to come; and that they themselves did so Believe, Teach, Live and Dye, in perfect Hope, and full Assurance of Eternal Recompence, in a State of Immortality.*

Isa. i. 12, 13,
14, 15.
Ezek. 18. 31,
32.

And though I will not be so strict in my Opinion of the *Best Gentiles*, as to deny there might be some *Self-Mixtures* from Temper, Education, or otherwise, yet I will also boldly affirm, that as the Light they had was Sufficient in it self to their Salvation, of which their Life and Doctrine are a Notable Demonstration, so they had some of them a Glimmering Prospect and bold Belief of as high a State of Purity, Glory and Immortality, as *Man's Nature* is well capable of attaining to. *Let thus much suffice, whether some be pleased, or not pleased, in Defence of the Universality and Sufficiency of the Light of CHRIST within, at least with respect to the Gentiles-Divinity, and a full Answer to the Clamours of our many Adversaries, against the Light's Sufficiency to discover Sin, and Convert from it.*

CHAP. XIV.

Chap. XIV.

A great Objection Stated and Answered. The Light both Law and Gospel, not in the same Discovery, but in it self. A Way to reconcile the seeming Difference about it. The Light still defended as asserted.

BUT because I am yet to expect Doubters about this Blessed Light, who rather strive to oppose it by their Notions, than believe it and obey it to their Salvation; I will suppose that some may yet object:

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Objection.

Certainly this Light within can be, at most, but the Law in the Conscience, answering to the first Covenant: For here is scarce any Mention made of Christ in this long Discourse; and if this Light were Christ, as is affirmed by you Quakers, then how comes it, that he was not so called of Old by the Jews and Greeks? And why Typified to come, when he was come before, and whilst Typified? And further, in what Sense can he be understood to bear our Iniquities, and Men and Women to be saved by his Blood; if this Light be the Saviour, Messiah, Christ, &c. as you believe, and endeavour to maintain now in the World?

This Objection, I suppose, the Reader will allow to be the most weighty made against our Principle, and that I have therein dealt more fairly by our Opposers than they usually deal with us; since I have here laid down the very Strength of their Objection, against the Light we assert. To all which, I shall answer in the Fear of God, and Spirit of Moderation.

The Objection consists mainly of these Four Parts: The *First*, relating to the Light's being but the Law, not the Gospel. The *Second*, to the Light's never being called *Christ*, by *Jews* or *Greeks*. The *Third*, to Christ's being Typified, and yet in Being at the same Time. The *Fourth*, to Christ's Blood, the bearing our Sins, and which Way this could be appropriated to the Light, and not do Injury to the Holy Manhood.

First then, I shall answer to that Part of the Objection which concerns the Light's being but, or no more than the Law.

I do thus far agree, to wit, That the Light is the Law; but that it is not therefore in any Sense the Gospel, I also deny; yet not in that Respect wherein it is the Law: For as in that State it cannot justify, so it would be to say, it is the Law, and it is not the Law *ad Idem*. I say then, that the Light may be both Law and Gospel, in reference to a two-fold Manifestation.

Where there is no Law there is no Transgression. It might as well have been said (since they themselves confess it to be the Law) That where there is no *Light*, there is no Transgression; and the rather, because the Apostle says expressly, *Whatever is reprov'd, or Sinful, is made manifest by the Light*, Eph. v. 13. Therefore, since all have transgress'd, all have *Light*, and ever had.

In this State then, it is a Law, which justifies none; all being concluded under Guilt, and Children of Wrath, for whoever is in that which is Reprovable, is under *Condemnation* from the Law, or the Reproving Act of this Holy *Light*. But again, such as by Unfeigned Repentance come to obey the Light, they are herein justified in a twofold Sense (and I so speak for the Sake of the Simple, beguiled by a wrong Apprehension of the Word) *First*, In that God acquits for his Name's Sake, who is Merciful, Pardoning Iniquity, Transgression and Sin, in all that Repent with Unfeigned Repentance. *Secondly*, in that he accepts upon the Renewal and Continuance of the Creature's humble and sincere Obedience. Neither are such properly come to the compleat *Sonship*. They are but on their Journey, they must give good Proof of their Fidelity, Diligence and Loyalty to God, as Servants, before they are Received into that excellent State of *Sonship*, which never goes out of the Father's House for ever.

This is clearly distinguish'd, and weightily express'd by the Apostle Paul to the Galatians, *The Heir* (says he) *whilst under Age, differs not from a Servant, but is under Tutors until the Time appointed of the Father: Even so we, when we were Children, were in Bondage, under the Elements of the World; therefore the Seed came, that by Faith in it, the Adoption of Sons might be known.* This is the Perfection of the Brightness of the Light, which is all along still the same in it self, though not the same to the Creature. The outward Sun is the Cause of the early Dawnings, and is at that very Time in it self the same Glorious Body of Light, as when in the Meridian: But if Men, either through Natural Weakness, or the many Fogs and Mists

of Tradition, Education, Ignorance or Prejudice suffer an Eclipse, they must nor blame the Light, but themselves. He that follows the Light in it's Holy Discoveries, and walks in it, which was ever the Just Man's Path, shall meet with Blessedness at the End of his Travels: But such as let the World of Wickedness get between it and them, are overtaken with Night.

Abraham saw, it is said, *Christ's Day*: What Day? The Dispensation of Sonship, as Heir of all Things, the Day of Perfect Restitution; which he could never have done, had he not had Light, by which to have seen it. So several of those Holy Ancients obtain'd a Degree 'above many, and arriv'd at a Growth, yea, the Benefit and Enjoyment of a Dispensation that was not then General, through the Weakness of the Age. Such really saw beyond the Offerings, Types, Figures and Shadows, to a State more Inward, Spiritual and Substantial, by taking good Heed to the Heavenly Light in their Consciences. And this, indeed, was the End of all External Administrations, to drive the Creature inward, and point out unto it some more hidden Mystery, that Man's Wandering from God had caus'd him to neglect; yet still was Christ, the Word-God, a Saving Light in that State. And the Light of the Law was as a School-Master, that led such as diligently obeyed it, to that more excellent Discovery of the same Light, which is now called the Gospel, or Glad-Tidings; as certainly it was, after so black and cold a Season, as had long overcast the Heavens, to have the Glorious Sun of Righteousness appear in that Blessed Body, prepared and annotated for that Purpose, in a Manner transcendent, to all former Manifestations of Himself.

Thus it was that such as had lived up most faithfully to the Law of God, or Light of That Dispensation, gladly received Christ, believed in him, became his Followers, and the Companions of his Cross and Sufferings. So that he, who was the Light of the Law, is also the Light of the Gospel, though not in one and the same Manifestation or Degree of Discovery: As the Light is not one in Condemning and Justifying, though it be one in itself; nor the same in it's Lustre, in the Degree and Growth of Little Children, Young Men and Fathers, yet one Pure, Eternal, Unalterable Light of Life and Righteousness in it self. If therefore it doth the Office of the Law in any, to be sure such an one is yet under a State of Condemnation for Evil, and he is not yet come to know the fulfilling of the Law, as becometh every Follower of Christ, yea, every one that would come to Christ.

Christ indeed fulfils the Law for us; but how? The Light in us, as we are subject to it, and led by it, administers an Holy Power, by which we are enabled to do that which is Good and Acceptable in the Sight of the Lord; and so obeying the Light, we fulfil the Law: Thus he works his Works in us and for us. And so far was Christ from disingaging his Followers from an indispensable Necessity of keeping the Law, as outwardly ingraven on Stones, that he set them a far harder Task, by how much it is more easie to refrain our selves from acting than thinking. Thou shalt not Commit Adultery, saith the Dispensation of Moses; Whosoever looks on a Woman, to Lust after her, hath committed Adultery with her already in his Heart, saith that more Excellent Dispensation of Christ. Certainly then those Men, who fancy themselves upon easie Terms of being excused from fulfilling of the Law, or performing good Works, as a Condition to Justification, must basely abuse themselves, and dangerously hazard the Well-being of their own Souls. In short, He was the True Light, who said, *He that looks upon a Woman to Lust after her, has committed Adultery with her already in his Heart*: But so was he also that said of old by Moses; *Thou shalt not commit Adultery*: Should we therefore conclude Two Lights, and not rather Two several Manifestations, or gradual Discoveries of the self-same Eternal Light?

Mat. 5. 27.
28.

To conclude: The Law, as I may say, is the Gospel begun, and the Gospel is the Law finished: He that would be Justified, must first be Condemned, and who would be healed, must first be wounded. The Law is as the

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Sword, the Gospel as Balm; The one Duty, the other Love. And that which alone is needful to attain unto the highest Discovery, is, to be humbly subject, and constantly obedient to the lowest Appearance of it: *The Faithful Servant becomes a Son by Adoption*. Wouldst thou know the Word a *Reconciler*, thou must first witness it an *Hammer*, a *Sword*, a *Fire*, &c. The Way to arrive at Evangelical Righteousness, is first to perform the Righteousness of the Law: By Law I mean not that of Politick Shadows and Ceremonies, or the External Order or Policy of the *Jews*; but that Moral and Eternal Law, which is said to have come by *Moses* (though but repeated and renewed by him) and is accomplish'd by Christ. And there is great Hopes, that who Conscientiously keep the Beginning, will compass the End. Such as have conquer'd *Evil Doing*, if they be faithful to what they have received of God's Light and Spirit, it will enable them against *Bad Saying*, till at last they overcome *Evil Thinking* too; and witness that Scripture fulfilled, *Judgment (the Law) is brought forth into Victory (the Gospel) he that follows me, (the Light of the World, that enlightens all Men coming into the World) shall not abide in Darkness, but shall have the Light of Life*. I make not this Distinction of Law and Gospel, to distinguish in Kind, but Degree, and for the Sake of the Weak accustomed to it. And if the Son make you Free, then are you Free indeed: For as it is a Condemner, it may be called the Light that brings Death, in that it slays, by the Brightness of it's coming into the Conscience, the transgressing Nature: Like unto that Expression, *the Day of the Lord is a Day of Darkness*, because of the Judgments and Terrors of the Lord in the Conscience for Sin; but to the Obedient, it is the *Light of Life*; it brings Peace and Consolation.

This is Christ, as the *Word-God*, and *Light of the World*, through every Dispensation, *One in Himself*, tho' to Mankind he has variously appeared, not by different Lights, but different *Manifestations only*, of *One and the same Eternal Light of Life and Righteousness*.

John 8, 12,
1. 9.

Chap. XV.

C H A P. XV.

The Second Part of the Objection, That CHRIST was not anciently called the LIGHT, answered. And the contrary proved from Scripture and Reason.

TO the Second Part of the Objection, *If the Light in every Man were Christ, how comes it that the Jews and Greeks never called it so?* I answer, *We do not say that the Light strictly in every Man is Christ, but of or from Christ*: He is that Fulness from whence all receive a Measure of Divine Light and Knowledge; but not that every Individual has the *Whole or Compleat Christ in him*, so as to be no where else: Such an Absurdity never fell from us, nor is it consequent of our Doctrine, though the Malice of our Adversaries hath charged it upon both. But as the *External Sun* darts it's Light upon the Organ of the Eye of the Body, by which it conveys True Discerning to act, about Visible Things, so doth the *Internal Sun of Righteousness* shine upon the Eye of the Soul, giving it the Knowledge of *those Invisible Things which properly relate to the Nature of the Soul*: So that we are the less obliged to give a Reason why others called not the Light in Man, *Christ*, since we renounce all Share in such Belief our selves, strictly speaking. Yet thus far I will say, that Christ was called Light, before ever he was in the World, though not before he was Christ. *I will give him for a Light to lighten the Gentiles, &c.* Now if any will say that this Light was not Christ, let them tell us so in plain Words: But if it will be allowed, they had best ask, *Why the Prophet by the Holy Ghost should call Christ, Light, even as soon, if not before he was called Christ; and why, in that very State, in which he was called Christ, he should also be called Light*. Certain it is then, that by Him, the Light, we are to understand Christ, which

which is one and the same Thing, as if he had said, *I will give Christ for a Light to Enlighten the Gentiles*; or, *He who is the Christ, is the Light*; or *the Light is Christ*: So that it will follow, the *Gentiles* were enlightened by Christ, which is the Whole of what we understand by our Assertion, as to the *Light in Man*.

Again, John expressly calls that Light, with which every Man is enlightened, *the Word*, and the Word is said to have taken *Flesh*: If then He that took *Flesh* was Christ, and consequently that Body, Christ's Body only, as none, I think, will dare deny, but Muggleton, and his Credulous Followers, it will follow, *That Christ, who took, or appeared in that Prepared Body, is the Light, with which every Man is Lighted*.

Further, Christ himself says, *I am the Light of the World*: Which is as much as if he had said, *I have lighted, or shined forth to the World*; therefore the Light which shines in the Hearts of Mankind, is *Christ*, though we do not say that every particular Illumination is the *Entire Christ*, for so there would be as many Christs as there are Men, which were Absurd and Blasphemous.

But lastly, the Apostle himself calls Him Christ, before his Coming in the *Flesh*; so that Christ was Christ before his Appearance in that Holy Body at *Jerusalem*, which clears that Point in Controversie. For the Stress of the Objection, as to this Particular, lies here, *Christ, as Christ, was not before he took Flesh*; therefore though it should be granted, that as the Word-God all are enlightened by him, yet *not as he is Christ, before that Visible Appearance*. But if Christ was not before, then the Manhood that was taken in Time, must only be the *Christ*: But I would fain know such People's Reason for it. The Dilemma in short is this, That such as deny Christ, to have been Christ before that Coming, thwart as plain a Text as the Scriptures have, and if they should allow it, their Opposition to our Assertion must appear unsound and reprobable. Howbeit, since Christ, as the Word-God, hath Lighted *All Men* antecedent to his Coming in the *Flesh*, as most of our Objectors confess, and that the Apostle says, *That the Word was Christ, or that Christ was before he came in the Flesh*; in that Christ was in the Wilderness, a Rock to Israel, (unless Christ and the Word are Two distinct Beings, or that there be Two distinct Christs) Christ was that Light which Lighted Mankind, and that very Light with which Mankind was Lighted, was the *Very Christ of God*, and consequently the Light has been called, both expressly and implicitly, *CHRIST*, before that Visible Appearance at *Jerusalem*.

1 Cor. 10. 3,
4.

Nor is the Allegation of that Scripture against us, pertinent to the Matter in Hand, (*viz.*) *Which none of the Princes of this World knew*, &c. for that was spoken in Reference to the Wisdom which had been hid, and not to the meer Manhood of Christ. But suppose his Holy Manhood concern'd in it; we have this to say, *That such as rejected Him, and much more those that Crucified Him in his outward Appearance, had first despised and slain Him within: They were of those, as Job said, who rebell'd against the Light, and lov'd not the Ways thereof*. And I affirm, against all Opposers, that it was by the Sight this Divine Light within gave to Simeon, Peter, Nathanael, and all others who believed in him, that they truly came to confess him, and suffer for him. Yea, such as had not out-sinned their Day, and finally hardned their Hearts, as others by wicked Works had done, but through the Light of the Lord, had in good Measure kept their Consciences void of Offence, they received and embraced him. The Light knew it's own: The Lesser led to the Greater, and the Greater Light as naturally attracted the Lesser, as we may see Fire does every Day.

To conclude this Particular, let me add, that they were not the Princes of this World that put him outwardly to Death; for it came by the Envious and Wicked Accusations of the *Jews*, (a broken conquered People) to Pilate, Governour of a Province only; therefore, since I believe what the Apostle saith to be true, I have rather Reason to infer, that it was meant of Christ Mystically, than of that Visible Body. However it be, that Parr

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of our Adversaries Objection about the *Light's not being call'd Christ, antecedent to his Coming in the Flesh, can be of no Weight to the Matter under Debate, since we have so evidently made the contrary appear.*

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The Third Part of the Objection : If Christ was enjoyed under the Law, as He was, if the Light be Christ, Why was He Typified ? Is proved of no Force. The Type and Anti-type, in some Respects, may be at one and the same Time ; this is proved by Plenty of Scripture. Our Adversaries Opposition and Cavil weak and unsuccessful.

THE Third Part of the Objection, and what seems at first Sight to carry something of Moment against us, is this ; *If the Light within be Christ, and the Jews and Gentiles had it from the Beginning of the World, how can Christ be said to be Typified out, as not come, and Prophefied of to come, when by your own Principle he hath been always come ?* I answer this Part of the Objection is in some Respect built upon the same Mistake as was the second, namely, that the Illumination within is intirely Christ ; concerning which, I have plainly and truly exprest my self before. I will therefore faithfully state the Question for them thus : *Well, but still you say, Christ Lighted Jews and Gentiles before that Visible Coming ; if so, then was he come by your own Principle, whilst his Coming was Typified out, and Prophefied of : Doth not this seem a Contradiction ?* But to this I say, that the supposed Contradiction ariseth from the Mistake of the Dispensations, for it takes for granted, that there was no Difference in the Degree of Illumination before, and at the Coming of Christ, in that Visible Manner into the World, which all must needs confess. For as I would be understood, when I call the *Light before and after Christ's Coming in the Flesh, Light,* to mean but One and the self-same *Light in Nature ; so let none apprehend, as if we made no Difference, by the Acknowledgment of a more Eminent Manifestation of the same Light.* What follows then ? Why thus much most clearly, *That under the Enjoyment of the lesser Manifestation of Light, suited to the then Childish State of the Jews, God was pleased to allure them after an Expectation of higher Things, by Types and Prophefies of that far more Excellent and Exceeding Glorious Dispensation of the Light and Love of God in after Ages.*

The End of God's giving the *Israelites* that outward Prophet and Leader *Moses,* was, to bring to the *Inward Leader, CHRIST JESUS ;* and though they through Carnality and Weakness, were not then sensible of Him, so as to stay their Minds upon Him, yet *Moses* prophefied of Him : And indeed, all the External Dealings of God with Men, have been to bring to Christ, the *Seed within,* which is able to *Bruise the Serpent's Head,* and did so, in some Measure, through all Ages. So that with good Reason and Truth we may assert, *Christ the Light, was the Rock that follow'd Israel in the Wilderness (who is the Rock of Ages, and Foundation of all Generations, and who ever lighted all Mankind, the same Yesterday, to Day, and for ever) yet a Greater Manifestation of that Divine Light, might be Typically Preach'd forth under the Enjoyment of the lesser.*

And that we herein are not without the Suffrage of the Scriptures to our Defence, I would fain know, if notwithstanding all those outward Washings of those Times, God did not frequently press the very Substance it self, namely, *A Clean Heart, and a New Spirit ;* accounting all Worship short thereof, *but as the Cutting off of a Dog's Neck, and Offering of Swines Blood ?* And whether Christ himself did not with his own Hands give the Bread and Wine to his Disciples, and yet bid them *Do it till He come ?* Whence it is easie to observe, that unless the Bread and the Wine are the very Christ, thereby destroying the Nature of a Sacrament, and instead of *Doing it till he come,* that he should come whenever they do receive it, it must be grant-

ed to us, that Christ present gave them a Figure of Christ to come: Therefore to Figure out Christ to come, destroys not Christ's being come; especially taking our Distinction of the *Lesser Manifestation from the Greater*, which nevertheless divides not the Light, but that it remains in it self, One Pure, Eternal Being of Light and Sun of Righteousness through every Dispensation. And thus much that Passage I have already observed from the Apostle *Paul*, in Answer to the Second Part of the Objection, plainly clears to us: For if Christ, Typified out, was their Rock, or the Rock of that Age, even when the *Brazen Serpent*, the Type, was in Being, I cannot see, but the Type and the Thing typified, might be at one and the same Time; not as to Degree, but Nature; for so I would be understood.

Before I conclude, take this Notable Saving of Christ to the *Jews*, and what may be collected from it to our Purpose: *Before Abraham was, I am—* Abraham *saw my Day and rejoiced*—which affords us briefly thus much: That though he was not so visibly come, yet it was the very same *He* that came above One Thousand Six Hundred Years ago, who was with the Fathers of Old, and that *Abraham*, who lived One Thousand Nine Hundred Years before that outward Appearance, saw him, and his Day. If this be not the Import of the Place I know none; for the *Jews* not believing him to be the *Messiah*, thought it high Presumption for him to compare with *Abraham*. *Art thou Greater than our Father Abraham, who is Dead, and the Prophets are Dead? Whom makest thou thy self?* said that unbelieving People: Unto which he answered (that he might prove himself to be the *True Messiah*, the Christ of God) *Abraham saw my Day, and rejoiced: They still harping upon that Visible Body, or Outward Man, not Thirty Three Years Old, replied, Thou art not yet Fifty, and hast thou seen Abraham?* Taking that to be the *Messiah*, the Christ of God, and Saviour of the World, he meant, which they saw with their Carnal Eyes. To which he rejoined with a *Verily, verily I say unto you, before Abraham was I am: Then took they up Stones to cast at him, &c.* By all which it is most clear, that unless our Adversaries will deny him that so spoke to be Christ, who singled and distinguish'd himself, as the *Messiah*, the *Christ of God*, and *Saviour of the World*, from that Visible Body, not Fifty Years Old indeed; both Christ that then spoke must needs have been long before *Abraham's* Time, and that such Holy Ancients were not without a Sight and Prospect of him, and the Day of his Glorious Appearance, or that most Signal Manifestation of himself in the Body prepared for that Great and Holy Purpose, witness the exceeding Clear and Heavenly Prophecies in the Scriptures of Truth, that were as so many Fore-runners, or Introducers of the Evangelical State.

And this is unquestionably confirm'd unto us, by that known and weighty Expression of the Apostle *Paul* to the *Romans: Whose are the Fathers, and of whom, as concerning the Flesh, Christ came, who is over all, God blessed for ever, Amen.* Since here both Christ is distinguish'd from the Body he took, and also made One with God, who is over all blessed for ever, *Amen.* As much as to say, *Of whose Flesh Christ took*, therefore Christ was before he took it; or his taking it did not only constitute him Christ, which Christ is God: And if God (which cannot be said of meer Flesh, or any Corporal Lineage) then must he have been from all Everlasting.

To conclude, as *Abraham* outward and natural was the great Father of the *Jews*, outward and natural, whose Seed God promised to bless with Earthly Blessings, as *Canaan*, &c. and that they were figurative of the one Seed Christ, and such as he should beget unto a lively Hope, through the Power of his spiritual Resurrection, it will consequently follow, that this Seed must be *Inward and Spiritual*; since one outward Thing cannot be the proper Figure or Representation of another: Nor is it the Way of holy Scripture, so to teach us; the outward *Lamb* shews forth the inward *Lamb*; the *Jew outward*, the *Jew inward*. As God attended the one with many singular outward Mercies (to say no more) above other Nations, So doth he benefit the *Jew in Spirit*, above all other People.

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I have these two short Arguments farther to prove, what I believe and assert, as to the Spirituality of the true Seed, and a clearer Overthrow it is to the Opinion of our Adversaries concerning the true Christ: *First*, Every Thing begets its like: What is simply natural produces not a spiritual Being: Material Things bring not forth Things that are immaterial. Now because the Nature or Image begotten in the Hearts of true Believers is *spiritual*, it will follow, that the *Seed*, which so begets and brings forth that Birth, must be the *same in Nature* with that which is begotten, therefore *spiritual*, then Christ's Body, or what he had from the Virgin, *strictly* considered, *as such*, was not the Seed.

Secondly, It is clear from hence: The *Serpent* is a *Spirit*: Now nothing bruises the Head of the *Serpent* in Man, but something that is also *Internal* and *Spiritual*, as the *Serpent* is: But if that Body of Christ were only the Seed, then could he not bruise the *Serpent's* Head in all, because the Body of Christ is not so much as in any one (tho' too many have weakly concluded it upon us, from a Perversion or Mistake of our Doctrine of *Christ in Man*, by his Light and Spirit) and consequently the Seed of the Promise is an *holy* and *Spiritual Principle of Light, Life and Power*, that being received into the Heart, *bruisseth the Serpent's Head*: And because the Seed (which in this Sense, cannot be that Body) is *Christ*, as testify the Scriptures, the Seed is one, and that Seed *Christ*, and *Christ God over all, blessed for ever*, we do conclude that Christ was, and is, the *Divine Word of Light and Life*, that was in the Beginning with *God*, and was and is *God over all blessed for ever*.

Gal. 3. 16:

And that this may yet more evidently appear, let it but be seriously weigh'd, that Antecedent to that visible Appearance, the Seed bruised, in good Measure, the *Serpent's Head*, in the holy Men and Women of all Generations, otherwise they had not been holy, but *Serpentine* and *Wicked*. And if the Seed was before, and that Seed be Christ, because there is but one Christ, as well as but one Seed, it doth clearly follow that Christ was Christ, *before that outward Appearance*, and consequently, it could but be a *more excellent and free Manifestation* of his Truth, Righteousness, Salvation, Wisdom, Power, Glory, and Dominion, as indeed it was.

For notwithstanding that this heavenly Seed was in some Measure known, and what was wrought of inward Deliverance, in that Day, was by and through the Power and Virtue of it, as the Minds of People were retired to the Word of *God nigh in the Heart*, to cleanse and redeem: And though particular Persons might arrive at great Attainments, even to a Beholding the Day of the Seed's compleat Redemption, and Conquest over all its Oppressors (when what was but in the Condition of a Seed, or new-born Child, should become the *only Son, the Wonderful Counsellor, the mighty God, the Everlasting Father and the Prince of Peace, of the Increase of whose Government there shall be no End*, as speaks the Prophet) Yet it is granted, through that good Understanding the Lord hath given us in these weighty Things, that the *Generality* were but weak, Dark and Imbondaged, as saith the Apostle, under *Carnal and Beggarly Elements*, not clearly seeing through those outward Services, by which, if I may so speak, *God* held them in Hand condescending to their Weakness, that he might both keep them from gadding after the Pompous Invention, and Idolatrous Worship of other Nations, and point out unto them, under their great Carnality, that *more bidden Glory and Spiritual Dispensation*, which should afterwards be revealed, to wit, *The compleat Redemption of the Soul, and Reign of the Holy Seed*, from the Child born, and the Son given, to the *wonderful Counsellor, the mighty God, the Everlasting Father, and Prince of Peace, of the Increase of whose Government, there shall be no End*.

So that then we ought, and we do, by absolute Force of Truth, conclude (1.) That the *Seed*, which is *Christ*, was in all Ages, with *Abraham*, with the *Israelites*, with the *Prophets*, therefore he was as well *before* he came in that prepared Body, as then and since. (2.) Yet it is confess'd, that he was not so clearly revealed, *perfectly brought forth*, and *generally known*

Isa. 9. 6.

known before his so coming as then and since, but more darkly figured out by Types and Shadowy Services; which though they cleane'd not, sav'd not, redeem'd not, yet did they shew forth a more hidden and spiritual Substance, that was able to cleanse, save and redeem, and did actually all that received it, and were truly subject to it, and that both from Sin and Wrath. (2.) That it therefore is not at all *Aburd*, that the more excellent Manifestation of Truth, should be typified and prophesied of, *under the Enjoyment of the Lesser*, since the Reason of the Thing, and the Testimonies of the Scripture are so exprefs for it, which Ends our Answer to this Particular.

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The fourth Part of the Objection stated and considered. Christ's Death and Sufferings confessed to, and respected: They were beneficial to Salvation. The Light of Christ within is the Efficient Cause to Salvation completely taken.

HAVING considered the Third Part of this great Objection, I am now come to what chiefly stumbles the People, with Respect to the *Light within*, at least, as I apprehend; and that in this Fourth and last particular, viz. *But if the Light in every Man be Christ, how doth it bear our Sins, and are our Iniquities laid upon it? and how can we be said to be justified, Redeemed or Saved by it's Blood, since all these Things are spoken by the Holy Pen-Men of the Man Christ, or Jesus born at Bethlehem? Surely you wholly invalidate his Life, Death, Resurrection, Ascension, and Mediation; by this Belief of yours in the Light within.*

This I take to be the very Strefs of the Matter, collected out of the most Forceable Writings of our Adversaries; to which I answer, and let him that reads understand.

It must be considered, in this last Part of the Objection, how those Questions can be applicable to the Light, and yet be reconcilable with those Scriptures, that seem to attribute all to his Bodily Sufferings. I hope to make appear, that as we exalt the first, so we dare not by any Means to slight the last,

The *Light*, or rather he that is *Light in Man*, for so I have always desired to be understood (*Light* being a Metaphor, or a Word taken from the Outward Day, and chiefly so termed, because of Man's Darknes, which is thereby discovered) hath been according to Scripture, as a *Lamb slain since the Foundation of the World*: That is, the World had not been long created, before Man being envied by *Lucifer* the fallen Angel was betrayed of his Innocency by him; and Sin, by Disobedience, prevailing, the *Light* or Principle of Life, under whose holy Leadings Man was placed, became resisted, grieved, and as it were slain (which Word slain is also Metaphorical) That is to say, the innocent pure Life, was, as it were, wounded unto Death, through Disobedience; and that Lamb-like Image, in which Adam was created, by him through Rebellion lost. Thus that *Holy Principle*, which God placed in the Heart of Adam, in which was true *Light, Life and Power*, bore the Sin, was prest under it, as a Cart under Sheaves, grieved exceedingly, and as it were, quench'd with Iniquity.

This hath been the Condition of that Precious and Elect Seed, Spirit, Light, Life, Truth, or whatever Name, Equivalent, any may please to give it, ever since that first Rebellion, to this very Day. And as in Wicked Men, God's Holy Light and Spirit, or that Principle which is so called, hath been deeply Wounded, yea, as One Slain, so in Good Men, that have had a Sense of the World's Abomination, hath it also born many Burdens and Weights; for the Light and Life is One in All, though not treated alike in All: And those who have been Reformed by it, and Joynd to it, have been as One Spirit, and have not been without their Share of the Lord's heavy Sufferings, from the Ungodly World; which was as

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well a filling up of Christ's Sufferings that were before his outward Coming, as what to this Generation are yet behind to be compleated.

And as at any Time Disobedient Men have hearkened to the Still Voice of the Word, that Messenger of God in their Hearts, to be affected and convinced by it, as it brings Reproof for Sin, which is but a Fatherly Chastizement; so upon true Brokenness of Soul, and Contrition of Spirit, that very same Principle and Word of Life in Man, has Mediated and Atoned, and God has been Propitious, lifting up the Light of his Countenance, and Replenishing such humble Penitents with Divine Consolations. So that still the same Christ, Word-God, who has lighted all Men, is by Sin grieved and burdened, and Bears the Iniquities of such as so Sin, and reject his Benefits: But as any hear his Knocks and let him into their Hearts, he first Wounds, and then Heals: Afterwards he Atones, Mediates, and Re-infates Man in the Holy Image he is fallen from by Sin. Behold this is the State of Restitution! And this in some Measure was witnessed by the Holy Patriarchs, Prophets and Servants of God in old Time, to whom Christ was substantially the Same Saviour, and Seed Bruising the Serpent's Head, that he is now to us, what Difference soever there may be in Point of Manifestation.

But notwithstanding it was the same Light and Life with that which afterwards clothed it self with that outward Body, which did in measure inwardly appear for the Salvation of the Souls of Men, yet, as I have often said, never did that Divine Life so eminently shew forth it self, as in that Sanctified and prepared Body: So that what He then Suffered and Did in that Transcendent Manifestation, may, by Way of Eminency, have the Credit of the whole Work unto it self that he ever did before, or might do afterwards for Man's Salvation. For doubtless the very Same Light, Life and Power, which dwelt in that Fleishly Tabernacle, Eminently was the Convincer, Condemner, Saviour and Redeemer: Yet not only as confined to that Blessed Body, but also as revealed in the Hearts of Men; as he was in Paul, who, not consulting with Fleish and Blood, against the Lord of Glory, did willingly receive him in, to bind the strong Man, spoil his Goods, and cast him out, that He might Reign whose Right it was. And that the Divine Life, Light, Spirit, Nature or Principle, which resided in that Body was the Efficient Cause of Salvation, observe the Title that is given Him, from the great Work he was to do, namely, *To save his People from their Sins*; there is not one Word of Wrath, but consequentially. Now, since that Sin is in the Heart and Conscience of Mankind, nothing but a Divine Light, Spirit or Power can Reach and Convey Purity into those inward Parts, and consequently that must be the Redeemer and Saviour from Sin. But indeed, those who have a Mind to Naturalize that strange Figure into the Language of the Holy Truth, I mean, that to be Saved, is only to be saved from Wrath, and not from Sin, whose assured Wages is Wrath, may have some Interest, though no Reason for their implacable Enmity against an inherent Holiness.

But I further confess, that his Righteous Life, with respect to its Appearance in that Holy Body, was grieved by Sin, and that the Weight of the Iniquity of the whole World, with the Concernment of it's Eternal Well-being, lay hard upon him, nor was his Manhood Unsenfible of it. Under the Load of this did he travel, he alone trode the Wine-Press; that is, All others were then insenfible of that Eternal Wrath, which would be the Portion of the impenitent Persons, as well as that it was his great Care, and deep Travel, that the Holy, yet Oppressed Seed, might arise over the Pressures of Iniquity in the Hearts of Men, to Bruise the Serpent's Head in all: And as Outwardly he gave his Outward Life for the World, so he might inwardly shed abroad in their Souls the Blood of God, that is, The Holy Purifying Life and Virtue, which is in him, as the Word-God, and as which, he is the Light and Life of the World.

This was it which gave the Manhood the Understanding it had, and fitted it for so great an Embassy; by whose Power alone it *Pasted, Prayed, Preach'd,*

Preach'd, Cast-out Devils, Wrought Miracles, Lived that most Unblemish'd Life, Patiently Suffered Death, was rais'd for an Holy Confirmation, manag'd all the Military Opposition of the *Jews*: And this Divine Power it was which accompanied the Ministry of his Fellowers; rendering it Efficacious to Conviction and Conversion: So that the Invisible, Spiritual and Divine Life, Principle or Nature, was the *Root and Fountain* of all which is sometimes ascribed in Scripture to the Body, by that Common Figure, or Way of Speaking amongst Men, the *Thing Containing*, which was the Body, for the *Thing Contained*, which was the *Eternal Power, Wisdom, Life, &c.* Not that we should irreverently Rob the Holy Body of whatsoever Acknowledgement is justly due, nor yet separate that which God hath joyned: Though I confess, with Holy Fear, I dare not attribute that to an External prepared Being, which is the Natural, Proper and only Work of the *Divine Light and Life* to Operate and Effect. But certainly, if some Men in Scripture are entituled *Saviours* because of the Contribution of their Trials, Travels and Labours towards the Salvation of Mankind, of much more Right is, that Honour ascribable to him who had the Spirit without Measure: For I do freely acknowledge the Holy Manhood to have been, in some Sense, a Co-worker and Partner with the Divine Life in those Trials, Weights, Sufferings and Travels for Mankind. Yet as it was the *Divine Power* that gave them Weight in that great Work, so was it the *Divine Life* in Him, which made that *Holy Manhood* what it was; and therefore ought we, chiefly, to appropriate the Salvation to Christ, as the *Word-God*, and to the Holy Manhood, but *Secondarily and Instrumentally*: I mean, as it was a *Chosen Instrument or Vessel*, in and by which God declared the Blessed Glad-Tidings of Love, and his Message of Reconciliation to the World: In which he gave the most Heavenly Example of *Purity*, and through whose whole Life, Doctrine and Death, did shine forth the clearest Evidences of *Truth, Goodness, Mercy, Patience, deep Travel for the World, Self-Denial, Holiness and Triumphant Martyrdom.*

No Wonder then, if he be called a *Saviour*, who not only came on an Embassy of Salvation, but when come, did draw many after him, who were struck with the Authority of his Sayings, and whom he allow'd for a Time to have their Eyes and Hearts upon him, as in that State present with them; But afterwards, he let his Disciples know, of how much Benefit it would be to them, that he should leave them: How? For ever and in all Capacities? No: But as with Respect to his outward Appearance, that being scattered, in that Day, to their own Measure of Light, Power and Life, they might know him *No more after the Flesh*, but witness him come into their Hearts a Comforter, who would not leave his true-hearted Disciples comfortless. He that is with you shall be in you:

To be brief, that I may yet again express our reverent Sense of Christ's Manifestation, so far as relates to that Holy Thing that should be born of *Mary*; take these few Particulars in my next Chapter.

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John 14. 16,
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A Confession, in particular, to Redemption, Remission, Justification and Salvation by CHRIST.

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I. **T**Hough we believe the *Eternal Power, Life and Light* which inhabited that Holy Person, who was born at *Bethlehem*, was and is chiefly and eminently the *Saviour* (for there is no *Saviour besides me*, saith God) yet we Reverently Confess the Holy Manhood was *Instrumentally* a *Saviour*, as prepared and chosen for the Work that Christ, the *Word-God*, had then to do in it, which was actually to the Salvation of some, and intentionally of the whole World, then, and in Ages to come; suitable to that

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Scripture, *Lo, in the Volume of the Book it is written, I come to do thy Will (O God) a Body hast thou prepared me, &c.*

II. That as there was a Necessity that one should dye for the People, so whoever then or since believed in Him, had and have a Seal, or Confirmation of the *Remission of their Sins in his Blood*; and that Blood, alluding to the Custom of the *Jewish* Sacrifices, shall be an *utter Blotting out* of former Iniquities, carrying them as into a Land of Forgetfulness. This great Assurance of Remission, from the Wrath due upon the Score of former Offences, do all receive in the Ratifying Blood of Christ; who, Repenting of their Sins, believe and obey the Holy Light with which he hath lighted them. For *Paul's* being turned from Darkness to the Light in his Heart, was one and the same with his believing in the Son of God *Revealed in his Heart*.

III. This more Glorious Appearance ended that less glorious Service of the *Jews*; for the Figures being Completed, the Shadows fell. He, in that Body, Preach'd and liv'd, *Beyond those Beggerly Elements*: He drew Religion more Inward, even into the Secret of the Heart, and made it to consist in an Higher State of Righteousness, called *Evangelical*; and at once became both the Author of a more Heavenly Dispensation, and therein, an Example to all, as well *Jews* as *Gentiles*: Sealing such a Common and General Religion to both, with his Blood, as would forever *End the Difference and Slay the Enmity*, that they might be all One in Christ: Thus did he end the *Jews* External Services, and overturn the *Gentiles Idolatrics*, by his one most Pure and Spiritual Offering and Worship.

IV. It plainly Preaches thus much to us, That as He, whose Body the *Jews* outwardly slew, was by Wicked Works crucified, in the Streets of *Sodom* and *Egypt* spiritually so called, viz. our polluted Hearts and Consciences; So, unless we come to know the Power and Benefit of this Inward Life, answering to, and expressed by that Outward Life he gave for the World, that will avail us little: For so it is, and very *Marvellous in our Eyes*, that the Life of the Crucified can only save those who may well be reputed the Crucifiers. O Mystery! And because those that did not actually slay him Outwardly, have slain him Inwardly, that is, by their Evil Spirits resisting and quenching his Spiritual Appearance to their Souls, therefore must such really know that *Divine Life Inwardly Raised* and shed abroad for Sanctification and Redemption from Sin. O how great was his Love to Man! Truly larger than Man's Cruelty; who whilst he dyed by Wicked Men, *Dyed for them*; and when dead, *They could not hinder him from Rising to do Them good*, who had done their worst for his Destruction; thereby shewing Mercy to those, who shewed they had no Mercy for Him nor Themselves. O Jerusalem! Jerusalem! *how often would I have gathered thee, and thou wouldest not, &c.*

V. That Expression of his is greatly worth our Notice, *I lay down my Life for the World*. All he did was for the Good of the World, and particularly the Laying down of his Life, that he might both express his Love and our Duty. Had he not desired Man's Salvation, and for that purpose prepared a Body, in which to visit him, and by his daily Labours among Men to further their Eternal Happiness, the *Jews* had never been able to put him to Death: But being come, and when come, so hardly used, herein did he recommend his great Love to us, that besides the Inward Weights of Sin he bore with his deep Concernment for Man's Eternal Well-being, *He cheerfully offered up His Bodily Life*, to recommend and ratify his Love for the Remission of Sin, and gave us an Holy Example to follow his Steps. But these Words will bear another Sense too, as do those he spoke to the *Jews*, *Unless ye eat my Flesh, and drink my Blood, you have no Life in you*: Where we may plainly see, that as the *Jews* vainly and

and carnally fancied, he meant his Outward Body only, to which they opposed the Impossibility of the Thing; so Christ declares their Mistake of his Meaning to his Disciples, in these few, but deep Words, *The Flesh profiteth nothing; it is the Spirit that quickeneth.* So that the Words are true, and weighty in both Senses.

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VI. And we further acknowledge, that in That Holy Body, the Divine Principle of Light and Life did discover the Depths of Satan's Darkness, encounter *Hell, Death* and the *Grave*, and every Temptation it was possible for the *Serpent*, with all his Power and Subtily, to beset him with, (in which Sense he was made like unto us in all Things, *Sin*, excepted, that he might be sensible of our *Infirmities*) yea, the Divine Life travelled under all, administering Strength to, and supporting the outward Man, that it might answer the End of it's Appointment, and in the End utterly defeat, and for ever overcome the Power of the Tempter, *Bruising the Serpent's Head in General*, as Prince of Darkness, and God of the World, and in a plain Combat giving him *That Foyl*, which in good Measure *Shook* his Foundation, *Divided* his Kingdom, *Chased* away his *Lying Oracles*, and Proved a very fatal Blow to his whole Empire. Which holy Conquest, obtained by *Sweat of Blood*, and *Deepest Agonies*, with *Holy Patience*, may not unfitly be compared to that of some Worldly Prince maintaining a Righteous Cause against an Usurper of his Territories, whom he puts to rout in the open Field (by which I understand the General Conquest) yet, many Towns and Cities, and *Citadels*, remaining strongly Garrison'd (by which I understand, *Particular Men and Women enslaved by Sin*) they are not thereby overcome, though the Approach be easier to them, and that they are truly more accessible than before.

The *One Seed*, who is *Christ*, who is *God* over all blessed for ever, tho' He gave this Proof of his Everlasting Arm, that it has brought a *General Salvation*, by a plain Overthrow of the *God of this World*, the Enemy of his Glory, and thereby weakened his Power, as in himself (which is the single Battle fought in *Garments rould in Blood* between the Two Seeds, *Spirits*, *Natures* and *Powers*, *God* and *Mammon*, *Christ* and *Belial*) yet there are also many *Towns*, *Cities*, and *Citadels* to vanquish, which are strongly garrison'd by this God of the World, to wit, the *Souls of Men and Women Possess'd and Enslaved* by him: So that though their Hearts are more accessible by that General Victory over the very Spirit of Darkness, and that Light may be more clear and broken forth, yet unless those particular *Places or Persons* are *Besieged* and *Taken*, their *Goods* spoiled, and *Houses* *suckt* of all their *Strange Gods*, and so come to be *Redeemed from under the Yoke* of that *Pharaonian Task-Master*, *Reclaimed*, *Renewed*, *Sanctified* and *Divinely Naturalized* and brought into an Holy Subjection to him, who is *Lord from Heaven*, the *Right Heir of all Things*, and *Receive his Mark*, and *Bear his Image*; Those *Places or Persons* must needs be under the Power of the *Prince of Darkness*, the God of this World, who Reigns and Rules in the Hearts of the Children of Disobedience.

To conclude; We say, though this General Victory was obtained, and Holy Privileges therewith, and that the Holy Body was Instrumentally a Sharer therein, yet both the Efficient or Chiefest Cause was the *Divine Light or Life*, that so clearly discriminated and deeply wounded this Mystery of Iniquity; and that none can be thereby benefited, but as they come to Experience the *Holy Seed of Life*, who is God's *Mighty Arm of Power*, Revealed to effect the same Salvation from Sin, in each *Particular Conscience*; and which none can fail of, who first receive it as a *Light* that *Manifesteth* and *Reproveth* Every *Evil Way*, and continue to walk up to it in all it's Holy Manifestations.

VII. But there is yet a Farther Benefit that Accrueth by the Blood of Christ, viz. *That Christ is a Propitiation and Redemption to such as have Faith in him.* For though I still place the Strefs of feeling of a *Particular*

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Benefit, upon the *Light, Life and Spirit* Revealed and Witnessed in every Particular Person, yet in that General Appearance there was a General Benefit justly to be attributed unto the *Blood of that very Body of Christ* which he offered up through the Eternal Spirit, to wit, *that it did Propitiate*. For, however it might draw Stupendious Judgments upon the Heads of those who were Authors of that Dismal Tragedy and Bloody Murder of the Son of God, and dyed Impenitent, yet doubtless it is thus far turned to very great Account, in that it was a *most Precious Offering* in the Sight of the Lord, and drew God's Love the more eminently unto Mankind, at least such as should believe in his Name, as his Solemn Prayer to his Father at his leaving the World, given us by his beloved Disciple doth plainly witness.

For how can it otherwise be, but that it should render God most *Propitious* to all such as believe in Christ, the Light of the World, when it was but placing of his only begotten Son's Sufferings truly on their Account, that should ever believe and obey him. Yea doubtless, greatly did that Sacrifice influence to some singular Tendernefs, and peculiar Regard unto all such who should believe in his Name, being the last and greatest of all his External Acts, *viz. The resisting unto Blood, or the Spiritual Good of the World, thereby offering up his Life, upon the Cross, through the Power of the Eternal Spirit, that Remission of Sin, God's Bounty to the World might be Preacht in his Name, and in his very Blood too, as that, which was the, most ratifying of all his Bodily Sufferings*. And indeed, therefore might it seem meet to the Holy Ghost, that *Redemption, Propitiation and Remission* should be declared, and held forth, in the Blood of Christ unto all that have right Faith therein, as saith the Apostle to the *Romans, Whom God hath set forth to be a Propitiation through Faith in his Blood*: And to the *Ephesians; In whom we have Redemption through his Blood, the Forgiveness of Sins, &c.* because it implies a firm Belief, *that Christ was come in the Flesh*, and that none could then have him as their Propitiation or Redemption, who withstood the Acknowledgment of, and Belief in his *Visible Appearance*, which *John* tells us, some denied. 2. That he came in order to the *Remission, Redemption and Salvation* of the World. 3. That his so Dying was both an evident Token of his Love, and strong Argument of Confirmation of his Message and Work. 4. That it might the better end the *Jews* Shadowy Services, by an Allusion to the Way of their Temporary and Typical Sacrifices, as the whole Epistle to the *Hebrews* sheweth. 5. And that by bringing (through the Holy Light in every Particular) into the Acknowledgment of, and Belief in the Blood, which was ratifying of that whole Appearance, Men might be brought unto the knowing Christ after a more Inward and Spiritual Manner, suitable to Christ's own Words, *It is the Spirit that quickens*; and the Apostle avers, *that the Lord from Heaven is that quickning Spirit*; by which Eternal Spirit he offered up himself without Spot. Nor can any reasonably suppose, that when Christ so spake to his Disciples, *explanatorily* of what he had obscurely and in Parables said to the *Jews*, that he meant not something more hidden and Divine than what they and the *Jews* saw; Yet that which hindered those *Jews* from the Knowledge or Benefit thereof, was their Stumbling at him, without a Confessing of whom they could never come into the Beholding or Experiencing of his Divine Life in them.

To conclude, That Body was the Divine Life's; *a Body hast thou prepared me*; therefore all that was done by that Body, towards the Redemption of Mankind, was *Eminently* the Divine Life's: Yet because often-times Actions are denominated from, or appropriated to the Instrument, as the next Cause, though not the Efficient, or most Eminent Cause; therefore the Scripture speaks forth (as indeed is the Propriety of both the *Hebrew* and *Greek* Tongues (Parabolically, Hyberbolically, Metaphorically) the Inward Substance and Hidden Life of Things, by Things more Exterieur and Obvious to the Sense, to the End that such Mysteries might be the better accommodated to vulgar Capacities. Consider what I say, with this

Quali-

Rom. 3. 25.
Ephes. 1. 7.

Qualification, that ultimately and chiefly, not wholly and exclusively, the Divine Life in that Body was the Redeemer: For the Sufferings of that Holy Body of Jesus had an Engaging and Procuring Virtue in them, though the Divine Life was that Fountain from whence originally it came. And as the Life declared and preached forth it self through that Holy Body, so, who did then come to the Benefit procured by the Divine Life, could only do it through an hearty Confession to it, as appearing in that Body, and that from a Sense, first begotten, by a Measure of the same in themselves.

This is the main Import of those Places: *whom God hath set forth to be a Propitiation, and in whom we have Redemption through Faith in his Blood.* For who is this *He*, whom God hath sent forth, and in whom is Redemption? Certainly the same *He*, that was before *Abraham*, the Rock of the Fathers, that cried, *Lo, I come to do thy Will (O God) a Body hast thou prepared me*: which was long before the Body was conceived and born. But may some say, How is it then his Blood? Why, just as the Body is his Body.

Those who had Faith in that Blood, believed his visible Appearance, inasmuch as they acknowledged that great Seal and Ratification of it, to wit, the Shedding of the Blood of his Body, who came to save the World, and who alone is the Propitiation, Redemption and Salvation of all who had and have Right Faith in that Appearance, and Message so confirmed, and therefore so often exprest by it, as including all his whole Life and Sufferings besides. And this is my Reason for it, that it was impossible for any Man in that Day, to confess to, and believe in the divine Light and Life, which appeared in that prepared Body, but from the *inward Discoveries and Operations* of the divine Light, with which Christ the Word-God, who took Flesh, had enlightened him.

However, though the Apostles might then so express themselves, thereby to assert and recommend unto the Faith of all, that eminent and blessed Manifestation, and the great Love of Christ therein, as the Visitation of the Heavenly Life, through that prepared Body, and the deep Sufferings of both for the World, being true and spiritual Witnesses thereof, yet it was never intended, that any should barely rest there, but press after the Knowledge of Christ, by Faith, in something farther, and beyond that Body, in which he appeared, not excluding our Belief, in that too: They who knew Christ after the Flesh, were to press after some more spiritual Discovery of him; and it was expedient that they who almost doted upon his outward Manifestation should be weaned from it, to the End his more interior, and indeed beneficial Revelation of himself, might be witnessed by the Soul.

Faith in his Blood was requisite, that they might confess him, whose Body and Blood it was, to be the Christ, who is God over all, blessed for ever; which was the great Question with the *Jews*, *whether God was truly manifested in that Body of Flesh, which they saw?* So that the Stress lies in confessing to the Divinity come in the Flesh, otherwise they would have rejected not only the most signal Suffering of the whole Manifestation, but consequently, that it self. To conclude, we confess, *he* who then appeared, was and is the Propitiation, &c. And in him was Redemption obtained, by all those who had such true Faith in his Blood: But still it is to be understood, that there must be a Witnessing of a Measure of the same Light, Spirit and Power, to appear for Redemption of the Soul from the Pollution of Sin, in each particular.

VIII. That *Justification came by Faith in his Blood*, is clear in a Sense; for by the Law could no Flesh be justified: That is, the Law being added because of Transgression, certainly the Transgressor could not be justified, *whilst such*, by that Law which condemned him, *for being such*. Which puts me upon distinguishing betwixt Justification, as it is sometimes taken *viz.* for *Remission, Pardon or Forgiveness of Sin past upon Repentance*; and that Justification, which implies an *Acceptance* with, and an *Access* to God,

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as a Keeper of the Law of the Spirit of Life, which is to be made inherently just, righteous, or holy,

In the first Sense, since all have sinned, no Man can be justified by the Law he has transgressed: Therefore that great Favour and Mercy of Remission, Pardon and Forgiveness, was only then generally preach't in the Name of Jesus, which such as believed in his Message, should obtain. Thus by the Work of the Law shall no Flesh be justified, because all the Righteousness Man is capable of, *cannot make Satisfaction for any Unrighteousness he hath committed; since what he daily doth, is but what he daily owes.* But still such as keep the Law, are justified: For that a Man should be condemned both for Transgressing and keeping the Law too, would be very hard. What shall we say then, but that Justification in the first Sense, since *Adam's* Day to this, hath been God's free Love upon Repentance; and above all, that by Christ's visible Appearance and Suffering, and in his Name was *Remission, Pardon, or Forgiveness* preach't, or held forth to the whole World upon their believing therein, more eminently than ever.

But in the last Sense, no Man can be justified, but as he is *made just*, and is found *actually doing the Will of God*: That justifies, that is it which gives Acceptance with, and Access to God. In this Sense it was the Apostle said, *Such as are the Doers of the Law, shall be justified*, and not from the Guilt of what they formerly did against it, by their after keeping it; for that is the free Love of God alone, upon the Repentance of the Creature; which hath been in all former Ages, but never so eminently held forth to the World, as by the Coming of our Lord Jesus Christ in the Flesh.

So that thus far we can approach the *honestest* Sort of Professors of Religion, or rather, we were herein never at a Distance from them, viz. *That Men may be reconciled, and in a Sense justified, while Sin may not be totally destroyed*: That is, God upon their repenting of past Sins, tho' not then clearly purged from the Ground of Evil, may, and we believe, doth *remit, pardon, or forgive former Offences*, and is thus far reconciled; that is, he ceaseth to be angry, or at a Distance from them, as when they went on in a State of Disobedience to the Light. Yet for ever we must affirm, that no Man or Woman can be made a Child of God, but as the *New Birth, Regeneration*, and the *divine and heavenly Image*, comes to be witnessed through the *putting off the Old Man and his Deeds*, and being baptized by the *holy Ghost and Fire, into the one holy Body*, of which Christ, the immaculate Lamb of God, is *Head and Lord*. So that all those who apply to themselves, or others, the Promises due to this State, unto that before mentioned, heal themselves or others *deceitfully*; and God will judge for those Things. So let all People consider with Sobriety and Moderation, if the Things we assert are not most agreeable to the Scripture, and that Light of Truth, which is in their own Consciences, unto which we most of all desire to be made manifest.

IX. Nor is this all the Good, the *Coming* and *Sufferings* of that blessed Manhood brought unto the World; For, having been enabled so effectually, to perform the Will of God living, and having so patiently suffered the Will of wicked Men, dying, therein freely offering up his most innocent Life for the World, he certainly *obtained exceeding great and precious Gifts*, which as every Man comes to believe in the Light wherewith Christ Jesus hath enlightened him, and to be led by it, he shall assuredly feel a particular Benefit to himself, accruing from that general One, procured by Christ, who so laid down his Life for the World.

In short, as we cannot but acknowledge him a Saviour in that very Manifestation, or Coming in that prepared Body, who appeared so extraordinarily to visit the World with his marvellous Light and Truth, and to turn their Minds from Error and Darkeness, and who actually converted and reclaim'd many, and endued his Followers with his own heavenly Light, Life and Power, whereby to supply his exterior Absence with a most lively, piercing and effectual Ministry, for the compleating of the rest, from Generation to Generation; so must we needs attribute this, chiefly, to the divine

vine Light, Life and Power, that through the Manhood, of both Lord and Servants, shined forth and revealed it self to the Salvation of the World.

Nor are we yet, as hath been often hinted (to speak strictly) to ascribe the particular Salvation of every Man's Soul, to the appearance of that same Light in Nature, in either Lord or Servant, albeit many were reacht into their very Hearts and Consciences at that Time, and great and mighty Things were generally procured, and Christ in that Manifestation became the Author of Salvation unto many; but rather, as he is the Light of Men individually, both then did, and now doth appear, in the Hearts and Consciences of Men, unto the awakening of whom, and turning their Minds from the Darknes of Tradition, Formality and Sin, which had and doth overcast and darken the Soul, unto that blessed Light in Men, that thereby (as to them) suffered, and doth yet suffer, so great and tedious an Eclipse: I say this is the Efficient Cause of Salvation, and all other exterior Visions, Ministries of Assistance, though from the same Light, are in Respect of the Light in every single Man or Woman but instrumental, and Secondary.

In this Sense then, Man is only a Saviour instrumentally, but Christ both with Reference to his bodily Appearance, and in the Ministry of his Servants, is the most excellent Means, and the only Efficient Cause of Salvation, as revealed and obeyed in the Consciences of Men. So that the Question is not whether Quakers deny any Benefit to redound by Christ's Bodily Sufferings? But whether the Professors allow and acknowledge the Main of the Work to the Divine Life and Light?

In short, he was the general Saviour in that eminent Appearance at Jerusalem, in which he did so many great and good Things for Mankind; and is an effectual Saviour to every particular Person, as we find him in our Hearts, an holy Light; shewing Sin, reproving for it, and converting from it, into the holy Nature of the Light, Christ Jesus, to be Flesh of his Flesh, and Bone of his Bone.

Thus have I declared, according to my Understanding, grounded upon my Experience, and that Illumination God has given me, in Love and Moderation, the very Truth, Weight and Tendency, of the outward Coming of Christ, and his deep Sufferings by and for the World: And also the Nature of his Inward Coming into the Souls of Men to expel the Darknes that lodged there, and give unto them the Light of Life. In both which Respects, I confess him to be the Saviour of the World in General, and the Saviour of each Man in particular: But that the Benefit according to Men from him, as the general Saviour, is only known and received by such as witness him a particular Saviour, and this I will abide by: For Christ in Man becometh the Hope of Glory, and Man's being changed into the same Image, from Glory to Glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord, is the Salvation and Perfection of every true Christian.

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2 Cor. 3: 18

CHAP. XIX.

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That Christ is the Light, or the Light is Christ, proved from Scripture, and so concluded; notwithstanding two Objections, which are fully answered.

THAT which remains to compleat our scriptural Discourse of the divine Light, is to pronounce it that which our Enemies despise to call it, and don't a little undervalue both us and it, because we do; I mean Christ. Not that the Manifestation of Light in every Conscience is the *inire* Christ, but that Christ, the Word-God, is that Light of Righteousness, which lighteth all Men; for which the Scripture is most express in that so well known (but little believed) Passage, delivered to us, by the beloved Disciple, who best knew what his Lord was, and stood in no Need of any of their Information how to denominate, or rightly character him; although they and others implicitly accuse him of Weakness, Obscurity, nay Error, if not Blasphemy too; who make it all this (and if it were possible more) in a

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poor Quaker, for only Believing, on pure Conviction, this one weighty Passage, *That was the True Light which Enlightens all Mankind coming into the World.*

I have so thoroughly handled this Matter, in a late Book, entituled, *The Spirit of Truth Vindicated*, that I need the less to enlarge at this Time, to which I refer the Reader for Satisfaction, concerning some Objections raised against the Place. However, I will briefly consider it here, and that our believing Christ to be an Universal and Sufficient Light, and that Light to be Christ, may stand in the View of the World, upon good Foundation, as the Testimony of that Divine and Well-beloved Apostle, I shall observe that Two Things are commonly urg'd against our Understanding of the first Nine Verses of *John*, as they respect the Light.

1. Some say, that the Light here spoken of, is not a Supernatural, and consequently no Saving Light, but the Light of common Reason: Others call it of Nature, decay'd by the Fall; and what Conviction ariseth thence, is only the imperfect Remains of that Natural Light, which these Men, who thus speak, grant All have, as well before as after Christ's coming in the Flesh.

2. Others say, that this is indeed an Universal and Saving Light, but they restrain it to *Christ's Visible Appearance*, and make the *All*, to be all those only that shall believe; and the World to be the *New Spiritual World* Christ came to create, by Saving Knowledge, which Believers came into.

I will briefly answer both, and therein as well all Those who hold the former, as those who maintain the latter.

It is agreed by the *First Sort*, that, in the Beginning of this Chapter, Christ's Eternal Divinity is declared by the *Evangelist*, since some of them tell us out of *Eusebius*, that it was written on that very Occasion; one *Cerintus* then denying any such Thing.

John 1. 1. 2,
3, 5, 9.

The Word which was with God, and was and is God: This God, the same Person tells us in his first Epistle, is *Light*: *That by Him all Things are made*, among the rest Mankind. He then tells us, *That this Word had Life*, and from thence descends to inform us, what the Word was with respect to Man: *In Him, the Word, was Life, and the Life the Light of Men*: And that, as such, He was *that True Light* (and not *John*, who only came to bear Witness of that True Light) *which lighteth all Mankind coming into the World.*

That this Light is Divine, and no otherwise Natural, than as it is *Christ's* Nature, or Natural to the Word, I shall thus prove.

Man is here supposed to be before he was lighted, therefore whatever was proper and Natural to Man, as Man, he had before he was enlightned; that is, *he had a Reasonable Soul, indued with intelligent Faculties, and that clothed with a Body fitted with sensible Organs*: The latter differ'd him from *Inanimate*, the former from *Irrational Creatures*. But still the Light, with which this Soul is lighted, in reference to God, and Things appertaining to it's Eternal Well-being, belongs not to Man, as Man: Surely then, this Light must be superadded, that is, over and above Man's Composition, as a *meer Understanding Creature*; and consequently, it must descend from above, and in this Sense be Supernatural. *Thus the Word created all Things, and among them, made Man, and lighted Man with a Supernatural Light.*

That this Light was not only over and above Man's Nature, but is also of a Divine and Saving One, in it self; I prove from it's being the *Life of the Word*: For if the *Life of the Word* be the *Light of Men*, here is no such Thing as descending to an Effect, to prove the Light Divine; as that the *Life* should bring forth a *Light*, and therefore this *Light* is Divine, because the *Life of the Word*, that produced it, is so; I say, without going to an Effect for a Proof of the *Light's* Divinity, I thus undeniably prove it from the *Life* it self; *for that very Divine Life is the Light*: Not that it createth a *Light*, or brings forth a *Light* as a Cause doth an Effect, but is that very *Light* it self; so that unless they will make that *Life* Natural, I mean as they do, *Created*, tho' very improperly, (*for a Divine Life is Natural*

Natural to Christ) they cannot conclude the Light, which is that very same Life is self, to be a meer Natural Light.

If then the very Life of the Word, be the Light of Men, then unless the Life of the Word be Natural, the Light of Men must be Supernatural, Divine and Infinite, as it becomes the Life of the Word (which is God) to be.

The Life of the Word being then the Light of Men, and that without any Delcent, and consequently Divine, I have no need to prove it Saving, till our Opposers have divided *Saving from Divine*. However, let me briefly say, that it being a Measure of the True Light, so called by Way of Excellency, far transcending *John* (for as such is He prefer'd, who is the Enlightner) and that it was through *John* all should believe in him; and lastly, that to those who received him as the Universal Enlightner, or True Light, *He gave Power to become the Sons of God*, it will unanswerably follow, that the Light is Saving. And indeed I have with multiplied Arguments and Testimonies, made appear from Scripture and Story, the Universality and Sufficiency of that Divine Light. Such then that say it is decayed, because they are so themselves, methinks, resemble those at Sea, who being under Sail, fancy the Shore moves. The Fault is in the Eye, blinded by the God of the World, and not in that Blessed Light, which shines unprofitably upon the Blind, through their own Blindness got by Disobedience. Let them by unfeigned Repentance be unscaled, and the Sun will give Proof of it's Light; Darkness ought not to charge the Light, but it self, that it sees not. Some confess *All* are Enlightned, but deny the Sufficiency thereof; yet refuse to be ruled by it, and live up to it. Let them first obey it, before they despise it, and prove themselves above it, before they throw it so far below a Christian: They may be then allowed to blame the Light as impotent, or imperfect, when they outlive it, or can live uncondemned of it, and that Experience tells us it's *Insufficiency* to Well-Living: 'Tis vain to undervalue that which chargeth both with *Duty omitted, and Sin committed*.

John 1. 22

However, this stands sure, that the Life of the Word is the Light of Men, and consequently *Divine*; and there I will leave this first Sort of Men, and their fruitless Opposition.

To the Second Interpretation given, destructive of that Scope we say the Text has, I return thus much.

That because the Light of Men was the Life of the Word, which Word was God, by whom all Things were created; and that all Men are mentioned in that Place controverted, which presupposeth no farther Qualification in order to have this Light, than being born (One of that *All Men*) into this World; I conclude, that it is not only a most false, but injurious Notion, to assert the Commencement or Being of that Light to Men only to be from the Coming of Christ in the Flesh.

Besides, since this relates to the *Whole Man*, which Word begins with *Adam*, and ends with the last of Man's Race, I cannot conceive how that Exposition can be valid: For then *John* would have been before Christ, instead of Christ's being before *Abraham*: Whereas, therefore is *John* denied to be that Light, because that True Light, by Way of Excellency, was the Enlightner of *All Men*, yea, of *John* himself; and therefore call'd, *That True Light*, that is, *the Fountain of all Light, Light it self, from whom All derive, but He derives from none*.

And to say nothing at this Time of the miserable Estate those of Mankind must labour under, antecedently to Christ's Coming in the Flesh, let it be considered, that these first Nine Verses in *John*, relate not in the least to his Flethly Appearance, from whence those Men would date both his *Original, and Man's Illumination*; but are a continued Series of the highest *Proofs of His Divinity*, that we might as well know what He was before He came, as when He did come: and the One was an Introduction to the Other. Neither is it fair for these Men to *Allegorize Christ out of His Divinity, and yet deny is any Allegory to prove it*. If they deny Meanings

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John 1. 10.

John 3. 19.

Eph. 5. 13.

elsewhere, let them do so here: It misbecomes Men that have their Wits, to Rack them to prop Fancy.

Further let me add, that as He who then came into the World, was the Same that Created that World into which he came, and therefore previous, or before such Coming; so neither can it hold that the World, into which Man comes, is the New Creation, since it is not said, who believe, which is usually joyned to Things of that Importance. (Believe and be Saved, &c.) Nor can such as don't believe, be totally excluded from being lighted, since the Wicked could not Rebel against it, if they had it not; neither Men's Evil Actions be Reproved without it: So that all such Notions are foreign both from Scripture and Reason.

We shall conclude then, *That Christ, the Word-God, is the Light of the World, and that all are Enlightened by Him, the Eternal Son of Righteousness; therefore the Light of Men is Christ: For to Him, Christ, or the True Light, John testified, who gives Wicked Men to see their Unrighteousness, and who leads Good Men on in the Way of Holiness, which, persevered in, brings unquestionably to Eternal Happiness; and without which, all Imputation of General Acts of Righteousness, performed by Christ without us, will avail nothing for Salvation in the Great and Terrible Day of God's Inquest and Judgment, when all shall be judged, not by the Deeds any other hath done for them (wholly without them) but according to the Deeds done in their own Mortal Bodies.*

This Subject I shall conclude, with *A few Reasons for the Universality and Sufficiency of the Light within*, that we may not only be seen to have the Scriptures of Truth, and other Authorities, but Reason also (which is more Universal) on our Side too.

Chap. XX.

C H A P. XX.

The Universality of the LIGHT Within, proved by Reason.

THAT there is an *Universal Light*, the Universality of all Ages hath plentifully testified. There is nothing more constant now, that can plead either such Antiquity, or General Consent: Not a Nation in the World ever knew an Age, in which it was destitute of such a Discovery of Internal Light, as gave them to discern Evil from Good; That Virtue was not ever most commendable, and Vice above all Things pernicious and damnable. This is Matter of Fact, which I have already proved, and the most Barbarous of Nations now inhabited, are a clear Demonstration of what I say. I conclude therefore since both Wicked and Good Men in all Ages, have confess'd to Well and Ill Doing, and that this depends upon the *Discovery of the Divine Light of Christ*, which manifests every Reprovable Action; that none of Mankind are exempted from this Illumination.

But again, it is highly consistent with the Goodness of God, and Order of his Creation, since it seems unreasonable that Men should have the Benefit of a Natural Sun, which shines on the Just and Unjust, by which to direct their Steps, and securely transact all Temporal Affairs; and yet that their Souls should be left destitute of a *Spiritual Luminary, or Sun of Righteousness*, when in Comparison of the Salvation of a single Soul, Christ counts the World of no Value. The Soul then hath Eyes as well as the Body; and as Men may see, if they please, when the Sun is in the outward Firmament, unless they willfully close their Eyes, so may all Rational Souls see, if they will, by their Eye of Reason, that *Spiritual Sun*, which gives as true discerning and Direction to the Mind, how to think and desire, as the Natural Sun doth the Body, how to act and walk aright.

Were not this true, Men would miserably charge God with Neglect to his Creatures: For since it is to be supposed that God made nothing but with a Design it should acknowledge a Creator, after it's respective Nature; and that Man's Duty was peculiar, namely Divine Homage and Worship, explicit

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express generally by a Life corresponding with that *Being* which made him, it is just that we believe God hath indued Mankind with something that is *Divine*, in order to it; since otherwise, Man would be destitute of that which should enable him to perform that Duty, without which he could not please or rightly acknowledge God. If then all Mankind ought to Worship, Fear, and Reverence God, certainly all Mankind have an *Ability* from God so to do, or else perfect Impossibilities are expected, Man of himself being a most impotent Creature. But it can never stand certainly with the Rectitude and Justice of the Eternal God, to expect from Man what he never gave him Power to do, or the Improvement of a Talent he never had. In short, if we ought to think that God is to be reverenc'd and worship'd, we must agree that God endued Mankind with a Divine Light and Knowledge, in order to that End, or say with the Man in *Matthew*, *God is an hard Master, and austere Lord, he Reaps where he never Sowed*. But I am almost afraid that the Principles and Prejudice of some, incline them rather to think hardly of God, than *favourably of the Light*. How ill doth it become those to object an Impossibility of the Light's bearing their Iniquities, who are daily *Wounding it with their rebellions*?

But they object, some deny they have it, and others by their dissolute Lives shew they are void of it. To which I say, it is not impossible for a Life of Worldly Care and Pleasures, and downright Debauchery, to darken and quite blind that Eye which only sees the *Light of Truth*, and being kept single, preserves the Body full of Light; but this makes no Alteration in the *Light*: If through Repentance and Contrition the Scales fall off, the Light refuses not it self to the Eye that can and will see it; the Light remains unaltered, 'tis Man that changes. Would the running Mad of some Men be a good Argument to prove Mankind irrational? Neither is it any Demonstration against the Universality of the Light within, because some have, by the Stupifyings of Sin, rendred themselves insensible of it.

Nor doth ill Living disprove the Sufficiency of the Light, though it prove Disobedience to it. Is it *Good Logick*, that because a Wicked *Man* will not receive Good Advice, therefore he never had it? And what better Reason can it be to say, Men disobey the Light, therefore they never had it, whilst that proves they had it, at least as a Condemner? A Man may be said to be lighted, when he knows and does not his Duty; but rather, I confess, when he becomes a better Man by such Illumination. In the first Sense, All are illuminated; in the last, only such as follow to obey the Light; for they will find their Understandings illuminated, and their Hearts mended, of which the Disobedience of others deprives them. In short, All have Light to Reprove, unless they have quite put out their Eyes; but such only have it beneficially, as their Teacher and Director, who receive it in the Love of it.

Since then the Consent of Mankind, the Goodness and Justice of God, and Reason of the Thing it self plead so strongly for the Universality of this Light, I need say the less, and shall descend to consider it's Sufficiency.

C H A P. XXI.

Chap. XXI.

The Sufficiency of the LIGHT proved by Reason.

BEcause, as well the Sufficiency, as Universality of the Light, is struck at by our Adversaries, it shall not, I hope, seem amiss if I say something briefly to it, though much of what I have said about the other, may be referred to this.

That the Universal Light is also Sufficient, is a Belief so Reasonable and Necessary, that the opposite Opinion must needs impeach the Justice of God. All grant, that God has made Man Rational, capable in some Measure of the Knowledge of his Creator; which his bare Capacity would never have given him, unless God had pleased to have made some Discovery of him-

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self, suitable to that Created Capacity in the Creature. Certainly then, since God desires not that the Creature should receive a wrong Impression of him, while he requires Universal Fear and Reverence, he must needs have given some certain and sufficient Discovery and Measure to the Creature, in order to it, by those Lively Manifestations, and most Sensible Touches of the Light to and upon the Soul, which cannot but be true, clear, and if minded, efficacious: For that God should require Men to serve him, and not give them what is sufficient, is worse than not to give at all; since Man's not obeying such Discoveries, is not so great an Aggravation of his Neglect, as the Imperfection of them is, either of the Insufficiency, or Unwillingness of him that made them do otherwise. What is this but to say, that God expects Homage from Men, as their Sovereign Lord, and that they live uprightly in the World, and yet he has not given them Ability to do it? He pronounces such Miserable who conform not themselves to an Holy Life, but gives no Power to avoid the Curse? In short, though Reason tell us, he made none purposely to destroy them, but rather that he might be glorified in their Salvation, which he is also said to invite Men to; yet that he designs nothing less, by leaving all Mankind under the Faintings of an impossible Success. But as such dismal Consequences belong not to the Truth, so we are well assured, the Light, of which we speak, has ever been Sufficient to the End for which it has been given, in every Age, both to manifest Evil, condemn for it, and redeem from the Power and Pollution of it, by the Holy Operation of its Power, all those who are the Diligent Disciples of it. For it seems most unreasonable that the Spirit of Darkness should be sufficient, to draw into Sin, and yet that the Spirit and Light of Christ should not be sufficient to redeem and save from it. Since therefore we cannot admit of any Insufficiency in the Light within, but at the same Time we must suppose, *First*, That whilst God would be rightly worship'd, he has too darkly discovered the Way how to do it aright; and *Secondly*, that his Gift is impotent; and *Thirdly*, that Man is required to do what he has no Power to perform; and *Fourthly*, That whilst God requires Man to serve him, he hath not so much as shewn him what Way he ought to do it (which are Consequences most unworthy of God) we rather chuse to sit down contented with this Belief, *That God, who made Man, and has given him a Soul Capable of Knowing and Serving his Maker, hath also endued him with Divine Knowledge, by a Superadded Light and Power, and enabled him thereby, to live subservient to that Knowledge: That God's Gift is Perfect and Sufficient for that Work; and that such as are led by it, must needs be led to God; unto whom, the Divine Light naturally tends, and attracts, as that from whom it came, which is certainly a State of Blessed Immortality.*

In short, accept Reader of these few Arguments, Comprehensive of these Two Chapters, and indeed of most of what goes before.

1. God requires no Man to do any Thing he has not given him first Light to Know, and then Power to Do. But God requires every Man to fear him, and work Righteousness; therefore he has given every Man, both a Discovery of His Will, and Power to do it.
2. No Man ought to Worship the True God ignorantly: But every Man is commanded to Worship God; therefore, He is to do it knowingly.
3. No Man can know God, but God must discover it to him, and that cannot be without Light; therefore every Man has Light.
4. This Light must be sufficient, or God's Gifts are imperfect, and answer not the End for which they were given; but God's Gifts are *Perfect*, and can perform what they are designed for; therefore since the Light is his Gift, it must be *Sufficient*.

The Sum is this:

Every Man ought to Fear, Worship and Obey God. No Man can do it aright, that knows him not. No Man can know him, but by the Discovery he makes of himself. No Discovery can be made without Light: Nor can this Light give that Discovery, if imperfect or insufficient in Nature; therefore

fore all have a *Sufficient Light* to this Great End and Purpose, viz. To Fear, Worship, and Obey God; and this Light is Christ.

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Ch. XXII.

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The Question, *Who He is, or They are that obey this Divine Light, &c?*
Considered and Answer'd; being the Character of a True Quaker.

I Am now come to my last Question, viz. *Who this He is, or They are, that obey this Light, and in obeying attain Salvation?*

Or, *What are the Qualifications of those that obey this Light?* Not what are their Names; but what Kind or Manner of People are they? In short, *What is it to obey the Light?*

I think I have so fully express'd my self already in this Matter, that with an *ingenious Reader*, I might be sav'd the Pains of further considering it; But that nothing may be thought to be shunned as unanswerable, which is so easy to be answered, I must tell him and all Men, and that not without some *Experimental Knowledge* of what I say, That such obey the Light, who refrain from all that the Light manifests to be Evil, and who incline to perform all that it requires to be done: For Example: When the Light shews that it is inconsistent with a *Man fearing God, to be Wanton, Passionate, Proud, Covetous, Backbiting, Envious, Wrathful, Unmerciful, Revengeful, Profane, Drunken, Voluptuous, Unclean*, which, with such like, are called in Scripture, *the Fruits of the Flesh, and Works of Darknes*; and Persons so qualified, *The Children of Wrath, such as delight not to retain God in their Knowledge, &c.* I say, when the Light discovers these Things to be inconsistent with a *Man fearing God*, he who truly obeys the Light, denies and forsakes them, however *Cross* it be to *Flesh and Blood*, and let it cost him never so dear: Though Relations do both Threaten and Entreat, and the World Mock, and that he is sure to become the Song of the Drunkard, and a Derision to his Ancient Companions. No, he dare not conform himself any more to the Fashions of the World, which pass away, and which draw out the Mind into vain and unprofitable Delights, by which the Just in him had formerly been slain; neither to gratify the *Lust of the Eye, the Lust of the Flesh, and the Pride of Life*, which are not of the Nature of his Father, who has begotten better Desires and Resolutions in him. He rejects the Conversation he once had in the World, and in the Eye of it's Children, seems a Man forlorn and distracted. He takes up the Cross, despises the Shame, and willingly drinks of the Cup of bitter Mockings, and yields to be baptized with the Baptism of deep Trials, that Christ Jesus his Lord drank of, and was baptized with.

Gal. 5.
 Ephes. 5.
 Rom. 1.

Jam. 5. 6.
 1 John 2. 15
 16.

He is as well taught to deny the Religions, as Cares and Pleasures of the World. Such as profess Religion from what they have either been taught by others, or read and gathered after their Carnal Minds out of the Scriptures, intruding into the Practices of either Prophets or Apostles, as to External and Shadowy Things, not being led thereto by the same Power they had, he can have no Fellowship with: He counts all such Faith and Worship the Imagination of Men, or a meer lifeless Imitation: He prefers one Sight begotten from a Sense of God's Work in the Heart, beyond the longest Prayers in that State: *He leaves them all, walks as a Man Alone, fearing to offer God a Sacrifice that is not of his own preparing.* He charges all other Faiths and Worships with Insufficiency, and meer creaturely Power, which are not held and performed from an Holy Conviction and Preparation by the Angel of God, the Light of his Presence, in the Heart and Conscience: Therefore it is that he goes forth in the Strength of his God against the *Merchants of Babylon*; and Woes and Plagues are rightly in his Mouth against those Buyers and Sellers of the Souls of Men. He is Jealous for the Name of the Lord, and therefore dares not speak Peace unto them, nei-

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ther can he put into their Mouths, but testifies against all such Ways: *Freely he received; freely he gives.*

Thus is this Man unravel'd, unreligion'd, and unbottom'd as to his former State, wherein he was religious upon *Letter, Form, Men's Traditions, Education*, and his own *Imagination*. He is as a Man quite *Undone*, that he may be made what the Lord would have him to be. Thus is he convinced of *Sin* and of *Righteousness* too; and the Joy he once had when he *girded* himself and went whither he list'd, is now turned into *Sorrow*, and his Rejoycing, into *Howling*: He has beheld God in the Light of his Son, and abhors himself in *Dust* and *Ashes*; Sin, that was *Pleasant* once in the Mouth, he finds *Bitter* now in the Belly, and that which the World esteems worthy of their Care, he *flies* as a Man would do a Bear robbed of her Whelps. Sin is become *exceeding sinful* to him, inasmuch that he cries out, *Who shall deliver me?* He labours Greatly, and is very heavy Laden: Yet he is not willing to *fly in the Winter*, but is resolved to stand the Trial; For this Man not only brings his former Deeds to the Light, and there suffers Judgment to pass upon them, but *Patiently takes Part* in that Judgment, who was so great an *Accessory* to them. Nor doth his Obedience conclude with the Sentence given against past Sins, and himself that committed them; but most patiently *endures the Hand of the Lord till his Indignation be over past*, and till that which condemned Sin (the *Fruit*) hath destroyed the very *Root* of it which hath taken so deep hold in his Heart, and that the same Spirit of Judgment that condemned Sin, is brought forth into perfect Victory over the very Nature and Power of Sin. This Judgment is found and felt in the Light, therefore do the *Sons of the Night* reject the Knowledge of it's Ways, and the Children of the Day Rejoyce greatly in it's Appearance.

Ephes. 5.
1 John 1. 5, 6.

But neither is this all that makes up that *Good Man*, who obeys the Light; For a complete Son of Light is one that has *Conquer'd and Expel'd* the Darknes? 'Tis true, he was once Darknes, but now *Light in the Lord*, because he hath been turned from Darknes to the Light, and from Satan's Power unto God, who is *Light in self*, and with him is his Fellowship continually.

Jam. 3. 1, 2, 3.

This is the Man who in the Way of the Light of the *Lamb of God* hath met with *Inward Cleansing*; for having been purged by the Spirit of *Judgment*, and the Spirit of *Burning* (otherwise called the severe *Reproofs, Stroaks and Terrors* of the Light in the Conscience) he has ever a Watch set up in his Heart. A Thought must not pass which has not the *Watch-Word*, but at every Appearance to the Mind, he cries, *Stand*; if a Friend, and owned of the Light (who is the great Leader, given of God for that Purpose) then he entertains it; otherwise, he brings it to the Commander of the Conscience, who is to sit in Judgment upon *It*. Thus is Christ the *Light, King, Judge and Lawgiver*: And by this he grows strong, and increaseth with the Increases of God. Yet he often reads the blessed Scriptures, and that with much Delight; greatly admiring the exceeding Love of God to former Ages, which he himself witnesseth to be true in this; where also many Things are opened to his Refreshment: So is the *Light the Just Man's Path*, that in every Age still *shineth brighter and brighter*, in which the Cleansing Blood of Jesus Christ is felt to cleanse from all Sin: Thus doth he bridle his Thoughts, so that his Words and Actions offend not. Above all, he is often Retired to the Lord, Loves Fellowship with him, Waits for daily Bread, which he asks, not in his own Words, Strivings or Will, but as one empty of his Thoughts, and Jealous of the Peace or Comfort that is drawn from thence, he silently waits to feel the Heavenly Substance brought into his Soul, by the Immediate Hand of the Lord, for it is not Fetching in this Thought, or Remembering the other Passage in Scripture, or designedly *Calling to Mind* what has been formerly known, that gives Right Peace; but every *Immediate Word that proceeds out of the Mouth of God*, that can satisfy him. In short, He that obeys the Light, is thereby taught to deny *Ungodliness and Worldly Lusts*, and to be *Sober, Righte-*

ous, Patient, Humble, Meek, Upright, Merciful, Forbearing, Forgiving, Peaceable Gentle, Self-denying, Constant, Faithful and Holy, because the Lord his God is Holy:

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Thus have I given a brief Account as well *what He is not, as what He is*, who is Obedient to the Light within, which is Christ's Spiritual Appearance in the Heart, whose Holy Blood is sensibly felt to *Cleanse, Atone and Save* all those who believe and abide therein, both from the *Guilt and Pollution of Sin*.

C H A P. XXIII.

Ch. XXIII:

The Discourse hitherto summed up, and concluded, with an Exhortation to all Professors of Religion, especially our Opposers.

I Will sum up the whole of this Discourse into these few Heads.

I. That *Salvation* is to be saved from Sin first, and Wrath consequently; *He shall save his People from their Sins*, Matt. 1.

II. That Christ, the *Word-God*, has lighted all Mankind, not only after his Coming in the Flesh, but *before*: And that the Light has ever been Sufficient, as well as Universal, to lead to God, all such as have obeyed it, as by its Properties and Effects is demonstrated.

III. That the Difference betwixt the Time of the Law and that of the Gospel, as generally distinguish'd, was rather in Manifestation than in Nature. God might be as much more Propitious and Bountiful to the last Ages (be it that they were better able to receive such extraordinary Discoveries, or that it was the alone good Pleasure of his Sovereign Will) as he was to the former Ages; yet that he gave them a Sufficiency of the same Divine Light, to conduct them through the World to Eternal Blessedness.

IV. That *Jews and Greeks, Heathens and Christians* agree in this.

V. That still the Preheminence is given to *Christ's Manifestation in Flesh*; Both generally and particularly, that being both the Fulness of Time, and Fulness of Discovery, which put an End to the Types and Figures, and Carnal Commandments, by shewing forth an *Abrogation and Consummation* of them all, in Christ, the *Substance* it self: In which State they are not needed; but in Comparison thereof, they are (though once they were as Calendars, for weak People to read some Mystical Glory by) but *Beggarly Elements* now.

VI. That not only in that Flesh, did the Eternal Light preach forth it self the End of these Things, by Revealing and Becoming the Author of a more Plain and Perfect Way, though less easie to Flesh and Blood (placing the Stress of all upon an *Evangelical* Righteousness, whereof he became the *first Minister*, and our most Holy Example) but he also appear'd in that Publick Body, so peculiarly prepared, a *General Saviour*, by his *Life, Doctrine, Miracles, Death of the Cross and Resurrection*; in and by all which he obtained a *Name above every Name*.

VII. That nevertheless, not to the Body, but the Holy *Light of Life* therein, is chiefly to be ascribed the Salvation, and to the Body, however excellent, but Instrumentally; for that it was the Eternal Light and Life, which gave the Weight to all the Actions and Sufferings of the Body.

VIII. That the Benefit then procured is not witnessed by any, but as they come to Believe in Christ the Light as he doth appear in the Heart and Conscience to *save from Sin, destroy the Works of the Devil, finish Transgression, and bring in of his Everlasting Righteousness*. Wherefore to imagine one's self intitled to a State of Salvation, whilst in Rebellion against the Light within, which is Christ's *Inward Knocking and Appearance*, must needs be a Delusion most pernicious, and destructive to the Souls of Men.

IX. That upon the whole it is determin'd and concluded, that *Christ is that Light which shineth in the Conscience*.

X. That

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X. That the Light is prov'd by *Reason*, both *Universal* and *Sufficient*; The First, from the Consent of Mankind and the Goodness and Rectitude of God: The Second, both from *Experience*, and that it were inconsistent with the Goodness and Wisdom of God, to give a Light to his Creature *Insufficient* for the Work for which he gave it.

Thus in short have I given the Heads and Results of most of the Matter contained in the whole Discourse upon the *Light*: And I intreat our Adversaries, they would seriously weigh the Whole, before they either reject it; or pretend to reply to it: But let them be advised to try the Virtue of the Light, before they sentence it to have none: And in the Love of God be Once prevail'd upon, to consider if something in *them* doth not really *Condemn* them for Evil, and amongst other Things, for these brisk Attempts against it, and unreasonable undervaluings of it.

O, Why should Men covet to know so far beyond what they do faithfully Practise! Let them first *Out-live* the Just and Holy Requirings of the *Light*, before they put these barbarous Affronts upon it, as a Will in the Wisp, a Dark-Lanthorn-Light, Natural, Insufficient, *Ignis Fatuus*, the *Quakers* Idol, and Abundance of such like Frothy, Prophane, and indeed Blasphemous Epithets, which some have wickedly bestow'd upon It, as if they were It's Proper Names: When the Scriptures they would oppose to it, plainly tell them that the whole Work of the Apostolical Ministry was, *To turn People from Darkeness to the Light, from the Power of Satan unto God, that they might have Remission of Sins*. As much as to say, Such as are turned to the *Light*, are turn'd to God who is *Light*; and those who abide there, both have Remission of the *Punishment*, and Purgation from the *Defilement* of Sin.

And whatever any may think of us, we both believe, assert, and will maintain, against *Men* and *Devils*, that *God is Light*; and that out of the Light, or void of his Divine Illumination, *no Man can know him, and consequently not Worship him*, unless they should worship an *Unknown God*: That such as receive this Illumination, and rebel not against it, but improve this *Heavenly Talent*, they have Fellowship with the Pure, Eternal God, and Experience the Blood of Jesus Christ to *cleanse them from all Unrighteousness*.

If any think to arrive at Glory another Way, and will not be admonish'd, let them proceed; we speak what we know, and can but declare what we have felt of the Work of God in our Hearts. The Scriptures we highly value: But we believe not the Things we often quote thence to be true, Only because there, but for that we are *Witnesses of the same Operation*, and bring in our *Experimental Testimonies* to confirm the Truth of theirs; and such truly honour the Scriptures: All others are at best but empty Scribes, and Pharisaical Babblers.

So with God I leave my Labour in this Particular, desiring that this Heavenly Light may yet more abundantly arise upon the Dark Hearts of Mankind, and awaken them to Repentance, that since It hath so long shined in Darkeness uncomprehended, till even Darkeness it self is grown so impudent as to impute it to the Insufficiency of the Light, he would be pleas'd to cause it to shine ought of Darkeness, that it might plead the Excellency of it's own Divine Nature in the Consciences of Men and Women, against the Scorns and Detractions, that even too many of the great Professors of Christianity sicken not to sing upon It: So ill are they principled, and so un-Christianly employ'd: Which proves to me how little they are Professors of the True, Pure and Undeiled Religion, whatever Opinion some Weak and Simple People may have of them. My Soul Pitieth their Opposition, and Fearnth the Consequence of such Resistance, and desires they may see the very Vanity of their Endeavours against the Light, Repent of them, and be Converted, that God may yet Heal them. Which Sincere Prayer is my Return for all their Hard Speeches and Ungodly Sayings against us in General, and my Self in Particular.

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DISCOURSE

OF THE

General Rule of *Faith* and *Practice*.

And Judge of CONTROVERSIE.

Greatly importing all those who desire to take Right Measures of *Faith*, and to determine (at least to themselves) the numerous *Controversies* now on Foot in the World.

By the same Author.

For in Christ Jesus, neither Circumcision availeth any Thing, nor Uncircumcision, but a NEW Creature: And as many as walk according to THIS Rule, Peace be on them, and Mercy, and upon the Israel of God, Gal. 6. 16.

But God hath revealed them unto us by his Spirit: For the Spirit searcheth all Things, yea, the deep Things of God.— The Things of God knoweth no Man, but the Spirit of God.— He that is Spiritual judgeth all Things, 1 Cor. 2. 10, 11, 15.

But ye have an Unction from the Holy One; and ye shall know all Things; 1 John 2. 20.

Of the General Rule of *Faith* and *Practice*.

SINCE there are so many *Faiths* in the World, and perplexed *Controversies* about them; and that it greatly behoveth every Man, if to contend for, then first to Know the *True Faith* that overcometh the World; it may not be unnecessary to say something of the *General Rule of Faith and Life, and Judge of Controversie*, at this Time. And indeed I am prest from this weighty Consideration, that Men perish for want of it, and can no more arrive at Truth without it, than the distressed Mariner can gain his Port who Sails without either Star or Compass.

I shall begin with an Explanation of the Terms, *Rule*, and *Faith*, of which we shall first treat, that we may as well express what we intend by the one, as what we mean by the other, which will be a proper Introduction to the whole Discourse.

By *General Rule*, &c. we understand, that *Constant Measure or Standard*, by which Men in all Ages have been enabled to Judge of the Truth or Error of *Doctrines*, and the Good or Evil of *Thoughts, Words and Actions*.

By *Faith* we understand an Assent of the Mind, in such Manner, to the Discoveries made of God thereto, as to resign up to God, and have Dependence upon him, as the Great Creator and Saviour of His People; which is inseparable from good Works.

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That Men, in all Ages, have had a Belief of God, and some Knowledge of him, tho' not upon equal Discovery, must be granted from that Account that all Story gives of Mankind in Matters of Religion; several have fully performed this: Of old, *Justin Martyr, Clemens Alexandrinus, Augustine*, and others; of latter Times, *Du Plessy, Grotius, Amiralduis, L. Herbert*, and above all *Dr. Cudworth*: And indeed the Relicks we have of the most ancient Historians and Authors, are a Demonstration in the Point. Now the Scripture tells us, *that no Man knows the Father but the Son, and he to whom the Son reveals him*: And as none knows the Things of Man, save the Spirit of Man; so the Things of God knows no Man, but the Spirit of God. Hence we may safely conclude, that the Creating Word that was with God, and was God, in whom was Life, and that Life the *Light of Men*, and who is the Quickning Spirit, was *He*, by whom God in all Ages hath revealed Himself; consequently, that Light or Spirit must have been the *General Rule* of Men's Knowledge, Faith and Obedience, with respect to God. And thus much *Pythagoras*, who liv'd about Six Hundred Years before those Words were spoke or writ, laid down for a Maxim, viz. That no Man can know what is agreeable to God, *except a Man hear God himself*, and that must be within; for that was his Doctrine. To which the Apostle and Prophet thus agree: 1. In that *whatever makes manifest is Light*. 2. That *whatever might be known of God was made manifest within*; for God (who is Light, 1 John 1. 5.) *had shewn it unto them*: And, *God hath shewn unto thee, O Man, what is good, and what God requireth of thee*, &c. which could not be without the Light of His Son shining in Man's Conscience; Therefore the Light of Christ in the Conscience must needs have been the *General Rule*, &c. It was by this Law that *Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Melchizedeck, Abimelech, Job, Jethro*, &c. walked and were accepted, as saith *Irenaeus* and *Tertullian*; *They were Just by the Law written in their Hearts*: Then was it *their Rule* to, and in, that just State.

Mat. 11. 27.
1 Cor. 2. 11.

Eph. 5. 13.
Rom. 1. 19.

Mic' 6. 8.

Iren. l. 2. c. 30.
Tertul. con. Jud. p. 184.

Obj. *It seems then you deny the Scriptures to be the General Rule, &c.*

Ans. How can they be the General Rule, that have not been General? That which was both before, and since they were in Being, must needs be more General than they: But that was this Light in the Conscience, the Law and Guide of those *Patriarchs* (for the Scriptures began long after, in the Time of *Moses*) consequently that must be the General Rule, &c.

Obj. *But granting that the Light Within were so before Scripture was extant, yet since the Writings of Holy Scripture, the Scripture, and not the Light, hath been the General Rule.*

Ans. That cannot be, unless *Palestina*, or *Canaan*, a little Province of *Asia*, was the whole World, and that the *Jews*, a particular People, were All Mankind. For at what Time those Writings were among the *Jews*, other Nations were only left to the Law and Light Within; this the Apostle confirmeth in that Passage, *For the Gentiles, which have not the Law* (that is, the outward Law, or Law written upon Stone) *do by Nature the Things contained in the Law, which sheweth the Work of the Law written in their Hearts*. And the Gentiles themselves called it, *The Immutable Law, the Everlasting Foundation of Virtue; no Lifeless Precepts, but Immortal; a Sacred Good, God the Overseer; the Living Rule, the Root of the Soul, that which makes the Good Man*. Thus *Thales, Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, Plotin, Hieron, Philo, Plutarch*, as cited. And saith *Sophocles*, *God grant that I may always observe that Venerable Sanctity in my Words and Deeds which these Noble Precepts* (writ in Man's Heart) *require: God is their Father, neither shall they ever be Abrogated; for there is in them a Great God that never waxeth Old*. More Reverent Epithets than our Opposers can afford, as
their

Rom. 2. 14,
15.

their Books but too openly witness; yet would go for *Christian-Men*, tho' manifestly short of *Heathens*.

Thus it is evident that the Scripture was not the *General Rule*, after it was given forth.

Obj. *But hath it not been since, and is it not now the General Rule, &c.*

Ans. There hath been since, and is now the same Impediment; for before Christ's Coming in the Flesh, and since, where the Scriptures never reach'd, there hath been the same Light: And though Nations, by not Glorifying God as God, when they have known Him, have been given up to all manner of Iniquities, inasmuch as their Understandings have been greatly vail'd; yet did not the *Light Within* so entirely lose its Ruling Exercise among them, as that they lived without any Sense of such a Thing: Therefore still the Scriptures have not been, neither are the *General Rule*; no not so much as of any Age; since in no Age can it be prov'd that the whole, or greatest Part of the World had them. But had they been so for some one or two Ages, as they never were; yet the granting it will not reach our Question, where the Word *General* implieth the Nature of the Thing it self, respecting Mankind from the Beginning of the World to this Day, and so to the End.

Obj. *But is not the Scripture the Rule, &c. of our Day?*

Ans. If *The Rule*, then *The General Rule*: For whatsoever is *The Rule* of Faith and Life, excludeth all other from being *General*, they being but particular in respect of it self; Therefore not *The Rule*, though *A Rule*, of Faith and Life.

But besides their not being *General*, I have several Reasons to offer, why they cannot be *The Rule* of Faith and Life, &c:

* 1. If now the Rule, then ever the Rule; But they were not ever the Rule; and therefore they cannot now be the Rule. That they were not ever the Rule is granted: But that they are not therefore now the Rule may be by some denied; which I shall prove thus. If the Faith of God's People in all Ages be of *One Nature*, then the Rule but of *One Nature*: But clear it is, *Heb. 11.* The Faith has been but of *One Nature*. In short, If the holy Ancients had Faith before they had or wrote Scripture, they had a Rule before they had or wrote Scripture; for where Faith is, there

* *Justin Martyr* saith, 'That all are Christians who live with Christ, as *Abraham* and *Elias*; and amongst the *Greeks*, as *Socrates*, *Heracitus*, &c. See *Scultetus* on him, who also saith, That some at this Day are of his Judgment, who have taught that 'Melchizedech, 'Abimelech, Ruth, Rahab, the Queen of Sheba, Hiram of Tyre, Naaman the Syrian, and the 'City of Nineveh, are in the Catalogue of Christians.

Eusebius Pamph. in his Ecclesiastical History, saith, That *Abraham* and the ancient Fathers were Christians: And defines a Christian to be, one that by the Knowledge and Doctrine of Christ excels in Moderation of Mind, in Righteousness and Continency of Life, and Strength of Virtue and Godliness towards one only God; see *Scultetus* on him.

Clement Alexandrinus saith, The Law of Nature and of Discipline is one. And *Moses* seems to call the Lord the Covenant: For he had said before, the Covenant was not to be sought in Scripture; for that is the Covenant, which God, the Cause of all, setteth, whence his Name in *Greek* is derived. And in the Preaching of *Peter*, thou mayst find the Lord called the Word or Reason, and the Law. See his 1 Book *Strom.* at the End. And before, Page 353. he saith, The Law and the Gospel is the Operation of one Lord, who is the Virtue and Wisdom of God: And the Fear which the Law had bred, is merciful to Salvation: And the Fear of the Lord is the Beginning of Wisdom. That she (that is, Wisdom) that ministrereth Providence, is Mistress and Good; and the Power of both procureth Salvation: The one Chastizing as Mistress, the other being Bountiful, as a Benefactor; for one must pass from Darkness to Life; and applying his Ear to Wisdom, first be a Servant, then a faithful Minister, and so ascend into the Number of Sons, and be brought into the Elect Adoption of Sons. That the Law works to make them Immortal, that chuse to Live temperately and justly. And again, Evil Men do not understand the Law; but they that seek the Lord, do understand every good Thing. And the whole first Book of the *Stromata*, is especially to prove the Antiquity of the one true Religion, or Philosophy, as he calls it.

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is a Rule for that Faith. And if the Faith be of One Nature, the Rule is of One Nature also. And since the Faith is *Inward, Spiritual*, begotten of the Immortal Word, in which is Life, and that Life the Light of Men, and that this *Word of Life and Light* was the Rule; then no Book, Writing, or Ingravng on visible and perishable Matter, *can be the Rule now*.

Again, such as the Faith is, such must the Rule be: But the Faith is as before, *Inward and Spiritual*, which no *Meer Book* can be.

2. If the Scriptures were *The General Rule*, they must have always been a Perfect Rule, ever since they were a Rule: But this is impossible, *since they were many Hundred Years in Writing*, and are now Imperfect also as to *Number*; How then are they the *Perfect Rule*?

That they were not the *Perfect Rule*, before they were written, must be granted; and that they were many Hundred Years writing must also be allowed; and that they are Imperfect now, as to *Number*, I prove.

First, *Enoch's Prophecy* is mentioned by *Jude*, but not extant in the Bible. The Book of the *Wars of the Lord*, Numb. 21. 14. The Book of *Jasher*, Josh. 10. 13. 2 Sam. 1. 18. The Book of *Nathan*, 2 Chron. 9. 29. The Book of *Shemaiah*, 2 Chron. 12. 15. The Book of *Jehu*; The Epistle of the Apostle *Paul* to the *Laodiceans*, Colof. 4. 16. and several others mentioned in the Scriptures, not now extant. And lastly, *Luke* says, *That many took in hand to relate from Eye-Witnesses the Things most surely believed*, &c.

Now, 'tis taken for granted that *John* wrote many Years after *Luke*: Some think *Luke* wrote before *Mark*: However, *Matthew* and *Mark* were not many, and to this Day we see no more than those Four in our Bibles; and therefore many such Writings are lost: And if lost, then the Scriptures, as aforesaid, not Perfect; and if Imperfect, how can they be *The Rule of Faith*, since the Rule of Faith must be Perfect?

3. My Third Reason is this, The Scriptures, however Useful to Edification and Comfort, seem not in their own Nature and Frame to have been compild and delivered, as the *General Rule*, and *Intire Body of Faith*, but rather written upon particular Occasions and Emergencies. The Doctrines are scattered throughout the Scriptures, insomuch that those Societies who have given forth Verbal Confessions of their Faith, have been necessitated to tols them to and fro, search here and search there, to lay down this or the other Principle; and then as like the original Text as their Apprehensions can render it: Whereas, were it as plain and distinct as the Nature of a Rule requires, they needed only to have given their Subscription for a Confession. Besides, here they are *Proper*, there *Metaphorical*: In one Place *Literally*, in another *Myssically* to be accepted: Most Times Points are to be prov'd by comparing and weighing Places coherent; where to allude Aptly, and not wrong the Sense, is *Difficult*, and requires a clear and certain Discerning, notwithstanding the Clamours upon us about Infalibility. Now from all this, with abundance more that might be said, plain it is that the Scriptures are not plain, but to the Spiritual Man: Thus *Peter* said of *Paul's* Writings, that *in many Things they were hard to be understood*: Therefore not such a Rule which ought to be Plain, Proper and Intelligible.

4. Again, the Scripture cannot be the Rule of Faith, because it cannot give Faith; for Faith is the *Gift of God which overcomes the World*: Neither of Practice, because it cannot distinguish of it self in all Cases what ought to be practised and what not; since it contains as well what ought not to be practised, as what ought.

This was the Case of Christ's Disciples, who had no particular Rule in the Old Testament Writings, for the abolishing of some Part of the Old Testament Religion: On the contrary they might have pleaded for the Perpetuity of it, because Christ said unto them, *Do as they say that sit in Moses's Chair*, more reasonably than many who make that a Plea now-a-Days for their invented Worships. What then guided them in their declaring void and relinquishing those Things? For Instance, God gave Circum-

cision

cision as a Sign for ever: And Paul tells the Galatians, *That if they be circumcised, Christ should profit them nothing*: Was not this the Spirit of Truth that leads into all Truth, that the Apostles made the Judge and Rule of their Doctrine and Practices? So said James and the Assembly of the Apostles, when they told the Believers, *It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us*, &c.

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Gen. 17: 7.
Gal. 5: 1, 2.
Acts 15: 28.

5. These very Men that say *it is the Rule of Faith and Life*, deviate in their Proof from their Assertion, for the Scriptures no where say so of themselves. Here they fly to Meanings and Interpretations: The Question arises not about the Truth of the Text, for that is agreed on all Hands; but the Exposition of it: If then I yield to that Man, do I bow to the Letter of the Text, or to his Interpretation? If the Latter, as manifestly I do, is the Scripture or *that Man's Sense* of it my Rule? Nay the Person so interpreting makes not the Scripture his Rule but his own Apprehension, whatever he may say to gain Credit to his Conceptions with others; then Mine it must needs be, I consenting thereto.

6. How shall I be assured that these Scriptures came from God? I am bound to try all Things: If all Things, then Them amongst the rest. I would fain know what I must try them with? with the Scriptures? Then the Scriptures must be the Rule of my Examination, and Faith concerning themselves, which is improper: If with the Spirit that gave them forth, which searcheth the deep Things of God (a Measure of which is given to me to profit withal) Then is it most congruous to call the Spirit, by Way of Excellency, and not the Scriptures, *The Rule*.

7. If the Scriptures are the Rule, they must be so in the *Original*, or *Copies*: If in the *Original*, that is not extant, and so there would be no Rule in being; for the last of it that was extant, was the Evangelist *John's* History at *Ephesus*, not seen almost these Thousand Years: If the *Copies* must be the Rule, it were to be wished we knew which were the nextest to the Original, there being above Thirty in Number: This is undetermined, and for ought we see Indeterminable. And that which further confirms what I say, is the Variety of Readings which we find among those Copies, amounting to several Thousands. And if the Copies cannot, how can the Translations be the Rule, so various (if not differing) from the true Sense of the Copies in many Things, and one from another? Besides, I would fain know of those of our present Age, who thus contend for the Scriptures being the General Rule, &c. in *Opposition to the Spirit*, upon what foot they receive them into this Place and Authority: Is it by *Tradition*, or *Revelation*? I mean, the *Internal Testimony of the Spirit*; or the *External Award and Determination of Men*: If the former, they must unavoidably come over to us; for then the Spirit will, and must be both *Rule* and *Judge*: If the Latter, I ask how are they assured that they are not miserably abused by *Carelessness* or *Design*; since we see, that using utmost Diligence, both Translation, Transcription and Printing, are subject to numerous Mistakes, and those sometimes very material, against which the Scripture of it self can be no Fence?

But admit there were no Ground for any such Objection, I further demand of our Adversaries, if they are well assured of those Men that first Collected, Embodied and declared them Authentick by a Publick Canon? Which we read was in the *Council of Laodicea*, held 360 Years after Christ, though not as they are now received: During which time They had been tossed and tumbled through many Hands, and of many Judgments and Opinions. Some were receiv'd, and some rejected, and doubtless many Thousands of Times transcribed; and it is not improbable that they were also abused. If they miss in their Judgment here, they are gone till they come to us. I say, how do they know that these Men rightly discerned true from spurious? Either their Judgment was infallible in the Matter, or it was not: If it were, then there was such a Thing as Infallibility since the Apostles Days, which is a Contradiction to your selves. But be it so that they were infallible; how came you to be assured they were so? Not by

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Inspiration; for that is dangerous Doctrine with you: Which way was it then? Nor by Tradition: Was it by the Scripture? That were to say that the Scripture tells you that those Men, that collected it for true, were Right in their Judgment: But we are yet to find any such Place, and if it were so, that would but beg the Question. I cannot see any other Ground, besides your very great *Indulgence* to their Choice, which you call *Papery*, and *believing as the Church believes*, in other Folks. But if these Men were fallible, as your Opinion makes them, and their own Determinations prove them, what then? Doubtless your Condition will be very uncertain.

Now, sure it is that some of the Scriptures taken in by one Council for *Canonical*, were rejected by another as *Apocryphal*; and that which was left out by the Former for *Apocryphal*, was taken in by the Latter for *Canonical*. Now visible it is that they contradicted each other, and as true that they both erred, respecting the present Belief: For your *Canon* and *Catalogue* vary from theirs, and, let me say without Offence, from any Catalogue you can produce. Behold the *Labyrinth of Uncertainties* you run your selves into, who go from that *Heavenly Gift in your selves*, by which the Holy Scriptures are truly Discerned, Relished and Distinguished from the Inventions and Abuses of Men!

8. Furthermore, If the Scriptures were the Rule of Faith and Life, &c. then because they cannot be the Rule in their Translations, supposing the ancient Copies were Exact, it cannot be the Rule to *far the Greatest Part* of Mankind; indeed to none but *Learned Men*: Which neither answers the Promise relating to Gospel-times, which is universal; nor the Necessity of all Mankind for a *Rule of Faith and Life*.

9. That the Scriptures are not the Rule of Faith and Life, is proved from those voluminous Discourses of *Cases of Conscience* that are extant among us: For had the Scriptures been as sufficient as the Nature of the Rule of Faith and Life Requireth, there had been no Need of such Tracts: Every Man might have read his own Condition laid down in Scripture without those numerous Supplements. Doth not your own Language and Practice prove it's Insufficiency to that End, at what Time you both exhort ro, and go in secret to seek the Mind of the Lord in this or that important Affair? Why do not you turn to Chapter and Verse for Satisfaction, if the Scripture be appointed of God for the General Rule? Strange! That what is so common in the Mouths of all Sorts, *viz.* God direct you (which implieth Inspiration and Revelation, or immediate Council or Guiding from God) should not be known, much less acknowledged by you in our Writings; but disdained with such scaring Epithets, as *Enthusiasm*, *Fanaticism*, *Quakerism*, &c. In short, there are a * Thousand Cases, and not a few occurring almost daily, in which the Scripture cannot be *our plain and distinct Rule and Guide*: Yet has not God left himself *without a Witness* in any Bosom; for *his Grace that brings Salvation has appeared unto all Men, teaching them that believe in it, to deny Ungodliness and worldly Lusts, and to live Soberly, Righteously and Godly in this present World*. And Christ Jesus the Eternal Word has for that End lighted every Man coming into the World (*viz.*) to Discover, Reprove, and Instruct about *Faith and Practice*. But it may be, and is objected by some;

Obj. If *this Law and Light in the Conscience had been enough*, what need had there been of Scripture?

Ans. The same Argument will hold against God, Christ, His Spirit and Grace, all which are sufficient, notwithstanding the Use and Benefit of Scripture. The Case was this: Man's Mind being estranged from the Light and Spirit, through its wandrings after Visible and Perishing Things. And in as much as the Light became thereby veiled from him, the Spirit as it were quenched, and the Law defac'd, God in peculiar Mercy to the *Jews*, according to his Covenant with faithful *Abraham*, superadded, or repeated (as *Ursin* terms it) the *Law inward*, by a Declaration of it outwardly;

* There's not laid down in Scripture any general Rule how to answer before Magistrates; and to act in times of Sufferings. John 1. 9. Titus 2. 11. 12.



wardly; that both God might not be without an outward Witness, as well as an inward (they having so much lost the Feeling thereof) And likewise more deeply to strike their Minds, by their Senses (into which their Minds were gone) and to meet them abroad, where they were roving and wandring from the *Law and Light within*.

As it is great Vanity and Weakness to infer *Insufficiency* to the Light, from the *Inbecillity and Darknes* that are in Men, so is it from God's Superadding Scripture, and other external Assistances to Men in that State. Since their Blindness is occasioned through their Rebellion to the Law, and Light within. What! would such have God, his Light and Spirit appear to, and too converse with People's outward Senses? That can't be: The one is Spiritual, and the other too Carnal for any such Thing. Or are they insufficient, because they converse with Men, through these exterior Things, suited to that weak State? Or tell me if the considerablest Part of Scripture be any more than the declared Knowledge and Experience of such as were come to a more improved State in the Teachings of that Light and Spirit; which is therefore given forth, that others loytering behind, might be stirred up and the more prevailed with to follow them, as they had followed the Lord in the Light of his Spirit? Certainly it can never be that Scripture should impeach the Light of Insufficiency, when that very Scripture is but the Mind and Teachings of the Divine Light, in others, declared or recorded. Does the Declaration jarr or make weak that from whence it came? Or because of God's Condescension for a Time to external Mediums, shall they turn the Light and Spirit out of the Office of Rule and Judge? Or is it to *lay down Instituted Religion*, as some ignorantly talk, to press after that which was before, and ends those Temporary Things? The Law outward, as a Rule, was but as *Moses till the Son came. The Servant abideth not in the House for ever*. The written Law held it's Place but till the inward arose in more *Glory and Brightness*; or rather, till People became more capable of being turned to it, and living with and in it? *In those Days*, saith the Lord, *I will write my Law in their Hearts, &c.* They who say otherwise of Scripture, do pervert and abuse it; for there is nothing more clearly laid down in it, from Beginning to End, than the *Rule and Reign of the Spirit*. My Kingdom said Christ, *is not of this World*. Again, *The Kingdom of God is within: I will write my Law in their Hearts, and place my Fear in their Inward Parts. All thy Children shall be taught of the Lord, and in Righteousness shall they be established. I will pour out of my Spirit on all Flesh. The Grace of God that brings Salvation, hath appeared to all Men, teaching, &c.*

John 18. 36
Ira. 54. 13

Joel 2. 28.
Tit. 2. 11. 12.

Obj. But if the Law engraven and delivered to Moses, was a Rule to the Jews, why should not the Law delivered by Christ, and written by the Apostles, be the Rule to Christians?

Ans. Christ left nothing in writing for the Rule of Faith and Practice that we hear of; and it is not to be thought that he was less faithful in his House than Moses: And doubtless, had he intended the Rule of his Followers to have been a *written Rule*, he would have left it upon Record with all *Punctuality*, this must be believed, and that done, on Pain of Eternal Death. Nor did his Followers write in the Method of a Rule, as the Law was written; nor did they so call or recommend what they writ.

But this leads me to my eighth Reason why the Scriptures cannot be the Rule under the new Covenant, &c. For admitting the Law written by Moses were the Rule (*A Rule I grant it was*) to the Jew outward, yet Christ, the *Spiritual Leader of a spiritual Israel*, writeth his *Spiritual Law in the Heart*, as Moses the outward Israel's Leader writ the Law upon Tables of Stone. This was God's Promise, and the Privilege and Blessing of the New-Covenant, that as the outward Jew, had an outward Law, for a *Directory*, the inward Jew should have an inward Law for his *Directory*: And as the outward Jew had an outward Priest, at whose Mouth he ought to seek the Law, so the Jew inward, and Circumcision in Spirit, has an inward and *Spiritual high Priest*, whose Lips preserve Knowledge; at whose Mouth

Mal. 2. 7.
Heb. 7. 24.
25. 26. 27.
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Luke. 9. 6. 7.

Luke. 17. 20.
21.Heb. 8. 10.
Rev. 21. 3.

Joel 2. 28.

Tit. 2. 11.

12.

Job 32. 8.

Rom. 1. 19.

Gal. 4. 16.

1 John 1. 7.

Isai. 2. 5.

Rev. 21. 23.

Gal. 6. 15.

16.

he is to receive the Law of Life. And *this* is his Rule, even he who is the the Ruler of his People Israel, who reigneth in Righteousness, and of whose heavenly Government there shall be no End. The King, Ruler, Judge, Law-giver, High-Priest, Law, Rule, Temple, are all spiritual; so the Scriptures inform us; *My Kingdom, said Christ, is not of this World.* Again, *The Kingdom of God is within: I will write my Law in their Hearts, and place my Fear in their inward Parts. They shall be all taught of me; and in Righteousness shall they be established: the Tabernacle of God is with Man; He will dwell with them, I will pour out my Spirit on all Flesh.* The Grace hath appeared unto all Men, teaching, &c. A Measure of the Spirit is given to all Men to profit withal. The Inspiration of the Almighty giveth Understanding. Whatsoever may be known of God is manifest within. Walk in the Spirit: If ye walk in the Light, &c. Come let us walk in the Light of the Lord. And there needed neither Sun nor Moon to shine; For the Glory of God did lighten it, and the Lamb was the Light thereof. As many as walk according to this Rule, Peace be on them, and Mercy, and upon the Israel of God, &c. What Rule? Not that of the Old Legal Creation which then passed away; (y) but the Rule of the *καινὴ κτίσις*, or New Creation, as it may be rendered, and as *Drusus* also doth interpret it; Which is the Way of Life *Isaiah* spoke of; *An high Way there shall be, and it shall be called the Way of Holiness; the Unclean shall not pass over it, and wayfaring Men, though Fools, shall not err therein: There shall be no Lyon there, nor ravenous Beast go thereon, but the Redeemed shall walk there;* which Way, Teacher, Guide, Rule, Light, Spirit, and holy Unction, that directs and keeps in steady Paths of Truth, is *Christ Jesus our Lord.*

Obj. But do you not turn the Scriptures off, for an uncertain and unsearchable Writing, and as good as reject and deny them altogether?

Ans. Some indeed, to render us odious to all Protestants, have said as much in our Names as the Consequence of our Principles; but not without great Injustice to us.

The Scriptures are uncertain upon their Foundation, but not upon ours. Doth our manifesting their Faith concerning the Scriptures, to be grounded upon their own Imaginations or humane Traditions, make void the Scriptures, or render them uncertain? By no means; for we would have them received upon the Spirit's Testimony and Evidence, which gave them forth. And though we cannot allow them to be the Rule of Faith and Life, under the Dispensation of the Gospel, which is Power and Life it self; yet are they to be reverently Read, Believed and fulfilled, under the Gospel. For notwithstanding the Law written upon Stone, was not *Paul's* Rule, after the Son of God was revealed in him; yet the Son of God taught *Paul* to fulfil the Righteousness declared by that Law. If it be to deny and reject (as some have enviously said of us) yea, to vilify the Scripture, because we cannot allow it to be the Rule, &c. *Paul* then may be said to deny, reject, and vilify the written Law, at what Time, the Law of the Spirit of Life in *Christ Jesus* became his Rule. There is a great difference between asserting that the Spirit is the Rule, and casting away and vilifying of Scripture. And indeed it is but an old Fetch of the Devil's, to pretend Honour to the

(y) *Galas* 6. 16. τῇ καινῇ τέττιν this Rule; as it is translated, *Phil.* 3. 16. which was spoken of the Measure of Attainment: And *Grotius* saith, in the Manuscript, Rule is not; so it must be understood, let us walk in the same Attainment; as also in *2 Cor.* 10. 13. 15. in which three Places that Word is only found: See *Erasmus, Vatablus, Zegerus, Cameron, Jac. Capellus* and *Grotius*, on those Places, none whereof can be drawn to the Scriptures. *Zegerus* interprets this Place of *Gal.* 6. 16. thus, They that have followed this Form of Life, or Rule of the new Creature, having turned away from the invalid Ceremonies of the Law; Peace &c. *Drusus* explains it from *Chap.* 5. 6. The new Creation. Faith which worketh by Love, *Grotius* saith Rule here is a way made to a Rule that is plainly right; such is that Way of the new Creation, which was foretold, *Isa.* 42. 9. And signifies the State of the new Man, of which *Paul* speaks, *Col.* 3. 10. *Eph.* 2. 15. *Rom.* 6. 4.

Letter, that he might the more unsuspectedly oppose the bringing in of the Dispensation of the Spirit; which the Letter it self testifies of and to. They that come to be led of the Spirit, arrive at the End for which the Scripture was given forth: The Apostle *John* did as good as say the same Thing, when he told them to whom he wrote, *That the Anointing which they had received and abode in them, would lead them into all Truth; and that they needed not that any Man should teach them*: To deny this to have been the Saints Teacher, is to deny as plain a Proposition as is in the whole Scripture: And that one Age of Christianity should have one Rule, and another Age another Rule; That Age the Spirit, and this but the Letter, is more than any Man can prove. Yet did *John's* so writing to the Believers invalidate the Scripture, or vilifie his own Epistle? I would think none could talk so idly. How then doth our Exalting the Light and Spirit of Christ, which fulfils the Scriptures (by bringing such as are led by it, to enjoy the Good Things therein declared) reject and vilifie the Scriptures? Does our living up to them, by an higher Rule, make us deny and reprobate them? *Erasmus* and *Grotius* think them then to be most valued, when Men are Witnesses of their Truth in themselves: See them on 2 *Per.* 1. 19, 20. I do acknowledge they contain an Account of several heavenly Prophecies, Godly Reproofs, Instructions and Examples, that ought to be obeyed, and followed.

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Object. If so, then how are they not A Rule of Faith and Life.

Ans. A Rule, and the Rule, are two Things. By the Rule of Faith and Practice, I understand, the Living, Spiritual, Immediate, Omnipresent, Discovering, Ordering Spirit of God: And by A Rule, I apprehend some Instrument, by and through which this Great and Universal Rule may convey it's Directions. Such a subordinate, Secondary and Declaratory Rule, we never said several Parts of Scripture were not: Yet we confess the Reason of our Obedience, is not merely because they are there written (for that were legal) but because they are the *Eternal Precepts of the Spirit*, in Men's Consciences, There repeated and declared, It is the Testimony of the Spirit, which is the true Rule, for believing and understanding of the Scripture; therefore not the Scripture, but the Spirit of Truth must be the Rule for our believing and understanding them. Thus held the Ancients.

Tertullian saith, *Worldly Wisdom the Lord calls Foolishness, he hath chosen the foolish Things of the World, to the confounding of Philosophy; for that is the Matter of Worldly Wisdom: A Divine Interpreter of the Divine Nature and Dispositions.*

Justin Martyr in Exposit. Fid. *The Interpretation of the Scriptures is to be accommodated to the Will of the Doctrine of the Spirit; and not to humane Reasonings.*

Hieron saith, *The Scriptures (must be) opened with spiritual Exposition.*

Epiphanius saith, *Only to the Children of the holy Ghost all the Scriptures are plain and clear,*

Nor were the most approved Protestants of any Sort (who have been so reputed in Opposition to Popery) of another Mind. It is the Substance of the fourth Article exhibited against the Lutherans, in the Council of Trent, as an erroneous Doctrine they held, *That to understand the Scripture, neither Gloss nor Comment is necessary; but only to have the Spirit of a Sheep of Christ's Pasture.*

Erasmus tells us, *what Man sets forth by Man's Device, may be received by Man's Wit: But the Thing that is set forth by the Inspiration of the holy Ghost, requireth an Interpreter inspired with the like Spirit: and without the Inspiration of it, the Secrets of God cannot be known.*

Luther giveth us his Mind thus, *The Scriptures are to be understood, but but by that very Spirit by which they were writ.*

Peter Martyr, that famous Italian Protestant teacheth us, *The Spirit is the Abettor, by which we must assure our selves for understanding the Scripture*

Bp. Rob. Sand. de Regul. Conf. Prælat. 4ta. Sec. 31.

Tertul. de Præscript. Heretic. p. 204.

Deß. confut. of Simplic. p. 89. 90.

Hieron. Tom.

4. 7.

Bp. Jewel.

p. 532.

Polano. Hijtor. Conc. Tr. p. 150.

Erasmus on 1. Pet. 1. 19. 1b. on 1 Cor. 2.

Luther Tom. 2. fol. 169.

Peter Martyr Com. loc. p. 1. c. 6.

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Ibid. p. 2.
c. 18

tures, that thereby we must discern between Christ's Words, and a Stranger's (quoting Christ's Words) *My Sheep know my Voice*, and several other Places of Scripture.

Again, *The Spirit of God revealeth the Truth in the Scriptures.*

H. Bullinger Decad, 4. Sermon 8. *Men fetch the Understanding of Heavenly Things, and Knowledge of the holy Ghost from no where else, but from the same Spirit.*

Book of Mar-
tyr 3 vol. p.
298.
Calvin Instit.
lib. 1. cap. 8.

John Bradford answered to the Archbishop of York thus, *We know the Scriptures, as Christ's Sheep, by the same Spirit that wrote and spake them, being thereby assured, &c.*

Calvin teacheth thus in his Institutes: *It is necessary the same Spirit that spake by the Mouth of the Prophets, should pierce into our Hearts, to persuade us, that they faithfully delivered that which was committed to them of God.*

Beza on 2 Pet.
1. 19.

Beza saith, 'That the Way of Understanding prophecies, and referring them to the right Scope, must be sought or fetched from the *same Spirit*, which dictated them to the Prophets themselves; and more to that Purpose.

Tindal Works
p. 319. & 80.

W. Tindal, called the English Apostle by J. Fox, saith, 'It is impossible to understand in the Scripture, more than a *Turk*, for any that hath not the Law of God, *writ in the Heart*, to fulfil it.

Jewel against
Harding p.
532, 534.

Bp. Jewel says thus against Harding, 'The Spirit of God is bound neither to Sharpness of Wit, nor to abundance of Learning: *Flesh and Blood* is not able to understand the holy Will of God, without *special Revelation*: *on: without this special Help and Prompting of God's Spirit*, the Scripture is to the Reader, be he never so Wise and well Learned, as the Vision of a *Sealed Book*.

Dr. Ames.
against Bel-
larm. l. 1. c.
5. Thef. 32.

Dr. Ames, a great Father of the *Independents*, saith upon Occasion of *Bellarmin's* Words, 'The Anointing of the holy Spirit doth teach the faithful, to understand those Things which they received of the Apostles; therefore to understand the Scriptures in those Things which are necessary to Salvation, with more to that Purpose.

Vatablus on Job. 32. 8. with *Drusus Clarinus*, and others, speak to the same Effect.

G. Cra dock
Divine Drops
page 217.
C. Goad Re-
fr. Drops.
page 12.
Exercit. 2.
7.9.
against Quak.

G. Cradock, a famous Independent Preacher, preach'd, 'That the Scripture is a *Speechless Thing* without the Spirit.

Ch. Goad, an eminent Separate in his Works, stiled B. D. of K. Colledge in Cambridge, and an Independent Pastor, thus taught, 'There is no Knowledge of Christ, nor of the Scripture but by *Revelation*.

Dr. J. Owen, a Man of greatest Fame among the present *Independents*, saith, 'The *Publick, Authentick and Infallible Interpreter* of the holy Scriptures, is He who is the *Author* of them; from the *Breathing of whose Spirit they derive all their Verity, Perspicuity, and Authority*.

So that we see, upon the Judgment of many considerable Persons, the Scripture is no Rule for our believing and understanding of it self; and therefore not *The Rule of Faith and Practice*, concerning the Things therein declared.

I will give a short Instance in Christ's Words about *Regeneration*: He taught (and strange it was, no doubt, to wise *Nicodemus*) *That unless a Man be born again, he cannot see the Kingdom of God*. This is as plain a Proposition as can be laid down, and may be credited *Historically*: But what is that to the *Knowledge and Experience* of the new Birth? That they are never like to be informed of there. Nor can that Scripture be my Rule in that heavenly Travel, respecting the many and wonderful Trials and Exercises that are to be met with in the Way to it: neither can any other Writing whatever. This only is the Office of that *Spirit and Word immortal*, by which we are begotten again. What then is my Rule, to inform, order, strengthen and lead through the whole Operation, but the *Same Spirit*? All Doctrinal Scripture was experienced before written, of they had not been true Witnesses who wrote it.

Now

Now that which was their Rule, can only guide us into the same Experiences; nor are they to be rightly known before experienced: *If any Man will do his Will, he shall know of the Doctrine*, saith Christ. I read the History of such Things; This saves not: Neither can the History be the Rule leading into the Mystery. That belongs only to the Spirit, that searcheth out the Deep Things of God. Consequently the Spirit, and not the Scripture, is the Rule for *So* believing and living.

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John 7. 17.

1 Cor. 2. 10.

Obj. *But is not this to make void the Protestants Plea against the Papists viz. That the Scriptures are the Rule of Faith and Practice?*

Ans. No such Matter: For the Question was not, Whether the Spirit of Christ, or the Scripture was the Rule; but, Whether the Scripture, which is God's Tradition, or Popish Traditions were the Rule to measure the Truth of Doctrines and Practices by? We grant that particular Scriptures, rightly understood, may measure what is agreeable or disagreeable to them: That is, such Doctrines and Practices as are contrary to that Part of Scripture, more particularly relating to our Days, are Questionable by the Scripture; especially since all Parties pretend that what they say and do is according to Scripture. Yet this concludes not the Scripture to be *The General and Evangelical Rule*.

Obj. *But if God had not Revealed those Things that are in Scripture, by it, to us, how could They have been known by us?*

Ans. They were known by the Light and Spirit of Christ before they were written (for from being written they are called Scripture) therefore it is said, That the Prophets searched diligently what, and what Manner of Time, *the Spirit of Christ, that was in them*, did signify, when it testified before Hand of the Sufferings of Christ. Nor are they ever the more reveal'd to the blind and dark Mind, because they are written. The Mysteries of Regeneration are as puzzling to Natural Wit and Earthly Wisdom, as before. Therefore well said Epiphanius, *Only to the Children of the Holy Ghost all the Holy Scriptures are Plain and Easy*. Men's going to hammer out Principles, without this infallible Guide and Rule, hath been the Cause of that great Confusion that is over Mankind about Religion to this very Day.

1 Pet. 1. 11.

Obj. *But how else could you have known those Prophecies to be True, for that is not Matter of Witnessing, but Fore-telling?*

Ans. That is an extraordinary Revelation, not falling within the ordinary Discoveries that are absolutely necessary to Man's Salvation, by which God shews his Power and Faithfulness, that he is God, and can foretell, and will bring to pass: But therefore must there be an Extraordinary Light or Spirit, and not rather an Extraordinary Sight and Sense from One and the Same Light and Spirit in them? Besides, That which gives me to Believe and Savour it to be from the Spirit, and not by Imposture, is my Rule for believing it. Now that the Spirit so doth, both Calvin and Beza, as before cited, assert for me, viz. *The same Spirit, that spake by the Mouth of the Prophets, must pierce into our Hearts, to persuade us that they faithfully declared that which was committed to them of God*.

Obj. *But this Light you speak of, could not tell you which Way Sin came into the World: That there was an Adam and Eve, that they fell after that Manner, and that Sin so entred the World: That CHRIST was Born of a Virgin, Suffered Death, and Rose again: That you ought not to Swear in any Case. &c. if the Scriptures had not told you so.*

Ans. That is boldly said. But consider well; Moses, says the Vulgar Opinion, had that Account of the Creation, above Two Thousand Years

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1 Cor. 2. 10,
11.
Eph. 5. 13.

after it, by Revelation, which we find in *Genesis*. Now that there could be no Revelation without this Divine Light or Spirit, which is the Life of the Eternal, Creating Word, must needs be granted; *For*, saith the Apostle *Paul*, *the Spirit of God Only knoweth the Things of God*; and whatever makes manifest is Light; and that the Spirit and Light are One, though Two Names, has been sufficiently evidenced already. If then it was This Light of the Eternal Word, that delivered those past Things to *Moses*, and gave that Prospect of future Things to the Prophets, as no Doubt it was, if the Scripture be Credible, then to say, The Light or Spirit could not do it, is Blasphemous as well as absurd. Again, To argue, because the Light does not Reveal every Circumstance of History to each Individual that hath already an Account thereof, therefore it could not, is Unreasonable. Were the History of the Transactions of Christ and his Followers wanting, as before *Moses* was that of *Adam* and his Posterity, and that the Lord saw it needful to acquaint Mankind therewith, no Doubt but the Light and Spirit which Revealed the Account of the Creation, above Two Thousand Years after, to *Moses*, and foretold several Hundred Years many of those Transactions of Christ by the Prophets, would also have supplied that Want: But inasmuch as an Account is extant, and therefore not needed, that Objection is Vain.

Again, it does not follow, because every Man has a Measure of Light to Inform and Rule him, that therefore he must needs know all which that Light knows, or is able to Reveal to him. I return that Argument thus upon our Adversaries: They say they have the Spirit of God; *Then they know all that the Spirit of God knows, or can reveal to them*. If the latter be absurd, then the former. Again say they, *The Light Within did not Reveal Christ to the Gentiles, and that Christ should be Born of a Virgin, &c. therefore Insufficient*: I return upon them thus; the Spirit of God, given to the Children of *Israel*, *Neb. ix. 20.* did not acquaint them that Christ should be Born of a Virgin, nor much more of his Life and Bodily Transactions; therefore the Spirit of God was Insufficient. The like may be concluded against the Spirit in the Prophets: For 'tis manifest from *1 Per. i. 10, 11.* that the Spirit had not Revealed to all the Prophets the Time of Christ's Appearance and Sufferings. Was the Spirit therefore an Insufficient Rule to them? But that which falls heaviest upon our Opposers, is this, That the Scriptures by their own Argument, are a most *Imperfect Account* themselves of what was done, not relating the Hundredth Part of Things; therefore as Insufficient in not relating *what is behind*, as they would weakly render the Light or Spirit, in not Revealing to every Individual those Things which are already past. Nay, they may as well infer Insufficiency to the Spirit, or the Light Within, in that it does not shew all that shall be to the End of the World, which in their proper Seasons there will be a Necessity to know, as to reflect Insufficiency upon it, &c. because it did not foretel Things that are now past unto former Ages, or needlessly Reveal them over again to us in this Age. Neither is History, or can it be the Rule of that Faith and Life we speak of, which are so absolutely necessary to Salvation; which is the Faith that God, and not History gives, and that works not by History, but by Love, and overcomes the World; by which Millions of *Historical Believers* are overcome, and wallow in the Spirit and Practice of. And the Rule must be answerable to the Nature and Workings of the Faith: The same in Point of Practice, which is Duty done. Now History, though it inform me of others Actions, yet it does not follow that it is the Rule of Duty to me, since it may relate to Actions not imitable, as in the Case of *Adam* and *Eve* in several Respects, and *Christ's being Born of a Virgin, Dying for the Sins of the World, &c.* wherefore this cannot be *The Rule of Duty*. The like may be said of the *Jewish Story*, that was the particular Concern and Transaction of that People.

Obj. But

Obj. But these Things ought to be Believed.

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Ans. I say so too, where the History has reached, and the Spirit of God hath made a Conviction upon the Conscience; which, says Doctor *J. Owen*, as before cited, *Gives them Authority, Verity, and Perspicuity*. But where this History has not reached any People, or they dye Ignorant of it, they are not responsible for not believing any such Passages, as saith Bishop *Sanderfon*. 'Tis one Thing to say the Scriptures ought to be Read, Believed, and Fulfilled, and another Thing to say, *They are the Evangelical Rule of Faith and Life*: For when I read, believe, and witness them fulfilling, I must needs have a Rule by which to Read, Understand, Believe, and Witness them: *Which being the Divine Light and Spirit of Christ*, it must be *That*, and not themselves, that must be my Rule for so Reading, Understanding, and Believing them.

Prelect 4.
§ 21, 22.

And further, to prove that the Light and Spirit within the *Heathens* was sufficient to discover these Things, it is granted on all Hands, that the *Sybills* had Divine Sights: I mean not those made in their Name by some Professors of Christianity, as is charged upon them to gain Authority upon the *Gentiles*, against which *Blundel* writes. But those that are acknowledged, who prophesied of *A Virgin's Bringing forth a Son*, and that *He should Destroy the Serpent*, and *Replenish the Earth with Righteousness*, as is before cited out of *Virgil*, who took it out of the Remains of *Cumea's Verses*, then among the *Romans*.

And for the Practical Part of the Objection, *viz.* How should we have known it had been Unlawful to Swear at all in any Case, if *Mar. v. 34* had not been (which is of most Weight in this Case, because it is Matter of Duty, and called particularly by some an *Evangelical Precept*, being a Step above the Righteousness of the Outward Law among the *Jews*) I have this to say for Proof of the Light's Sufficiency.

There were among the *Jews* themselves, long before Christ came, an entire People, that would not Swear, to wit, the *Esseni*: *They keep their Promises* (says *Josephus*) *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 without it is not believed*.

Josephus's Wars of the Jews, l. 2. c. 7.

Philo writes to the same Purpose, and taught himself, that it was best to *Abstain from Swearing*; that one's Word might be taken instead of an Oath.

Philo, de spec. leg. & decalog.

And *Pythagoras*, in his Oration to the *Crotonian Senators*, exhorted them thus, *Let no Man Attest God by Oath, though in Courts of Judicature; but Use to speak such Things that he may be Credited without an Oath*.

Laert. Herm. & Orig. contr. Celf.

The *Scythians* are said to have told *Alexander* of themselves, *Think not that Scythians confirm their Friendship by Oath: They Swear by keeping their Word*.

Quint. Curt. in vit. Alex.

And *Clinias*, a *Greek*, and Follower of *Pythagoras*, rather chose to suffer the Fine of *Three Talents*, (which made 300 *l. English*) than to lessen his Veracity by taking of an Oath. Which Act was greatly commended of *Basilus*, who upbraided the Christians of his Time with it; thereby (after our Adversaries Way of drawing Consequences) preferring the Light of the *Gentiles* before the Light of the Christians: Though indeed the Light was, and is always One in it self. But the Christian did not live up so closely to it as the Heathen did, and therefore took a greater Liberty, and walked in a broader Way.

H. Grotius on Mat. 5. 34.

I would now know of our Opposers, if they can yet think the Light that preach'd this Doctrine in the Mount, was the same with that Light that shined in the Consciences of those *Gentiles*, so many Hundred Years before that Sermon was writ or preached, who so plainly believed, practised and taught it, Yea or Nay? Perhaps some will yet stick out, while the more Moderate will submit, and conclude Ignorance and Folly have made all this Opposition against us, and that of a Truth, *The Voice which cried*, Prov. viii.

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4. 6.

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4, 6, *Unto you, O Men, I call, and my Voice is to the Sons of Men; bear, for I will speak Excellent Things*, was also heard by the *Gentiles*; and that what concerned the Doctrine of Holy Living was not hid from them: I mean, *Evangelically* so; provided Christ's Heavenly Sermon upon the Mount, related by *Matthew* the Evangelist, may be esteemed *Such*: For their Writings flow with *Amens* thereunto.

But allowing our Adversaries that the Voice was then so low, and the Manifestation of the Light so small, as it discovered not many of those Things before-mentioned; could that give Reasonable Men Ground to conclude, Therefore the Divine Wisdom or Light was Insufficient; or that the Divine Wisdom or Light was not then, and should not in other Ages become The Rule and Guide of the Children of Men? Yet such false Consequences have been the Corner-Stone and Foundation of our Opposer's Building against us; and no Reasonable Man, I think, will attempt to clear it from being *A Sandy One*.

Of the Judge of Controversie.

I Shall explain what I mean by these Terms.

A *Judge* is One that has not only Power to determine, but Discerning to do it Rightly.

Controversie is a Debate between Two Parties about the Truth or Falshood of any Proposition to be determined by that Judge.

From whence I am led to assert, that the Judge of Controversie must be *Certain and Unerring*.

And though this may seem strange to some, 'tis nevertheless True in it self: For if the Judge be *fallible*, he may indeed silence the Contending Parties by his Authority, but not the Controversie by a *Certain* Judgment, since he may as well determine *Falsly as Truly*. So that Controversie can never be rightly determined by a fallible Judge, therefore he is no True Judge of Controversie. Indeed it is absurd, and a Contradiction in it self to think otherwise; since he that is uncertain, can never be certain of his Decision: And if not a certain One, then none to the Purpose. Nor ought any Person, no otherwise judged, that is persuaded of the Truth of his Cause, to let fall his Belief upon so doubtful a Determination; since he moves not only without Conviction, but against Conviction: And which is worse, he is not ascertained of the Truth of what he is required to submit to. Therefore of all People they are most Condemnable, who, notwithstanding they keep so great a Stir about Religion, and sometimes use Coercive Means to compass their designed Uniformity, acknowledge to us, *They are not certain of their own Faith*.

Since then the Judge must be unerring, it will be worth our While to consider, where this infallible Judge is to be found. *There is none Good but God*, said God himself, when manifested in the Flesh, that is Originally, or as of himself: So truly there is none Infallible but God, as of himself; yet as the Supreme Good is communicated unto Man according to Measure; so (as well says Bishop *Latimer*) is there *Infallibility, Certainty or Assurance of the Truth of Things given to Man according to Capacity*: Otherwise Men would be oblig'd to believe and obey, and that upon Damnation, those Things concerning which there can be no *Certainty*, whether they be True or False.

Emmanuel, God with Men, as He is their Rule, so their Judge; He is the Law-Giver, and therefore the best Interpreter of any Point that may concern his own Law: And Men are so far Certain, as they are subject to His Voice, Light, or Spirit in them, and no farther; for, *Humanum est Errare*, Man is Errable. Nor can any Thing rescue him out of Error, or preserve him from the Infections of it, but the Sound and Certain Judgment that God, by the Light of His Spirit gives unto him.

Obj.

Obj. *But is not the Scripture the Judge of Controversie?*

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Ans. How can that be, since the Question most Times arises about the Meaning of Scripture? Is there any Place tells us, without Interpretation, whether the *Socinian* or *Trinitarian* be in the Right, in their differing Apprehensions of the *Three that Bear Record*, &c. Also the *Homousian* and *Arrian*, about *Christ's Divinity*; or the *Papists* or *Protestants* about *Transubstantiation*? If then Things are left undefined and undetermined, I mean Literally and Exprelly, in the Scripture; and that the Question arises about the *Sense of Words*, doth the Scripture determine which of those Interpreters hit the Mark? As this is not Reasonable to think, so must it be acknowledged, that if Interpretation decide the Matter in Controversie, then not the Scripture, but the *Interpreter* must be the Judge.

Now this Interpreter must either interpret by his own meer Wildom or Spirit, called by the Apostle, *1 Cor. ii. 11. the Spirit of a Man*, who by weighing the Text, consulting the Intent of the Writer, comparing Places together, gives the Judgment which the Scripture does not give of it self, or, from the Spirit of God, which gives Understanding, as *Job xxxii. 8.* and as the same Apostle saith, in the same Place, *Searcheth the Deep Things of God.* If the first, then a *Fallible*; if the last, then an *Infallible Judge*.

I would fain know, Whether it was the Scripture or the Holy Ghost that presided among the Apostles, when they were come together, *Acts xv.* when they said, *It seemeth Good to the Holy Ghost and to us*, &c. If the Holy Ghost, then pray give us a plain Scripture to prove we are to have another Judge now; if that cannot be done, then we must have the *Same*, and consequently an *Infallible Judge*, viz. *The Spirit of Truth, which leads Christians into all Truth, and is given of God, by Christ, for that very End.*

Obj. *'Tis granted that the Spirit is infallible: But how shall I know that any Man determines a Thing by this Spirit, and does not rather obtrude his own Sense upon us, under that Specious Pretence.*

Ans. By the same Spirit; as well said *Gualt. Cradock, The Way to know whether the Spirit be in us is it's Own Evidence*; and that *is the Way to know it in others too: And the Man that hath the Spirit, may know the Spirit in another: There is*, saith he, *a Kind of Sagacity in the Saints to this Purpose.* Which is also true in the Judgment of abundance of *Protestant-Writers*: For as they held that no Man could know the Scriptures but by the same Spirit which indited them; so consequently that the same Spirit only could assure him of the Truth of the said Interpretation. And *Peter Martyr*, as before quoted, tells us, *The Holy Ghost is the Author or Judge.* Also *Doctor J. Owen* saith, *That the Holy Ghost is the Only Authentick Interpreter of the Scripture*: And if the Only Authentick, then the Only and Infallible Judge; then the Judge of the Mind or Meaning of Scripture, is both an Only and an Infallible Judge. But to wave this: Does not the very same Objection lie against the Sense of Scripture, since one says, *This is the Sense*, and another *That*? To know God's Mind, Men must come to God's Spirit, else Difficulties of that Sort are Insuperable.

In short, it were greatly to be wish'd that all Men would hold themselves unconcern'd, in disputing about what they have not received an Assurance of from the Holy Spirit; since they beat but the Air, and obtain no solid Satisfaction, neither can they upon any other Bottom. God never prostrates his Secrets to Minds disobedient to what they do already know. Let all Practice what they assuredly know to be their Duty, and be sparing in their Search after Nice and Unknown Matters. Weighty and Seasonable was, and is the Apostle's Saying, *Nevertheless, whereunto we have already attained, let us walk by the same Rule*: Where he both limits us to the present Knowledge communicated to us, and exhorts us to live up to that; and if any Thing be farther necessary for us, *God in due Time will Reveal it by His*

G. Crad. Di
vine Drops,
p. 216.

Phil. 3. 16.

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His Spirit, that only gives to Know, Discern and Judge of the Things that are of God.

Obj. *But how will this determine the Controversie, and allay the Fury of Debates that are on Foot in the World?*

Ans. Nothing like it, if a Man adhere to it; and if he does not, there is no Way left but the Wrath that is to be Reveal'd. But most Persuasions are agreed about the absolute Necessaries in Religion, from that Light and Witness God has placed in Man's Conscience, viz. *That God is, That He is a Rewarder of them that diligently seek Him; That the Way of God is a Way of Purity, Patience, Meekness, &c. without which no Man can see the Lord.* Nay, they accord in some considerable Matters superadded, as some of them speak, to wit, *That God was manifested extraordinarily in the Flesh; that He gave his Life for the World, that such as believe and obey His Grace in their Hearts, receive Remission of Sins, and Life Everlasting.* Now I say, since these Things Men generally consent to, let them live up to them, and forbear wanton Scrutinies after Things or Notions that gender to Strife and Contention, and leave not Mankind better, but rather worse than they found them, and the World would be soon Rid of Controversie. *Holy Living*, and not Disputing, would be the Business of Mankind. What more excellent Judgment can be given, than that Men *Quit* their Contentions about Notions and Opinions, and betake themselves to the Practice of that Good which God hath already shewn unto them; as spake both the Prophet *Micah* vi. 8. and the Apostle *Paul*, *Rom.* i. 19. And if any Thing be Revealed to one more than another, let the rest judge in the Spirit, or be Silent till God manifest more to them, in order to Right Judgment.

'Tis good to *Try All Things*; but we must have something to try them by; and what ought that to be, but the *Spirit that searcheth, and the Anointing that teaches All Things*, which is Truth it self. Here Mankind will live in Love, having at least Natural Affections (now lost by the Barbarity of some of their Cruel Religions, or Heats for their Opinions) and a Judgment of Things will be made, not from the Rash, Partial, Short-sighted, and Froward Mind of Man, but that *Eternal Light and Spirit that never erred*: which, however disgustful to some Protestants in this Age, was no False Doctrine in the Account of *John Philpot* and *Bishop Latimer*, Two Great Founders of the Reformation in England.

The first, in his Answer to the Bishop of *Chichester*, reproving his Confidence about True Faith in Christ: *These Hereticks*, saith he, *take upon them to be Sure of all Things they stand in.* Let him doubt (saith *John Philpot*) of his Faith that listeth; *God give me always to believe that I am Sure of True Faith and Favour in Christ.*

The second, in his Answer to *Sir Ed. Baynton*, objecting the Uncertainty of Man in what he calls Truth, thus recorded by *J. Fox*, *Your Friends deny not, but that certain Truths are communicated to us according to Capacity: But as to my Presumption and Arrogancy, either I am certain or uncertain that it is Truth that I Preach; if it be Truth, Why may not I say so? If I be uncertain, Why dare I be so bold as to Preach it? And if your Friends be Preachers themselves, after their Sermon, I pray you ask them, Whether they be Certain and Sure they Preach the Truth or not; and send me Word what they say, that I may learn to speak after them: If they say they be Sure, you know what follows; if they say they be Unsure, when shall you be Sure, that have so Doubtful and Unsure Teachers.*

Let not Protestants, for Shame, judge us for owning a Doctrine that is Confessed to, and Confirmed by some of the Worthiest of their own Ancestors, viz. That an Unerring, Certain or Infallible Judgment in Things Necessary to Salvation, is both Possible and Requisite, and that God communicates it by His Spirit, to the Souls of Men.

1 Cor. 2. 10.
1 John 2. 20,
27.

B Martyrs,
Vol. 3. p. 577.

B. Martyrs,
Vol. 3. pag.
457.

THE CONCLUSION.

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TO conclude, *Emmanuel*, a Word suited not only to that Appearance, but the whole Dispensation of the Gospel, imports, *God nigh to, or with Men: The Tabernacle of God is with Men: he will dwell in them, and walk in them: They shall be all Taught of me, and in Righteousness shall they be established:* That is, by the Spirit of his Son. And this admits not of any Book, or Literal Rule or Judge, to come between that indwelling Spirit of Light, Life and Wisdom from God, and the Soul, as it's Rule of Faith and Practice.

Rev. 21. 3, 7;
1sa. 54. 13.

And because it is the unutterable Goodness of God to People in these latter Days, as the Sum of Scripture-Prophecy, thus to make known himself; we are incessant in our Cries unto them, that they will turn their Minds Inward (now abroad, and taking up their Rest in the External of Religion) that they may *hear his Heavenly Voice and Knocks, and let Him in and be taught of him to know and do his Will*, that they may come to be Experienced and Expert in the School of Christ: *For never Man spake and taught, as he livingly speaks and teaches in the Consciences of those who diligently hear him, and are willing to be taught of Him the Knowledge of his Ways.* The Priest was outward, but he is now Inward; the Law outward, but it is now Inward. *And now he is no more a Jew that is one outward, nor that Circumcision which is outward in the Flesh; but he is a Jew who is one inwardly, and Circumcision is that of the Heart, in the Spirit, and not in the Letter, whose Praise is not of Men, but of God.* Which is so far from lessening the Authority of the Scriptures of Truth, that unless This be Man's Rule and Judge in the Reading and Believing of them, he can never understand them Rightly, or keep their Sayings Faithfully. And indeed, as before I have expressed, I cannot but say, That Man (whilst *unregenerated*) setting his Wit and Wisdom to Fathom and Comprehend the Intention of the Holy Ghost in many of those Writings, hath occasioned that *Confusion, Darkness and Perplex Controversie*, that now so lamentably Pestfers the World: In which State, for all the External Imitations of the Ancients in some Temporary and Figurative Parts of Worship, I am to tell such, and from the Spirit of the Lord God of all Truth, *They will never be Accepted.*

Rom. 2. 28,
29.

The Utmost of that Literal Knowledge, Historical Faith, and Outward Religion, is but as the *Old Heavens that are to be wrapped up as a Scroll, and the Old Wine and Bottles that belong not to the Kingdom of God:* Such Believers may flatter on themselves, and at last cry, *Lord, Lord;* But alas! They shall never enter into the Rest that God hath reserved for his Regenerated and Redeemed Children, For under such a Faith and Religion, *Envy, Wrath, Malice, Persecution, Pride, Passion, Covetousness, Worldly-mindedness, &c.* may and do prevail; yea, and are *Cloaked*, as with a secure Cover from the Stroak of God's Spirit; inasmuch, as when any are moved of the Lord to Decry such Fair and Hypocritical Shews of Religion, they are reputed Rash and Cenforious, and presently a Plea must be made on this wise; *Do not we follow the Commands of the Scripture? Did not such and such do so and so?* Which at best are but the Duties of Sacrifice, and not of Obedience: Never regarding from what Ground the Performance springs, whether it be according to the Rule of the *New* or of the *Old Creature:* But abuse and vilifie us for making such Distinctions; as if the Prayers, Preachings, Singings, outward Baptizings and Suppings,
&c.

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Ec. of Men in their own unsanctified Spirits, Strength and Will were required and accepted of God for Evangelical Worship. Thick Darkneſs, and a Dangerous Preſumption! Thus are Men *Out of the Way* concerning both Faith and Practice, to lie in an Aſſent of the Underſtanding to ſuch Propoſitions, and in an Imitation of former Obſervations, that were at beſt but Signs of good Things to come, and the Duties of Sacrifice (which is far from the *Emmanuel-State*) And the latter, *viz.* the Rule and Judge to be the *Scriptures*; which is but an Account of thoſe Things that others were Ruled to, and Directed in by the *Holy Spirit*, before they were ever Recorded or made Scripture; and no other Rule or Judge can ſo Regulate: For as the *Faith* and *Experience*, ſo the Rule and Judge of that Faith and that Experience muſt be One. God by his Spirit begets Faith; God by his Spirit rules Faith, and governs the Life of his Children; *for as many as are Children of God are led by the Spirit of God.* The Scripture, much of it, is but a Declaration of Faith and Experience; therefore not *The Rule*, or Judge: For as Faith and Experience were *before* Scripture; becauſe as I ſaid before, there muſt be a Rule and Judge where there is Faith; therefore the Scripture is not *That* Rule or Judge: And before that Declaration be answered or fulfilled by any, they muſt come to the *Faith*, *Rule* and *Judge*, of which *That* is a Declaration: So that Faith *is* yielding up to the *Requirings* of God's Spirit in us, in full Assurance of the Remiſſion of Sins that are paſt, through the Son of his Love and Life Everlaſting; from whence daily flow Works of Holineſs well-pleaſing to God; which is more than a meer Aſſent of the Underſtanding to a verbal, though a true Propoſition. Again; The Life of a True Chriſtian ſtands not in *Bodily Exerciſe*, which ſays the Apoſtle profits little: Nor in an Imitation of the Ancients in Temporary and Shadowy Things, which the Hypocrite as well as the Saint can do; *But in Self-denial and walking in the Spirit, to bring forth the Fruits thereof unto all Godlineſs*, which is the Pure and Spiritual Obedience, reſulting from the Living Spiritual Faith of God's Eleſt, and the Rule and Judge thereof, is their Author and Begetter, even the *Spirit of Truth*, which alone gives ſaving Underſtanding, Faith and Obedience, and ſearcheth the deep Things of God.

O you Profeſſors of Religion, that you would but ſeriously weigh theſe Things, and examine your ſelves in God's Sight (for he reſpects none for their Fair Outſide) If this Saving Faith be your Faith, and this Heavenly Life be your Life, and if the *Holy Spirit be your Ruler and Leader*? If not, you are but Legal, Formal, and in the Oldneſs of the Letter, and Will-worſhippers, which obtains not with God: In which State, not the Wiſdom from above, but that which is from below, of the Old Creature, is your Rule: In it you read Scripture, Expound it, Pray, Preach, Sing and Perform all your Duties; and this is not to walk *according to the Rule of the New Creature*; but in a Legal Spirit to make a Goſpel-Profeſſion, the End of which, from the Lord, I am to tell you, *will be a Bed of Sorrow*. Therefore Reſiſt not the Light and Spirit within, but Turn at the Reproof thereof, that you may come to walk in the Way of Life, Daily Life to your Souls, that ſo you may be quickned and made alive to God in all your Duties, and live to him while you live in that Life, which is hid with Chriſt in God; that being thus born again, and become Renewed in your inward Man, you may perform that Pure and Spiritual Worſhip; which is of a ſweet Savour with the Lord; ſo ſhall he bleſs you with His Heavenly Bleſſings, and daily replenish your Souls with the unſpeakable Joys of his Love and Salvation. This I heartily deſire, and through all Difficulties inceſſantly Travel for, in Body, Soul and Spirit, that the All-wiſe, Good, Omnipotent God may be Known, Served and Obeyed by you, to your Comfort, and His Eternal Honour, who alone is worthy to receive it, now and for ever, *Amen*.

WILLIAM PENN.

Rom; 8. 14,
15.1 Tim. 4. 8.
Col. 2. 20.
21, 22, 23.
Gal. 5. 16,
22, 23.Gal. 6. 16.
Prov. 6, 23.

A LETTER

To the Council and Senate of the City of EMBDEN.

1674.

The King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, who is God of all the Families of the Earth, incline your Hearts to Justice, Mercy, and Truth.

THE Noise of your severe Treatment of several Persons that ate Inhabitants of your State, reproachfully termed QUAKERS, hath reached these Parts, and filled several with Compassion and Surprise: *Compassion*, to hear of the * Miseries of Men Innocent and Upright, against whom you have nothing to object, but the pure *Exercise of their Conscience* to God: *Surprise*, That you, a *Protestant-State*, should employ your civil Power to deter, punish and grievously afflict Men for answering the Convictions of their Consciences, and Acting according to the best of their Understandings. Methinks you should not be oblivious of your own Condition in the Loyns of your Ancestors, who, you think, with great Reason and Justice strenuously advocated the Cause of *Liberty of Conscience* against the *Pope's Bulls* and the *Spanish Inquisition*; how did they *Antichristian* all Force on Conscience or Punishment for *Non-conformity*? Their own many and large Apologies, and particularly their Demands at the Diets of *Norimberg* and *Spira*, are pregnant Proofs in the Case; and your Practice doth not lessen the Weight of their Reasons; on the contrary, it aggravates your Unkindness, let me say, Injustice.

Protestants (and such you Glory to be thought) got their Name by protesting against Impositions; and will you turn Imposers? They condemned it; and will you practise it? They thought it a Mark peculiar to the *Beast*; and can you repute it the Care of a *Christian* Magistracy? I mean, that Persons must not live under your Government, unless they receive your Mark in their Fore-head or Right-hand? Which in Plain Terms is, to submit their Consciences to your Edicts, and to ask your Leave, what Religion they should be of. Remember, that *Faith is the Gift of God*; and, that *What is not of Faith is Sin*: Nothing can be more Unreasonable, than to compel Men to believe against their Belief, or to trouble them for practising what they believe, when it thwarts nor the Moral Law of God.

You doubtless take your selves to be Christians, and would esteem it no little Injury to be otherwise represented; yet what more Unchristian, than to use external Force, to sway the Consciences of Men about the Exercise of Religious Worship.

CHRIST Jesus, the Lord and Author of the Christian Religion, censured his own Disciples, that would have had Fire from Heaven to destroy those that conformed not to what their blessed Master taught: Are you surer of your Religion? Are you better Christians? Or, have you more Christian Authority, than they that were the chosen Witnesses of Jesus? However remember, they called but for Fire from Heaven; and can you kindle Fire on Earth to devour them? *Them*, I say, that are of your own People, merely for their religious Dissent from you? Doubtless, if that was then thought no fit Argument to induce Men to Conformity by him that was wiser than *Solomon*, it reflects greatly upon your Modesty and Prudence, that you should find out new Ways, or rather old exploded ones to effect so ill a Design. Besides, you do not say, you know all you ought to know, or that there is nothing farther to be revealed; have a Care therefore, that you persecute not Angels, by being harsh to that which you call strange: Think not ill, much less speak, and least of all

* Our Account says, some were cruelly beaten by Order; others banished; some put in a Dungeon, and fed with Bread and Water only; several fined greater Sums of Money, it is thought, than they had to pay.

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act that which is so against what you do not perfectly understand. I am well perswaded, that those you inflict such severe Penalties upon, mean well in what they believe (to be sure much better than you think they do, or else you are extremely to blame) and that the Reason of their present Distance from you, is not to introduce or insinuate dangerous or extotick Opinions; but to live a Life of more Holiness, Purity, and Self-denial, than before: They do not think that you walk up to your own Principles; and have Reason to believe that the Power of Godliness is much lost among you; and having long lain under a Decay and Languishing of Soul for want of true spiritual Nourishment, they have now betaken themselves to that Heavenly Gift and Grace of God in themselves for divine Satisfaction, even that Holy Anointing that is able to teach them all Things necessary for them to know; as the blessed Apostle speaks; and they find the Joys of the Holy Ghost in so doing: And I am perswaded, they are not less peaceable, sober, just, and neighbourly than formerly, and altogether as consistent with the Prosperity of Civil Society; and I am sure, it is both found and confest among us here by some Men of *Quality, Learning and Virtue*. Farther, be pleased to consider with your selves, that you justify the ancient Persecutions of the *Christians* and first Reformers, whose Superiors thought as ill of them, as you do of these Men; nay, you show the *Papists* what to do in their Dominions to your own Brethren. Do as you would be done by. If you would have Liberty, give it; you know that God's Witness in your Hearts dictates this to you as an immutable Law.

Could you give Faith, it were more excusable for you to punish such as should resist; but since that is impossible, the other is unreasonable; for 'tis to afflict Men for not being what they can't be, unless they turn *Hypocrites*: That is the highest Pitch your coercive Power can arrive at; for never did it convert or preserve one Soul to God; instead thereof it offets Violence unto Conscience, and puts a Man either upon the Denial of his Faith and Reason, or being destroyed for acting according to them: But what greater Disproportion can there be, than what lieth between the Intellect of Man, and Prisons, Fines, and Banishments? They inform no Man's Judgment, resolve no Doubts, convince no Understandings: The Power of Persuasion is not to be found in any such barbarous Actions, no more than the Doctrine of *Christianity*. This Course destroys the Bodies and * Estates of Men, instead of saving their Souls: Were they in the wrong, it would become you to use God's Weapons, his Sword of the Spirit, that saveth the Creature; and slayeth the Evil in him; this Course tends to Heart-burnings and Destruction; I am sure it is no Gospel-Argument.

I beseech you for the Sake of that Lord Jesus Christ, that suffered so patiently for his own Religion, and so sharply prohibited making other Men to suffer for theirs, that you would have a Care how you exercise Power over Men's Consciences. My Friends, Conscience is God's Throne in Man, and the Power of it his Prerogative: 'Tis to usurp his Authority, and boldly ascend his Throne, to set Lords over it. Were their Conversation scandalous, and destructive to the Good of your State, you were to be held excusable: But verily, no Man of Mercy and Conscience can defend your Practice upon poor Men so peaceable and inoffensive. *Gamaliel* will rise up in Judgment against you, if you persevere in this Course. Do not you help to fill the Catalogue of Persecutors, in much Love I intreat you; but as becomes Christian Men and true Protestants, leave Men to their particular Persuasions of Affairs relative of the other World, which have no ill Aspect on the Affairs of this; but Vice hath an evil Consequence as to both: Therefore punish *Vice*, and affect *Truth and Righteousness*, and bend not your Civil Power to torment Religious Dissenters; but to retrieve good Life, lamentably lost amidst the great Pretences that are

* And *Property*, which they repute themselves Guardians of, is hereby lost.

made to Religion. Doubtless Magistracy was both ordained of God, and elected by Men, to be a *Terror to Evil-doers, and not to them that do well*, though of different Judgments. You oppugn the *Roman Church* for assuming Infallibility to her self, and yet your own Practice maketh you guilty of the same Presumption or worse: For, either you do exercise that Severity upon an infallible Knowledge, or you do not; if you do, you take that to your selves, your Principles deny to any Church whatever, which is a Contradiction; if you do not, you punish People for not conforming to what you your selves deny any Certainty about: And how do you know but you compel them to that which is false, as well as that which is true? Verily, this *Dilemma* is not easily avoided, as well as that this inhuman Practice will stain your Profession, infame your Government, and bring a Blot upon your Posterity.

Remember that they are Men as well as your selves, born free, and have equal Plea to Natural and Civil common Priviledges with your selves: The different Perswasion of their Consciences about Things relating to another Life, can no ways render them unfit for this; it neither unmans nor uncivilizes them. They have the same Right to their Liberty and Property as ever, having by no Practice of theirs in the least forfeited any of those human Advantages, the great Charters of Nature and Scripture have conferred upon them: And the Opulency of your Neighbours, and Prosperity of their Affairs, prove to you that *Indulgence* is not inconsistent with Policy; howbeit, you have now tried the Sincerity of their Procedure by what you have already insisted, and they sustained; Let the Time past suffice, and make them not Sacrifices for their conscientious Constancy. If they are in the wrong, 'tis more than they know: Will you persecute Men for being what they must be, if they will be true to themselves; this were great Violence; rather commiserate, than thus violently compel them. I beseech you, seek some cheaper Way to accommodate your selves, than by their Destruction, who are so very remote from seeking yours. *O! the Day will come, wherein one Act of Tenderneſs about Matters of Conscience, shall find a better Reward, than all the Severity by which Men use to propagate their Perswasions in the World;* and there is great Reason for it, since the one flows from the Saviour, the other, from the Destroyer of Men. In fine, *Let your Moderation be known unto all Men; for the Lord is at Hand, whose Reward is with him; and he will Recompence every Man, Family, Scate, Kingdom, and Empire, according to the Nature of their Works committed in this mortal Body;* at whose Bar it shall never be laid to your Charge, that out of Fear of taking God's Office out of his Hands and being unmerciful to tender Consciences, you admitted Men of differing Judgments to dwell quietly among you; truly, you cannot be too tender in this Point.

Imitate the God of Nature and Grace, by being propitious to all; *His Sun shineth on all, his Rain falls on all, He gives Life and Being to all; His Grace visits all, and in Times of Ignorance He winketh:* And tho' such you may repute ours, I hope you cannot think you wink at it, who make such broad Tokens of your Displeasure. O! How forbearing and merciful is He towards you? Have you so lately escaped the Wrath of Enemies, and can you already thus sharply treat your Friends? Had he enter'd into Judgment with you, what had become of you? Let his Goodness to you prevail with you, to express Clemency to others, that so the Great God of the whole Earth, even the *God of the Spirits of all Flesh, who respects not the Persons of the Rich, Poor, or Powerful in Judgment,* may show you Mercy in the Day of his righteous Judgments. Amen.

Your Friend with the greatest Integrity in the Universal Principle of Love and Truth.

London, December the
14th 1674.

W. Penn.

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A

TREATISE of OATHS:

CONTAINING

Several Weighty REASONS why the People
call'd 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 Great Council of England in Parliament.

Mat. 5. 34. *But I say unto you, Swear not at all.*

Jam. 5. 22. *Above all Things, my Brethren, Swear not.*

Jer. 32. 10. *Because of Oaths, the Land Mourneth.*

Theognis, He ought to Swear neither this Thing nor any Thing.

Maimonides, It is a great Good for a Man not to Swear at all.

Chrysostom, It is not Lawful to Swear, neither in a Just nor unjust Cause.

To the KING, and Great Council of England,
Assembled in Parliament.

The CASE of the People call'd QUAKERS, relating
to OATHS, farther represented, and recommended to their
Consideration, in order to a speedy and effectual Redress.

THE Common Benefit of the Free People of England, being undoubtedly both the First and Greatest Reason for the Ancient, Just and Necessary Constitution of Parliaments; and being also inform'd that it is your Resolution, to employ this Session to the Redress of Publick Grievances: And since We cannot but repute our selves a Member of this Great Body you represent, by Birth and English Descent; and are not only involved in the Common Calamities of the Kingdom, but in Particular very cruelly Treated in our Persons and Estates, because we cannot for Pure Conscience take any Oath at all, (though we have again and again tender'd our Solemn Yea or Nay; and are most willing to sustain the same Penalty in Case of Lying, that is usually inflicted for Perjury) To the End we may not be interpreted to decline the Censure out of meer Humour or Evasion (though our frequent and heavy Sufferings, by Fines and Tedious Imprisonments, sometimes to Death it self, should sufficiently Vindicate 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

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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 our selves, 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 esteem'd (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,
George Whitehead,
Stephen Crisp
William Mead,
Gerrard Roberts,
William Welsh,

Samuel Newton,
Thomas Heart,
John Osgood,
James Claypool,
Thomas Rudyard,
Richard Richardfon.

And William Fenn.

Some Inducements offer'd 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 Tea 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 meer taking of God's Holy Name in vain: Truth then flowed naturally, and wanted no such Expedient to extort it's Evidence.

Thus (a) 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.*

(b) Basilus Magnus saith, *Oaths are an Effect of Sin.*

(c) Gregorius Nazianzenus, in his Dialogue against Swearing, saith, *An Oath is nothing else but a certain Consummation of Mischiefs.*

(a) He lived before Christ 200 Years. H. Grotius on Mat. 5. Bishop Gauden of Oaths, p. 36.
(b) In Psalm 14. (c) Jamb. 20.

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Comment. on
Hebr. c. 6.
Hom. 9. on
Acts 3.
Hom. Plal. 5.
Ad Pop. Antioch.

On Mat. 5.

Ibid.

On Plal. 14.

On Mat. 5.

Vit. Chr. p. 2.

c. 12.

On Mat. 5.

of Oaths.

P. 17, 23.

On Mat. 5.

36, 37.

Deut. 6. 13,

14, 15.

Ambrosius saith, *Swearing is only in Condescension to a Defect.*
Chrysostom saith, *An Oath came in when Evils increased, 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.
Augustin saith, *An Oath is not among good but evil Things, and used for the Infirmary 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 shows 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.*

Ludolphus saith, *An Oath was permitted of Infirmary.*

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 Men's 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 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; Te shall not go after other Gods, for God is a jealous God, &c.* 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.

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.

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 her self; 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 easie to grant, at least it will be very easie to prove, That God hath frequently, both by Prophets and Apostles, reprov'd Men for such Impieties and,

and strictly required Truth and Righteousness; as, *Iſa.* 59. 3, 4. *Jer.* 9. 2, 5. *Rom.* 12. 19. *Gal.* 5. 19, 20, 21. *Col.* 3. 8, 9, 10. *Josh.* 24. 14. 1 *Sam.* 12. 24. 1 *King.* 2. 4. *Eph.* 4. 25. and by abundance of other Places in Holy Scripture. And that God should enjoyn Man any Thing that he hath not impowred 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, 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?* 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 Ungodliness and Worldly Lusts, which entering and over-running the World, made Way, among other Expedients, for that of Oaths; so that to live that Life which needs no Oath, Man is both Requir'd and Impowr'd: 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 it self excuses him; for, he that fears Untruth, needs not Swear, because he will not Lye, 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 Tye and firmest Testimony that can be given. This we declare to you, to be both our Judgment and Attainment; we speak not Boastfully, 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 rake his Holy Name in vain: Nor are we therein singular; for that not only Christian Fathers, Martyrs and Doctors, but also *Jews* and *Heathens* have had this Sense of the Rite of Oaths, as will hereafter fully appear.

Mic. 6. 8.

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II. Our *Second Reason*, why we refuse to comply with this Custom, and our Superiors ought not to impose it, is this, *It would gratifie Distrusts, humor Jealousies, and subvert Truth, and those that love it, to the same Checks, Curbs, and Preventions that have been invented against Fraud*; whereby the Honour of a nobler 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 reposd in one another, if some don't 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 her self to the Customs brought up through Fraud, or go to Goal. Be pleas'd to consider, that Trustiness did not all at once quire 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 Lye, 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,

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Bish. Gauden
of Oaths p. 41.

not, because, as we have said, it is to take God's Name in vain; and we have no Reason to distrust our selves, 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 that Reputation, 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, & makes you to say with us, That *Virtue need not swear, much less 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, forbade 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; 'tis 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 for using them; on the contrary, they are become the familiar Parts of Discourse, and help to make up a great share of the *À-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 can't: 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 can't 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 *Isaiah* 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 Lye, 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 Tea, and Nay, shall weigh against other Men's Oaths, and that with a free Offer of sustaining double Punishment in Case of Miscalriage. 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, shows the Usefulness of an Oath, and is with us a good Argument against Swearing; For what need is there of that Man's being awed into true Evidence by such Sort of Attestations

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*. Did the Children of Men know the Power, Glory and Majesty of God, Whom the Apostle preacht nigh to the *Athenians*, and declared to the *Ephesians* to be *Father of all, above all, through all, and in them all*, 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 joyn'd therewith*: For they don't behold God's concurring Witness by such an Assistance or Avenge of that Party, as the Truth or Falshood 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 when ever 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.

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 Busineses; such as we should doubtless account it an high Indignity, always to sollicite 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 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 Falshood of his Oath requires, when he saith, *So help me God*.

VIII. Besides what we have hitherto urged in Defence of our selves against the Substance of the *Oath*, we justly except against the Form of it (which further adds to it's 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 Good; as I this Stone*: The *Heroes* swore by lifting up of the Scepter: *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 *Abraham lift up his Hand to God* *OR*, *If*, &c. putting the Hand under the Thigh; on the Head; passing betwixt Beasts divided, as God did to *Abraham*, &c. See more in *Lapid. Sophoc. in Antig. v. 270. Scoliast. B. p. 151. of passing through Fire, Swearing by the Right Hand*, &c.

The Use of *So help me God*, we find from the Law of the *Altarns*, 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 of Body and Soul*, if they forswear, *So help me God*.

Further, be pleased to consider that the *English* Custom has very much overgone *English* Law in this Business of *Oaths*; they were anciently but solemn Attestations, *As the Lord liveth*, &c. which are now improv'd 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

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Acts 17. 22.

Ephel. 4. 6.

Numb. 5. 21, 22.

Fest. ad Lap.
Polyb. l. 3. c.
25. Alex. ab
Alex. l. 5. gen.
dier 10. Cic.
l. 5. Ep. 1.
Agr. 3. Pol.
10. Plin. in
pan. ad. Traj.
jan. c. 64.

Lindenbro.
cap. 3. § 7.

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Saxon Jurors were *Sacra tenentes*; in the first Norman Times it was *Sacris tactis*; and in later Writs, *Evangelicis 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* for sober Consciences is pleaded, and equal Caution offer'd to the Law, for the *Integrity of Tea and Nay*.

IX. But were we also destitute of this Plea, and the usual *Oaths of our Country* the most inoffensively form'd, and best Penn'd 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 Affeuration, 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 thy self, 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, 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 suffer'd, 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 Fornication*) 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 publick to a Magistrate, that at his Departure his Master would not pay him his Wages; both which Oaths the Certainty of their Words, their *Tea* being *Tea*, and their *Nay* being *Nay*, makes vain and superfluous.

Obj. We are not unsensible of the common Objection that is made against this Allegation of our Master's Command, *That he only Prohibited Vain Oaths in Communication*: But if the Words of the Text and Context be consider'd, every Oath will be proved Vain and Unlawful; for Christ's Prohibition was not a meer Repetition of what was forbidden under the Law, but what the Law allowed, as * Bishop *Sanderf*on well observeth; *It was not needful that Christ should forbid what was forbidden in it self, or was always Unlawful, which Vain Swearing was, and is, by the Third Commandment, 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 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 perform'd unto the Lord, he introduces *Tea 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 thy self, but shalt perform unto*

* Bishop R.
Sanderf. de
Jur. Oblig.
p. 141.

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, Jerusalem 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 thy self ; but I say, Swear not at all.* 'Tis 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 whar can be hence inferred more evidently, than 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. 23. 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22. where 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 perform'd 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 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 unprejudic'd 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 show, 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 a Magistrate ?* Why must *Neither by any other Oath,* be added after such a 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 contradi-

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tradict 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 Nature of the Words spoken, that is here prohibited : Nor can it be only understood of Perjury ; for every Body knows that to be Evil in it self, 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 it self, 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 it self, 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 $\alpha\lambda\gamma\theta$ shelter our Objectors ; for Communication doth not exclude those many Cases that require Evidences among Men, no, nor any the least Action 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 9. 11. 2 Sam. 3. 17. Eph. 4. 29. Col. 3. 8. 1 Cor. 15. 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 50. 23. So the Apostle, *Let your Conversation be as becomes the Gospel*, Phil. 1. 27. Besides $\alpha\lambda\gamma\theta$ may be rendred 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 for 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, *Swear not at all*, but let your Word be *Yea, Yea, and Nay, Nay* ; that is, Do not speak Untruth ; for that is Evil : Don't 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 Lye 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 entred at, and leads into the Ancient

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Holy Paths of Integrity they never trod in. He is that powerful Lord, which 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 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 Commandments, 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 Pharifees, ye ſhall in no Caſe enter the Kingdom of Heaven: Be ye therefore Perfect, even as your Father which is in Heaven is Perfect.* 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 preach'd 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 Price of this High and Holy Calling, until they ſhould all come unto a Perfect Man, unto the Meaſure of the Stature of the Fulneſs of Chriſt Jeſus: For even hereunto (ſaith Peter) were ye called, becauſe Chriſt alſo ſuffered for us, leaving us an Example, that ye ſhould follow his Steps, who did no Sin, neither was Guilt found in his Mouth. And ſaith John, *As He is, ſo are we in this World.* 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 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 Lye. 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, according 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 Righteouſneſs and true Holineſs: Wherefore, putting away Lying, ſpeak every Man Truth with his Neighbour: Beyond which, there can be no Aſſurance given or deſired. And if Chriſtians ought never to Lye, 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 Doctrin 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*

John 14. 15;

and 15, 10, 14;

Mat. 16. 24;

Mat. 5. 20;

Ver. 19.

1 Theſ. 5. 23;

Phil. 3. 14.

Ephes. 4. 13;

1 Pet. 2. 21;

22.

1 John 4. 17;

Ephes. 4. 20;

21, 22, 23;

24, 25.

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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 Asservations, 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: Religion must needs have suffered a great Ebb, and Christianity a fearful Eclipse since those brighter Ages of it's 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, Christianus sum, I am a Christian.*

But to fortifie 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.

Memorable TESTIMONIES against Swearing, collected out of the Writings of Gentiles, Jews and Christians; some of which were deliver'd to the World several Ages before Swear not at all was writ by Matthew, or spoken by Christ; which makes Swearing, among Christians, so much the more Disallowable.

The whole Publish'd 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.

* These Nations were many Hundred Years before Christ.

I. *A*mong 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.

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 Judgments; or an Oath flies away together with corrupt Judgments,*

Lived before Christ about 1280 Years, being in the Days of *Gideon*, *Judg. 8.*

Before Christ 800 Years, in the Days of *Hosea, Joel and Amos.*

Judgments, that is, when Justice appears among Men, Oaths vanish, as his Scope in that Place shews.

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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.

Before Christ
620 Years, in
the Days of
Jofiah.

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 Reputation, as not to need an Oath; it is a Diminution to his Credit to be put to swear, Bishop Gaud. of Oaths, p. 41.

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 (it self) shall not be. What is this less than swear not at all?

Before Christ
593 Years.

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.

Before Christ
590 Years.
These Three
Persons liv'd
in the Time
of Jeremias
and Ezekiel.

H. Grot. on Mat. 5. 34.

IX. *Clineas*, a Just Greek, and Follower of *Pythagoras*, out of Love to Truth, and 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 Pound, rather than take any Oath: Whose Example *Basilus Magnus* upbraided the Christians of his Time with, that were learning to swear.

Before Christ
560 Years.

Hierocles Comment. in *Carm. Pythag.* p. 28.

X. *Hierocles* testifies, That *Pythagoras*, in enjoying them to revere an Oath, not only prohibits Forswearing, but requires them also to abstain from Swearing.

Before Christ
422 Years, in
the Time of
Ahasuerus,
Ezra 4.

And *Æshilus* makes a sincere Beckon to a Matter, a firm Oath.

Stobæus, Serm. 114.

XI. *Socrates*, that worthy Gentle, and great Promoter of Virtue among the Athenians, among many Excellent Sentences delivered this, That good Men must 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 it self, 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.

Before Christ
422 Years,
in the Days
of Haggai and
Zacharias.

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.

Before Christ
400 Years.

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 show themselves more credible than an Oath.

Before Christ
394 Years.
These Two
lived in the
Days of Ma-
lachi.

Plat. de Leg. 12.

XIV. *Plato* (call'd Divine) forbids Swearing in solemn Cases, That none swear himself; that none require an Oath of another. He speaks there, how

Before Christ
166 Years.

Rhoda.

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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 Perseus's sake; but that he persevere in that which is just, with a fitting Speech, &c.

Valer. Max. 10. Cic. pro Corn. Balb. Diog. Laert. in vit. Xenocr.

Before Christ
337 Years.

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 forbade the Tender, because they would not have it thought, that Truth depended more upon an Oath, than the Word of an honest Man.

Menander.

Before Christ
336 Years.

XVI. Menander, the Greek Poet, saith, Flee an Oath, though thou shouldst 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 meer 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 Engine for Decent. Strange! That faithful Tea 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. 5.

XX. Epictetus, a famous and grave Stoick, counselled, to refuse an Oath altogether.

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: Therefore the Priests, or Flamens, were not compelled to it; for then to compel a Noble Man to swear, were like putting him upon the Rack, Which shows 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 Freeman, 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 Priest, 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 enderth 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 commended,

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.

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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, prefer'd 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 blackt 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, prefer'd 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 falsely, 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. 5. 34.* and prest 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. 5. 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. 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 late Doctrines 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 Judaeus on Com. 3.

XXX. The same *Philo* himself, thus taught in his Treatise on the Ten Commandments; Commandment 2. *Thou shalt not take the Name of God in vain: Many Ways, saith he, do Men sin against this Commandment; so that it is better not to swear at all; but so well accustom thy self to speak Truth*

L 111

Page 583;
always,

* If it be a great Good, not to swear at all; what is it to impose an Oath?

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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, reflects just Blame upon those that Pillage their Neighbours, 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 discern'd 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 our selves 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 joyn theirs with them, and we have Reason to believe, that our Deliverance from the Yoak 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 to *John*, not the least of the Apostles; for at his Death, when the Governour bid him *Swear, Desist 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 sayst, feigning thou knowest not who I am, hear freely, I AM A CHRISTIAN.* This Good Man began his Fourcore 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 Swearing by Idols? 'Tis 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, publisht 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.* See his Praise and Martyrdom in *Eusebius*, soon after *Polycarpus*.

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*Euseb. lib. 4.
cap. 16.*

Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. 5. c. 1.

XXXIII. Under the same Emperor (says *Eusebius*) suffered also *Pon-ticus*, 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, *Bosslides*, 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 Unlawful 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 *Heathen*, 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, that we will to be safe* (that God save it) *Hoc saluum esse volumus, et pro magno id juramento habemus; i. 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 Doctor 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 shown 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 Idolatriâ*, he speaks without any Obscurity, saying, 'I speak not of Perjury, seeing it is not Lawful to Swear. And in Chap. 22. he proves, 'That he which signs a Bill of Security containing 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. He is before speaking of the Idolatry *Christians* are obnoxious in regard of Employments,

Tertullian was a Lawyer, Son to a Centurion of Pro-consular 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. 29

Tertul. de Idolatriâ, cap. 11.

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as *School-Masters* 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 they should also forswear, so adding *Swearing* to Lying, that should be a *Servant of Servants to Covetousness*, that 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 further observe, that both *Tertullian* and the *Martyrs* make use of the most Universal Proof, to make their Testimony for God full and compleat. 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 Steal, 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 Christian, 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 desire 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 Commandment, *Thou shalt not Swear by Idols*; but the Christian Argument, the New Commandment, *It is not lawful to Swear, Christ forbid 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 Fortune 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 Sacrifice (oratione) by Prayer*; so going along he says, *We Swear, juramus, i. jure oramus*; for so *Bruno* and *Cassiodorus* derive the Word, *Jurare dictum est, quasi jussu orare, hoc est, jussu loqui.*

Again, *Pf. 61.* *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 Swearing 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 Writings, which have been * altered by them that could not comprehend them. But is it likely that a Man so severe, that condemned the very subscribing of a Writing wherein an Oath was contained, and for this Reason, because Christ forbade 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

* It is confessed by *Le Prieur*, that the Christians did deny all Swearing.

Bruno and *Cassiodorus* on *Psalms* 14. & *Psalms* 61.

This *Cassiodorus* was a Roman Senator & Counsellor of *Theodoricus*, about the Year 490

* There are about 2000. Corrections in *Tertullian's* Works.

Suarez, de *Juram.* c. 2.

Thus are the Conspirators against this Part of the Doctrine of Christ, and his Apostles, Primitive Fathers and Martyrs, forc'd out of that Sanctuary they betook themselves to, in the Sentence of this intricate Doctor.

Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 7.

XXXVI. *Clemens Alexandrinus*, his Contemporary, famous for Learning and Strict Living, to help him in his Mystical Meaning of an Oath, says, 'He who is once a Believer why shall he make himself an * Unbeliever, 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 Lye 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 Testimony of the Tongue is superfluous to him— It sufficeth to add unto his Affirming or Denying, this, viz. *I S P E A K TRULY*, that he beget Faith in them who perceive 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 Swear, as being one, who hath determined to put for his Affirming *Y E A*, for his Denying *N A Y*.

* Infidelity keeps Company with Swearing: And for a Christian to Swear, is with *Clem. Alex.* to turn Infidel again.

— 'Where is there any Need of an Oath to him that so lives, as one that is attain'd 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 perswaded that God is every where, and is ashamed not to speak Truth, and professeth that it is a Thing unbecoming, 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 Lye, 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, tho' he dye upon the Rack for it.

Likewise in his 5th; 7th and 8th Books of *Strom.* also in his 3d Book of his *Pædagogus* 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 fore-going (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 *H E A V E N*, as he that swears by the *TEMPLE*, or by the *ALTAR*, in that 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.

'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.

Ibid. Tract. 35.
Mat. 26.

'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 adjures 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

Numb. 5. 19.
1 Kings 22. 16.

all;

1675.

Orig. against
all Swearing
with us; and
Compelling.

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.*

Hucius 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 that for Conscience of that Gospel-Command do scruple an Oath in this Age.*

Orig. on Jer.
4. 1, 2.

If thou wilt return, O Israel, saith the Lord, and put away thy Abominations, then shalt thou not remove. 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: Howbeit, 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.* 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 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.*

Cyprian Epist.
ad Corn. n. 5.

Again, Writing of Pastors and Teachers, he biddeth them 'Remember that the Lord taught, and said, *Let your saying be Yea, Yea, and Nay, Nay.*

Cyprian de
Mortal.

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 if 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 falsely or vainly*; for more was no way needful, in that it was not contested, but universally so received. But after 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 it self.* And we believe it will be an 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 later 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

Euseb. apud
Stob. de Jur.
jur. c. 27.

Worship of God, as of it self, 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 Governours 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 unacceptable*; 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 *Christians 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 meer 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? But till the Fulness of Time came; That, 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 Affeuerations, and with no farther Progress, let us flee to or approach Oaths, that we alledge not God for Witness, for corruptible Money's Sake, especially 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,*

Athanas. his Abhorrence and Detestation of Oaths.

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Atbanasius his Reason and Dislike of Oaths.

Object.

Answer.

Atbanasius 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 truth and greatest Oath.

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 Judicatures, as one that is greater than both Assessors 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 Lye. 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 Scriptures to swear? for he swore to Abraham, 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 promiseth 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 Immutability 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 certainly to be effected, according to the Engagement of an Oath. This also God doth declare in Genesis, saying: I have sworn by my self; 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 confidently 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 thereby to take Oaths; but let us so say, and so do, and so approve our selves 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. 5. 34.

XLI. Hilary, a Father, very famous in the Days of Constantius, Son to Constantine (but an Arrian) 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 thy self, &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 Business 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 Religion (or Superstition) of an Oath;

+

with

' with whom always what is, *It*; what is not, *Is Not*: And by these both
' all their Words and Deeds are in Truth. Neither by Heaven] *God not on-*
' *ly suffers us not to make Oaths to God, because all the Truth of God is to be*
' *held in the Simplicity of Word and Deed; but also condemneth the Super-*
' *fition of old Disobedience, &c.*

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Suarez de Joram. 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 it self*. 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 forbade False Swearing, commanded also, Not to Swear at all*.

This, if that *Clemens*, should have been first, because he liv'd 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.

Orthodoxographia, p. 11.

LXIII. There is a Tract, call'd, *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 Caesar, that these Things that you say, &c.* They answer'd, *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 he that gave that Answer, knew it to be the Doctrine and Practice of Christians; for he was therein to represent them.

Basilus Magnus on Psalm 14.

XLV. *Basil*, called the Great, another Champion of the like Fame, and in the same Time of *Valens*, the Persecuting *Arrian* 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 extinguish 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 confirmed 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 our Saviour, *Let your Word be Yea, Yea; Nay, Nay*. To Things

Socrat. Eccl. Hist. lib. 4. cap. 21.

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* Pray mark where *Basil* layeth the Blame, if a Word go not for an Oath.

Joseph Smore nos.

Paul Smore nos.

Ad Nepotes.
*above 300 l.

Basil. Mag. can. 29.

Basil's Expedient to remove Oaths.

that are, thou mayst affirm and assent; but of Things that are not, altho' all Men urge thee, yet thou mayst 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 unworthy 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 *Egyptian* familiar with him, swore by the Health of *Pharaoh* (וְיָחִי פַרְעֹה live *Pharaoh*.) And the Apostle, willing to shew his Love to the *Corinthians*, said, By the Glorifying 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*: *Basil* speaking of *Clement* a *Pythagorean*, who might have avoided a Mule 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 *Ambilochius*, writes thus, ' Because an Oath is Altogether forbidden, such an one as is taken to an Evil Purpose, is much more to be condemned — Again, ' *Utah* Oath, ' simply as such, be prohibited, of greater Reason when it is to effect some ' Mischievous End — The Cure consisteth 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 Inlet 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. 5. 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 destroy the Law, but fulfil it; who taking away Anger, aboliseth Killing also; and together with Lust, took away Adultery. He also casts out of Men's Lives accursed Perjuries, whilst by the Prohibition of an Oath, he has put in his Stead 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, Nay; for what sweareth 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 sayst, We have heard that God himself some-

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 lye. B. *Thou speakest strangely!* A. No Wonder; that is the Nature of God peculiarly; that he cannot lye: 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 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 wouldst plainly become a Paul, and so thou wouldst 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's 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 sayst; 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 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, tell me, comes from Deceit it self? Let us see what an Oath is: Nothing else but the very Meaning (or Mind) of those Things which we set down—thou wouldst have me add what remains: Surely an Oath is nothing else, but a certain Consummation as it were of Mischeifs: O dangerous Flame! B. *But Plato doth some such Thing: He is religiously aware, that he swear 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 threatnest 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 it self, that thou abstain from,

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God swears
not.Paul did not
Swear.See Tertullian
before, to
whom this agrees.Greg. Naz.
his Account
of an Oath.

* Mark how Gregory Naz. speaks of the Scripture, in Comparison of God's Omnipresence, with the Mind and Sense, and regard Man ought to have of it.

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Greg. Naz. on
Caut. Num.
18.

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. 5. 25. and Chap. 23. 16. 23.*

Cæsarius, Num. 43.

XLVIII. *Cæsarius*, Brother to *Gregory Nazianzen*, in his spiritual Sentences, hath this Sentence, *Flee 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. Heref. lib. 1. Ord. 19. §. 6.

XLIX. *Epiphanius*, whom *Secrates 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 Heresie, 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 Swearing: But in the Gospel he commandeth not to swear, neither by Heaven nor Earth, nor other Oath, but let Yea Yea, and Nay Nay, be as an Oath, as *Peravius* translates it) for what is more than these is of Evil. Therefore I suppose that the Lord ordained concerning this, because of some Men's 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.

Exhortat. ad
Virgin.

'He that Sweareth not, certainly he never forsweareth; but he that Sweareth, sometimes he must needs fall into Perjury, because all Men are subject to Lye. Do not therefore Swear, lest thou beginnest to forswear.

*Ambrose on
Mat. 5.
He was for
* Inspiration
& Perfection.*

'Therefore the Lord, who came to teach the little Ones, to * Inspire Novices, to confirm the * Perfect, saith 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 shouldst 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,

Psal. 109.

'The Lord Sware, and shall not Repent. 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 has sworn. Can it any way be changed?

'Do not therefore use the Example of an Oath, because thou hast not Power to fulfil an Oath.

Also, in his Commentary on the Hebrews, he saith, 'Because Mankind is incredulous, God condescendeth 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

*Ambros. Com.
on Heb. c. 6.
Oaths founded
on Defect,
not to be en-
couraged;
then not to
be imposed.*

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.

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 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 Controversie betwixt them, the 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, rescued her, and enquiring of him that had drawn her to it, whether he were a Christian or not? Who confessing he was; I severely urged and upbraided him with his Folly and extreme Madnes, to go about to draw any Body, he professing himself to be a Worshipper 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.

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 publick 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 unavoidable Necessity, not to offend God. Moreover, this I say, That in the mean Time, we may cut off superfluous Oaths, those, I mean, which are made rashly and without any Necessity amongst Friends, and Servants; 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 compel 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 another to Swear; and when thou turnest it, and markest 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, 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 hath hurt me, he holds my Hands; and this serves us for Solace. After the same Manner, if thou wilt exact an Oath of any, Restrain thy self, and with

1675.

Mt. Hom Pra.

5.

Ad Pop. Antioch. Hom.

19.

The Reason

of Oaths.

Against the

Dispraise of

fornicary Life

l. 1.

Of Compunc-

tion of Hearts

l. 1.

Against the

Jews, Hom.

34.

Agreeing

with Eusebius

before-

The Godly

Zeal of Chry-

sostom Com-

mendable.

Much less to

force others.

Christ calls

Swearing and

Compelling

to swear at

all, an Error;

then we are

orthodox.

See his great

Praise in Soc.

Schoi. l. 6. c.

3.

He was of

the Race of

Senators,

Remember

Tertullian's

Case by this.

Homil. 28.

Eclog. de Ju-

ram.

Hom. 5. ad

pop. Antioch.

Chrysost.

against gi-

ving an Oath.

* Chrysost. ex-

horts to be

right Quakers

by Trem-

bling, and not

Swearing.

1675.
Against Compelling to swear, and shows how to avoid it. He differs much from those that punish us for not Swearing. On Mat. Homil. 17.

with-hold; 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 with-holdeth me?* This is enough for the Law-giver'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.

Object.

Obj. *What then, if any require an Oath, and impose 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 mightst 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 commanded. But in the Laws which Men command thou darrest 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 commendeth, he shall suffer no such Compulsion from any, seeing he is Venerable and Admirable with all Men.

Constancy in not Swearing getteth Veneration.

Object.

Obj. *What then shall we say is beyond Tea and Nay?*

Ans. 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 Superfluous, as altogether contrary. Now, that is superfluous which is added needlessly, and too much; which surely is an Oath.

Great Reason. Object.

Obj. *Why then shall this be said to be of Evil? And if it was of Evil, how was it commanded in the Law?*

Ans. 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 Small of Sacrifices, even as it is not congruent for a *Philosopher* to stut and babble; Therefore 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 nurs'd 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 it's Office, and brought the Child to the Measure of the stronger Age, seems to be unprofitable; and the Parents, who formerly judged the Teat to be Necessary for their Child, do afterward 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 can-*

This is true Christian Doctrine.

With Christians it ought to be so. What Evil is it then to hale Men back again upon Penalties?

not bridle the eager unseasonable Desire of the Child about it, they may quench it at least with these 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; and to 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 on the contrary; and for that Cause also the Way of Swearing, was in Times permitted, † I tell Men should Worship Images, and Swear by them, *Sacerdos*, saith he, *by the true God*. So the Law brought not a mean Good to Men, but a very great one, if it fought to bring them to solid Meat.

* A great Enemy to Images.

Obj. What Evil therefore hath Swearing?

Ans. Much Evil, without Question; But now at this Time, after so great Manifestations of Power; not then by any Means.

Obj. His Reason, our Reason.

Obj. Thou wilt say, How can it be, that the same is sometimes Good, sometimes not?

Obj.

Ans. I will also produce against thee, How is it that the same Thing is sometimes good, sometimes not good? Dost 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 chew'd Meats in the Beginning of one's Life is good, afterwards 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. Wouldst 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 ridiculous. But what do I speak of these? Even Man-slaughter it self, which Christ calls evidently a Work of the Devil, sometime in due Season done, hath been praised; as *Ibneer* 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, without which the Command of the Law cannot stand? For unless Swearing it self be forbidden, False Oaths cannot be taken a-

† The Reason why God admitted Oaths. No Ordinance of God or Man Originally, but Corruption insensibly brought it, and God only suffer'd it by a true Deity till the Times of Reformation.

* Much regarded and observed by venerable Antiquity, said *James* on the Fathers, part 2. page 26. *Ant. Mon.* v. 1. p. 701.

1675.

A Great Truth; Forswearing ends in No Swearing.

Excellently distinguish, and the Sordidness of Oaths fully represented.

According to Eusebius. The Unhappiness of Swearing, especially against Conscience. His Advice about the Matter, when drove to a Pinch.

His Caution to those that impose Oaths, and Reflection upon the Practice.

Lying as bad as Swearing in his Esteem.

Admirably well argued.

His Rebuke to the Clergy

way, *because out of Swearing springs up Forswearing*; for, whosoever swears often, at one Time or other swears falsely; for this Reason *Solomon* gives that Admonition, *Accustom not thy Mouth to Swearing; for there is much Danger therein*. For, as he that accustoms himself to talk much, must needs at one Time or other utter Unseasonable 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, oft-times Forswears himself, even against his Will (*Custom prevailing in him*) in Things superfluous; for we can accustom our selves 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* teacheth; *A Man, faith he, that Swears much, a 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 wouldst 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 *Falsly*, yet they are not able to affirm thou hast Sworn *in Truth*: *But no Man can maintain thou hast done Religiously*. By Swearing therefore thou comest into Reprach 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?*

Ans. Be content rather to lose thy Money than thy Salvation; set more by thy Soul, than by thy Estate: If thou shouldst lose any Part of thy Estate, thou mayst live notwithstanding; but if thou lovest 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 wouldst 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 Lye, 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 it self?*

This is the only Difference, *That when we Lye, we pass over the Truth in our Heart; but when we Forswear, we pass over God in Words*; For, to Men we give Satisfaction by WORDS; to God, by Conscience. God himself, who forbade Forswearing, even he afterward 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 Lye, 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 CLERGY-MEN, who bring the HOLY GOSPELS for Men to Swear upon; *How can ye be secure from that Oath, who sowe the Seed of Perjury?*

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 be an Accessory 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 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 adays do so unwisely 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 it's *Original*, and whence it sprung up again, and how, and by whom; and by our Declaration we shall gratifie 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 Offerings; 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 Behaviours 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 Disgrace in it? *But I shall* (saith he) *therefore neither compel him, because this is also amongst Men.* He may say thus,

1675.
for tending
the Gospels
(or Bible) to
swear on.

Again, in the
Original of an
Oath, he concurs
with us.

The Definition
of an Oath

A severe Declaration
against Compelling
People to
swear.

1675.

Again, of the
Danger of
Compelling
People to
Swear.

Sometimes thou may'st not receive a Surety to thine. What then? *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 which compels, hath a *More Unavoidable Punishment* than he which Swears. Likewise he also which swears when none requirers; 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.

Object.

Obj. *But there are some Things that are not known, say they.*

Ans. But foreseeing these Things, thou must do nothing rashly; but if thou shalt do any Thing negligently, take the Penalty of the Inconvenience in thy own Hand; *Better to suffer Loss than otherwise.* For, tell me, thou haldest a Man to an Oath; What dost thou seek? Wouldst thou him to Forswear? But this is extream 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!

Object.

Obj. *But I expect that he may not Forswear.*

Ans. Therefore believe him without an Oath also.

Object.

Obj. *But there are many, say they, who without an Oath dare defraud, who with an Oath do not do it.*

Ans. Thou deceivest thy self, O Man! A Man who hath learn'd 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.

Object.

Obj. *But thou wilt say, He suffers this unwillingly.*

Ans. 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, because a Thunder-Bolt doth not come down from Above, and all Things are not overturned, thou standest, and Wilt * Bind God: Why? That thou may'st get Herbs and Shoes for a small Price, thou callest him to Witness.* Do we therefore think we do not Sin, because they are not punished? This is the Lord's Mercy, not our Desert. - Swear by thy own Child, swear by thy self; 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 invoked. Moreover, when we speak of any Virtuous Man, we say, *Wash thy Mouth, that so thou may'st be heedful.* But now we vainly distract that Honourable Name, which is a Name above every Name, which is Wonderful in all the Earth, which the Devils hearing 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 enjoyn, if thou dost so? Is it that we abuse that simply, *this not 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 to Name God simply, how great Audaciousness 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 Ministry, the House of Prayer, and admonish and shew, That it is not Lawful for any to Swear, nor otherwise neither. Let him therefore be brought to me, whosoever he be, because these Things also ought to be done before us, because 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 that is yet worse, thou which art initiated

* An Oath is
a Binding of
God for our
Security.

A Pathetical
Censure of
Oaths, and
them that use
them in Courts.

With what
Tenderness
God's Name
should be u-
sed.

Chrysostom's
Boldness. He
testifies
our Mind.

* Mark the
great Zeal of
Chrysostom in
this Place.

1675.

ated, dar'st 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 would'st 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 condemn and despise all Things?* Hast thou therefore received Letters and Badges that thou should'st lose thy Soul? What so great Thing hast thou gained, as that which thou hast lost? Hath he forsworn? Thou hast lost both thy self and him: But hath he not Forsworn? Even thou hast lost, *who hast driven him to transgress the Commandment. Let us expel this Disease from the Soul: Let us drive it now from the Court, and from all Merchants and Tradesmen's 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 would'st 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?

Obj. *But, says he, Thou art a Prince and a Bishop.*

Ans^{er}. 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 Sealon, What Priviledge would my Principality have? No, thou seest that it is not for this What gainest thou then, tell me now? *Paul* hunger'd; 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 may'st not swear, and shall not be Reward thee? But he feeds Daily Forswearers 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 *Barbarians* by the Tongue. Tell me now, How are Parrots 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 commanded, *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 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 Depravation*; but those perfect ones, to despise and relinquish 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 Philosophy, he should draw him away from those his Teachers, and make him spell with Letters and Syllables.

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 Philosophy and the Elements of Speech, as between the

* 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's said How can we Trade without an Oath.

Object.

Encouragement to sustain the Penalty.

Our Doctrine made an Axiom by Chrysostom.

1675.

Jewish Matters, and ours; but as much as is between 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 Affections, that we be not more laught 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 Punishment 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 thy self; 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 enjoyn 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?*

Hom. 10. p.
101.

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 no Body 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.

III. Thou saidst, if I mistake not, *That on this Account thou mayst justly render Evil for Evil, and 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 Blasphe-mie in this, that he forbade another what he did himself; because it may be said, *The Lord Swore as Lord, whom none forbade 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 forbade us to Swear, *Neither did he himself ever Swear, &c.*

God never
Swore pro-
perly.

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 shalt 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 *Maluchy*, saying, *And ye did all that I hate.*

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 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 *Matth.* 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 forbade 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; *Nor 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 Word *Swear*, and *Oath*, which he extends to that which *Naziansen* (as before) calls but a firm Faithfulness joyned 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 had 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, 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 always 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, bringing 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 *Psalms* 88. 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 Swearing 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.

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An excellent Reason why Oaths were permitted.

This between the *Two Stars* seems a Self-Contradiction; but doubtless he intends it of the Second Prohibition, as a further Reason why Oaths were permitted;

* If Men can't 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.

' Where

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De Verb.
Jacobi, Ante
omnia nolite
jurare, Serm.
21.

‘Where, says he, would’st thou chuse to walk? Upon the Brink of a Precipice, or far from it? I think far from it. So he which swears, walks in the Border, *and walketh with unsure Feet*, because humane: 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 farthest 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, Sweaters walk.

Consider what he saith on those Words of Christ in *Matt. 5*. ‘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 Lye, 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 Infirmary of others, which is Evil, from which we pray, that we may be daily deliver’d.

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* then was over-casting 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 to *Christian* Religion, and cast off the blessed Yoak of their self-denying Lord, to swim in the delicious Liberty of the World: A Time full of such Circumstances as seem’d 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 disclaim’d, or rather exil’d them their Government; Old *Judaism* or *Gentilism* pleased them better. ’Twas 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* rid thus in State, while *Integrity* went Barefoot, and Evangelical *Yea* and *Nay* were turn’d 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, tho’ 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, at least, were Men fearing God, and serving him according to what they knew, and in that Manner they were perswaded was most acceptable to him. And, as *Irenaeus* 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 consistent 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, tho’ in other Respects our Adversaries; and would have all to do the like with us and each other:

* 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.

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 Castaways. And tho' 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 tho' 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 enlighten'd and zealous Men, taking Offence thereat, but especially at the Hypocrisy and Abomination, palliared by such fair Pretences, have strained much in Opposition to that Evangelical Doctrine, yet is the Doctrine nevertheless a Truth in it self. 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 the 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 Things. *Synesius*, tho' 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 Catholick 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 Aspersions only; not allowing them to speak for themselves to us of latter Times.

We see how unjustly we our selves 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 *Phanatics*, *Enthusiasts*, &c. and mocked for being moved by the Spirit, following the Light, &c. But let their Example or Authority 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 Aspersions of *Heresy* in that Particular: And so we shall come to our remaining Testimonies, it being not our Business to maintain every 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 Groiness of the Apostacy, ever since the Apostles Times (see their History in *P. Perin*, *S. Moreland* and *Bp. Usher de Success*.) we have good Cause to say, deny'd the taking of any Oath in what Sense the Primitive Christians and Fathers refused, and that was altogether. Sure, their Enemies charg'd them with it for above three hundred Years, and we cannot find they then deny'd

*Euseb. Pam.
Socr. Schol.
Evagr. &c.*

1 Theol. 1. 1.
Phil. 3. 15.
Socr. 1. 6. c. 13.
Evagr. 1. 1.
c. 11.
Euseb. Eccl.
Hist. 1. 3. c. 28
1. 4. c. 15.

Pelagius, a
Britain, Anno
400, wrote
notable Books
saith *Gennadius*,
who liv'd
soon after him

See *Baronius*,
Ann. 1510.

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Joh. Wallen
against *Joh.*
Wicklif and
Waldenses.
Reiner, Rub.
Capitan.
W. Walsford,
Gut Carmel,
Voss. histor.
Peig. l. 5.
p. 2.
Bp. Usher, de
Successi.

De Juramen-
tis, l. 1. c. 1, 2.

deny'd the Charge: We suppose none will attempt to prove they did: Tho' 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 Aspercion, 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 charg'd 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 Proccels of Time into *Bulgaria* and *Sclavonia*, thence into *Italy* and *Lumbarby*, and were called by several Names, of several People, or at several Times, as *Manichees*, *Waldenses*, *Albigeneses*, *Cathari* or *Puritans*, *Patris*, *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 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* relate, the *Waldenses*, the *Anabaptists*, &c. And 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 *Psal.* 14. *Chrysostom*, Hom. 19. 78. ad popul. and 17. on *Mat.* And *Theophylact* on *Mat.* 5. *Origen* *Tract* 35. *Mat.* *Tertullian* *de Idololat.* *Clem. Rom.* l. 6. *Constitut. Apost.* *Maldonat* on *Mat.* 5. 34. saith, the *Anabaptists*, the *Wickliffists*, 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 that 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.* 5. 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 lye who saith, *A Man swearing much, shall not depart from Iniquity, and the Plague shall not depart from his House*, *Eccles.* 23.

But if it were an *August Añ* 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 an Affelevation, as by the Testimonies already produced, and to be alledged, appears: For besides those of the Fathers and other Doctors, of late Bp. *Ro. Sanderfon* in his *Oxford Lectures*, shows, *this is sometimes used in the Form of an Oath which is no Oath*; and so he defendeth *Jeseph* from breaking God's Command, that is, not to have sworn so; and therefore nor to have sinned, but to have used an Affelevation, 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 rejoyce in Christ Jesus*: For *ñ*, which they translate, *I protest by*, hath sometimes the same Signification that *ñ*, *yea*, hath, as may be seen in *Scapula*; For he says, *ñ* (translated, *I protest by*) is a Particle, sometimes of granting and affirming; sometimes it is put for *verily*, *indeed*; and he interprets *ñ* 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 *ñ* is used also in Composition, for affirming, as in *ñ*, profusus, lavishing; which cannot signify Swearing.

And how easily might the Transcriber, thro' 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, *ἡμεῖς* & *υμεῖς* *our* and *your*, but in another Word five Letters, *ἀποθήσαν* & *ἀποθήσκοντες*, referring it to the Verse before; yea, a whole Word of seven Letters added, *ἀποθνήσκοντες*. 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 Lessons) *Varia 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 the Weight of a Doctrine, and that as Men would avoid Penalties too, upon a Letter (which yet alters not the Signification) upon Credit of the Transcribers, especially in *Paul's Epistles*, wherein *Peter* says, *many Things are hard to be understood, and wrested by the Unlearned*, which he must needs intend in such Learning as he himself had, and that was not of worldly *Academies*; but from the Holy Spirit. And these Words, which are joined with that Particle, are not such Words as Men use in Swearing, but for a Ground of his Fidelity, and a Remedy against their Incredulity, and questioning of the Weight of his Assertions, amongst whom other Teachers were preferred, and who compelled him to speak as a Fool, he says, *even to commend himself*. So that it is not strange, if to them, and not to other Churches, he used such forcible Asseverations from the Testimony that they had of him, of the Truth and Work of Christ in him, and the Record thereof upon his Soul, and his Joy therein, that he spoke the Truth to them, and did not lie; so that he brings his Persecutions against their Imperfections to gain Belief, which cannot amount to more than a voluntary Condescension for the Time being, and cannot prove or countenance a Compulsory, Promissory, Formal, Ceremonial *Oath* to be exacted or taken up for the future.

But mark, that the Word *Oath*, or *Swear*, used both by Christ and the Apostle *James* in their Prohibition, is never used by *Paul* in his Asseverations, neither doth he ever apply it to the Brethren; but speaking to them of the Oath that was in old Time, and of Men (indefinitely) that use to swear, he saith, *Men swear, and to them an Oath is for Confirmation*; that is, as among the Jews and Heathen; he doth not say to Us, or to You; or We, or Ye swear, who are not in Strife, which, if it had been true, it might have stood the present *Oath-Advocates* in stead: So that such as will have it that *Paul* swore, must bring the Word *Swear*, or *Oath*, to prove it; But if they could, his Example then were not enough to invalidate to us 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 *Cyrill*, and that the Fame of his Sayings and Doings was spread far and near, and rise 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 writeth against Swearing thus; *If thou art of our Flock, and art ordered under a good Shepherd, deny the Nature of wild Beasts, and obey his Voice that forbidderh to swear at all. Moreover not to swear is, not to require an Oath of another: Now, if thou*

L. 1. c. 15.

Ep. lib. 1.
Epist. 155.

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Not to require an Oath by any Means of another Man.

On Mat. 5.

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 lye: If the Man speaks Truth usually, he will always speak Truth without an Oath; but if he is a Liar, he will lye, tho' 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: 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 Swareth, 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 Lye; 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 these whom he hath appointed to be true in all their Speech, may have Liberty to Lye without an Oath: For this is the Cause of an Oath, Because that every one who swareth, 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 Lye, in that both Perjury and Lying are condemned by the Punishment of the Judgment of God, seeing the Scripture saith, The Mouth which lyeth killeth the Soul: Therefore whosoever speaketh Truth, swareth; because it is written, A faithful Witness doth not lye. And therefore holy Scripture (not without Cause) often relates, that God hath sworn, because whatsoever is spoken of God, who is true, and cannot lye, 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.

Suspicion the Cause of an Oath.

On Deut. 6. A smart and true Answer.

LVI. THEODORET on Deut. 6. pag. 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 unto him and shalt swear by his Name, he subjoined, Ye shall not walk after other or strange Gods, which are of the the Gods of the Nations, which are round about you. *Lyra* saith the same.

Rubanus.

LVII. Ordinary Gloss on Mat. v. 37. hath this Sentence, A Faithful Speech ought to be accounted for an Oath.

Nilus forbids Oaths.

LVIII. *Johannes Damascenus*, Parallel. lib. 3. cap. 16. bringeth a Testimony of one *Nilus* against Swearing. There was one nam'd *Nilus* in Egypt, a Martyr, mention'd 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. 12. ad *Populum Antiochenum*.

On Jer. 4.

LIX. *Cyril*, whom *Eugarius Scholast.* files *Renown'd*, in his Commentary on *Jeremy* the 4th, And shall swear, the Lord liveth, in Truth, and in Judgment, and in Righteousness; saith, Let us look, who swear, how we do not swear

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swear in Judgment, but without 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, *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 becometh 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 further, 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 signifie 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 promised and said, shall surely come to pass.

LX. Cassiodorus on Psalm 94, 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 500.

LXI. Olymiodorus 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 liv'd with him they call'd Sr. 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.

LXIII. Antiochus, said to be a Man famous for Holiness and Learning, living in Palestine about the Time of Herodius, the Emperor, that was about the Year 614. 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 the 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 believe 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 ingenious Servants let us keep his Commandments, *Not to Swear at all*, lest he say as in Isa. 1. *I have nourish'd and brought up Children, and they have rebell'd against me*: Let's 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 styl'd Venerable, in his Exposition upon these Words, *Before all Things, my Brethren, Swear not, &c.* saith, Because he desires entirely to draw out the deadly Poison of the Tongue in his Hearers, he, who forbade to grieve in Adversities, forbade to detract or slander any Man, or 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

Cyrl. See
Caten 65.
Græc. Par.
on Luke 1 p.
23.

On Psal. 94:
Agreeth with
Augustin.

On Eccles. 8;

Chap. 37:

Beda in Ep.
Fam. c. 5.

1675.

this also is not to be esteem'd a light Matter, plainly appears 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.*] Therefore (*saith he*) I restrain you from the Fault of Swearing, left 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 neither*, but by the greatest Necessity. But he also falls under the Judgment of Guilt, who although he never Forswear, yet sweareth True oftner 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 Learn'd *English* Knight, in his Book of *British* Councils, Canons, &c. in the Exceptions, or Select Collections of *Egbert*, Archbishop of *Tork*, 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 lye not.*

And in page 259, in *England*, at the Council of *Berghamsled*, about the Year 750, Article 17. *That a Bishop, or a King's Word or Affirmation, without an Oath is irrefragable.*

This agrees with *Blastaris* Canons afore-mention'd; and at this Day in some Countries, as in *Germany*, the Electoral Archbishops of *Colen*, *Menz*, 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 840, who on the *Revelations* saith, *That it's 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 this is from the Evil: Who stretcheth out his Hand to Heaven, and sweareth by him that liveth forever, Are not his Sayings and Actings set for Examples for Believers to imitate? But only in that 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: For, what do we understand to be Figured by the Hand of the Angel, unless (as before noted) a Dispensation of Redemption of Mankind? For His Hand is the Operation of our Salvation; although also, if it may be so said, the same Son be his Right-Hand, as when the Word of the Father speaketh, He sheweth that He is the Word of the Father.

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 *Matth. 5. 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 Lye who doth not Speak, so he cannot Forswear who doth not undertake to Swear: Grounded on *Matthew* the 5th.

LXIX. *Paschatus Rathertus*, on *Mat. 5. Ye have heard*, &c. In this Place, as also every where in those Things, the Perfection in Righteousness

Spelm. Brit. Council, p. 260.

On the Revelations, pag. 196.

* He makes Oaths Jewish, at least in Opposition to Evangelical; because imperfect, and permitted to the Jews, in Condescension.

is renew'd; for by what every one swears, 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 allow'd as to Little Ones, thar as they offer'd Sacrifices to God, lest they should offer them to Idols; so also it was permitted to 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. 5. *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 surpasses 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 commended in Good Men by Prophane 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 Math. 5. 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 Math. 5. If all Christians were such as they ought to be, it would certainly be needless 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. 1. 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. 5. Swearing is by Indulgence.

Thomas Aquinas cites *Rabanus* on Mat. 5.

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. 1. Who never Swears, never Forswears.

P. 3. Q. 594

LXXVI. *Ruffinus* on *Psal. 14*. Nor to swear at all is of perfect Men. See also *Sinarogdus* on Mat. 5. *Titelmannus* on *Psal. 14*. *Brugensis* on Mat. 5. *Ludolphus Carthusianus*, Vita Christi, part 2. cap. 12. *Rupertus*, de Operibus Spiritus Sancti, Fol. 453. *Baptista Folengius*, on *Psal. 15*. Nic. *Lyra* and Ordinary Gloses on Mat. 5.

LXXVII. *Euthymius Zigabenus*, on Mat. 5. 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 observe 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 commanded this, lest they should swear by Gods of a false Name. Again,

See Bibliotheca veter Patrum.

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 thy self, if so be that thou art a Lover of thy Brother, and not rather of Money?

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Nor by Heaven, for it is the Throne of God, &c.

Lest they should think, that be forbid to swear by God only, in saying, By God, he adds also other kind of Oaths, by which then the Jews did 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 themselves; 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 shouldest 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 ye deny, Nay; and use only these for, or instead of Oaths to Confirmation, and no other than Yea and Nay, what are adjoynd besides these, he calleth an Oath.

Quest. But if an Oath be of the Devil, how did the old Law permit it?

They all agree in the Reason of suffering Oaths under the Law, viz. the Jews Weakness.

*Ans. 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 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 permitted 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 with-draw or prohibit them that are manly from it.*

Quest. What then is to be done, if any require an Oath, yea, compel to Swear?

Ans. 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 Violent take it by Force.

LXXXVIII. Oecumenius, a famous Greek Writer, about Ann. 1070. writes on Jam. 5. 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 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 unprofitable, seeking not a Sacrifice by Beasts, but a broken Spirit; that is a sweet whole Burnt-Sacrifice, consumed 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 follows 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

clared to be a Liar, instead of a true Man, not producing *Yes* 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.

LXXXIX. *Anselmus*, Bishop of *Canterbury*, about *Ann. 1090.* on that Place of *Mat. 5.* thus, page 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 Reyerence, those Things by which they swear, lest they should make the Creatures Gods to 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 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. 1176.* 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 *Lapst*, 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 (the 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 remembered and recorded by John Fox, as not unworthy to keep Company with Protestant Martyrs.*

LXXXIV. *John Wickliff*, our Country-Man, 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 1370.) was accused among other Things, for maintaining, that all Oaths, which be made for any Contract or civil Bargain, betwixt Man and Man, are unlawful.

LXXXV. We will bring in here a Passage out of the *Plowman's Tale*, as it lyes in *Geffry Chaucer's Works*, not impertinent to our Purpose, whose Learning, Honour and Wit, were great in the Time he lived, which was about 1360. *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 Falschod foul it besul.*

He hath Expressions not less disliking Oaths, in his *Parson's Tale*, where he makes the *Parson* to say, *After those then cometh Swearing, expressly against the Commandment of God, and our Lord Jesus Christ, who saith by St. Matthew's Words, Ne shall ye 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,

Vide Baron. Anno 1310. John Walden adv. Wickliff and Waldens. Reimer. Rub. Capitan. W. Woodford. De Succell. l. 6. Bar. Anno. 1310. n. 3.

F. Fox Mart. v. 1. p. 527.

Men honoured by Protestants.

F. Fox. Mart. v. 3. p. 554, to 558. Gess Chauc. Works fol. 86.

F. Fox Mart. v. 1. p. 614, 618.

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J. Fox Mart.
v. 1. p. 623,
359.

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 com-

fort 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 Creature*; thus answered for himself, and indeed, it comprehends much of our Belief, in this Matter: *As concerning Oaths I believe and obey the Doctrine of Almighty God, and my Master Jesus Christ, which 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 thy self, but shalt perform unto the Lord those Things that thou knowest : But I say unto you, thou shalt not swear at all, neither 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 themselves, So the Perfection of Christian Men is, not to Swear at all, because we are so commanded of Christ, whose Commandments must in no Case be broken. Thus much of W. Brute.*

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.

LXXXVIII. *John Purrey, John Edward, John Becker, 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 Thorpe* 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 *Arch-Bishop* tendered the Oath to him; 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 believed : But since all these Sayings are Excuses, and Sin, methinks, Sir, (saith he) that this Sense of Chrysostom may be alledged well against all such Swearers.*

XC. *Elizabeth Young*, who was brought to Examination in the *Marian-Days*, before the *Catholick Inquisitors 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 Where* 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 my self, and *Mr. Hussy*, 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

Eliz. Young. *Christ saith, That whatsoever is more than Yea, Yea; or Nay, Nay, is cometh of Evil.*

Then Dr. Cook brought her to a Book, commanding her to lay her Hand thereon.

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, *so have refused all Swearing, as well by God, as by Creatures, in any Case, Private or Publick.* 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 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. 5.* 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 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, call'd 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, *An. 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 *An. 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, mention'd 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

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which,

Spots. 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. 5.

1675.

which, that ye may be the more remote from Perjury, doth utterly condemn all Manner of Oaths; *That it is not Lawful to Swear, neither by God, nor by those Things which seem to the Common 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 another 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 White 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 Simplicity, can distrust; nor no Man can desire to deceive, though they might do it?* Such is their Sincerity and Perfection, 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 Devout 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 Promise is made: Two Words be sufficient, *Nay and Tea*, whereby thou deniest that which thou dost not promise, 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, doth 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 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 feign'd Words deceive his Neighbour: But especially, my Brethren, Swear Not, lest by little and little, you accuse your selves 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 Humane 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 Lye 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 Siedfast, 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 oft 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.*

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.

Asmus here plainly forbiddeth all Swearing on any Account.

Comm. on Jan. 5.

*Then not by God; for the common People esteemed Him Sacred.

The Judgment of School-Men and others, in this Point.

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Gloss on Mat.
5. p. 22.

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, putting away of one's Wife; and now he teacheth consequently, that we must abstain from the wronging of God, *When he doth not forbid only Forswearing at 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 thy self*: 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 *Matew*; *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 willing 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*. Augustine 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. 20. Thou shalt not take the Name of thy God in vain*: And *Levit. 19. 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 it's Kind; for Perjury is Evil of it self, therefore by no Reason can it be excused. But the Second Part (namely, *Thou shalt render to the Lord thy Oaths*) is Affirmative, and doth not signifie to fulfil the Oaths which thou hast promised (as it appears) and thereupon 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. 6. 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 All of Religion, which is to Swear, should be exhibited to God, and to no Creatures or Idols whatsoever*. But I say unto you] He perfecteth both the Precepts, adjoining Two Precepts; the one Negative, the other Affirmative (*Not to Swear at all*) Lo a Negative Precept, wherein Two Things are contained, that is, *Not to Swear*, and *Not at all*; he forbids us to Swear at all, by all Means, as well in expressing 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 Forswearing, not only by taking away an Oath, but the Occasion of Forswearing; for 'tis impossible to incur Forswearing without an Oath: And also the Precept 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's to be noted out of Cajetan, that in this the Lord perfected the Command of not Forswearing, 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 lyed; and because Christ came, that he might bring back Men to this

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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 therefore not Good.

Reasons for avoiding OATHS, from the same Author.

First, Left by Swearing they fall into Perjury, for which Cause Swearing is of an ill Report amongst the Saints, as in *Ambrose*, *Psalms* 18.

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 possible to be deceived in the least Thing, although he should speak in a single Assertion; and for the Authority 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 it self, seeing every one is of Evil.

Lastly, Out of *Cajetan*, The Lord perfecteth this Precept of not For-swearing, 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 included in the Compendium of Three Letters.

XCIX. *Franciscus de Mendoca, Olyssiponensis*, Dr. Theol. in *Eburenf.* Academia, Sacr. lit. Interpres, in 4. lib. Reg. Tom. 3. *Speak, saith he, of me, &c.* In the Hebrew it is 1291. e. *testific*, from the Verb 729 which not only signifieth to speak, but also to bear Testimony, as it is to be seen Ex. 20. n. 14. Deut. 19. n. 15. Job 16. 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 Veracity of Good Men, that their Simple Speech may be accounted sworn, and their private Conference be accounted a publick Testimony, which was to be accounted 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 sayst, thou mayst think to be sworn.* The same *Jerom* to that of *Mar. 5. 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 Altogether from Swearing; and be so accusom'd 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, cap. 7. *De his Essenis*, most sincere Worshippers of Truth (*vericulatoribus*) The Hebrew Elders also, when they would make their Innocency appear about the Man kill'd by an Unknown Person, testified with an Oath, as the Rabbins, *Solomon* and *Moses* in *Lyrans*, affirm, Deut. 21. Nevertheless, they are brought in by the Scripture, 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 Lighness or Falseness, we account it neither new nor wonderful: But with Count Theobald, we do not impatiently hear Yea and Nay, to whom, as it is said, Simply to speak, is to Swear; and a light Lye is accounted an heavy Perjury; for amongst very many Ensigns of Virtue, which do very much enoble your Dignity, and make your Name renowned and famous throughout the World, the Constancy of Truth is especially praised in you. 3. Certainly God himself hath (tan-tan-dem) so much to speak nakedly, and to swear by himself holily: For that he promised with an Oath an Off-spring to David, which should sit on his Throne, is read no where in the Scripture; And yet Abner, 2 Kings*

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3. n. 9. acknowledges an Off-spring 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 88. God himself saith, *Once have I sworn in my Holiness, if I Lye 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 Abraham, Gen. 12, 13, & 17. to Isaac, Gen. 26. to Jacob, Gen. 28. Yet Moses, in Deut. 1. Possess, saith he, *the Land, for which the Lord swore to your Fathers.* Philo Alex. in the Book of Abraham, at the end looses the Knot notably; *That therefore the simple Promise of God in those Places 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's 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 be 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 required in Judgment, lest he that exacteth it, sin; For if it be manifest, that he that is called into Judgment be verily good and true, it is enough to heat of him *Yea*, or *Nay*; but if that be not evident, or that it be evident, that he is bad, perhaps that's 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 adjured of another, speak the Truth, by answering *Yea* or *Nay*, or by declaring the Thing requir'd, neither the one nor the other offendeth; but if he speak a Falshy, 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 be 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 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's not my Purpose to contradict the Ordinances of Judgments, 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.

Cl. *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 commanded 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.

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p. 23: 24.

De quest. jur.
Christ. p. 306

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It's not only commanded in the New, but also in the Old Testament, *Not to Swear*, as *Hof. 4. Zach. 5.* quoteth *Tertullian*, lib. *de Idololat.* cap. 11. saying, *I am silent about Perjury, seeing that indeed it is not lawful to Swear.*

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Hom. 18. in Cant.

And those very Words of Christ, *Swear not at all*, signifie this (seeing he subjoyns, *Neither by Heaven, &c.*) as if he had said, not only greater Oaths, but also these, which seem less, you are to take Heed of, and it is apparent from the Reason which he adjoyns, saying, *Neither by Heaven*: If therefore 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. 23.*

Lastly, The following Words of Christ are opposite, *Let your Word be Yea and Nay*; for, by them he declareth, that he before forbade the Addition of any Oath. 2dly, *Jerom* answers, *Swearing was permitted to the Jews, as to Children*; but *Evangelical Verity* receives not Swearing, seeing every Faithful Word is for an Oath. The same Doctrine and Exposition 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. p. 282. Whether an Oath be an explicit 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 it self (*per se*) for the Worship of God; but for confirming, &c. as *Heb. 6.* From whence it seems plainly to follow, That an Oath is not an Act of Religion.

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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 it self (*per se*.)

Secondly, Grant this were possible, to bring God for a Witness; it seems disorderly to bring the Person of God to confirm Men's Busineses, Covenants, or Words, because it is disorderly to order Things of an higher Order to those that are inferiour: Much more is it disorderly, to mix the Sacred Authority of God to the prophane (or common) Words, and Busineses 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 it self.* 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 forbade all Swearing by God himself, as *Gregory Nazianzen* rightly argues, as before, on *Cant. Homil. 18.* And Christ himself plainly so declared, *Mat. 23.* He that Swareth by Heaven, Swareth by the Throne of God, &c.

Conf. 6. & 11.

Lastly, The Words withstand, which Christ subjoyns, *Let your Word be, &c.* For, by them he declares, that he had before forbidden the adding of any Oath: Therefore *Jerome* answered, *That Oaths, &c. were permitted 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. 5. Not to Swear at all*: That Precept was given to the Disciples (the *Basis*) of the first Church.

CIII. *Joac. Camer.* and *P. Loseler Villerius's* Marginal Note upon *Mat. 5. 37.* Whatsoever you vouch, vouch it *barely*; and whatsoever you deny, deny it *barely*, without any more Words.

CIV. *Bible*, imprinted *An. 1559.* in Quarto. *What is more is of Evil*] Marginal Note, *From an evil Conscience, or from the Devil.*

CV. *Marlorat* on *Mat. 5.* faith, Some Men, *not bad*, hold against Swearing.

Maldonat on *Mat. 5.* 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, Ignorance, Humane Infirmary, *both in him that Requires it, that Gives it, that ordains it* (alluding to Christ's Words, faith he) *Quod amplius est a malo*, What is more, is from the Devil.

CVII. *Beza*, on *James 5. 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 *An. 1578.* Marginal Note on *Mat. 5. 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. *Lodovicius 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's 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 Perswade, 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 sometimes useth it in the Gospel, but rather it hath a great Emphasis and Encrease, that is, great Moment and Weight to perswade and gain Belief, as *Augustin* tightly teacheth and explaineth in his 41. 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 Affeclaration 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 *Forfevering*, should himself Swear so often? For he not only forbade his to Swear, *Mat. 5.* but also at the same Time, and that very wholsomly, commanded that they should only 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 perswade (the Badness and Naughtiness of Men being removed) than a *single Affirmation or Denial*, although there were no Danger of Perjury.

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1 Tim. 1. pag.
210.

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. 30. and 31. and in his Book *De Menlacia*, Cap. 15. and *Epist. 154.* to *Publcola*, and often else-where; 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

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gruently in the Gospel, that which also he confirms in his Book of *Special Laws*, Tom. 2. pag. 137. And afterwards, *If therefore, 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 Perjury 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 which from a false Opinion and Persuasion, and an Erroneous Conscience, as Divines call it, thinketh and believeth that he Swareth in very Deed in using this Word, as if this Word were an Adverb of Swearing, that sometimes he happens in a Manner to *For swear*, 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 Ignorance, 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 else-where, but especially in *Treat 41.* on the Gospel of *John*, on those Words of Christ the Lord, *Verily, Verily, &c.* where Augustin moderating his Words, 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 dealeth 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 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 us'd a simple Speech though sometimes *per amplificationem*; he hath used this, even repeated, I say, 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 Sense of the Apostle; and we have thought them worthy to be printed for publick Profit, Aet. Par. 16. Feb. 1610. F. Coeff. F. J. Tourn. &c.

CX. *Lodovickus Pius* Emperor, who in his Prologue saith, That from his Youth, by Christ's Inspiration, he had the Desire of the Worship of God, Capitulum Addic. Tit. 96. Of not Swearing: That every one beware of Swearing, because Forswearers, as also Adulterers, shall not inherit the Kingdom of God.

Lindenbrog, J.
Cod. leg. anti-
quar.

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.*

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Ibid.

CXII. The Emperor Lotharius, Of the Law of Lombards, Tit. 3. Law 10. Of those that enforce Payment of Tythes, we will not have them to be constrain'd with an Oath, for Fear of Forswearing.

Ibid.

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 commendeth this, that the Scriptures in all Things may intercur, and the Necessity of Swearing may altogether suspend it self.

Ibid.

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 Protestants, confesseth, That Christians ought to live so 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. 5. 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 also he 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 perform'd 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 lye 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 can't Swear, offers as large Caution as he that Swears, and is willing to undergo Equal Punishment, in Case of 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, rendring 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

On Mat. 5.
& De Fur.
Bell. ac Pac.
p. 2. c. 25.
ad 47.

De Inram,
Præcat. 5

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heard by them of old Time, thou shalt not forswear thy Self, 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 it self the Place most expressly forbids; or thus, Of old it was said, thou shalt not forswear thy Self, 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 was said of Old) say unto you, swear not at all, but perform thine Oaths to God in Truth and Righteousness; The Inconherence 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 Room thereof, which speaketh the Truth, the whole Truth, and nothing but the Truth to his Neighbour, and makes a like Matter of Conscience to sell a Lye, 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.

XCVI. 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. 5. 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.

XCVII. Jer. Tayler, Chaplain in Ordinary to K. Charles I. and late Bishop of Down and Connor, in his Book called ENIATTCÆ A Course of Sermons, London, printed 1673. Sermon of Christian Simplicity, fol. 228. Thus, Our blessed Lord, would not have his Disciples to swear at all, (not in publick Judicature) if the Necessity of the World would permit him to be obeyed. If Christians will live according to the Religion, the 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 useless, 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 ne-

* Viz. All their Reverend Fathers in God, Arch-Bishops, Bishops, Deans, and the Judges or the Land, Justices of the Peace, and all other Officers term'd 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.

cessary 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 Humane Diffidence and Dishonesty: These Things were indeed found out by Men, but the Necessity of these, was from him that is the *Father of all Lyes*, 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. Concerning 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. faith of *Radamanthus*.

CXVIII. *Lastly*, Bp. Gauden, in his Discourse for *Solemn Swearing*, says thus much against it.

1. That *Dissemblations*, *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 each other, *Yea, Yea, Nay, Nay*; thereby keeping up the *Sincerity* 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 to be compelled to swear, in Order to the *Awing him* in True Telling—Nor is ill Men's 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* rise 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 refrain'd 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 wast 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* 8. 32. from *Fraud* and *Falseness*, and consequently from *Swearing*, which took Occasion by it to enter the World. Now we profess our selves 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 can't take an Oath in any Case.

Object. 'Tis 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?

Ans. 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 Discover'd You will have as easie a Way to catch us at Lying, as others at For-swearing, and if you find us such, inflict the same Punishment for our Lye, which was enall'd for their Perjury.

Be pleased to consider.

I. The Rise of Oaths.

II. The Prohibition of Christ.

III. The Judgment of so many good Heathens.

IV. The Belief and Practice of so many Primitive Christians, Celebrated Fathers, Godly Martyrs, and Learned Protestants.

V. The Caution they use, who in any Sense allow of an Oath.

VI. 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 *Epicures*,

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poerites; And what Security can or will you have from our *Oaths*, who must first make us to break the Tye of our own Conscience before we can take them? It can't be thought, we should keep with you, when you make us break with our selves.

VII. Consider what expresse Scripture we have for it, and that in the Judgment and Martyrdom of many good and famous Persons.

VIII. Be pleas'd to weigh the great *Perjury* that is now in our World, and daily *numerous Oaths* belcht 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 *Incouragement* for speaking that Truth *without an Oath*, which others are compelled to by Oath, if yet they speak it. *False Speaking* necessitated 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 are not Sick should be obliged to take the *Potions of the Sick*, only to keep them Company, seems *Unreasonable*.

IX. Be pleased to consider the perishing Difficulties we meet withal in our *Commerce* in the World, particularly as *Creditors, Executors, Merchants, Ship-Masters, Apprentices, &c.* Men making us pay because of our *Tenderness* in this Matter. O the Oppression that is exercised in *Petty Courts and Sessions* upon many *Hundreds* of us, who know not which way to *Right* our selves, an *Oath* still being required in the Case; the *Refusal* of which for *Conscience sake*, exposes us to great *Losses*, both of *Estate, Liberty*, and sometimes *Life*, by *tedious and cruel Imprisonments*.

X. But the *Loss* and *Trouble* 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.

XI. And lastly, We intreat you further 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 cheerfully submit our selves to the *Punishment* of the *Perjured*, if we break our Word; do you but please to take us into *equal Priviledge* 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 *Hoofst's History of the Netherlands*, a *President*, not impertinent to our Purpose, *fol. 464, 465*, translated out of *Latin* as follows:

CXIX. In this Assembly of the States (saith *Hoofst*) 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 *Casspius Heidanus*; which was thus worded.

The Cause of the *Menists* hath, since 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
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curſed Hopes meet with ſuch wiſe Repulſes from prudent Rulers] For, he had at *Middelburgh* given me great Hopes, that we ſhould ſeclude from the Freedom of *Burgeſſes*, or at leaſt, not ſo ſolemnly receive thoſe that reſuſed an *Oath*. Now he alledgeth, 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 Republick. Yea, he avers, That this was the only Cauſe formerly which brought their *Conſiſtories* ſo far into the Diſpleaſure of the *States*; that it differ'd 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 *Papiſh Hodge-podge*. That his ſettled Judgment was, that this would turn to great Diſadvantage, and breaking down of their Churches.

And when I [ſaith *Aldegonde*] ſervently urged, That we could eaſily reſect 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 threatened with by ſuch a Conclusion of the Council, in it ſelf ungodly, He answered me ſharply enough, That *thoſe Men's T E A muſt paſs for an Oath; and that we muſt not urge this Thing any further, or we muſt confeſs, that the Papiſts had Reaſon to force us to a Religion that was againſt our Conſciences; and that the North-Hollanders would not at all allow of it.*

In ſhort, (ſaith he) I ſcarce ſee any thing we can get done in this Point, which verily [ye may believe him upon his Proteltation] is the greater Smart to me, the more I obſerve that the Minds of many honeſt Men, by the pretending of I know not what unreaſonable Stumbling-Blocks, will be thereby imbittered, 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 endeavour'd, 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 Perſecuting 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 *Hoof* adds, By this we may obſerve, of what Conſequence the *Prince* and *States* then held *Liberty of Conſcience* to be.

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 Naſſaw* and *Prince of Orange*, to the *Magiſtrates* of the City of *Middelburgh*, 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 *Middelburgh*, complaining thereby, *That the Magiſtrates of the ſaid City had 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 born all Civil Burdens, Contributions and Taxes, equally with other Burgeſſes and Inhabitants*

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habitants of this 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 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 Middelburgh; but consequently innumerable others, in Holland and Zeeland, who have (according to his Excellency's Proclamations) placed themselves under his Excellency's Protection, by which no Man can be any Ways benefited; but all these Lands received great and considerable Damage, because thereby the Traffick 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 Petitioners 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 Zeeland, 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 Middelburgh, 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 'till 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 Middelburgh, 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, Dieft, &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
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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 having 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 your ſelves, 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 Governour 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 hear any Man.*

And therefore we charge and order you expreſly, *To deſiſt all farther Moлеſtation 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; 'till 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 reſtify, that ſuch Ship, whereof he is Maſter, doth properly belong unto the Subjeſts 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 certify, &c. That A. B. hath before us ſolemnly affirmed and declared, that the Ship C. D. whereof he is Maſter, doth properly belong and appertain to the Subjeſts of the States General of the United Provinces, &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 indulged *Diſſenters* than to them of the National Religion, who would have flugg'd and tyraniſ'd all into Poverty and Vaſſalage.

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Have Regard to our *Suffering Condition*, we beseech you, and shew your selves 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 call'd *Quakers*, and known 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, that 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 this famous Kingdom, the most certain Foundation of true Felicity to your selves; and which will give, as a good Example to others, so the clearest Reputation to you and your Posterity.

This perform'd in the Name and for the Service of the People called Quakers, by

WILLIAM PENN, RICHARD RICHARDSON.

England's Present INTEREST Considered,

W I T H

Honour to the PRINCE, and Safety to the PEOPLE.

In Answer to this one Question,

What is most Fit, Easy and Safe at this Juncture of Affairs to be done, for quieting of Differences, allaying the Heat of contrary Interests, and making them subservient to the Interest of the Government, and consistent with the Prosperity of the Kingdom?

Submitted to the Consideration of OUR SUPERIORS.

Lex est Ratio sine Appetitu.

The INTRODUCTION.

THERE is no Law under Heaven, which hath its Rise from Nature or Grace, that forbids Men to deal Honestly and Plainly, with the Great-est, in Matters of Importance to their present and future Good: On the contrary, the Dictates of both enjoin every Man that Office to his Neighbour; and from Charity among Private Persons, it becomes a Duty indispensable

to the Publick. Nor do *Worthy Minds* think ever the less kindly of Honest and Humble Monitors; and God knows, that oft-times *Princes* are deceived, and *Kingdoms* languish for Want of them. How far the Posture of our Affairs will justify this Address, I shall submit to the Judgment, and Observation of every *Intelligent Reader*.

Certain it is, that there are few Kingdoms in the World more divided within themselves, and whose Religious Interests lye more seemingly cross to all Accommodation, than that we Live in; which renders the *Magistrate's Task* hard, and giveth him a Difficulty next to invincible.

Your Endeavours for an *Uniformity* have been many; Your Acts not a few to enforce it; but the *Consequence*, whether you intended it or no, through the Barbarous Practices of those that have had their Execution, hath been the spoiling of several Thousands of the Free-Born People of this Kingdom, of their Unforfeited Rights. *Persons have been flung into Goals, Gates and Trunks broke open, Goods distrained, till a Stool hath not been left to sit down on: Flocks of Cattle driven, whole Barns full of Corn seized, Thresh'd, and carried away: Parents left without their Children, Children without their Parents, both without Subsistence.*

But that which aggravates the Cruelty, is, *The Widow's Mite* hath not escaped their Hands; they have made her *Cow the Forfeiture of her Conscience*; not leaving her a Bed to lye on, nor a Blanket to cover her. And which is yet more Barbarous, and helps to make up this Tragedy, the *Poor Helpless Orphan's Milk, Boiling over the Fire, has been flung to the Dogs, and the Skillet made Part of their Prize*: That, had not Nature in Neighbourhoods been stronger than Cruelty in such Informers and Officers, to open her Bowels for their Relief and Subsistence, they must have utterly perish'd.

Nor can these inhuman Instruments plead Conscience or Duty to those Laws, who have abundantly transcended the severest Clause in them; for to see the imprison'd, has been Suspicion enough for a Goal; and to Visit the Sick, to make a Conventicle: Fining and Straining for Preaching, and being at a Meeting, where there hath been neither; and *Forty Pound for Twenty*, at Pick and Chooft too, is a moderate Advance with some of them.

Others thinking this a Way too dull and troublesome, alter the Question, and turn, *Have you met? Which the Act intends; to, Will you Swear?* Which it intendeth not: So that in some Places it hath been sufficient to a *Premunire*, that Men have had Estates to lose; I mean such Men, who, through Tenderness, refuse the Oath; but by Principle like the Allegiance, not less than their Adversaries.

Finding then, by sad Experience, and a long Tract of Time, that the very Remedies apply'd to cure Dissension, increase it; and that the more Vigorously an *Uniformity* is Coercively Prosecuted, the wider Breaches grow, the more inflamed Persons are, and fix'd in their Resolutions to stand by their Principles, it should, methinks, put an End to the Attempt: For besides all other Inconveniences to those that give them Trouble, their very Sufferings beget that Compassion in the Multitude, which rarely misses of making many Friends, and proves often a *Preparation for not a few Profelytes*. So much more Reverend is Suffering, than making Men suffer for Religion, even of those that cannot suffer for their Religion, if yet they have any Religion to suffer for. Histories are full of Examples: *The Persecution of the Christian Religion* made it more illustrious than it's Doctrine. Perhaps it will be denied to *English Dissenters*, that they rely upon so good a Cause, and therefore a Vanity in them to expect that Success. But *Arrianism* it self, once reputed the foulest *Heretic* by the Church, was by no Artifice of its Party so disseminated, as the severe Opposition of the *Homosians*.

Contentes naturally draw Company, and the Vulgar are justified in their Curiosity, if not Pity, when they see so many Wiser Men busie themselves to suppress a People, by whom they see no other Ill, than that for *Non-Conformity*, in Matters of Religion, they bear Injuries and Indignities Patiently.

1675.

To be short; If all the *Interruptions, Informations, Fines, Plunders, Imprisonments, Exiles and Blood*, which the great Enemy of Nature, as well as Grace, hath excited Man to, in all Ages, about Matters of Faith and Worship, from *Cain and Abel's* Time to ours, could furnish us with sufficient Presidents, that the Design propos'd by the Intifictors of so much Severity, was ever Answer'd; that they have smother'd Opinions, and not inflamed, but extinguish'd Contest; it might perhaps, at least prudentially, give Check to our Expectations, and allay my just Confidence in this Address: But since such Attempts have ever been found Improsperous, as well as that they are too costly, and have always procured the Judgments of God, and the Haired of Men: To the Sufferers, Misery; to their Countries, Decay of People and Trade; and to their own Consciences an extream Guilt; I fall to the Question, and then the Solution of it: In which, as I declare, I intend nothing that should in the least abate of that Love, Honour and Service that are due to you, so I beseech you, do me the Justice as to make the Fairest Interpretation of my Expressions: For the whole of my Plain and Honest Design is, *To offer my Mite for the Increase of your True Honour, and my Dear Country's Felicity.*

THE QUESTION.

WHAT is most Fit, Easie and Safe, at this Juncture of Affairs, to be done, for Composing, at least Quieting Differences, for allaying the Heat of contrary Interests, and making them Subserving to the Interest of the Government; and Consistent with the Prosperity of the Kingdom?

THE ANSWER.

- I. **A**N Inviolable and Impartial Maintenance of *English Rights*.
- II. Our Superiors Governing themselves upon a *Ballance*, as near as may be, towards the several Religious Interests.
- III. A Sincere Promotion of *General and Practical Religion*.

I shall briefly discourse upon these Three Things, and endeavour to prove them a *Sufficient*, if not the *Only Best Answer*, that can be given to the Question propounded.

Chap. I.

CHAP. I.

Of ENGLISH RIGHTS.

I. *Of English Rights, in the British, Saxon and Norman Times. Particularly of Liberty and Property. Of Legislation. Of Juries. That they are Fundamental to the Government, and but Repeated and Confirmed by the Great Charter. The Reverence paid them by Kings and Parliaments, and their Care to preserve them. The Curse and Punishment that attended the Violators. More General Considerations of Property, &c. The Uncertainty and Ruin of Interests, where it is not maintain'd: Divers Presidents: That it is the Prince's Interest to preserve it inviolably: That it is not justly Forfeitable for Ecclesiastical Non-Conformity; and that where the Property is Sacrificed for it, the Government is chang'd from Civil to Ecclesiastical, from the Parliament-House to the Vestry.*

THERE is no Government in the World, but it must either stand upon Will and Power, or Condition and Contract: The one Rules by Men, the other by Laws: And above all Kingdoms under Heaven, it is *England's* Felicity to have her Constitution so impartially Just and Free, as there cannot well be any Thing more remote from Arbitrariness, and Zealous of preserving the Laws, by which it's Rights are maintained.

These Laws are either *Fundamental*, and so Immutible; or more *Superficial and Temporary*, and consequently alterable.

By

By *Superficial Laws*, we understand such Acts, Laws or Statutes, as are suited to present Occurrences, and Emergencies of State; and which may as well be abrogated, as they were first made, for the Good of the Kingdom: For Instance, those Statutes that relate to Victuals, Cloaths, Times, and Places of Trade, &c. which have ever stood, whilst the Reason of them was in Force; but when that Benefit, which did once redound, fell by fresh Accidents, they ended, according to that Old Maxim, *Cessante ratione legis, cessat lex*.

By *Fundamental Laws* I do not only understand such as immediately spring from *Synteresis* (that Eternal Principle of Truth and Sapience) more or less disseminated through Mankind, which are as the Corner-Stones of Humane Structure, the Basis of Reasonable Societies, without which all would run into Heaps and Confusion; to wit, *Honestè vivere, Alterum non ledere, jus suum cuique tribuere*, that is, To live honestly, not to hurt another, and to give every one their Right, (Excellent Principles, and common to all Nations) though that it self were sufficient to our present Purpose: But those Rights and Priviledges, which I call *English*, and which are the proper Birth-Right of *Englishmen*, and may be reduced to these Three.

I. An Ownership, and Undisturbed Possession: That what they have, is Rightly theirs, and no Body's else.

II. A Voting of every Law that is made, whereby that Ownership or Propriety may be maintained.

III. An Influence upon, and a Real Share in that Judicatory Power that must apply every such Law, which is the Ancient Necessary and Laudable Use of Juries: If not found among the Britains, to be sure Practised by the Saxons, and continued through the Normans to this very Day.

That these have been the Ancient and Undoubted Rights of *Englishmen*, as Three great Roots, under whose Spacious Branches the *English People* have been wont to shelter themselves against the Storms of Arbitrary Government, I shall endeavour to prove.

I. An Ownership and Undisturbed Possession.

This relates both to Title and Security of Estate, and Liberty of Person, from the Violence of Arbitrary Power.

'Tis true, the Foot-Steps of the *British Government* are very much overgrown by Time. There is scarcely any Thing remarkable left us, but what we are beholden to Strangers for: Either their own Unskilfulness in Letters, or their Depopulations and Conquests by Invaders, have deprived the World of a particular Story of their Laws and Customs, in Peace or War. However, *Cæsar*, *Tacitus*, and especially *Dion*, say enough to prove their Nature and their Government to be as far from Slavish, as their Breeding and Manners were remote from the Education and greater Skill of the Romans. *Beda* and *M. Westminster* say as much.

The Law of Property they observed, and made those Laws that concern'd the Preservation of it.

The Saxons brought no Alteration to these Two Fundamentals of our *English Government*; for they were a *Free People*, govern'd by Laws, of which they themselves were the Makers: That is, there was no Law made without the Consent of the People, *de majoribus omnes*, as *Tacitus* observeth of the *Germans* in general. They lost nothing by Transporting of themselves hither; and doubtless found a greater Consistency between their Laws, than their Ambition. For the Learned Collector of the *British Councils* tells us, That *Ethelston*, the Saxon King, pleading with the People, told them, *Seeing I, according to your Law, allow what is yours, do ye so to th me*. Whence Three Things are observable. First, That something was theirs, that no Body else could dispose of. Secondly, That they had Property by their own Law, therefore they had a Share in making their own

Cæsar's Com.
Tacit. in Vit.
Agrip.
Dion. l. 6.
M. West. Anno
416. l. i. c. 17.

Hist Germ.

Concil. Br. II
P. 397.

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Chap. 1.
Li. Ina. Lamb.

Mirror., c. 1.
§. 2.

Ibid. c. 1. §. 2.
3. Just. c. 4.
§. 11.

M. Paris in
vit. Gulielm.

Spicileg.

Li. Guliel. 55.

Laws. *Thirdly*, That the Law was *Umpire* between King and People; neither of them ought to infringe: This, *Ina*, the Great Saxon King, confirms. *There is no Great Man*, saith he, *nor any other in the whole Kingdom; that may abolish Written Laws*. It was also a great Part of the Saxon Oath, administered to the Kings, at their Entrance upon the Government, *To Maintain and Rule according to the Laws of the Nation*.

Their Parliament they called *Micklemete*, or *Wittangemote*. It consisted of King, Lords, and People, before the Clergy interwove themselves with the Civil Government. And *Andrew Horn*, in his *Mirror of Justice*, tells us, *That the Grand Assembly of the Kingdom in the Saxon Time, was to confer of the Government of God's People, how they might be kept from Sin, in Quiet, and have Right done them, according to the Customs and Laws*.

Nor did this Law end with the Saxon Race: *William the Conqueror*, as he is usually called, quitting all *Claim by Conquest*, gladly stooped to the Laws observed by the Saxon Kings, and so became a King by Leave; valuing a Title by *Election*, before that which is founded in *Power* only. He therefore, at his *Coronation*, made a *Solemn Covenant*, to maintain the Good, Approved, and Ancient Laws of this Kingdom, and to Inhibit all Spoil and Unjust Judgment.

And this, *Henry the First*, his Third Son, among other his Titles, mentioned in his Charter, to make *Ely* a Bishoprick, calls himself, *Son of William the Great*, who by Hereditary Right, (not *Conquest*) succeeded King *Edward* (called the *Confessor*) in this Kingdom.

An Ancient Chronicle of *Litchfield*, speaks of a Council of Lords that advised *William of Normandy*, *To call together all the Nobles and Wise Men throughout their Counties of England, that they might set down their own Laws and Customs*; which was about the Fourth Year of his Reign: Which implies that they had Fundamental Laws, and that he intended their Confirmation.

And one of the first Laws made by this King, which, as a Notable Author saith, *may be called the First Magna Charta in the Norman Times* (by which he referred to himself nothing of the Freeman of this Kingdom, but their Free-Service) in the Conclusion of it, saith, *That the Lands of the Inhabitants of this Kingdom were granted to them in Inheritance of the King, and by the Common Council of the whole Kingdom*; which Law doth also provide, *That they shall hold their Lands and Tenements well or quietly, and in Peace, from all unjust Tax and Tillage*: Which is farther expounded in the Laws of *Henry the First*, Chap. 4. *That no Tribute or Tax should be taken, but what was due in Edward the Confessor's Time*. So that the Norman Kings claim no other Right in the Lands and Possessions of any of their Subjects, than according to *English Law and Right*.

And so tender were they of *Property* in those Times, that when *Justice* it self became Importunate in a Case, no Distress could issue without publick Warrant obtained: Nor that neither, but upon Three Complaints first made. Nay, when *Rape and Plunder* were Rife, and Men seem'd to have no more Right to their own, than they had Power to maintain, even then was this Law a sufficient Sanctuary to the Oppressed, by being publickly pleaded at the Bar against all *Usurpation*; though it were under the Presence of their Conqueror's Right it self; as by the Case of *Edwin of Sbornbourn* in *Camden's Britannia*, plainly appears.

The like Obligation to maintain this Fundamental Law of *Property*, with the appendent Rights of the People, was taken by *William Rufus*, *Henry the First*, *Stephen*, *Henry the Second*, *Richard the First*, *John*, and *Henry the Third*: Which brings me to that Famous Law, called, *Magna Charta*, or *The Great Charter of England*, of which more anon; it being my Design to shew, That nothing of the *Essential Rights of Englishmen* was thereby, *De Novo*, granted, as in Civility to King *Henry the Third* it is termed; but that they were therein only Repeated and Confirmed. Wherefore I shall return to Antecedent Times, to fetch down the remaining Rights.

The

The second Part of this first Fundamental is, *Liberty of Person*. The Saxons were so tender in the Point of Imprisonment, that there was little or no use made of it: Nor would they so Punish their Bond-men, *vinculis coercere rarum est*.

In case of Debt or Damage, the Recovery thereof was either by a Delivery of the just Value in Goods, or, upon the Sheriff's Sale of the Goods, in Money; and if that satisfied not, the Land was extended: And when all was gone, they were accustomed to make their last Siezure upon the Party's Arms, and then he was reputed an Undone Man, and cast upon the Charity of his Friends for Subsistence: But his Person was never Imprison'd for the Debt: No, not in the King's Case. And to the Honour of King Alfred be it spoken, *He imprison'd one of his Judges for Imprisoning a Man in that Case*.

We find among his Laws this Passage, *Qui immerentem Paganum vinculis constrinxerit, decem solidis noxam sarcito*: 'That if a Man should Imprison his Vassal or Bondman Unjustly, his Purgation of that Offence should not be less than the Payment of Ten Shillings; A Sum very considerable in those Days, more than Ten Pounds now.

Nor did the Revolution from Saxon to Norman drop this Privilege: For besides the general Confirmation of former Rights by William, surnam'd the Conqueror, his Son Henry the First, particularly took such Care of continuing *This Part of Property*, inviolable, that, in his Time, no Person was to be Imprison'd for committing of Mortal Crime it self, unless he were first attainted by the Verdict of Twelve Men; that is, a Jury, which was to be of the Neighbourhood.

Thus much for the first of my Three Fundamentals, *Right of Estate*, and *Liberty of Person*: That is to say, I am no Man's Bond-man, and what I Possess is Absolutely Mine Own.

II. A Voting of every Law that is made, whereby that Ownership or Property may be maintained.

This second Fundamental of our English Government, was no Inroad upon the Kings of more modern Ages, but extant long before the Great Charter made in the Reign of Hen. III. Even as early as the Britain's themselves; and that it continued to the Time of Hen. 3. is evident from several Instances.

Cæsar, in his Commentaries, tells us, That it was the Custom of the British Cities to elect their General, or Commander in Chief, in Case of War? Dion assures us, in the Life of Severus the Emperor, That in Britain the People held a Share in Power and Government; which is the modestest Construction his Words will bear. And Tacitus in the Life of Agricola, says, They had a Common Council, and that one great Reason of their Overthrow by the Romans, was, their not Consulting with, and Relying upon their Common Council. Again, Both Bede and Mat. Westminster tell us, That the Britain's summoned a Synod, chose their Moderator, and expell'd the Pelagian Creed. All which supposes Popular Assemblies, with Power to order National Affairs.

And indeed, the Learned Author of the British Councils gives some Hints to this Purpose, That they had a Common Council, and call'd it *Kyfr-y-then*.

The Saxons were not inferiour to the Britain's in this Point, and Story furnisheth us with more and plainer Proofs. They brought this Liberty along with them, and it was not likely they should lose it, by transporting themselves into a Country where they also found it. Tacitus reports it to have been generally the German-Liberty; like unto the *Concio* of the Athenians and Lacedæmonians.

They called their Free-men *Frilingi*, and These had Votes in the Making and Executing the General Laws of the Kingdom.

1675.
Chap. I.

Li. Edw.

Li. Alfr. Cap.
1. & 31.

Li. Gulielm.
cap. 42. 43.
55.
Li. Hen. I.
Cap. 5.

Lib. 5. 6.

Cap. 12.

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Chap. I
Concil. Brit.
162.
Li. Sax. Lam.

In *Ethelbert's* Time, after the Monk *Austin's* Insinuations had made his Followers a Part of the Government, the *Commune Concilium* was *iam Cleri quam Populi*, as well Clergy as People. In *Ina's* Time, *Suofa & instituto Episcoporum, omnium Senatorum & natu majorum Sapientum populi*; Bishops, Lords, and Wife Men of the People. *Alfred* after him reform'd the former Laws, *Consulto sapientum*, by the Advice of the Sages of the Kingdom. Likewise Matters of Publick and General Charge, in Case of War, &c. we have granted in the Assembly, *Rege, Baronibus & Populo*. By the King, Barons and People. And though the Saxon Word properly imports the Meeting of Wise Men, yet *All* that would come might be present, and interpose their Like or Dislike of the present Proposition: As that of *Ina*, *in magna servorum Dei frequentia*. Again, *Commune Concilium seniorum & populorum totius regni*; 'The Common Council of the Elders, or Nobles, and People of the whole Kingdom. The Council of *Winton*, Ann. 855. is said to be in the Presence of the Great Men, *aliorumq; fidelium infinita multitudo*; 'And an Infinite Multitude of other Faithful People; which was nigh Four Hundred Years before the Great Charter was made.

Li. Sax. Lam.
p. 1.
Concil. Brit.
19. Ingulph.

My last Instance of the Saxon Ages shall be out of the *Glossary* of the learned *English* Knight, *H. Spelman*: The Saxon *Witangemote* or *Parliament* (saith he) is a *Convention of the Princes, as well Bishops as Magistrates, and the Free People of the Kingdom*: And that the said *Witangemote* consulted of the common *Safety in Peace and War*, and for the Promotion of the common Good.

Spelm. Gloss.
Tit. Gemote
f. 261.

William of Normandy chose rather to rely upon the *People's Consent*, than his own Power to obtain the Kingdom. He Swore to them to maintain their old Laws and Priviledges; they to him Obedience for his so Governing of them: For, as a certain Author hath it, *He bound himself to be Just, that he might be Great; and the People to submit to Justice, that they might be Free*. In his Laws, C. 55. 'We by the Common Council of the whole Kingdom, have granted the *People's Lands to them in Inheritance, according to their Ancient Laws*.

Li. Gulielm.
c. 55.

Matters of general Expence upon the whole Body of the People, were settled by this Great Council, especially in the Charge of Arms imposed upon the Subject. The Law saith it to have been done by the *Commune Concilium of the Kingdom*.

Li. Gulielm.
Cap. 58.

So *W. Rufus* and *Henry* the First, were received by the common Consent of the People. And *Stephen's* Words were *Ego Stephanus, Dei gratia, Assensu Cleri & Populi in Regno Anglie Electus*, &c. 'I *Stephen*, by the Grace of God, and Consent of the Clergy and People, Chosen King of England, &c. So King *John* was chosen, *Tam Cleri quam Populi unanimi consensu & favore*, 'By the Favour and Unanimous Consent of the Clergy and People: And his Queen is said to have been crown'd *de communi consensu & concordia voluntate Archiepiscoporum, Comitum, Baronum, Cleri & Populi totius Regni*, i. e. 'by the common Assent and unanimous Good-will of the Arch-bishops, Bishops, Counts, Barons, Clergy and People of the whole Kingdom. King *Edw.* 1. also desired Money of the *commune Concilium* or Parliament, 'as you have given in my Time, and that of my Progenitors, Kings, &c.

Cart. moder.
feder. mag.
figil. Anno 1.
Joh. ex Vet.
Reg. in Arch.
Cantuar. Archiepiscop.
Rot. Cart.
Ann. 5. Joh.
Memb. 5.
n. 29.

All which shows, that it was Antecedent to the Great Charter, not the Rights therein repeated and confirmed, but the Act it self.

Rot. Par. 40.
Ed. 3. n. 73.

And King *John's* Resignation of the Crown to the Pope, being question'd upon some Occasion in *Edward III.* Time, it was agreed upon, that he had no Power to do it, without the Consent of the Dukes, Prelates, Barons, and Commons:

And as Paradoxal as any may please to think it, 'tis the great Interest of a Prince, that the People should have a Share in the making of their own Laws; where 'tis otherwise, they are no Kings of Free-men, but Slaves, and those their Enemies for making them so. *Leges nulla alia causa nos tenent, quam quod judicio populi receptæ sunt*; 'The Laws (saith *Ulpian*) 'do therefore oblige the People, because they are allowed of by their Judgment. And *Gratian*, in Dec. distinct. 4. *Tam demum humane leges habent*

vim suam, cum fuerint non modo instituta, sed etiam firmata Approbatione Communitatis: It is then (*sauit be*) that Humane Laws have their due Force, when they shall not only be devised, but confirm'd by the Approbation of the People.

I. It makes Men Diligent, and increaseth *Trade*, which advances the Revenue: For where Men are not Free, they will never seek to improve, because they are not sure of what they have, and less of what they get.

II. It frees the Prince from the *Jealousie* and Hate of his People; and consequently, the Troubles and Danger that follow; and makes his *Province* ealie and safe.

III. If any Inconvenience attends the Execution of any Law, the Prince is not to be blam'd: It is their own Fault that made it.

I shall now proceed to the *Third Fundamental*, and by plain Evidence prove it to have been a Material Part of the Government, before the *Great Charter* was Enacted.

III. The People have an Influence upon, and a Great Share in the Judicatory Power, &c.

That it was a *Brittish* Custom, I will not affirm, but have some Reason to suppose: For if the *Saxons* had brought it with them, they would also have left it behind them, and in all Likelihood there would have been some Footsteps in *Saxony* of such a Law or Custom, which we find not. I will not enter the Lists with any about this: This shall suffice me, that we find it early among the *Saxons* in this Country, and if they, a Free People in their own Country, settling themselves here as a New Planted Colony, did supply what was defective in their own Government, or add some New Freedom to themselves, as all Planters are wont to do; which are as those First and Corner Stones, their Posterity, with all Care and Skill, are to build upon; That, it self, will serve my Turn, to prove it a *Fundamental*: That is, such a *First Principle* in our *English* Government, by the Agreement of the People, as ought not to be Violated. I would not be understood of the Number, but of the Way of Tryal: I mean, *That Men were not to be Condemned but by the Votes of the Freemen*.

N. Bacon thinks that in ruder Times the Multitude tryed all among themselves; and fancies it came from the *Grecians*, who determin'd Controversies by the Suffrage of 34, or the major Part of them.

Be it as it will, *Juries* the *Saxons* had; for in the Laws of King *Ethelred*, about Three Hundred Years before the Entrance of the *Norman* Duke, we find Enacted, in *singulis Centuriis*, &c. thus English'd, *In every Hundred let there be a Court, and let Twelve Ancient Freemen, together with the Lord of the Hundred, be Sworn, that they will not Condemn the Innocent, or Acquit the Guilty*. And so strict were they of those Ages, in observing this Fundamental Way of Judicature, that *Alfred* put one of his Judges to Death, for passing Sentence upon a Verdict (corruptly obtain'd) upon the Votes of the Jurors, *Three of Twelve* being in the Negative. *If the Number was so Sacred, What was the Constitution it self?*

The very same King Executed another of his Judges, for passing Sentence of Death upon an *Ignoramus* return'd by the Jury; and a third, for Condemning a Man upon an Inquest taken *ex officio*, when as the Delinquent had not put himself upon their Trial. More of his Justice might be mention'd even in this very Case.

There was also a Law made in the Time of *Ethelred*, when the *Brittains* and *Saxons* began to grow tame to each other, and intercommon amicably, that saith, *Let there be Twelve Men of Understanding*, &c. *Six English, and Six Welsh, and let them deal Justice, both to English and Welsh*.

Also in those simple Times, if a Crime extended but to some *Shameful Punishment*, as *Pillory* or *Whipping* (the last whercof, as usual as it has been with us, was inflicted only upon their Bondmen) the Penance might be reduced

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Chap. I.

LI. Sax. Lam.
Ann. 675.

LI. Etheld.
cap. 3. Lam.
LI. Inq. L.
Caout.

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Chap. I.

reduc'd to a *Ransom*, according to the Nature of the Fault; but it must be Assent in the Presence of the Judge, and by the *Twelve*, that is, the Jury of *Frilingi*, or Freemen.

Hitherto Stories tell us of *Trials by Juries*, and those to have consisted, in General Terms, of *Freemen*: But *Per Pares*, or by *Equals*, came after, occasion'd by the considerable *Saxons*, neglecting that Service, and leaving it to the inferior People, who lost the Bench, *Their Ancient Rights*, because they were not thought Company for a Judge or Sheriff: And also from the *Growing Pride of the Danes*, who slighted such a *Rural Judicature*, and despised the Fellowship of the mean *Saxon Freemen* in publick Service. The Wise *Saxon King* perceiving this, and the dangerous Consequence of submitting the *Lives and Liberties* of the *Inferiour* (but not less useful People) to the *Dictates of any such Haughty Humour*; and on the other Hand, of subjecting the *Nobler Sort to the Suffrage of the Inferiour Rank*, did, with the Advice of his *Wittangemote*, or *Parliament*, provide a third Way, more Equal and Grateful, and by Agreement with *Gunthurn the Dane*, settled the Law of *Peers*, or *Equals*; which is the *Envoy of Nations*, but the *Famous Privilege of our English People*: One of those *Three Pillars* the Fabrick of this Ancient and *Free Government* stands upon.

This *Benefit* gets Strength by Time, and is receiv'd by the *Norman-Duke* and his Successors; and not only confirm'd in the Lump of other Privileges, but in one Notable Case, for all, which might be brought to prove, that the *Fundamental Privileges*, mentioned in the *Great Charter*, 9 of *Hen. 3.* were *Before it*. The Story is more at large deliver'd by our Learned *Selden*: But thus, *William* having given his Half Brother *Odo*, a large Territory in *Kent*, with the Earldom, and he taking Advantage at the King's being displeas'd with the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to possess himself of some of the Lands of that See, *Landfrank*, that succeeded the Archbishop, inform'd hereof, petition'd the King for Justice, *secundum legem terra*, according to the Law of the Land: Upon which the King summon'd a *County-Court*, where the Debate lasted three Days, before the *Freemen of Kent*, in the Presence of *Lords and Bishops*, and others Skilful in the Law, and the Judgment pass'd for the Archbishop, *Upon the Votes of the Freemen*.

By all which it is (I hope) sufficiently and inoffensively manifested, that these three Principles, *viz.*

1. *That English Men have the alone Right of Possession and Disposition of what is theirs.*

2. *That they are Parties to the Laws of their Country, for the Maintenance thereof.*

3. *That they have an Influence upon, and a real Share in the Judicatory Power, that applys those Laws*, have been the *Ancient Rights* of the Kingdom, and common Basis of the Government: That which Kings, under all Revolutions have sworn to maintain, and History affords us so many Presidents to confirm. So that the *Great Charter* made in the 9th of *Henry the III.* was not the *Nativity*, but *Restoration of Ancient Privileges* from Abuses. No Grant of *New Rights*, but a *New Grant*, or *Confirmation* rather, of *Ancient Laws and Liberties*, violated by King *John*, and restored by his Successor, at the Expence of a long and bloody War; which shew'd them as resolute to keep, as their Ancestors had been careful to make those excellent Laws.

And so I am come to the *Great Charter*, which is comprehensive of what I have already been discoursing, and which I shall briefly touch upon, with those successive *Statutes* that have been made in Honour and Preservation of it.

I shall rehearse so much of it as falls within the Consideration of the foregoing Matter (which is a great deal in a little) with something of the Formality of *Grant and Curse*; that this Age may see, with what Reverence and Circumspection our Ancestors governed themselves in confirming and preserving of it.

Henry

' Henry by the Grace of God King of England, &c. To all Archbishops, Earls, Barons, Sheriffs, Provosts, Officers, unto all Bailiffs, and our faithful Subjects, who shall see this present Charter, Greeting, Know ye, that we, unto the Honour of Almighty God, and for the Salvation of the Souls of our Progenitors, and our Successors, Kings of England, to the Advancement of Holy Church, and Amendment of our Realm, of our meer and free Will have given and granted to all Archbishops, &c. and to all Freemen of this our Realm, these Liberties underwritten, to be holden and kept in this our Realm of England for evermore.

Tho' in Honour to the King, it is said to be out of his meer and free Will, as if it were his meer Favour, yet the Qualification of the Persons, he is said to grant the ensuing Liberties to, shews, that they are Terms of Formality, viz. *To all Freemen of this Realm.* Which supposes there were Freemen before this Grant; and that Character also implies they must have had *Laws and Liberties*: Consequently, this was not an Infranchising of them, but a confirming to Freemen their just Privileges they had before. The Words of the Charter are these:

' A Freeman shall not be Amerced for a small Fault, but after the Quantity of the Fault, and for a great Fault, after the Manner thereof, saving to him his Contenements or Freehold: And a Merchant likewise shall be amerced, saving to him his Merchandize; and none of the said Amercements shall be assessed, but by the Oath of good and honest Men of the Vicinage.

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' No Freeman shall be taken or imprison'd, nor be disseized of his Freehold or Liberties, or free Customs, or be outlaw'd or exil'd, or any other Ways destroy'd; nor we shall not pass upon him, nor condemn him, but by lawful Judgment of his Peers, or by the Law of the Land. We shall sell to no Man, we shall deny or defer to no Man, either Justice or Right.

Cap. 29.

I stand amazed, how any Man can have the Confidence to say, *These Privileges were extorted by the Barons Wars*, when the King declares, that what he did herein, was done *freely*: Or that they were new Privileges, when the very Tenour of the Word proves the contrary: For *Freehold, Liberties, or Free Customs*, are by the Charter it self supposed to be in the Possession of the Freemen at the making and publishing thereof. For observe, *No Freeman shall be taken or imprison'd*: Then he was free: This Liberty is his Right. Again, *No Freeman shall be disseized of his Freehold, Liberties, or free Customs*. Then certainly he was in Possession of them: And that great Doctor in the Laws of England, Chief Justice Cook, in his Proem to the 2d Part of his *Institutes*, tells us, that *these Laws and Liberties were gathered and observed, amongst others, in an inire Volume, by King Edward the Confessor; confirmed by William, surnamed the Conqueror; which were afterwards ratify'd by Henry the First; enlarged by Henry the Second, in his Constitutions at Clarendon; and after much Contest, and Blood spilt, between King John and the Barons concerning them, were solemnly established at Running-Mead by Stanes: And lastly, brought to their former Station, and publish'd by this King Henry the Third, in the 9th Year of his Reign.*

And though evil Counsellors would have provok'd him to void his Father's Act and his own, as if the first had been the Effect of Force, the other of Non-Age; yet it so pleased Almighty God, who hath ever been propitious to this ungrateful Island, that in the 20th Year of his Reign, he did confirm and compleat this Charter, for a perpetual Establishment of Liberty to all Free-born Englishmen, and their Heirs for ever: Ordaining, *Quod contravenientes per dominum Regem, cum convicti fuerint, graviter puniantur, i. e.* ' That whosoever should act any thing contrary to these Laws, upon Conviction, should be grievously punished by our Lord the King. And in the 22d Year of his Reign, it was confirmed by the Statute of Marle, Chap. 5. And so venerable an Esteem have our Ancestors had for this Great Charter, and so indispensibly necessary have they thought it

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to their own and Posterities Felicity, that it hath been above Thirty Times ratified and commanded, under great Penalties, to be put in Execution.

Here are the three Fundamentals comprehended and express'd, to have been the Rights and Privileges of *Englishmen*.

I. Ownership, *consisting of Liberty and Property*. In that it supposes *Englishmen* to be free, *there's Liberty* : Next, that they have Freeholds, *there's Property*.

II. That they have the Voting of their own Laws : For that was an ancient free Custom, as I have already prov'd, and all such Customs are expressly confirmed by this Great Charter : Besides, the People help'd to make it.

III. An Influence upon, and a real Share in the Judicatory Power, in the Execution and Application thereof.

This is a substantial Part, thrice provided for in those sixteen Lines of the Great Charter before rehears'd : 1. That no *Amercement* shall be assessed, but by Oath of Good and Honest Men of the Vicinage. 2. Nor we shall not pass upon him, nor condemn him, but by lawful Judgment of his Peers. 3. Or by the Law of the Land : Which is *Synonymous*, or a Saying of equal Signification with lawful Judgment of Peers : For *Law of the Land*, and *lawful Judgment of Peers*, are the *Proprium quarto modo*, or Essential Qualities of these Chapters of our Great Charter ; being communicable *Omni soli & semper*, to all and every Clause thereof alike.

Chief Justice Cook well observes, in his Second Institutes, that *per Legem Terræ*, or by the Law of the Land, imports no more than a Tryal by Process, and Writ originally at Common Law ; which cannot be without the lawful Judgment of Equals, or a *Common Jury* : Therefore *per Legale Judicium Parium*, by the lawful Judgment of Peers, and *per Legem Terræ*, by the Law of the Land, plainly signify the same Privilege to the People. So that it is the Judgment of the *Freemen* of England, which gives the Cast, and turns the Scale in English Justice.

These being so evidently prov'd by long Use, and several Laws, to have been the *First Principles* or *Fundamentals* of the *English* Free Government, I take Leave to propose this Question : May the *Free People* of England be justly disseised of all, or any of these *Fundamentals* without their Consent Collectively ?

Ans. With Submission, I conceive, *Not* ; for which I shall produce, first my *Reasons*, then *Authorities*.

I. Through the *British*, *Saxon*, and *Norman* Times, the People of this Island have been reputed and call'd *Freemen* by *Kings*, *Parliaments*, *Records* and *Histories* : And as a *Son* supposes a *Father*, so *Freemen* suppose *Freedom*. This Qualification imports an Absolute Right : Such a Right as none has Right to Disseise or Dispossess an *Englishman* of : Therefore an Unalterable Fundamental Part of the Government.

II. It can never be thought, that they intrusted any *Representatives* with these Capital Privileges, farther than to use their best Skill to secure and maintain them. They never so delegated or empower'd any Men, that *de jure*, they could deprive them of that Qualification ? And a *Falso ad Jus non valet Argumentum* : For the Question is not, *What May be done ?* but *what Ought to be done ?* Overseers and Stewards are empower'd, not to *Alienate*, but preserve and improve other Men's Inheritances. No *Owners* deliver their Ship and Goods into any Man's Hands to give them away, or run upon a Rock ; neither do they consign their Affairs to Agents or Factors without Limitation. All *Trusts* suppose such a Fundamental Right in them that give them, and for whom the Trusts are, as is altogether indissoluble by the Trustees. The Trust is the Liberty and Property of the People ; the Limitation is, that it should not be invaded, but inviolably preserved, according to the Law of the Land.

*

III. If

III. If *Salus Populi be Suprema Lex*, the Safety of the People the highest Law, as say several of our Ancient Famous Lawyers and Law-Books; then since the aforesaid Rights are as the *Sinews* that hold together this *Free Body Politick*, it follows, they are at least a Part of the Supreme Law; and therefore ought to be a Rule and Limit to all subsequent Legislation.

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IV. The Estate goes before the Steward, the Foundation before the House, People before their Representatives; and the Creator before the Creature. The Steward lives by preserving the Estate; the House stands by Reason of it's Foundation; the Representative depends upon the People; as the Creature subsists by the Power of it's Creator.

Every *Representative* may be call'd, the *Creature of the People*, because the People make them, and to them they owe their Being. Here is no Transferring or Transubstantiating of Being, from People to Representative, no more than there is an absolute Transferring of a Title in a *Letter of Attorney*.

The very Term *Representative* is enough to the contrary; Wherefore as the House cannot stand without its Foundation, nor the Creature subsist without it's Creator; so can there be no *Representative without a People*, nor that People *Free*, which all along is intended (as inherent to, and inseparable from the *English People*) *without Freedom*; nor can there be any *Freedom* without something be *Fundamental*.

In short, I would fain know of any Man how the Branches can cut up the Root of the Tree that bears them? How any Representative, that has not only a meer *Trust to preserve Fundamentals*, the People's Inheritance; but that is a Representative that makes Laws, by Virtue of this Fundamental Law, *viz. that the People have a Power in Legislation* (the 2d Principle prov'd by me) can have a Right to remove or destroy that Fundamental? The Fundamental makes the People Free, this Free People makes a Representative; Can this Creature unqualify it's Creator? What Spring ever rose higher than it's Head? The Representative is at best but a true Copy, an Exemplification; the Free People are the Original, not cancellable by a Transcript: And if that Fundamental which gives to the People a Power of *Legislation*, be not nullable by that Representative, because it makes them what they are; much less can that Representative disseise Men of their Liberty and Property, the first Great Fundamental, that is, *Parent* of this Other; and which intitles to a Share in making Laws for the preserving of the first Inviolable.

Nor is the Third Fundamental other than the necessary Production of the two First, to intercept *Arbitrary Designs*, and make *Power Legal*: For where the People have not a *Share in Judgment*, that is, in the Application, as well as making of the Law, the other two are imperfect; open to daily Invasion, should it be our Infelicity ever to have a violent Prince. For as Property is every Day expos'd, where those that have it are destitute of Power to hedge it about by *Law-making*; so those that have both, if they have not a Share in the Application of the Law, how easily is that Hedge broken down?

And indeed, as it is a most just and necessary, as well as ancient and honourable Custom, so it is the *Prince's Interest*: For still the People are concerned in the Inconveniences with him, and he is freed from the Temptation of doing arbitrary Things, and their Importunities, that might else have some Plerence for such Addresses, as well as from the Mischiefs that might ensue such Actions. It might be enough to say, that there are above *Fifty Statutes* now in Print, besides it's venerable Antiquity, that warrant and confirm this *Legale Judicium Parium suorum*, or the Trial of *English Men* by their Equals.

But I shall hint at a few Instances: The first is, The *Earl of Lancaster*, in the 14th of *Edw. II.* adjudged to dye without lawful Trial of his Peers: And afterwards *Henry*, *Earl of Lancaster* his Brother, was restored. The Reasons given were two: 1. Because the said *Thomas* was not *Arraign'd* and put to Answer. 2. That he was put to Death without Answer, or Lawful Judgment of his

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Peers. The like Proceedings were in the Case of *John of Gaunt*, p. 39. *Coram Rege* And in the *Earl of Arundel's Case*. *Rot. Parl.* 4. *Edw.* 3. N. 12. Also in *Sir John Ale's Case* 4. *Edw.* III. N. 2. Such was the Destruction committed on the *Lord Hastings* in the *Tower of London*, by *Richard the III.* But above all, the Attainder of *Thomas Cromwel, Earl of Essex*, who was attain'd of high Treason, as appears, *Rot. Parl.* 32. *Hen.* 8. of which, faith Chief Justice *Cook*, as I remember, *Let Oblivion take away the Memory of so foul a Fact, if it can; if not, however, let Silence cover it.*

'Tis true, there was a Statute obtained in the 11th of *Henry* the 7th, in Defiance of the *Great Charter*, which authorized several Exactions, contrary to the free Customs of this Realm: Particularly in the Case of *Juries*, both *Assessing* and *Punishing*, by *Justices of Assize*, and of the Peace, without the *Fining* and *Premencement* of *Twelve Free-Men*. *Empsen* and *Dudley* were the great Actors of those Oppressions; but they were *Hang'd* for their Pains, and that illegal Statute repealed in the first of *Henry* the 8th Ch. 6.

The Consequence is plain; that Fundamentals give Rule to *Acts of Parliament*, else why was the Statute of the 8th *Edw.* 4. Ch. 2. Of *Liveries* and *Information*, by the Discretion of the Judges, to stand as an *Original*, and this of the 11th of *Henry* the 7th, repealed as *Illegal*? For, therefore any Thing is unlawful, because it transgresseth a Law. But what Law can an *Act of Parliament* transgress, but that which is Fundamental? Therefore *Trial by Juries*, or lawful Judgment of *Equals*, is by *Acts of Parliament* confest to be a *Fundamental Part* of our Government. And because Chief Justice *Cook* is so generally esteem'd an *Oracle of the Law*, I shall in it's proper Place present you with his Judgment upon the whole Matter.

V. These Fundamentals are *unalterable* by a *Representative*, which were the Result and Agreement of *English Free-Men*, collectively, the Ancienter Times not being acquainted with Representatives: For then the *Free-Men* met in their own Persons. In all the *Saxon Story* we find no Mention of any such Thing; for it was the *King, Lords and Free-Men: The Elders and People*. And at the Council of *Winton*, in 855. is reported to have been present, *The great Men of the Kingdom, and an Infinite Multitude of other faithful People*. Also that, of *King Ina, the Common Council of the Elders and People of the whole Kingdom*: That is, the most or generality of the *Free-Men* of the Kingdom; for all might come that pleased. It is not to be doubted but this continued after the *Norman Times*, and that at *Running-Mead*, by *Stanes*, the *Free-Men* of England were Personally present at the Confirmation of that great Charter, in the Reign of *King John*. But as the Ages grew more Humane, and free with Respect to *Villains* and *Retainers*, and that the Number of *Free-Men* encreased, there was a Necessity for a *Representative*; especially, since Fundamentals were long ago agreed upon, and those *Capital Privileges* put out of the Reach and Power of a little Number of Men to endanger. And so careful were the Representatives of the People, in the Time of *Edward the Third*, of suffering their Liberties and *Free Customs* to be infring'd, that in *Matters of extraordinary Weight*, they would not determine, till they had first returned to, and conferred with their several Counties or Boroughs that delegated them. Thus the *Parl. Rolls* of his Time.

LL. Sax. Lam.

Concil. Brit.
219. Ingulph.Cook 4. Inft.
Fol. 14. n. 34

Several Authorities in Confirmation of the Reasons before mentioned.

So indubitably are these Fundamentals, the People's Right, and so necessary to be preserved, that Kings have successively known no other Safe or Legal Passage to their Crown and Dignity, than their Solemn Obligation inviolably to maintain them. 'So Sacred were they reputed in the Days of *Henry* the III. That not to continue or confirm them, was to affront God, and to damn the Souls of his Progenitors and Successors; and to depress the Church, and deprave the Realm: That the great Charter comprehensive of them, should be allowed as the Common Law of the Land, by all Officers of Justice, that is, the Lawful Inheritance of all Commoners: That all Sta-

Statute-Laws or Judgments whatsoever, made in Opposition therunto, should be null and void: That all the Ministers of State, and Officers of the Realm, should constantly be sworn to the Observation thereof. And so deeply did after Parliaments reverence it, and so careful were they to preserve it, that they both confirm'd it by Thirty two several Acts, and enacted Copies to be taken and lodged in each Cathedral of the Realm, to be read four Times a Year publicly before the People: As if they would have them more obliged to their Ancestors, for Redeeming and Transmitting those Privileges, than for begetting them: And that twice every Year, the Bishops apparelled in their Pontificals, with Tapers burning, and other Solemnities, should pronounce the greater Excommunication against the Infringers of the Great Charter, though it were but in Word or Counsel; for so saith the Statute. I shall, for farther Satisfaction, repeat the Excommunication or Curse, pronounced both in the Days of Henry the Third and Edward the First.

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The Sentence of the Curse given by the Bishops, with the King's Consent against the Breakers of the Great Charter.

IN the Year of our Lord 1253. the third Day of May, in the great Hall of the King at Westminster, in the Presence, and by the Consent of the Lord Henry, by the Grace of God King of England, and the Lord Richard, Earl of Cornwall, his Brother; Roger Bigot, Earl of Norfolk, Marshal of England; Humphrey, Earl of Oxford; John, Earl Warren; and other Estates of the Realm of England; We Boniface, by the Mercy of God, Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of England, F. of London, H. of Ely, S. of Worcester, E. of Lincoln, W. of Norwich, P. of Hereford, W. of Salisbury, W. of Durham, R. of Excester, M. of Carlisle, W. of Bath, A. of Rochester, T. of St. Davids, Bishops, apparelled in Pontificals, with Tapers burning, against the Breakers of the Churches Liberties, and of the Liberties and other Customs of this Realm of England, and namely these which are contained in the Charter of the common Liberties of England, and Charter of the Forest, have denounced Sentence of Excommunication in this Form: By the Authority of Almighty God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, &c. of the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, and of all Apostles, and of all Martyrs, of blessed Edward King of England, and of all the Saints of Heaven; We excommunicate and accurse, and from the Benefit of our Holy Mother, the Church, we sequester, all those that hereafter willingly and maliciously deprive or spoil the Church of her Right; and all those that by any Craft or Willingness, do violate, break, diminish, or change the Churches Liberties, and Free-Customs contained in the Charters of the common Liberties, and of the Forest, granted by our Lord the King, to Arch-Bishops, Bishops, and other Prelates of England, and likewise to the Earls, Knights, and other Free-Holders of the Realm; and all that secretly and openly, by Deed, Word, or Counsel do make Statutes, or observe them being made, and that bring in Customs, to keep them, when they be brought in, against the said Liberties, or any of them, and all those that shall presume to judge against them; and all and every such Person before mentioned, that wittingly shall commit any Thing of the Premises, let them well know, that they incur the aforesaid Sentence, *ipso Facto*.

The Sentence of the CLERGY, against the Breakers of the ARTICLES before-mentioned.

IN the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, Amen. Whereas our Sovereign Lord the King, to the Honour of God, and of Holy Church, and for the common Profit of the Realm, hath granted for him, and his Heirs for ever, these Articles above-written, Robert, Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, Admonished all his Province once, twice and thrice, because

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because that Shortness will not suffer so much Delay, as to give Knowledge to all the People of England, of these Presents in Writing: We therefore enjoin all Persons, of what Estate soever they be, that they, and every of them, as much as in them is, shall uphold and maintain these Articles granted by our Sovereign Lord the King, in all Points: And all those that in any Point do resist or break, or in any Manner hereafter Procure, Counsel, or in any wise Assent to Resist or Break those Ordinances, or go about it, by Word or Deed, openly or privily, by any Manner of Pretence or Colour; We, the aforesaid Archbishops, by our Authority in this Writing expressed, do Excommunicate and Accurse, and from the Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, and from all the Company of Heaven, and from all the Sacraments of Holy Church do sequester and exclude.

We may here see, that in the obscurest Times of Popery, they were not left without a Sense of Justice, and a Care of Freedom; and that even Papists, whom many think no Friends to Liberty and Property, under dreadful Penalties, enjoy an inviolable Observance of this Great Charter, by which they are confirmed. And though I am no Roman Catholick, and as little value their other Curses pronounc'd upon Religious Dissenters, yet I declare ingeniously, I would not, for the World, incur this Curse, as every Man deservedly doth, that offers Violence to the Fundamental Freedoms thereby repeated and confirmed. And that any Church, or Church Officers in our Age, should have so little Reverence to Law, Excommunication or Curse, as to be the Men that either Vote or countenance such Severities, as bid Defiance to the Curse, and tear this Memorable Charter in Pieces, by Dissolving Freemen of England of their Freeholds, Liberties and Properties, without Furies, or merely for the inoffensive Exercise of their Conscience to God in Matters of Religion, is a Civil Sort of Sacrilege.

I know it is usually objected, That a great Part of the Charter is spent on the Behalf of the Roman Church, and other Things, now abolish'd; and if one Part of the Great Charter may be repeal'd, or invalidated, why not the other?

But to this I answer, That the True Fundamentals in the Charter, are not the less firm or forceable, or inviolable for that; because they do not stand upon that Act, though it was in Honour of them, but the Ancient and Primitive Institution of the Kingdom. If the Petition of Right were repeal'd, the Great Charter were nevertheless in Force, it not being the Original Establishment, but a Declaration and Confirmation of that Establishment. But those Things that are abrogable, or abrogated in the Great Charter, were never a Part of the Fundamentals, but hedg'd in by the Clergy, and allowed by the Barons upon present Emergency. Besides, that which I have hitherto maintained to be the Common and Fundamental Law of the Land, is so reputed, and farther ratified, by the Petition of Right, 2 Car. 1. which was long since the Church of Rome lost her Share in the Great Charter. Nor did it relate to Matters of Faith and Worship, but Temporalities only; the Civil Interest or Propriety of the Church. But with what Pretence to Mercy or Justice, can the Protestant Church retain the English Part of the Charter, without conforming to Rome, and yet now cancel the English Part it self to every Free-born Englishman that will not conform to her? But no more of this at this Time; only give me Leave to remind a Sort of Active Men in our Times, that the cruel Infringers of the People's Liberties, and Violators of these Noble Laws, did not escape with bare Excommunications and Curses; for such was the Venerable Esteem our Ancestors had for these Great Privileges, and deep Sollicitude to preserve them from the Defacings of Time, or Usurpation of Power, that King Alfred executed Forty Judges for warping from the Ancient Laws of the Realm. Hubert de Burgo, Chief Justice of England, in the Time of Edw. 1. was sentenced by his Peers in open Parliament, for advising the King against the Great Charter. Thus the Speneers, both Father and Son, for their Arbitrary Rule and Evil Counsel to Edw. 2. were exiled the Realm. No better Success had the Actions of Tresilian and Belknap: And as for Empson and Dudley, though Persons of Quality, in the Time of King Henry the Seventh, the

the most ignominious Death of our Country, such as belongs to *Theft* and *Murder*, was hardly Satisfaction enough to the Kingdom, for their *Un-charterall* Proceeding. I shall chuse to deliver it in the Words of Chief Justice Cook, a Man, whose Learning in Law hath, not without Reason, obtained him a Venerable Character of our *English* Nation.

There was (saith he) an *Act* of Parliament made in the 11th Year of King Henry the Seventh, which had a Fair Flattering Preamble, pretending to avoid divers Mischiefs, which were First, To the high Displeasure of Almighty God. Secondly, The Great Let of the Common Law. And, Thirdly, The Great Let of the Wealth of this Land. And the Purven of that *Act* tended, in the Execution, contrary, *Ex Diametro*, viz. To the high Displeasure of Almighty God, and the Great Let, nay, the utter Subversion of the Common Law, and the Great Let of the Wealth of this Land, as hereafter shall appear; the Substance of which *Act* follows in these Words.

THAT from henceforth, as well Justices of Assize, as Justices of the Peace, in every County, upon Information for the King, before them made, without any Finding or Presenting by Twelve Men, shall have full Power and Authority, by their Discretion, so hear and determine all Offences, as Riots, unlawful Assemblies, &c. committed and done against *Act* or Statute made, and not repeal'd, &c.

By Pretext of this Law, Empson and Dudley did commit upon the Subject insufferable Pressure and Oppressions; and therefore this Statute was justly, soon after the Decease of Hen. 7. repealed at the next Parliament, by the Statute of 1 Hen. 8. chap. 6.

A good Caveat, says he, to Parliaments, to leave all Causes to be measur'd by the Golden and Strait Metwand of the Law, and not to the uncertain and crooked Cord of Discretion. He goes on,

It is almost incredible to foresee, when any Maxim, or Fundamental Law of this Realm is altered (as elsewhere hath been observed) what dangerous Inconveniences do follow: Which most expressly appears by this Most Unjust and Strange *Act* of the 11th of Hen. 7. For hereby not only Empson and Dudley themselves, but such Justices of Peace (Corrupt Men) as they caused to be authorized, committed most Grievous and Heavy Oppressions and Exactions: Grinding the Faces of the Poor Subjects by Penal Laws (be they never so obsolete or unfit for the Time) by Information only, without any Presentment or Trial by Jury, Being the Ancient Birthright of the Subject; but to hear and determine the same by their Discretions; inflicting such Penalty as the Statutes, not repealed, imposed. These, and other like Oppressions and Exactions, by the Means of Empson and Dudley, and their Instruments, brought infinite Treasure to the King's Coffers, whereof the King himself, at the End, with Great Grief and Compunction Repented, as in another Place we have observed.

This Statute of the 11th of Hen. 7. we have recited, and shewed the just Inconveniences thereof; to the End that the like should Never hereafter be attempted in any Court of Parliament; and that others might avoid the Fearful End of those two Time-Servers, Empson and Dudley, Qui eorum vestigiis insistant, exitus perhorrescant. Thus much Chief Justice Cook.

I am sure, there is nothing I have offer'd in Defence of *English* Law-Doctrine, that riseth higher than the Judgment and Language of this Great Man, the Preservation and Publication of whose Labours, became the Care of a Great Parliament. And it is said of no inconsiderable Lawyer, that he should thus express himself in our Occasion, viz. *The Laws of England were never the Dictates of any Conqueror's Sword, or the Placita of any King of this Nation; or, (saith he) to speak impartially and freely, the Results of any Parliament that ever sat in this Land.*

Thus much for the Nature of *English* Rights, and the Reason and Justice for their inviolable Maintenance. I shall now offer some more General Considerations,

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considerations for the Preservation of Property, and therein hint at some of those Mischiefs that follow spoiling it, for Conscience sake, both to Prince and People.

I. The Reason of the Alteration of the Law, ought to be the Discommodity of continuing it; but there can never be so much as the least Inconvenience in continuing *That of Liberty and Property*; therefore there can be no just Ground for infringing, much less abrogating the Laws that secure them.

II. No Man in *England* is born Slave to another; neither hath One Right to inherit the Sweat of the Others Brow, or Reap the Benefit of his Labour, but by Consent; therefore no Man should be deprived of his Property, unless he injure another Man's, and then by Legal Judgment.

III. But certainly nothing is more unreasonable, than to sacrifice the Liberty and Property of any Man (being his Natural and Civil Rights) for *Religion*, where he is not found breaking any Law relating to Natural and Civil Things. *Religion*, under any Modification, is no Part of the Old *English* Government: *Honestè vivere, Alterum non ledere, jus suum cuique tribuere*, are enough to entitle every Native to *English* Privileges. A Man may be a very good *Englishman*, and yet a very indifferent *Churchman*. Nigh Three Hundred Years before *Austin* set his Foot on *English* Ground, had the Inhabitants of this Island a *Free Government*. It is want of distinguishing between it and the Modes of *Religion*, which fills every clamorous Mouth with such impertinent Cries as this, *Why do not you submit to the Government?* As if the *English* Civil Government came in with *Luther*, or were to go out with *Calvin*. What Prejudice is it for a *Papish* Landlord, to have a *Protestant* Tenant; or a *Presbyterian* Tenant, to have an *Episcopalian* Landlord? Certainly, the *Civil Affairs* of all Governments in the World, may be peaceably transacted under the different *Liveries*, or *Trims of Religion*, where Civil Rights are inviolably observ'd.

Nor is there any Interest so inconsistent with Peace and Unity, as *That* which dare not solely rely upon the Power of Persuasion, but affects Superiority, and seeks after an Earthly Crown. This is not to act the *Christian*, but the *Cesar*; not to promote Property, but Party, and make a Nation Drudges to a Sect.

Be it known to such narrow Spirits, we are a Free People by the Creation of God, the Redemption of Christ, and careful Provision of our (never to be forgotten) Honourable Ancestors: So that our Claim to these *English* Privileges rising higher than the Date of *Protestancy*, can never justly be invalidated for Non-conformity to any Form of it. This were to Lose by the Reformation, which God forbid: I am sure 'twas to enjoy Property, with Conscience, that promoted it. Nor is there a much better Definition of *Protestancy*, than *Protesting against Spoiling Property for Conscience*. I must therefore take Leave to say, that I know not how to Reconcile what a great Man lately deliver'd in his Eloquent Speech to the *House of Lords*: His Words are these:

‘ For when we consider Religion in Parliament, we are supposed to consider it as a Parliament should do, and as Parliaments in all Ages have done; that is, as it is a Part of our Laws, a Part and a necessary Part of our Government: For as it works upon the Conscience, as it is an *Inward Principle of the Divine Life*, by which good Men do Govern all their Actions, *the State hath nothing to do with it*: It is a Thing which belongs to another Kind of Commission, than that by which we sit here.

I Acquiesce in, and Honour the latter Part of this Distinction, taking it to be a Venerable Truth; and would to God Mankind would believe it, and Live it: But how to agree it with the former, I profess Ignorance: For if the Government had nothing to do with the Principle it self, what more

Can She pretend over the Actions of those Men, who Live that *Good Life*? Certainly, if Religion be an Inward Principle of *Divine Life*, exerting itself by Holy Living, and that, as such, it belongs not to the Commission of our Superiors, I do with Submission conceive, that there is very little else of Religion left for them to have to do with: The rest merits not the Name of Religion; and less doth such a Formality deserve Persecution. I hope such Circumstances are no necessary Part of *English Government*, that cannot reasonably be reputed a necessary Part of Religion; And, I believe he is too great a Divine and Lawyer, upon second Thoughts, to Repute that a Part of our *Laws*, a Part and a necessary Part of our *Government*, that is such a Part of Religion, as is neither the *Divine Principle*, nor yet the *Actions immediately flowing from it*; since the Government was most Compleat and Prosperous many Ages without it, and hath never known more perplex'd Contentts and Troublesome Interruptions, than since it hath been receiv'd and valu'd as a Part of the *English Government*; And God, I hope, will forbid it, in the Hearts of our Superiors, that *English Men* should be deprived of their *Civil Inheritance* for their *Non-Conformity* to Church Formality: For no Property out of the Church (the plain *English* of publick Severity for *Non-conformity*) is a Maxim that belongs not to the Holy Law of God, or Common Law of the Land.

IV. If Liberty and Property must be the Forfeit of Conscience for *Non-conformity* to the Prince's Religion, the Prince and his Religion shall only be Lov'd as the next best Accession to other Men's Estates, and the Prince, perpetually provok'd to expose many of his inoffensive People to *Beggary*, for what is no Fault at Common Law.

V. It is our Superiors Interest, that Property be preserved, because it is their own Case: None have more Property than Themselves. But if Property be expos'd for Religion, the Civil Magistrate exposes both his Conscience and Property to the Church, and disarms himself of all Defence upon any Alteration of Judgment. This is plainly for the *Prince* to hold under the *Prelate*, and the *State* to suffer it self to be Rid by the *Church*.

VI. It obstructs all *Improvement* of Land and Trade; for who will Labour that hath no Property, or hath it expos'd to an Unreasonable Sort of Men, for the bare Exercise of his Conscience to God? And a poor Country can never make a Rich and Powerful Prince. Heaven is therefore Heaven, to Good and Wise Men, because they are to have an *Eternal Propriety* therein.

VII. This Sort of Procedure, hitherto oppos'd, on the Behalf of Property, puts the whole Nation upon miserable Uncertainties, that are follow'd with great Disquiets and Distractions; which certainly it is the Interest of all Government to prevent: The Reigns of *Henry 8.* *Edward 6.* *Q. Mary* and *Q. Eliz.* both with Relation to the Marriages of the first, and the *Religious Revolutions* of the rest, are a plain Proof in the Case.

King *Henry* voids the *Pope's Supremacy*, and assumes it himself. Comes *Edw. 6.* and Enacts *Protestancy* with an Oath to maintain it. *Q. Mary*, Ch. 1. This is abrogated: *Papery* Solemnly Restored; and an Oath inforc'd to Defend it: And this *Queen* Repeals also all Laws Her Father made against the *Pope*, since the 12th of *Hen. 8.* Next, follows *Q. Elizabeth*, and Repeals Her Laws, calls back *Protestancy*, ordains a new Oath, to un-Oath *Queen Mary's Oath*; and all this under the Penalty of losing *Estate, Liberty*, and sometimes Life it self; which, Thousands, to avoid, Lamentably Perjur'd themselves, *four or five Times over*, within the Space of Twenty Years. In which Sin, the Clergy Transcended: *Not an Hundred for every Thousand*, but left their Principles for their Parishes. Thus hath Conscience been Debauch'd by Force, and Property toss'd up and down by the Impetuous Blasts of Ignorant Zeal, or Sinister Design.

VIII. Where Liberty and Property are Violated, there must always be a State of Force: And though I pray God that we never need those Cruel
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Remedies, whose Calamitous Effects we have too lately felt, yet certainly, Self-Preservation is of all Things dearest to Men; inasmuch that being not Conscious to themselves of having done an ill Thing, They, to defend their Unforfeited Priviledges, chearfully Hazard all they have in this World: So very strangely Vindictive are the Sons of Men, in Maintenance of their Rights. And such are the Cares, Fears, Doubts and Insecurities of that Administration, as render Empire a Slavery, and Dominion the worst sort of Bondage to the Possessor. - On the contrary, nothing can give greater Chearfulness, Confidence, Security and Honour to any Prince, than Ruling by Law; for it is a Conjunction of *Title* with *Power*, and Attracts *Love* as well as it Requires *Duty*.

Give me Leave, without Offence (for I have God's Evidence in my own Conscience, I intend nothing but a Respectful Caution to my Superiours) to Confirm this Reason, with the Judgment and Example of other Times. The Governours of the *Eleans* held a strict Hand over the People; who, Despairing of Relief at home, call'd in the *Spartans*, and by their Help Freed all their Cities from the sharp Bondage of their Natural Lords.

The State of *Sparta* was grown Powerful, and Opprest the *Thebans*; They, though but a weak People, whetted by Despair, and the Prospect of greater Miseries, did, by the *Athenians*, deliver themselves from the Spartan Yolk.

Nor is there any other considerable Reason given for the Ruin of the *Carthaginian* State, than Avarice and Severity. More of this is to be found in *Ratleigh's* History of the World, l. 3. who hath this Witty Expression in the same Story, l. 5. of a Severe Conduct. *When a forced Government, saith he, shall decay in Strength, It will suffer, as did the old Lyon, for the Oppression done in his Youth; being Pinch'd by the Wolf, Goar'd by the Bull, and kick'd also by the Ass: The Senseless Mob.*

This lost *Cesar Borgia*, his new and great Conquests in *Italy*. No better Success attended the Severe Hand held over the People of *Naples*, by *Alphonso* and *Ferdinand*. 'Twas the undue Severity of the *Sicilian* Governours, that made the *Syracusians*, *Leontines* and *Messenians* so Easie a Conquest to the *Romans*. An harsh Answer to a Petitioning People lost *Reboam* Ten Tribes. On the contrary, in *Livy*, Dec. 1. l. 3. We find, that *Petilia*, a City of the *Brutians* in *Italy*, chose rather to endure all Extremity of War from *Hannibal*, than upon any Condition to Desert the *Romans*, who had Govern'd them moderately, and by that gentle Conduct procur'd their Love; even then, when the *Romans* sent them Word, *They were not able to relieve them, and wish'd them to provide for their own Safety*.

N. Machiavel in his Discourses upon *Livy*, p. 542. tells us, that one Act of Humanity was of more Force with the Conquer'd *Falisci*, than many Violent Acts of Hostility: Which makes good that Saying of *Seneca*, *Mitius imperanti melius paretur*, They are best obeyed, that Govern most mildly.

IX. If these Ancient Fundamental Laws, so Agreeable with Nature, so suited to the Dispositions of our Nation, so often defended with *Blood and Treasure*, so Carefully and Frequently Ratified by our Ancestors, shall not be, to our great Pilots, as *Stars* or *Compass* for them to Steer the Vessel of this Kingdom by, or *Limits* to their Legislature; no Man can tell how long he shall be secure of his Coat, Enjoy his House, have Bread to give his Children, Liberty to Work for Bread, and Life to eat it. Truly, this is to justify what we condemn in *Roman Catholics*. It is one of our main *Objections*, that their Church assumes a Power of Imposing Religion, thereby denying Men the Liberty of walking by the Rules of their own Reason and Conscience, and Precepts of Holy Writ: To whom, we oppose both. We say, the Church is tyed to act nothing contrary to Reason; and that Holy Writ is the declar'd Law of Heaven, which to maintain, Power is given to the True Church. Now let us apply this Argument to our Civil Affairs, and it will certainly end in a reasonable Limitation of our Legislators, that they should not impose that upon our Understandings, which is inconsistent

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with them to Embrace; nor offer any the least Violation to Common Right. Do the Romanists say, *Believe as the Church Believes*? Do not the Protestants, and which is harder, *Legislators say so too*? Do we say to the Romanists, at this rate, *Your Obedience is Blind, and your Ignorance is the Mother of Devotion*? Is it not also true of our selves? Do we object to them, *This makes your Religion uncertain, one Thing to Day, and another to Morrow*? Doth not our own Case submit us to the like Variation in Civils? Have we not long told them, that *under Pretence of obeying the Church, and not controuling her Power, she hath raised a Superstructure inconsistent with that Foundation she pretends to build upon*. And are not we the Men in Civils, that make our Privileges rather to depend upon Men, than Laws, as she doth upon Councils, not Scripture? If this be not *Popery* in Temporals, what is?

It is humbly beseech'd of Superiors, that it would please them to consider what Reflection such Severity justly brings upon their Proceedings; and remember, that in their ancient Delegations, it was not to Define, Resolve, and Impose Matters of Religion, and sacrifice Civil Privileges for it; but, to Maintain the People's Properties, according to the ancient Fundamental Laws of the Land, and to add such Statutes only, as were Consistent with, and Preservative of those Fundamental Laws.

Lastly, To conclude this Head; My plain and honest Drift has been, to show that *Church Government* is no Essential Part of the old *English Government*, and to disentangle Property from Opinion, the untoward Knot, the Clergy, for several Ages have tyed, which is not only the People's Right, but our Superiors Interest to Undo; for it gauls both People and Prince. For, where Property is subjected to Opinion, the Church interposes, and makes something else requisite to enjoy Property, than belongs to the Nature of Property; and the Reason of our Possession is not our *Right* by, and Obedience to, the Common Law, but *Conformity* to Church Law, or Laws for Church Conformity. A Thing dangerous to Civil Government, since 'tis an Alteration of old *English Tenure*, a suffering the Church to Trip up and supplant the State; and a making People to owe their Protection not to the *Civil*, but *Ecclesiastical* Authority. For let the Church be my Friend, and all is well; make her my Foe, and I am made her Prey, let *Magna Charta* say what she will for me: My Horses, Cows, Sheep, Corn, Goods, go first, my Person to Goal next, for all That: Behold, some *Church Trophies* made at the Conquest of a peaceable Dissenter!

This is that anxious Thing; May our Superiors please to weigh it in the Equal Scale of *Doing as they would be done by*; Let those *Common Laws* that Fix and Preserve Property, be the Rule and Standard of their Legislation and Administration. Make *Englishmen's Rights* as Inviolable, as *English Church Rights*, Disentangle and Distinguish them: And let no Man sustain *Civil Punishments* for *Ecclesiastical Faults*, but for Sins against the ancient, establish'd *Civil Government* only; that the Natures of Acts and Rewards may not be confounded. So shall the *Civil* Magistrats preserve Law, secure his Civil Dignity and Empire, and make himself belov'd of *Englishmen*; whose Cry is, and the Cry of whose Laws hath ever been, *Property rather than Opinion, Civil Rights not concern'd with Ecclesiastical Discipline, nor for-feitable for Religious Non-conformity*.

But tho' an inviolable Preservation of *English Rights*, of all Things, best secureth to our Superiors, the Love and Allegiance of the People; yet there is something farther, that, with Submission, I offer to their serious Consideration, which in the second Place concerns their Interest, and the People's Felicity; and that is their *Disagreement about Religion*, notwithstanding their unanimous Cry for *Property*; a prudent Management of which, may turn to the great Quiet, Honour and Profit of the King and Kingdom.

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Of our Superiors governing themselves upon a *Ballance*, as near as may be, towards the several Religious Interests.

II. Of a *Ballance*, respecting Religious Differences. Eight Prudential Reasons why the Civil Magistrate should embrace it. Three Objections Answer'd. A Comprehension consider'd, but a Toleration Preferr'd, upon Reason and Example.

TO perform my Part, in this Point, being the second Branch of my Answer to the Question; I shall not, at this Time, make it my Business to manifest the *Inconsistency* that there is between the *Christian Religion*, and a *forced Uniformity*, not only because it hath been so often and excellently done by Men of Wit, Learning and Conscience, and that I have else-where largely deliver'd my Sense about it; but because every free and impartial Temper, hath, of a long Time, observ'd, that such *Barbarous Attempts* were so far from being indulg'd, that they were most severely Prohibited by Christ himself; who instructed his Disciples, to *Love their Enemies*, and not to persecute their Friends for every Difference in Opinion: That the Tares should grow with the Wheat: That *his Kingdom, is not of this World*: That *Faith is the Gift of God*: That the *Will and Understanding* of Men are Faculties not to be work'd upon by any *Corporal Penalties*: That *TRUTH is All-sufficient to her own Relief*: That *ERROR and ANGER* go together: That *Base Coin* only stands in need of *Imposition* to make it current, but that *True Metal* passeth for its own *Intrinsic Value*; with a great deal more of that Nature. I shall therefore chuse to oppose my self, at this Time, to any such Severity, upon meer Prudence; that such as have *No Religion* (and certainly they that Persecute for Religion, have as little as need to be) may be induc'd to Tolerate Them that have.

First, However Advisable it may be, in the Judgment of some Worldly Wise Men, to prevent, even by Force, the arising of any *New Opinion*, where a Kingdom is Universally of another Mind; especially if it be Odious to the People, and inconsistent with the Safety of the Government; it cannot be so, where a Kingdom is of *Many Minds*, unless some One Party hath all the *Wisdom, Wealth, Number, Sober Life, Industry and Resolution* of it's side; which I am sure is not to be found in *England*. So that the Wind hath plainly shifted it's Corner, and consequently obliges to another Course: I mean, *England's* Circumstances are greatly changed, and they require *new Expedients* and another Sort of *Application*.

Physicians vary their Medicines according to the Revolution and the Mixture of Distempers. They that seek to tie the Government to absolute and inadequate Methods (supposing them once apt, which Cruelty in this Case never was) are not Friends to it's Interest, whatever they may be to their own. If our Superiors should make it their Business so to prefer one Party, as to depress or deprive the rest, they insecure themselves, by making their Friends their Enemies, who before were one another's. To be sure it createth *Harred* between the Party advanced, and those depressed. *Jacob's* preferring *Joseph* put his Brethren upon that Conspiracy against him.

I will allow that they may have a more particular Favour for the Church Party, than for any other Perswasion, but not more than for all other Parties in *England*: That certainly would break the *Ballance*; the keeping up of which, will make every Party to owe its Tranquility to their Prudence and Goodness, which will never fail of Returns of Love and Loyalty. For since we see each Interest looks jealously upon the other, 'tis reasonable to believe,

believe, they had rather the Dominion should lodge where it is, while impartial in their Judgment, than to trust it with any one Sort of themselves.

Many inquisitive Men into Humane Affairs have thought, that the Concord of Discords hath not been the infirmest Basis Government can rise or stand upon: It hath been observed, that less Sedition and Disturbance attended *Hannibal's* Army, that consisted of many Nations, than the *Roman* Legions, that were of one People. It is marvellous how the Wisdom of that General secured them to his Designs: *Livy* saith, *That his Army for Thirteen Tears, that had roved up and down the Roman Empire, made up of many Countries, divers Languages, Laws, Customs, Religions; under all their Successes of War and Peace, never mutined. Malvetzy, as well as Livy, ascribes it to that Variety, well managed by the General.*

By the like Prudence *Jovianus* and *Theodosius Magnus* brought Tranquility to their Empire, after much Rage and Blood for Religion.

In Nature we also see, all Heat consumes, all Cold kills; that three Degrees of Cold to two of Heat, allay the Heat, but introduce the contrary Quality, and over-cool by a Degree; but two Degrees of Cold, to two of Heat, make a *Poyze* in Elements, and a *Balance* in Nature.

The like in Families: It is not probable that a Master should have his Work so well done, at least with that Love and Respect, who continually *Smiles* upon one Servant, and severely *Frowns* upon all the rest; on the contrary, 'tis apt to raise Feuds amongst Servants, and turn Duty into Revenge at least Contempt. *In Fine*, it is to make our *Superior's* Dominion less than God made it, and to blind their Eyes, stop their Ears, and shut up their Breasts, from beholding the Miseries, hearing the Cries, and redressing the Grievances of a vast Number of People, under their Charge, vexed in this World, for their *Belief* and inoffensive Practice about the next.

Secondly, *It is the Interest of Governours, to be put upon no thankless Offices; that is, to blow no Coals in their own Country, especially when it is to consume their People, and, it maybe, themselves too: Not to be the Car's Foot, nor to make Work for themselves, or fill their own Hands with Trouble, or the Kingdom with Complaints. It is to forbid them the Use of Clemency, wherein they ought most of all to imitate God Almighty, whose Mercy is above all his Works; and renders them a Sort of Extortioners to the People, the most remote from the End and Goodness of their Office. In short, it is the best Receipt that their Enemies can give, to make them uneasy to the Country.*

Thirdly, It not only makes them Enemies, but there is no such Excitement to revenge, as a *Rap'd* Conscience. He that hath been forced to break his Peace, to gratify the Humour of another, must have a great Share of Mercy and self-denial, to forgive that Injury, and forbid himself the Pleasure of Retribution upon the Authors of it: For Revenge, in other Cases condemnable of all, is here look'd upon by too many, to be the next way to Expiation. To be sure, whether the Grounds of their Dissent be rational in themselves, such Severity is unjustifiable with them; for this is a Maxim with Sufferers, whoever is in the Wrong, *the Persecutor cannot be in the right*. Men, not conscious to themselves of Evil, and harshly treated, not only resent it unkindly, but are bold to shew it.

Fourthly, *Suppose the Prince, by his Severity, conquers any into a Compliance, he can upon no prudent Ground assure himself of their Fidelity, whom he hath taught to be treacherous to their own Convictions. Wise Men rarely confide in those whom they have debauch'd from Trust to serve themselves: At best it resembleth but forced Marriages, that seldom prove happy to the Parties. In short, Force makes Hypocrites, 'tis Persuasion only that makes Converts.*

Fifthly, This Partiality, of sacrificing the Liberty and Property of all Dissenters, to the Promotion of a single Party, be they good or ill Men, as it is the lively Representation of *J. Calvin's Horrendum Decretum*; to the Consequences of the one belong unto the other; it being but that ill-natured Principle put into Practice. Men are put upon the same desperate Cour-

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ses, either to have no Conscience at all, or to be hanged for having a Conscience not fashionable: For, let them be *Virtuous*, let them be *Vicious*, if they fall not in with that *Mode* of Religion, they must be *reprobated* to all Civil and Ecclesiastical Intents and Purposes. Strange! that Men must either deny their Faith and Reason, or be destroyed for acting according to them, be they otherwise never so peaceable. What Power is this, or rather what Principle? But that Men are to be protected upon Favour, not right or merit; and that no Merit out of the publick Church Dress should find Acceptance, is severe. We justly blame that Father, that narrows his Paternal Love to some one of his Children, though the rest be not one jot less *Virtuous* than the Favourite: Such Injustice can never flow from a Soul acted by Reason, but a Mind govern'd by Fancy, and enslaved to Passions.

Sixthly, Consider Peace, Plenty, and Safety, the three great Inducements to any Country to Honour the Prince, and Love the Government, as well as the best Allurements to Foreigners to trade with it and transport themselves to it, are utterly lost by such Partialities: for instead of Peace, Love and good Neighbourhood, behold Animosity and Contest! One Neighbour watches another, and makes him an Offender for his Conscience; this divides them, their Families and Acquaintance: perhaps, with them the Towns and Villages where they live: And most commonly, the Sufferer hath the Pity, and the Persecutor the Odium of the Multitude. And truly when People see Cruelty practised upon their inoffensive Neighbours, by a troublesome sort of Men, and those countenanced by a Law, it breedeth ill Blood against the Government. Certainly, Haling People to Goals, breaking open their Houses, seizing of their Estates, and that without all Proportion; leaving Wives without their Husbands, and Children without their Parents, and their Families, Relations, Friends and Neighbours, under Amaze and Trouble, is almost as far from the Peace of a well-govern'd Kingdom, as it is from the Meekness of Christianity.

Plenty will be hereby exchanged for Poverty, by the Destruction of many thousand Families within this Realm, who are greatly instrumental for the carrying on of the most substantial Commerce therein: Men of *Virtue*, good *Contrivance*, *Great Industry*; whose Labours, not only keep the Parishes from the Trouble and Charge of maintaining them and theirs, but help to maintain the *Poor*, and are great Contributors to the King's Revenue by their Traffick. This very Severity will make more Bankrupts in the Kingdom of England in seven Years, than have been in it upon all other Accounts in Seven Ages: which Consequence, how far it may consist with the Credit and Interest of the Government, I leave to better judgments.

This Sort of great Severity that hath been lately, and still is used amongst us, is like to prove a great Check to that Readiness, which otherwise we find in Foreigners to Trade with the Inhabitants of this Kingdom; for if Men cannot call any Thing their *Own*, under a different Exercise of Conscience from the National Way of Religion, their Correspondents may justly and prudently say, *We will not further concern our selves with Men that stand upon such ticklish Terms: What know we but such Persons are ruin'd in their Estates, by Reason of their Non-Conformity, before such Time as we shall be reimburs'd for Money paid, or Goods deliver'd: Nay, we know not how soon those who are Conformists, may be Non-Conformists, or what Revolutions of Councils may happen, since the Fundamental Laws, so jealous of the People's Property, are so little valued by some of their own Magistrates; for though we are told of very worthy and excellent Laws in England, for the Security of the People's Rights, yet we are also told, that they all hang at the Church's Girdle, insomuch as no Church-Conformity no Property; which is, No Churchman, No Englishman. So that in Effect the Rights of their Country depend upon the Rights of their Church; and those Churches have taken their Turns so often, that a Body knows not how to manage one's self securely to one's own Affairs, in a Correspondence with any of them. For in King Henry the Eighth's Days, Popery was the only Orthodox Religion, and Zuinglius, Luther, Melancthon, Oecolampadius, &c. were*

great Hereticks. In Edward the Sixth's Time, they were Saints, and Popery was Idolatry. A few Years after, Queen Mary makes the Papists Holy Church, and Protestantcy Herefie. About Six Years compleats her Time, and Queen Elizabeth enters her Reign, in which Protestants are Good Christians, and the Church of Rome the Whore of Babylon. In Her Reign, and that of King James, and King Charles the First, sprung the Puritans, who divided themselves into Presbyterians, and Independents. The Bishops exclaimed against them for Schismaticks, and they against the Bishops for Papistical and Antichristian. In the Long Parliament's Time, the Presbyterian drives out the Bishop; O. Cromwel defeating them, and sending the Presbyterian to keep Company with the Bishop, confers it mostly upon the Independent and Anabaptist, who kept it through the other Fractions of Government, till the Presbyterian and Bishop got it from them: And the Bishop now from the Presbyterian; But how long it will rest there, who knows? Thus a Foreigner may justly argue.

Nor is my Supposition idle or improbable, unless Moderation take Place of Severity, and Property the Room of Punishment for Opinion; for that must be the Lasting Security, as well as that it is the Fundamental Right of English People.

There is also a farther Consideration, and that is, the rendring just and very good Debts desperate, both at Home and Abroad, by giving Opportunity to the Debtors of Dissenters to detain their Dues. Indeed it seems a Natural Consequence with all, but Men of Mercy and Integrity: What should we pay them for, may they say, that are not in a Capacity to demand or receive it, at least to compel us? Nay, they may plead a sort of Kindness to their Creditors, and say, We had as good keep it, for if we pay it them, they will soon lose it; 'tis better to remain with us, than that they should be pilg'd of it by Informers; though Want should in the mean Time overtake the Right Owners and their Families.

Nor is it unworthy of the most deliberate Thoughts of our Superiors, that the Land already swarms with Beggars, and that there is hardly so ready a Course to increase their Number, as the severe Prosecution of Dissenters, both by making them such, and those that their Employes have kept from Begging all this While: So that though they immediately suffer, the Kingdom, in the End, must be the Loser. For besides a Decay of Trade, &c. this driving away of Flocks of Sheep, and Herds of Cattel, seizing of Barns full of Corn, breaking open of Doors and Chests, taking away the best Goods that these Instruments of Cruelty can find, sometimes All, even to a Bed, a Blanket, Wearing Apparel, and the very Tools of Trade, by which People honestly labour to get their Bread, till they leave Men, Women and Children, destitute of Subsistence, will necessitate an extream Advance of the Poor's Rate in every Parish of England, or they must be Starv'd. O, that it would please them that are in Authority, to put a Stop to this inhumane Usage, lest the Vengeance of the Just GOD, break forth farther against this poor Land!

Safety, another Requisite to an Happy Government, must needs be at an End, where the Course oppugn'd is followed, by tempting People to irregular Methods to be easy, or to Quit the Land. And truly it is but some prudent Prince's proclaiming Liberty of Conscience within his Territories, and a Door is opened for a Million of People to pass out of their Native Soil, which is not so extreamly improved, that it should not want Two or Three Hundred Thousand Families more than it hath, to advance it; especially at this Time of Day, when our Foreign Islands Yearly take off so many Inhabitants from us, who, from Necessity, are made unable to stay at Home: And as of Contraries there is the same Reason, so let the Government of England but give that Prudent Invitation to Forcigners, and She maketh Her self Mistress of the Arts and Manufactures of Europe. Nothing else hath preserv'd Holland from Truckling under the Spanish Yoke, and being Ruin'd above Threescore Years ago, and given her that Rise to Wealth and Glory.

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Seventhly, Nor is this Severity only injurious to the Affairs of England, but the whole Protestant World: For besides that it calls the Sincerity of their Proceedings against the Papists into Question, it furnisheth them with this Sort of unanswerable Interrogatory: *The Protestants exclaim against us for Persecutors; and are they now the Very Men themselves? Was Severity an Instance of Weakness in our Religion, and is it become a Valid Argument in theirs? Are not our Actions (once void of all Excuse with them) now defended by their own Practice? But if Men must be restrained upon Prudential Considerations from the Exercise of their Consciences in England, Why not the same in France and Germany, where Matters of State may equally be pleaded? Certainly whatever Shifts Protestants may use to palliate these Proceedings, they are thus far Condemnable upon the Foot of Prudence.*

Eighthly, Such Procedure is a great Reflection upon the Justice of the Government, in that it Enacts Penalties inadequate to the Fault committed; viz. That I should lose my Liberty and Property, Fundamental Civil Privileges; for some Error in Judgment about Matters of Religion: As if I must not be a Man, because I am not such a Sort of Religious Man as the Government would have me; but must lose my Claim to all Natural Benefits; though I agree with them in Civil Affairs, because I fall not in with the Judgment of the Government in some Points of a Supernatural Import, tho' no real Part of the Ancient Government. Perhaps instead of going to the Left Hand, I go to the Right: And whereas I am commanded to hear A. B. I rather chuse to hear C. D. my Reason for it, *being the more Religious Influence the latter hath over me, than the former; and that I find by Experience, I am better affected, and more Religiously edified to Good Living.* What Blemish is this to the Government? What Insecurity to the Civil Magistracy? Why may not this Man Sell, Buy, Plow, Pay his Rents, be as good a Subject, and as True an Englishman, as any Conformist in the Kingdom? Howbeit, Fines and Goals are very ill Arguments to convince Sober Men's Understandings, and dissuade them from the Continuance of so harmless a Practice.

Lastly, But there is yet another Inconvenience that will attend this Sort of Severity, that so naturally follows upon our Superiors making Conformity to the Doctrine and Worship of the Church of England, the *Sine Quâ Non*, or Inlet to all Property, and Ground of Claim to all English Civil Privileges, to wit, That they make a Rod, for ought they know, to Whip their own Posterity with; since it is impossible for them to secure their Children to the English Church: And if it happen that any of them are never to conscientiously of another Perswasion, they are liable to all the Miseries that may attend the Execution of those Laws. Such a King must not be King, such Lords and Commons must not Sit in Parliament: Nay, they must not administer any Office, be it never so inferior within the Realm, and they never so Virtuous and capable to do it: Their very Patrimony becomes a Prey to a Pack of Lewd Informers, and their Persons exposed to the Abuse of Men, Poor or Malicious.

But there are Three Objections that some make against what I have urged, not unfit to be consider'd. The First is this: *If the Liberty desired be granted, what know we but Dissenters may employ their Meetings to insinuate against the Government, inflame People into a Dislike of their Superiors, and thereby prepare them for Mischief?*

Ans^r. This Objection may have some Force, so long as our Superiors continue Severity; because it doth not only sharpen and excite Dissenters, but it runs many of them into such Holes and Corners, that if they were disposed to any such Conspiracies, they have the securest Places and Opportunities to effect their Design. But what Dissenter can be so destitute of Reason, and of Love to common Safety, as to expose himself and Family, by Plotting against a Government that is Kind to them, and gives him the Liberty he desires, and that he could only be supposed, in common Sense, to Plur for.

To be sure, Liberty to worship God, according to their several Professions, will be, as the People's Satisfaction, so the Government's greatest Security:

rity: For if Men enjoy their Property, and their Conscience, which is the Noblest Part of it, without Molestation, what should they object against, or Plot for? Mad Men only Burn their own Houses, Kill their own Children, and Murder themselves. Doth Kindness or Cruelty most take with Men that are themselves? *H. Grotius*, with *Campanella*, well observ'd, *That a fierce and rugged Hand was very improper for Northern Countries. Englishmen are gain'd with Mildness, but inflamed by Severity.* And many that do not suffer, are as apt to compassionate them that do. And if it will please our Superiors to make Trial of such an *Indulgence*, doubtless they will find Peace and Plenty to ensue. The Practice of other Nations, and the Trade, Tranquility, Power and Opulency that have attended it, is a Demonstration in the Case, and ought not to be slighted by them that aim at as High and Honourable Things for their Country. And if we had no other Instance than our own *Intervals of Connivance*, they were enough to satisfy *Reasonable Men*, how much more *Moderation* contributes to publick Good, than the Prosecution of People for their Religious Dissent; since the One hath ever produced Trade and Tranquility, the Other, Greater Poverty and Dissension.

The Second Objection, and by far the more Weighty, runs thus:

Object. The King and Parliament are Sworn to Maintain and Protect the Church of England, as Establish'd, &c. therefore to Tolerate other Opinions is against their Oath.

Ans. Were the Consequence True, as it is not, it were highly unreasonable to expect *Impossibilities* at their Hands. Kings and Parliaments can no more make *Brick without Straw* than *Captives*: They have not Sworn to do Things beyond their Ability; if they have, their Oaths are void. Had it been in His and their Time and Choice, when the Church of England had been first disturbed with *Dissenting Opinions*, it might have reflected more colourably a Kind of Neglect upon them: But since the Church of England was no sooner a Church, then She found some Sort of *Dissenters*, and that the utmost Policy and Severity of Queen Elizabeth, King James, and King Charles the First, were not *Successful* towards an *Absolute Uniformity*, Why should it reflect upon them, that the Church of England hath not yet rid Herself of *Dissenting Parties*? Besides, it is Notorious, that the late Wars gave that Opportunity to *Differing Perswasions* to spread, that it was utterly impossible for them to hinder, much less during the several Years of the King's Exile; at what Time the present Parliament was no Parliament, nor the Generality of the Members of it scarce of any Authority.

Let it be considered, that 'twas the Study of the Age to make People *Anti-Papistical* and *Anti-Episcopal*, and that Power and Preferment went on that Side. Their Circumstances therefore, and their Ancestors, are not the same; they found the Kingdom divided into several Interests, and it seems a Difficulty insuperable to reduce them to any one Perswasion; wherefore to render themselves Masters of their Affections, they must necessarily Govern themselves towards them on a *Balance*, as is before express'd; otherwise, they are put upon the greatest Hazards, and extreme Difficulties to themselves and the Kingdom, and all to perform the Uncharitable Office of suppressing many Thousands of inoffensive Inhabitants, for the different Exercise of their Consciences to God: It is not to make them resemble *Almighty God*, whose Nature extends it self *Universally*, thus to narrow their Bowels, and confine their Clemency to one Single Party: It ought to be remembered, that *Optimus* went before *Maximus* of Old, and that Power without Goodness, is a *Frightful Sort of a Thing*.

But Secondly, I deny the Consequence, viz. That the King is therefore obliged to persecute Dissenters, because He or the Parliament hath taken an Oath to Maintain the Church of England: For it cannot be supposed or intended, that by maintaining Her, they are to destroy the Rest of the Inhabitants. Is it impossible to Protect Her without knocking all the rest on the Head? Do they allow any to supplant Her Clergy, Invaile Her Livings, Possess Her Emoluments, Exercise Her Authority? What would She have? Is

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She not Church of England still, Invested with the same Power, Bearing the same Character? What Grandeur or Interest hath She lost by them? Are they not manifestly Her Protestor? Is She not National Church still? And can any of Her Children be so insensible, as either to challenge her Superiors with Want of Integrity, because they had not performed Impossibilities? Or to excite them to that Harshness, which is not only Destructive of many Thousands of Inhabitants, but altogether injurious to their own Interest, and dishonourable to a Protestant Church? Suppose Dissenters not to be of the Visible Church, are they therefore unfit to live? Did the Jews treat Strangers so severely, that had so much more to say than Her self? Is not the King Lord of Wasts and Commons as well as Inclosures? Suppose God hath Elected some to Salvation, doth it therefore follow he hath Reprobated all the rest? And because he was God of the Jews, was He not therefore God of the Gentiles? Or were not the Gentiles his People, because the Jews were his peculiar People?

To be brief, they have answered their Obligation, and consented to *Severe Laws*, and commanded their Execution, and have not only prefer'd her above every Interest in *England*, but against them, to render her more Powerful and Universal; till they have good Reason to be Tired with the Lamentable Consequences of those Endeavours, and conclude, that the Uniformity thereby intended, is a Thing impracticable, as well as Mischievous.

And I wonder that these Men should so easily forget that *Great Saying* of King CHARLES the First, (whom they pretend so often, and with so much Honour to remember) in his Advice to the present King, where he saith,

Beware of exasperating any Factions, by the Crossness and Asperity of some Men's Passions, Humors, or Private Opinions, imployed by you, grounded only upon their Differences in Lesser Matters, which are but the Skirts and Suburbs of Religion, wherein a Charitable Convivance, and Christian Toleration often dissipates their Strength, whom rougher Opposition fortifieth, and puts the Despised and Oppressed Party into such Combinations, as may most enable them to get a full Revenge upon those they count their Persecutors; who are commonly assisted with that Vulgar Commiseration, which attends all that are said to suffer under the Common Notion of Religion.

So that we have not only the King's Circumstances, but his Father's Counsel, upon Experience, who yet saw not the End of One Half of them, defending a Charitable Convivance, and Christian Toleration of Dissenters.

Obj. 3. But it may be further alledged, *This makes Way for Popery or Presbytery, to undermine the Church of England, and mount the Chair of Preferment, which is more than a Prudential Indulgence of different Opinions.*

And yet there is not any so probable an Expedient to vanish those Fears, and prevent any such Design, as keeping all Interests upon the Ballance; for so the Protestant makes at least Six Parties against Popery, and the Church of England at least Five against Presbytery: And how either of them should be able to turn the Scale against Five or Six, as Free and Thriving Interests, as either of them can pretend to be, I confess I cannot understand. But if One only Interest must be Tolerated, which implies a Resolution to suppress the Rest, plain it is, that the Church of England ventures Her Single Party against Six Growing Interests, and thereby gives Presbytery and Popery by far an easier Access to Supremacy; especially the latter, for that it is the Religion of those Parts of Europe, which neither want Inclination, nor Ability to prosper it. So that besides the Consistency of such an Indulgence with the Nature of a Christian Church, there can be nothing more in Prudence advisable for the Church of England, than to allow of the Ballance propounded: In the first, no Person of any real Worth, will ever the sooner decline her; on the contrary, it will give her a greater Reputation in a Country so hating Severity: And next, it gives her Opportunity to turn the Scale against any one Party that may aspire to her Pulpits and Endowments:

ments : And she never need to fear the Agreement of all of them to any such Design ; *Episcopacy* being not more intolerable than *Presbytery* in Power, even to an Independency it self ; and yet between them, lies the narrowest Difference that is among the Dissenting Interests in this Kingdom.

But this seems too large, and yielding, and therefore to find a *Medium*, something that may compass the Happy End of Good Correspondence and Tranquility, at least so to fortify the *Church of England*, as that she may securely give Law to all other Religious Interests, I hear a *Comprehension* is pitch'd upon, and diligently pursued by both *Episcopalians* and *Presbyterians*, at least, some of each Party.

But if it becomes Wise Men to Look before they Leap ; it will not be unadvisable for them to weigh the *Consequences* of such an Endeavour.

For, in the first Place, there is no People I know in *England*, that stands at a greater Distance from Her Doctrine, as it is maintain'd by her present Sons, then the *Presbyterians*, particularly about *Absolute Reprobation*, the *Person of Christ*, *Satisfaction* and *Justification* : And he must be a Stranger in the Religious Contests of our Times, that knows not this.

II. In the next Place, none have govern'd themselves with a plainer Denial, and more peremptory Contempt of *Episcopacy*, and the whole Discipline and Worship of the *Church of England*, than the *Presbyterians* have ever done : Let them put me to prove it if they please, even of their *Most Reverend Fathers*.

III. Who knows not that their Reciprocal Heats about these very Things, went a great Way towards our late Lamentable Civil Wars ? Now if the same Principles remain with each Party, and that they are so far from repenting of their Tenaciousness, that on the contrary they justify their Dissent from one another in these Matters, how can either Party have Faith enough to rely upon each other's Kindness, or so much as attempt a *Comprehension* ? What must become of the Labours of Bishop *Whitgift*, *R. Hooker*, Bishop *Banroft*, Bishop *Laud*, &c. in Rebuke of the *Presbyterian Separation*, and the Names of those Leading Dissenters, as *Cartwright*, *Dod*, *Bradshaw*, *Rutterford*, *Galuspee*, &c. so Famous among the present *Presbyterians*, and that for their Opposition to the Church ? This consider'd, what Reason can any render, why the *Episcopalians* should so singularly provide for, and confide in an Interest that hath already been so destructive to theirs ? On the other Hand, With what Prudence may the *Presbyterians* embrace the other's Offer, that to be sure, intend it not in stark Kindness to them, and who, they must needs think, cannot but owe Revenge, and retain deep Grudges for old Stories ? But

IV. The very Reason given for a *Comprehension*, is the greatest that can be urged against it, namely, *The Suppression of other Dissenting Persuasions*. I will suppose a *Comprehension*, and the Consequences of it, to be an *Eradication of all other Interests*, the Thing desired : But if the Two remaining Parties shall fall out, as it is not likely that they will long agree, what can the *Presbyterian* have to Ballance himself against the Ruling Power of *Episcopacy* ? Or the *Episcopalian* to secure himself against the Aspirings of *Presbytery* ? They must either All become *Episcopalians*, or *Presbyterians*, else they will mix like *Iron and Clay*, which made ill Legs for the Image in *Daniel* : Nor is it to be thought, that their Legs should stand any better upon a *Comprehension*.

But some are ready to say, *That their Difference is very Minute* : Grant it ; Are they ever the more deserving for that ? Certainly, *Forbearance* should carry some Proportion with the Greatness of the Difference, by how much it is easier to comply in Small than Great Matters. He that dissents *Fundamentally*, is more excusable than those that *Sacrifice the Peace and Concord of a Society about Little Circumstances* ; for there cannot be the same Inducement to suspect Men of *Obstinacy* in an *Essential*, as Circumstantial Non-Conformity.

Besides, How far can this Accommodation extend with Security to the *Church of England* ? Or, on what better Terms will the *Presbyterians* Con-

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form to Her Discipline and Formal Acts of Devotion, than those upon which *Peter du Moulin* offer'd to Preach the Gospel at *Rome*? viz. That if the Pope would give him Leave to Preach at *Rome*, he would be contented to Preach in a Fool's Coat. I question if the Presbyterian can go so far, I am sure he could not; and as sure, that *Peter du Moulin* hop'd, by preaching there in a Fool's Coat, to inculcate that Doctrine which should Un-Mitre the Pope, and alter his Church; the very Thing the Church of England Fears and Fences against. For *Peter du Moulin* intended to preach in a Fool's Coat no longer, than till he had preach'd the People Wise enough to throw it off again. So the Presbyterians, they may Conform to certain Ceremonies (once as Sinful to them, as a Fool's Coat could be Ridiculous to *Peter du Moulin*) that they may the better introduce their Alterations both in Doctrine and Discipline.

But that which ought to go a great Way with our Superiors, in their Judgment of this Matter, is not only the Benefit of a Balance against the Presumption of any One Party, and the Probability, if not Certainty of their never being overdriven by any One Persuasion, whilst they have others that will more than Poize against the Growing Power of it: But the Conceit it self, if not altogether impracticable, is at least very difficult to the Promoters, and an Office as Thankless from the Parties concern'd.

This appears in the Endeavours used for a *Comprehension* of *Arrians* and *Homoeousians* under One Orthodoxy, related not only in our common Ecclesiastical History, but more amply in the Writings of *Hilary*, an Enemy to the *Arrians*, and *Mariana's Spanish History*. Their publick Tests, or comprehensive Creeds were many, *Nice*, *Ariminum*, *Sirmium*, &c. in order to reconcile both Parties, that neither might stigmatize the other with the odious Crime of *Herese*: But the Consequence of all this Convocation and Prolix Debate was, that neither Party could be satisfied, each continuing their former Sentiments, and so grew up into stronger Factions, to the Division, Distraction, and almost Destruction of the whole Empire: Recover'd a little by the prudent Moderation of *Jovianus*, and much improved, not by a *Comprehension*, but Restauration of a Seasonable Liberty of Conscience, by *Theodosius Magnus*.

Also in *Germany*, about the Time of the Reformation, nothing seemed more Sincere than the Design of Union between the *Lutherans* and *Zuinglians*: For *Luther* and *Zuinglius* themselves, by the Earnest Endeavours of the *Landgrave of Hessen*, came together; but the Success was so small, notwithstanding the *Grave's* Mediation, that they parted scarcely Civil: To be sure, as far from Unity as Controversie is.

Luther and Cardinal *Cajetan* met for a Composure of the Breach betwixt the Protestants and the Pope, but it was too wide for those Conferences to reconcile: No *Comprehension* could be practicable. A second Essay to the same Purpose, was by *Melancthon*, *Cassander* and others; the Consequence of it was, that the Parties were displeased, and the Heads suspected, if not hated of their Followers. Nor had *Bucer's* Meeting with *Julius Pflug* any better Success.

And how fruitless their Endeavours have been, that with greatest Art and Industry, have, of a long Time, endeavoured a Reconciliation of *Lutherans* and *Calvinists*, is well known to those that are acquainted with the Affairs of *Germany*: And such as are not, may furnish themselves from the publick Relations given by those that are employed about that Accommodation: Where, besides a dull and heavy Progress, the Reader may be a Witness of their Complaint; not only that both Parties are too Tenacious, but that the Mediators suffer Detraction for their good Endeavours; each Side grudging every Tittle they yield; and murmuring as if they were to lose their Religion. And if Persons so disinterested, and worthy in their Attempts, have had no better Issue, I cannot see how those, who seem compell'd by Worldly Interest more than Conscience, to seek and propagate a *Comprehension*, especially, when it determines in the Persecution of the rejected Persuasions,

swasions, can, with any Reason, expect from God, or Good Men, any better Success.

Lastly, There is nothing any Man, touched with Justice and Mercy, can alledge for a *Comprehension*, that may not much better be urged for a *Toleration*, For the Church is less in Danger, when she knows the worst, than where the Danger is hid. Five Enemies without Doors being not so mischievous as one within. But they are also Men, and *Englishmen* as well as those of other Perswasions: Their Faith is as *Christian*, they believe as sincerely, live as conscientiously, are as useful in the Kingdom, and manage their Dissent with as much Modesty and Prudence, the Church of *England* her self being in great Measure Judge, as those on whose Account a *Comprehension* may be desired: To be sure they are *Englishmen*, and have an Equal Claim to the Civil Rights of their Native Country, with any that live in it, whom to persecute, whilst others, and those no better Men in themselves are more than tolerated, is, as I have already said, *The unreasonable and unmerciful Doctrine of Absolute Reprobation put in Practice in Civils*: From which the Lord deliver us.

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A sincere Promotion of General and Practical Religion.

III. Of General and Practical Religion, That the Promotion of it, is the only Way to take in, and stop the Mouth of all Perswasions, being the Center to which all Parties verbally send, and therefore the Station for a prudent Magistrate, to meet every Interest in: The Neglect of it pernicious: Instances: That it is the unum Necessarium to Felicity here and hereafter.

I am now come to the last, which, to be sure, is not the least Part of my Answer to the Question propounded, viz. *The sincere Promotion of general and practical Religion*; by which I mean the *Ten Commandments, or moral Law, and Christ's Sermon upon the Mount*, with other Heavenly Sayings, excellently improved, and earnestly recommended by several Passages in the Writings of his Disciples, which forbid *Evil*, not only in *Deed* but *Thought*; and enjoyn *Purity and Holiness*, as *without which no Man*, be his Preferences what they will, *shall ever see God*. In short, General, True and Requisite Religion, in the Apostle *James's* Definition is, *To visit the Widow and Fatherless, and to keep our selves*, through the Universal Grace, *unspotted of the World*. This is the most easie and probable way, to fetch in all Men professing God and Religion: Since every Perswasion acknowledges this in Words, be their Lives never so disagreeable to their Confession. And this being the *Unum Necessarium*, that one Thing needful, to make Men happy here and hereafter, why, alas, should Men sacrifice their Accord in this great Point, for an Unity in minute or circumstantial Things, that perhaps is inobtaining, and if it were not, would signifie little or nothing, either to the Good of humane Society, or the particular Comfort of any, in the World which is to come?

No one Thing is more unaccountable and condemnable among Men, than their Uncharitable Contentions about Religion, indeed about Words and Phrases; whilst they all verbally meet in the most, if not only necessary Part of *Christian Religion*: For nothing is more certain, than if Men would but live up to one half of what they know in their own Consciences they ought to practise, their Edge would be taken off, their Blood would be sweetned by Mercy and Truth, and this unnatural Sharpness qualified: They would quickly find Work enough at Home, each Man's Hands would be full by the Unruliness of his own Passions, and in subjecting of his own Will, and instead of devouring one another's good Name, Liberty, or Estate, *Compassion* would rise, and mutual Desires to be Assistant to each Other, in a better Sort of Living. O how decent, and how delightful would it be, to see

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Mankind (the Creation of one God, that hath upheld them to this Day) of One Accord, at least in the Weighty Things of God's *Holy Law*!

'Tis Want of *Fratilive*, and too much *Frate*, that hath made Way for all the *Incharity* and *ill Living* that is in the World. No Matter what Men say, if the Devil keep the House. Let the *Grace of God*, the Principle of *divine Life* (as a great Man lately called it in his Speech) but be *Heartily* and *Reverently* entertained of Men, that *teaches us to deny all Ungodliness*, and *converse soberly, righteously and godly, in this present evil World*, and it is not to be doubted but *Tranquility*, at least a very *Amicable Correspondence* will follow.

Men are not to be reputed *Good* by their Opinions or Professions of Religion: Nor is it that which ought to engage the Government, but Practice; 'tis this that must *save or damn*. Christ in his Representation of the great Day, doth not tell us, that it shall be said to Men, *Well said or Well talked*, but *Well done, Good and Faithful Servant*: Neither is the *Depart from me*, directed to any, but the *Workers of Iniquity*; *Error* is now translated from the Signification of an *evil Life*, to an *unsound Proposition*, as *Philosophy* is from the *Mortification*, and *Well living*, to an *Unintelligible Way of Wrangling*. And a Man is more bitterly harass'd for a *mistaken Notion*, though the Party holding thinks it not so, and the Party charging it denies an *infallible Judgment* (so that it may as well be true as false for all them) than for the *most dissolute or immoral Life*. And truly it is high Time, that Men should give better Testimony of their *Christianity*: For *Cruelty* hath no Share in Christ's Religion, and *C coercion* upon Conscience, is utterly inconsistent with the very Nature of his Kingdom. He rebuked that *Zeal* which would have *Fire come down from Heaven, to devour Dissenters*, tho' it came from his own Disciples; and forbad them to pluck up the *Tares*, though none had a more gentle or infallible Hand to do it with.

He preferred *Mercy* before *Sacrifice*, and therefore we may well believe, that the unmerciful Sacrifices some Men now offer, I mean *Imprisoning Persons, spoiling of Goods, and leaving whole Families destitute of Subsistence*, as well as disinheriting them of all civil Privileges in the Government, are far from being grateful to him, who therefore came into the World, and preach'd that Heavenly Doctrine of *Forbearing*, and *Loving of Enemies*, and laid down his most *innocent Life* for us, whilst we were Rebels, that by such peaceable Precepts, and so patient an Example, the World might be prevailed upon to leave those barbarous Courses. And doubtless, very lamentable will their Condition be, who at the Coming of the great Lord, shall be found *Beaters of their Fellow-Servants*.

In vain do Men go to Church, pray, preach, and *style themselves Believers, Christians, Children of God, &c.* Whilst such Acts of Severity are cherished among them; and any Disposition to molest harmless Neighbours for their Conscience, so much as *countenanc'd* by them. A Course quite repugnant to Christ's Example and Command. In short, the *Promoting of this General Religion*, by a severe *Reprehension and Punishment of Vice*, and *Encouragement of Virtue*, is the *Interest of our Superiors*, several Ways.

1. In that it meets with, and takes in all the Religious Persuasions of the Kingdom, for all pretend to make this their *Corner Stone*. Let them be equally encouraged to square their Building by it. *Penal Laws for Religion, is a Church with a Sting in her Tail*; take that out, and there is no Fear of the People's Love and Duty: And what better Obligation or Security can the civil Magistrate desire? Every Man owns the Text; 'tis the *Comment* that's disputed. Let it but please him to make the *Text only Sacred and Necessary*, and leave Men to keep Company with their own Meanings or Consequences, and he does not only prudently take in all, but suppresseth nice Searches, Fixes Unity upon Materials, Quiets present Differences about Things of lesser Moment, retrieves Humanity, and *Christian Clemency*, and fills the Kingdom with Love and Respect to their Superiors.

2. Next, A Promotion of General Religion, which, being in it self practical, brings back ancient *Virtue*. Good Living will thrive in this Soil:

Men

Men will grow *Honest, Trusty, and Temperate*; we may expect Good Neighbourhood and cordial Friendship: One may then depend more upon a *Word*, than now upon an *Oath*. How lamentable is it to see People afraid of one another; Men made and provided for of one God, and that must be judged by that one Eternal God, yet full of Diffidence in what each other says, and most commonly interpret, as people read *Hebrew*, all Things *backward*.

3. The *Third* Benefit is, that Men will be more industrious; more diligent in their lawful *Callings*, which will encrease our Manufacture, set the Idle and Poor to work for their Lively-Hood, and enable the several Countries, with more Ease and Decency to maintain the Aged and impotent among them. Not will this only help to make the *Lazy* conscientiously industrious, but the Industrious and Conscientious Man *cheerful* at his Labour, when he is assured to keep what he works for, and that the Sweat of his Brows shall not be made a Forfeit for his Conscience.

4. It will render the Magistrates Province more facil, and Government a Safe as well as Easy Thing. For, as *Tacitus* says of *Agricola's* instructing the *Britains* in Arts and Sciences, and using them with more Humanity than other Governors had done, that it made them fitter for Government; So if Practical Religion, and the Laws made to maintain it, were duly regarded, the very Natures of Men. now wild and froward, by a Prejudiced Education and Cross and Jealous Interests, would learn Moderation, and see it to be their greatest Interest to pursue a Sober and Amicable Conversation; which would Ease the Magistrate of much of his present Trouble, and increase the Number of Men fit to govern; of which the Parliament-Times are an undeniable Instance. And the Truth is, 'tis a Piece of Slavery to have the Regiment of Ignorants and Ruffians; but there is true Glory in having the Government of Men, instructed in the Justice and Prudence of their own Laws and Country.

Lastly, It is out of this Nursery of Virtue, Men should be drawn to be planted in the Government, not what is their Opinion, but what is their Manners and Capacity? Here the Field is large, and the Magistrate has Room to choose good Officers for the Publick Good. Heaven will prosper so natural, so noble, and so Christian an *Essay*; which ought not to be the least Consideration with a good Magistrate; and the rather, because the Neglect of this Practical Religion, hath been the Ruin of Kingdoms and Commonwealths, among *Heathens, Jews and Christians*. This laid *Tarquin* low, and his Race never rose more. How puissant were *Lacedæmon* and *Athens* of *Greece*, 'till Luxury had eaten out their Severity, and a Pompous Living, contrary to their Excellent Laws, render'd their Execution intolerable? And was not *Hanibal's* Army a Prey to their own Idleness and Pleasure, which by effeminating their Natures, conquer'd them, when the whole Power of *Rome* could not do it? What else betray'd *Rome* to *Cæsar's* Ambition, and made Way for the After-rents and Divisions of the Empire, the Merit as well as Conquest and Inheritance of a well govern'd People for several Ages, as long as their Manners lasted? The *Jews* likewise were prosperous, while they kept the *Judgments and Statutes of their God*; but when they became Rebellious and Dissolute, the Almighty either visited them from Heaven, or exposed them to the Fury of their Neighbours. Nothing else sent *Zedekiah* to *Babylon*, and gave him and the People a Victim to *Nebuch.dnezzar* and his Army.

Neglect of Laws and Dissolute Living, *Andrew Horn* (that lived in the Time of *Edward the First*, as before cited) tells us, was the Cause of the Miserable Thralldom and Desolation the Britains sustained by Invaders and Conquerors. And pray, what else hath been the English of our Sweeping Pestilence, Dreadful Fires, and Outragious Factions of late Years? Hundreds of Examples might be brought in this Case; but their Frequency shall excuse me.

Thus

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Chap. III.

Thus have I honestly and plainly clear'd my Conscience for my Country, and answer'd, I hope, modestly, and tho' briefly, yet fully, the Import of the *Question* propounded, with *Honour* to the Magistrate and Safety to the People, by an happy Conjunction of their Interests. I shall conclude,

That as Greater Honour and Wisdom cannot well be attributed to any Sort of Men, than for our Superiors, under their Circumstances, to be sought to by all Perswasions, confided in by all Perswasions, and obey'd by all Perswasions; and to make those Perswasions know, that it is their Interest so to do; as well as that it is the Interest of our Superiors, they should, and to which the Expedients proposed naturally tend; So, for a farther Inducement to embrace it, let them be constantly remembred, that the Interest of our English Governors is like to stand longer upon the Legs of the English People, than of the English Church: Since the one takes in the Strength of all Interests, and the other leaves out all but her own: And it may happen that the English Church may fail, or go travel again, but it is not probable that the English People should do either; especially while Property is preserv'd, a Ballance kept, General Religion propagated, and the World continues.

May all this prevail with our Superiors to make the best Use of their little Time; Remembring, in the midst of all their Power and Grandeur, that they carry Mortality about them, and are equally liable to the Scrutiny and Judgment of the Last Day, with the poorest Peasant; and that they have a great Stewardship to account for: So that Moderation and Virtue being their Course, they, for the future, shall steer; after having faithfully discharged that great Trust reposed in them, by God and this Free People, they may, with Comfort to their Souls, and Honour to their Names and Actions, safely anchor in the Haven of Eternal Blessedness: So prays, with much Sincerity,

An English-Christian-Man,

And Their True Friend,

WILLIAM PENN.

A COROLLARY.

THAT the People are under a great Dissatisfaction. That the Way to Quiet Differences, and render contrary Interests Subserving to the Interest of the Government, is,

First, To maintain inviolably the Rights of it, viz. Liberty and Property, Legislation and Juries, without Neglect. That, Slighting and Infringing them hath been the Injury of Prince and People, and early or late the Ruin of the Contrivers of so ill Designs; and when all has been done, the only Expedient has been, to come back again to English Law. This takes in all, pleases all, because it secures and profits all. Sacrificing Privileges for the Sake of Conformity, makes a Breach upon the Civil Government, alienates the People's Affections from their Prince, lodges Property in the Church, so as none can come at it, but through Obedience to her Rites, for she at this Rate has the Keeping of it; a Thing unknown, as well as unsafe to the Ancient English Government.

2dly. That the Prince govern himself upon a Ballance towards all Religious Interests: That this best poizes Parties to his Security, renders him Master of an Universal Affection, and makes him truly and safely Prince of all his Country: But the contrary Course narrows his Justice and Mercy, makes

the Government to shine but upon one Part of the Kingdom; to be just but to one Party, and disinherit the rest from their Birth-right: That this Course ends in great Disadvantage to the Peace, Plenty, and Safety of Prince and People.

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3dly. And Lastly, Instead of being Uncharitable, Severe and Cruel for Modifications, let the Debate about them Sleep, and General and Practical Religion be promoted, that which receives on Amen in every Man's Conscience, from the Principle of Divine Life (as the Lord Keeper well called it) in every Breast, That all agree in the most weighty Doctrines; and that nothing will sooner sweeten Men's Blood, and mollify their Natures, than employing that Time and Pains they bestow on fruitless Contests, in living up to what they both know, believe and accord in: That this leaves Men to keep Company with their own Comments, and makes the Text only Sacred, and Holy Living Necessary, not only to Heavenly, but Earthly Places, I mean Preferments: Whence Virtue becomes the Door to Favour, and Conscience (now smother'd in the Crowd of Sinister Interests) the Noble Rule of Living.

God Almighty, if it please him, beget Noble Resolutions in the Hearts of our Superiors to use these Plain and Safe Expedients, that Charity may supplant Cruelty, Contest yield to Good Life, and present Distances meet in a just and kind Neighbourhood.

Great and Honourable is that Prince, and Free and Happy that People, where these Things take Place.

William Penn.

T H E

Continued Cry of the Oppressed for Justice.

B E I N G

A farther Account of the late *Unjust* and *Cruel Proceedings* of Unreasonable Men against the Persons and Estates of many of the People called *Quakers*, only for their peaceable Meetings to worship God.

Presented to the Serious Consideration of the *KING* and both Houses of *PARLIAMENT*:

Seek Judgment, Relieve the Oppressed, Judge the Fatherless, and Plead for the Widow, Isa. i. 17.

To the *King* and both Houses of *Parliament*.

FOrasmuch as the Maintenance of Justice, and Preservation of the Peace of Civil Societies have in all Ages been the great End of Government; and since it hath pleased Almighty God to cast our Lot in a Kingdom, whose Constitution is more than ordinarily careful of the Liberty and Property of it's freeborn Inhabitants: And because several Laws have been made upon Occasion of Dissent in Matters of Religion, to press an Uniformity to the Religion

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ligion now established, that in the Execution of them have generally interfered with those Laws that give and preserve English Freedoms, in that Hundreds of us have been Imprisoned, and our Goods frequently Spoiled, to the utter Ruin of many Families, without any Legal Process or Trial by Peers; and This not for refusing Conformity to the State, or denying Caesar his Due, or being chargeable to Parishes, or useless to the Government, but only because of our conscientious Dissent from the present Church: And since this seems to be an Alteration in the ancient English Government, by making an Ecclesiastical Conformity the Grand and Necessary Qualification in Englishmen to the Peaceable Enjoyment of their Natural and Civil Inheritances: and forasmuch as this Course tends to a manifest Decay of Trade (the Political Life of this Island) Discouragement of Strangers, Depopulation of the Country, Impoverishing of many Thousand Useful Inhabitants, as well as that such Severities about Matters of Conscience are Inconsistent with the Doctrine and Example of Christ and his Followers in all Ages, and repugnant, not only to the very Way of true Conviction, but the Doctrine of ancient Protestants, whose Protestation at the Diet at Spira against Coercion in Matters of Religion, was the Occasion of their being called Protestants. And because many malicious and covetous Persons (under Pretence of doing God, the King and Country Service) have taken Advantage by these Laws to vent their Passions, all their Revenge, and pursue their Worldly Interest, beyond all Law and Humanity, as woefully appears by the annexed Particulars, ready to be proved.

We therefore intreat; First, That it would please you to peruse the annexed Particulars for your better Information of the Nature of our Case and Allegations.

Secondly, That you would be pleased, for the Removal and Prevention of the like Mischiefs, to repeal or qualify those Laws, whereby the Persons and Estates of many Thousands of the peaceable People of this Kingdom are hourly exposed to Ruin in this World, for meer Conscience, about Things relating to the next World, that being assured, the Sweat of our Brows, and hard-gotten Bread for our Families shall not be made a Forfeit for our peaceable Consciences, we may be better encouraged, for the Time to come, to all virtuous and industrious Living under the present Government, as hath hitherto been, through God's Grace, our daily Practice.

A few Instances out of many which might be given, of the great OPPRESSIONS and CRUELITIES lately acted upon Innocent Persons and Industrious Families, chiefly in Pursuance (as is pretended) of the late Act against Conventicles, for their meeting in peaceable Manner to worship God: Read, Consider, and Redress.

Leicestershire.

FOR a Meeting at Long-Claxton, or Clawson, four Persons were sent to Prison, and so much Goods at divers Times taken from some of the said Meeting, that they had not a Cow left to give their young Children Milk; their very Bed-Clothes, wearing-Clothes and working-Tools escaped not the Violence or Avarice of their Persecutors; the total Sum amounts to above Two Hundred thirty six Pounds; nor did this satisfy our Persecutors, for they cruelly dragg'd some Women in the Streets by the Necks, till they were near stifled, tearing the Clothes off their Heads and Backs. One Woman that gave Suck was so beaten and bruised on her Breast, that it festered and broke, with which she hath endured many Weeks Misery and Torture: Another Woman of Seventy Five Years of Age was violently thrown down upon the Ground by one *W. Guy* Constable; the Men were sorely beaten, drawn and dragged out of the Meeting, some by the Heels, some

some by the Hair of the Head, and some so bruised, that they were not able to follow their Day-Labour; others they whipt on the Face till the Blood ran down; there was one they furiously trod upon till Blood gush'd out of his Mouth and Nose; To compleat the Matter, the Informer took away from one of the Prisoners his Purse and Money, as if he had not been a quiet Neighbour, but a Prisoner of War: Nor was this accidental, but designed; no short Fit of Cruelty, upon an extraordinary Provocation; but at this bitter Rate have they treated them for several Months.

Witnesses,

*Edward Hallam, William Marryott, John Wilford,
William Smith, Richard Parker.*

Nottinghamshire.

Under Pretence of prosecuting the late Act against *Conventicles*, One *Peniston Whaley* a Justice, and one *Colgrave* a Bum-Bailiff, and one *Walker*, both Informers, have utterly ruin'd many poor Families in this County in their Estates, having taken or caus'd to be taken from several Persons about Seven Hundred Pounds, the Justice bidding the Officers take Three or Four Times the Value of the Fines, that they might sell good Penny-worths, never returning, as we are informed, any one Record of Conviction into the Sessions, except forced by Persons appealing: *John Gotrick* and *William Hulson of Little Greenly* appealing to the Sessions, the Sessions ordered them their Money again; but the aforesaid *Peniston Whaley* still detains Sixty Pounds in his Hands, contrary to the Orders of the Sessions, notwithstanding it has been divers Times demanded.

T. Sampson by Warrant from *G. Nevil*, Justice, for two Meetings had taken from him Nineteen Head of Beasts, and Goods to the Value of Sixty Pounds and upwards, as was valued by the Neighbours; so that they left him not a Cow to give his Children Milk: That ever these Things should be done by such as count themselves *Christians*, and Followers of Christ Jesus, who suffered, but would have none to suffer for his Religion.

Witnesses,

*Abraham Sampson, Francis Hawthmore,
Robert Porter.*

Norfolk.

FOR several Meetings in and about *Cockley Clay* several Persons have had Goods taken from them to the Value of fifty three Pounds, *William Wat* being Informer. *John Putterson* had Two Hundred Sheep taken from him worth Eighty Pounds. *William Barber* being informed against by *John Gibbs* a Priest of *Gliffing*, for Meeting, had Cows, Carts, a Plough, Harrows and Hay taken from him to the Value of Fifty Pounds; the said *William's* House hath been rifled TEN Times, and he is now a Prisoner upon a Writ *de Excommunicato capiendo*. At *Fakenham* several Persons have been fined, *Wat* the Informer, and his Wife being the only Witnesses against them, and Goods have been taken to a great Value; they left one *Joseph Harrison* not so much as a Bed to lye upon; but he, his Wife and Children were fain to lye on Straw.

Cambridgeshire.

FOR a peaceable Meeting at the House of *William Brasier* Shoemaker in *Cambridge*, he was fined Twenty Pounds by *John Hunt* Mayor, and *John Spencer* Vice-Chancellor, upon the Information of *Stephen Perry* a Tinker: The Officers that came to distrein for this Twenty Pounds said, *They had Warrants for Fifty Five Pounds more*: They took his Leather, Latts, and the Seat he work'd on, wearing Clothes, and Sheets where he lay, tho'

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on Straw, having taken his Bed before, not leaving him any Thing to cover him withal; so that he was fain to lodge abroad, till he could get some old Things to cover him at Home.

And there hath lately been taken from several Persons, for meeting in and about *Cambridge*, Goods and Cattel to the Value of Sixty Three Pounds and upwards.

At *Littleport, Ely*, and other Places in the Isle of *Ely*, several Persons were fin'd, and had their Goods taken for their peaceable Meetings, viz. *Cloth, Stuff, Household-Goods and Cattel*; from one Woman the very Bed she lay on; in all, to the Value of one Hundred Ninety Five Pounds and Upwards.

Edward Partridge and his Favorite *Thomas Richman*, the old Informer, used great Violence to several; *Edw. Partridge* struck *Samuel Cater* twice, and being at Prayer, pulled him down by the Nose, beating Men and Women till he broke his Staff; He also struck one Person, standing quietly at the Meeting-house Door, and felled him, that the Standers-by said, *There is one knockt on the Head*; yet he revived in a little Time, but within Six Months after dyed, and to his dying Day complained of that Blow.

Note, *William March* Justice, fined one Man (no *Quaker*) Five Pounds, for refusing to help to carry away the aforesaid Sufferers Goods, which Five Pounds, the poor Man paid; but wanting but Two Pence thereof, the said Justice forced him to borrow it, to make up the Sum; and shortly after the poor Man dying, on his Death-Bed he much rejoiced, *That he had no Hand in taking away his Neighbour Adams his Goods.*

Witnesses,

*William Brasier, Samuel Cater.**Oxfordshire.*

FOR a Meeting at *Atuskoet* near *Burford* (*Walter Powel* Priest of the Town, being Informer, who before the Meeting had spoke to the Justices, at their Peril to be at the Meeting) several Persons, were fined and had Goods taken away to the Value of Forty Four Pounds and upwards.

Somersetshire.

THIRTY two Persons were fined for being at a Burial, for which they had taken from them in Cows, Corn and other Goods, to the Value of Eighty Two Pounds and upwards, by Warrant from *Fra. Pawlet* Justice, who he when none else would buy the distreined Cattle, sent Men to buy them for himself.

One *Margery Osmond*, who was not at the Burial, and yet was fined by *F. Pawlet*, went to him to know the Names of them that had sworn against her, and desired Justice of him; he said, *It was a Mistake*; by which it did afterwards appear, he was willing to excuse the Informers; howbeit, he then read in a Book in the hearing of several Persons, in which *Bayner* and *Withey* were recorded Informers against the said Assembly at the Burial, and said withal, *That she should prosecute them for Perjury at the next Sessions, and that the Record at the Sessions should be Evidence against them*, or to that Effect; but he was not so good as his Word; for at the Sessions Witnesses were present to testify, that she was not at the said Burial; but *Fra. Pawlet* (in Favour to these Informers) left *Withey's* Name out of the Record, and put in another's Name, who was not present, and also left out her Name; so there could be no Proceedings against the Informers for their Perjury, albeit he had issued out his Warrant to levy the Fine imposed on her. The said Justice *Pawlet* for the same Burial fined several Persons Twenty Four Pounds for an unknown Preacher, yet sent a Certificate to the Mayor of *Bridgwater*, to distrein Twenty Pounds on the Goods of *John Anderson* for preaching at the Burial that Day; so he would have Forty

Four

Four Pounds in all [Note, this is Twenty Four Pounds more than the Rigour of the Law allows of, admitting it had been a Conventicle.] for the Preacher known, and one unknown, when in Truth there was none spoke, but *John Anderton*, who Christianly exhorted the People to consider their latter End: And when *Mary Tyler*, the Widow of the deceased (who was fined Four Pounds for being at her Husband's Burial, and had Goods raken for it) spoke mildly to him, to shew him his Injustice, he told her, *It did not become Women to go to their Husbands Burials.*

And several Persons for being at Meetings at *Glastenbury* and *Gregory Stoke* in this County, have lately had Cattle, Corn and Goods taken from them, to the Value of One Hundred Forty Five Pounds and upwards, by Warrant from two Persons, called, *Justice Waldron* and *Justice Cross*:

At this Day there remain Prisoners in this County for the Testimony of *Jesus*, Twenty one Persons.

And there have dyed in Prison, Sufferers for good Conscience-sake, in this County, since the Year 1660. Eighteen Persons.

Witnesses,

John Cuff, Henry Clothie, George Tayler.

Berkshire.

T *Thomas Curtis*, fined Three Pound Fifteen Shillings, had a Mare taken from him worth about Seven Pounds, by Warrant from *Justice Craven*; and though an Appeal was tendered (according to the Act) it was refused; and though the Officers voluntarily offered the Justice the Fine, yet he would not take it, but had the Mare valued at Four Pounds, and kept her.

The 7th Day of the 8th Month, 1675, *William Armourer* and *George Gifford*, Mayor of *Reading*, came to the Meeting, and because the Women came not forth so soon as they would have them, *W. Armourer* pluckt out of his Pocket a sharp Instrument, and prickt several of them in a Shameful Manner, till it fetcht Blood; and afterwards tendered the *Oath of Allegiance* to seven of them, on purpose to ensnare them; and because for Conscience-sake they could not swear at all, they were sent to Goal, where they now remain.

And the Mayor thrust some Women in a very abusive Manner, particularly an ancient Woman, without Regard to Age or Sex.

Of which Cruelty, and much more, many in *Reading* are Witnesses.

Cheshire.

J *Justice Daniel* of *Daresbury* hath fined one Meeting near him several Times over, and hath taken from *T. Briggs* and others the Value of One Hundred and Sixteen Pounds, Fifteen Shillings and Ten Pence, in Kine and Horses (which the Justice keeps to his own Use and Work, as his own) also Corn, Brass, Pewter, Bedding, and such like Goods.

William Hall of *Congleton*, Shoemaker, was fined Twenty Pounds, by *Will. Knight*, Mayor, and two Justices, for having a Meeting at his House; for which his Mare was distrained, when his Wife was riding on her. And some Time after, they seized on his Shoes in his Shop. And another Time, in his Absence, with Marhooks broke open the Doors of his Dwelling-House, and took away Two Cart-Loads of Goods, whereupon *William* tendered an Appeal, but the said Magistrates denied it: Sometime after, the Mare, of her own accord, came Home, in his Absence, his Wife let her in; now, notwithstanding that upon their Crying the Mare, he went with two of his Neighbours, and acquainted the Chief Magistrate, that he had the Mare, and she was in the Field, without any Lock to hinder them from her, and if they had more Right to her than he, they might fetch her; otherwise, if they pleased, he would joyn Issue with them, to try whose the Mare was; which they refused, and committed him to the Goal, and Arraigned

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raigned him for his Life, as a Felon; but he was acquitted by the Judge and Jury.

Taken from several in and about *Nantwich*, by Warrant from Justice *Manwaring*, for Eighty Seven Pounds in Fines, Goods to the Value of One Hundred and one Pounds, in Kine, Bacon, Bedding, Brags, Pewter, Corn, Cloth, Shoes and Cheefe: And from one Man was taken all, from the Beds the Family lay on to the very Dunghil, which they also carried away. Some of the Sufferers appealing, the Jury acquitted them, but the Justices would not receive their Verdict; but at the next Sessions the Justices gave Judgment for the Informers; and not contented with this, they gave them TREBLE Cost.

Note, The Chief Informer in these Sufferings, was one *John Widdowbury* of *Hanklow*, called an Esquire, who did it to be revenged on *Thomas Braissey* (one of the Meeting) for demanding Forty Pounds of him, which he owed unto *Thomas Braissey* upon Bond, which, that he might (as appears) defraud the said *Thomas Braissey* of, he hath since (by reviving an old Excommunication) sent him to Prison, and swears he will send his Wife after him from her four SMALL Children.

Witnesses, *Henry Fletcher, Jonathan Fletcher, Samuel Ellis.*

Torkshire.

HAVING in a former Narrative acquainted you, that Goods to the Value of Two Thousand Three Hundred Eighty One Pounds, Ten Shillings, by the late Act against Conventicles, have been taken from us, with some other of our heavy Pressures and Sufferings in the County of *Tork*, for the Exercise of our Consciences towards God; and having yet obtained no Redress, but rather an Increase of our Sufferings, One having since died in Prison at *Tork*, where Twenty Four yet remain Prisoners, and some Hundreds of Families like to be ruin'd by Prosecutions, both in Temporal and Ecclesiastical Courts, because for Conscience sake we cannot conform to the Religion and Worship imposed on us, nor deny the Religion and Worship, which we have been taught by the Spirit of God, according to the Holy Scriptures; and our constant adhering to the Religion and Worship in Spirit, which we believe God requires of us, can injure no Man; but the Denial of it would greatly injure us, because every Man must give an Account to God for himself: O why then should we by Law be exposed to Ruin and Destruction for the Exercise of our Conscience towards God, since by our Ruins none are like to be raised, unless it be a few Informers, Apparitors and other inferior Officers in the said Courts; but the Damage that may come to the King, and the whole Nation, by Discouraging, Persecuting or Ruining an industrious innocent People, is like to be very great: Therefore we desire, that you would be pleased to put a Stop to the vexatious Proceedings of the said Informers and Courts, and confirm to us, your selves and Posterities, the Liberty of our Consciences towards God, that we all may worship and serve Him, as we believe he requires us; so shall we be accepted of him, and receive his Blessing, and Peace, and Tranquility in the whole Nation.

Witnesses,

John Whitehead, John Hall.

In divers other Counties in this Nation, there are many more Instances, both of great Havock and Spoil of Goods, impoverishing and ruining many innocent Families in their Trades and Livelihoods, which for Brevitie's Sake are at present here omitted.

Note. A Postscript, to this Cry of the Oppressed, is here omitted; it being comprehended in the Sixth Section of the Second Part of *An Address to Protestants*, printed Anno 1679, and hereafter inserted.

S A U L

SAUL Smitten to the Ground:

Being a Brief, but Faithful NARRATIVE,
OF THE
Dying Remorse of a late Living Enemy,
(To the People called QUAKERS, and their Faith and Worship)

MATTHEW HIDE;

Attested by Eye and Ear Witnesses, whereof his WIDOW is One.

Published in Honour } For a Warning to Gainsayers,
to God, } AND
A Confirmation to the Honest-Hearted.

With an APPENDIX both to Foes and Friends on this Occasion.

By WILLIAM PENN.

Jer. xxxi. Surely after that I was Turned, I Repented; and after that I was Instructed, I smote upon my Thigh; I was Ashamed, yea, even confounded.

WHereas after near Twenty Years Publick Opposition, made by Matthew Hide, against the People called Quakers, and their Principle of the Light within, in their Publick Assemblies, chiefly in and about London: It hath pleased the Lord immediately and secretly to Smite and Awaken him in his Conscience, and to bring the Burden of his Iniquity upon him a few Days before his Death (though he was not the worst of open Opposers and Disturbers) that he was necessitated to make a solemn Confession thereof, and unto the Truth, in the Presence of Almighty God, and several of the said People, his Wife, and some others, before he could quietly or with Satisfaction depart this Life. This is given out as a true and faithful Narrative of his Last and Dying Words, as a Testimony for God's Truth and People, against all Apostates, Gainsayers and Opposers thereof, that such may take Warning, for whom there yet remains a Place of Repentance.

The NARRATIVE.

ON the 19th of the 12th Month, 1675, Cotton Oades hearing that Matthew Hide was willing to speak to some of our Friends, called Quakers, went to him, and told him, if he had any Thing to say, to clear himself, he might speak, seeing he had opposed Friends in their Declarations and Prayers.

M. Hide signified thus much, That he was sorry for what he had done; for they were the People of God.

C. Oades ask'd him, If he had any Thing in his Mind to any particular Friends, nominating G. Whitehead and W. Gibson, or any other; and whether he would be willing any of them should be sent for?

M. Hide reply'd, As many as please may come.

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Whereupon *Cotton Oades* presently sent for *George Whitehead*, who accordingly went with the Messenger to visit *Matthew Hide* after the Ninth Hour in the Night. So the said *George Whitehead*, *Cotton Oades* and *John Ball*, near the Tenth Hour in the Night, visiting *Matthew Hide* on his sick Bed, tho' so weak, that 'twas very hard for him to utter Words, yet these were understood from him, when spoken to, as followeth: C. O. told him, *Here is George Whitehead come to see thee, Matthew.*

G. W. *I am come in Love and Tenderneſs to ſee thee.*

M. Hide. *I am glad to ſee you.*

G. W. *If thou haſt any thing on thy Conſcience to ſpeak, I would have thee to clear thy Conſcience.*

M. Hide. *What I have to ſay, I ſpeak in the Preſence of God; As Paul was a Perſecutor of the People of the Lord, So have I been a Perſecutor of you his People, as the World are, who perſecute the Children of God: [With more Words which then could not be underſtood.]*

G. W. *Thy Underſtanding being darkned, when Darkneſs was over thee, thou haſt gainſaid the Truth and People of the Lord; and I knew that That Light which thou oppoſedſt, would riſe up in Judgment againſt thee: I have often with others, laboured with thee, to bring thee to a Right Underſtanding.*

M. Hide. *This I declare in the Preſence of God, and of you here, I have done Evil in Perſecuting you, who are the Children of God, and I am ſorry for it; the Lord Jeſus Chriſt ſhew Mercy unto me, and the Lord increaſe your Number, and be with you.*

G. W. [after ſome Pauſe] *I would have thee, if thou art able to ſpeak, to eaſe thy Conſcience as fully as thou canſt; my Soul is affected to hear thee thus confeſs thy Evil, as the Lord hath given thee a Senſe of it; in Repentance, there is Mercy and Forgiveneſs; in Confeſſing and Forſaking Sin, there is Mercy to be found with the Lord, who in the Miſt of Judgment remembers Mercy, that he may be feared.* [The ſaid M. H. being then much oppreſt, ſtriving for Breath, and lying on his Back, that it was very hard for him to ſpeak, G. W. got *John Ball* to turn him on one Side, that he might the better ſpeak.

M. Hide. *I have Done Evil in oppoſing you in your Prayers; the Lord be merciful unto me; and as I have been an Inſtrument to turn many from God, the Lord raiſe up Many Inſtruments to turn many to him.*

G. W. [after ſome Silence] *I deſire thou mayſt find Mercy and Forgiveneſs at the Hand of the Lord; How is it with thy Soul? Doſt not thou find ſome Eaſe?*

M. Hide. *I hope I do, and if the Lord ſhould lengthen my Days, I ſhould be willing to Bear a Teſtimony for you, as publickly as I have appeared againſt you.*

[His Wife then ſaid, 'Tis enough; what can be deſired more?]

G. W. *If the Lord ſhould not lengthen out thy Days, Doſt thou deſire what thou ſayſt, ſhould be ſignified to others?*

M. Hide. *Yes, I do; you may: I have ſaid as much as I can ſay.*

G. W. [After ſome Silence] *If this Company be wearifome unto thee, I think we may withdraw.*

M. H. *You may uſe your Freedom.*

G. W. *I ſhall leave thee to the Lord, deſiring he may ſhew Mercy and Forgiveneſs unto thee, as I hope he will.*

M. Hide. *The Lord be with your Spirits.*

Theſe Things were expreſt about Two Hours before his Death, in the Preſence of George Whitehead, John Ball, Cotton Oade, George Browne.

And the Wife of Matthew Hide, and ſome others.

It is to be obſerved, before ſome of the People called *Quakers*, came to him, I perceiving him to be much troubled in his Mind, asked him, *If he would ſpeak with any of theſe People?* He ſmote his Hand upon his Breaſt, and ſaid, *With all my Heart.* I asked him again, *If he would ſpeak with ſome.*

Some of the Quakers? And he smote his Hand upon his Breast, and said, *With all my Soul;* so some were invited to come. Again, after they had been with him, he did oftentimes desire, *That he might Live till Morning, it being First-Day of the Week, and that he might bear on that Day, a Testimony for the TRUTH, he had on that Day so often opposed.* He also said, *He had since found some Ease to his Spirit.* And I being a Silver-Spinner, and he understanding that I wrought to People that were Great in the World, he took me by the Hand, and did press it much upon me, *That I should use the Plain Language, as Thee, and Thou; and if they would not receive it, I should let my Trade go.* And after some more Words to this Purpose spoken by him, in a good Understanding, he stretched himself out, and died very quietly.

To the Substance of this Relation, concerning my Husband's Expressions on his Death-Bed, concerning the People called *Quakers*, I was an Ear-Witness, and Mary Fooks too. *Elizabeth Hide, Mary Fooks.*

To all Atheistical, Persecuting, and Contentious Opposers of the Universal Light of JESUS in the Conscience, and particularly those that are Disturbers and Vilifiers of them that believe in Him, at their Publick Meetings to Worship God, according to the Illumination and Motion of that Blessed Principle.

TO you all a Warning in the Name and Fear of God, that you leave off your vain Thoughts, your chaffy, loose, and unfavoury Words, and *Rebellious Practices, against the Light of JESUS in your own Consciences,* and that you dread any more to revile, backbite, disturb, or slander his poor People, that have believed in him, and that follow him according to the Shinings of his Blessed Light in their Hearts; speak not evilly of that you do not know, much less go you on to *Kick against those Pricks in your own Consciences, as Saul did, lest you become entirely hardened in your Gain-sayings, and the Lord God cut you off in his sore Displeasure.* O that you would consider your Latter End, and Repent, you Vain Mortal Men; for you know not how soon that dismal Trump may overtake any of you, *Are ye ready? Are ye prepared? Have you the Wedding-Garment? Are you of them that have suffered with him, being dead and buried to Self-Will, Pride, Envy, Revenge, and the Lusts of this Ungodly World, and risen with him in the Life, Glory, and Raiment of the Resurrection?* If so, where are your Fruits? If you are not, (as ye are not I affirm in God's Name) then where's your Authority for these Evil Fruits you bring forth, *Scoffing, Mocking, Jangling, Disturbing and Bawling against us, stirring up the Scum of the Multitude to abuse us:* Consider before it be too late, who is your Master in all these Things, and whose Servants you are, in whose Name and Errand you go, and what Spirit sets you thus to work against so Glorious a Principle, and so Harmless a People, that not being contented with *Lifeless Worship, Human Faiths, and meer Traditional Religions,* cry to the God of Heaven to appear and operate in their Hearts, and teach them by his own Holy Spirit, to be his Disciples and Children, according to his Promise, yea, though it cross the World's Life, Spirit, Customs and Fashions; and therefore cannot longer serve God in the Oldness of the Letter, by meer Imitation, or after the Manner of the Loose Christians of this World, only with outside Performances, *but in the Newness of the Spirit, in the immediate Leadings and Guidings of the Holy Ghost,* according to Rom. viii. 14. though they were never so much made a Reproach and By-Word, and be encompassed about with Loss and Danger. I say, have a Care of resisting, reviling and disturbing these poor People, *these Believers, these Assertors, these Followers and Children of the Light of JESUS,* begotten again of the Everlasting Day of Righteousness, *lest you Treasure up Wrath against the*

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Day of Wrath, and the Revelation of the Righteous Fierce Judgments of God, and your Portion be appointed you in that Day with the Workers of Iniquity for ever.

And as I warn you to forsake your vain, frothy, envious, and contentious Courses, so do I exhort you in God's Fear to unfeigned Repentance, and invite you in Love to the True Peace of Conscience, even that Conscience which is sprinkled from Unbelief, Hatred, Malice, and all Ungodliness, which is only obtained by an humble and sincere walking in the Light of the Son of God, as 1 John 1. taking Heed to, and not despising this Holy and Spiritual Appearance of Christ within, to dethrone Satan, and destroy Sin, and to bring in his own Everlasting Righteousness, as the Jews did Jesus, whom they only knew after the Flesh, crying out, *Is not this the Carpenter's Son? this Fellow; and if thou art the Christ, or Son of God, show us a Sign, and tell who smites thee, and come off from the Cross, and save thy self.* I say, cavil not thus at the Light of Christ in your Consciences, despise not his Sufficiency with your Carnal Mind, neither turn his Grace, Mercy and Forbearance into a profane Presumption, and bold tempting of the Living God; for then very woful will your End be; behold, read, ponder, and meditate on the latter End of this poor Man! Let his Case, be both a Warning and Visitation, to all that oppose the Light of Christ within, and the Children of it, that you may consider your latter End, find Mercy, and be saved. When I read the Narrative of his Dying Condition, O, my Heart was much broken before the Lord, and I could not but reverently magnifie his Glorious Power, Mercy and Truth, that had wrought so strange, so great, and so blessed a Work for his Name's Defence, his People's Vindication, and I hope, for the poor Man's Soul too; O let him have the Glory for ever; for who is like unto Him in Heaven or in Earth, whose Goings are in the Deep, and whose Ways are past finding out, but in his own Time.

And truly Pity rose in my Soul, towards all you whose Day is not over, and a secret strong Groan to God, that you might all see your Folly, and repent before you go hence and be no more seen.

This Man I have known many Years, being One whom he hath often opposed in publick Meetings; his main Stroak was against the Doctrine of Christ, the True Light, Enlightning every Man that comes into the World, with a Divine and Saving Light; the Sufficiency and Universality of this to Salvation, he constantly and resolutely withstood, not furiously, madly, and frothily, like outrageous Mockers, as some still too evidently and frequently shew themselves against us, but with great External Sobriety and Gravity, as well as Zeal, Reasoning after his Manner, and not bawling against us; Nor was his Conversation Scandalous, but Honest and Exemplary in Worldly Things towards Men, for ought that I ever heard upon Enquiry. So that his present Convictions, as they were not the Effect of any affrighting Discourse, Insinuations, or Besetments of ours in his Sickness, neither could they be interpreted to be any Trouble for a Dissolute Life, in which he might be thought to condemn himself generally and confusedly; nor yet did his Remorse only arise from the Way of his opposing us, as if he still retain'd his Judgment; but the very Ground of the whole Trouble, and Exercise of Spirit, for which he was willing to see any of us, and utter the foregoing Pathetical Expressions, *Was his gainsaying us, the People called Quakers, in the Way of our Faith and Worship,* and so much his own Words testify. Let all take Heed of the Reviling Thief's State upon the Cross, lest they enter not into the Paradise of God for ever.

And now, My Dearly Beloved Friends and Brethren, who have hearkned to the Holy Reproofs of this instructing Light of JESUS in the Conscience, and by it been redeemed from the Wickedness of this World, and taught in deep and Heavenly Things, and made, through your cheerful Obedience, to partake in Measure of the Great Salvation of God, though it hath been through very many bitter Exercises, and deep Tribulations of Body and Spirit. O! What Cause have you to keep Covenant with the Lord, to abide in your Heavenly Habitation, in a Living Faith, Steadfast Hope, and Constant



Constant Patience to the End, casting your Care upon him, and committing your Cause and Concerns to him, who is not only able, but willing and ready to succour you, and maintain the Glory of his own Famous and Honourable Name, deeply concern'd in you. O! let us dwell with him for ever, that his Holy Spirit may more and more enliven us, his Power strengthen us, and his Great Wisdom conduct us through the Work of our Day: 'Tis true, *That many are the Troubles of the Righteous*, but blessed be our God for ever, *He will as certainly deliver out of them all.*

And though we want not the Evidence of his Holy Spirit, that his own Right Arm gathered us, and that we are his People bought by his Blood, redeemed by his Power, and made Partakers of his Divine Life; yet it ought to be no small Evidence of the Lord's Goodness, and therefore both Matter of Comfort and Confirmation to us, that he hath constrained a Testimony to *His own Blessed Light within*, and us his poor despised People, (that have believed in it, and above all the Families of the Earth, contended and suffered for it) out of the Mouth of an old and constant Opposer of both, and that upon his Dying-Bed too, when no Fears nor Flatteries, no Gains nor Temptations from Men, justly can be thought to have prevail'd upon him: But the powerful Workings only of that very Light he had so long resisted, this smote him in Secret; this made his Dying-Bed uneasy, and proved it's own Sufficiency upon him, awakening his Conscience, opening his Understanding, breaking his Heart, and drawing a very plain, tender, and sincere Confession from his Mouth: *O blessed be the Name of our God for ever, who is a God, Glorious in Holiness, Fearful in Praises, Working Wonders for them that commit their Cause to him.*

And whatever were his Provocations to us, I can say it, in the Fear of God, my Heart was much more filled with Pity than Displeasure towards him, and this very Repentance is both an effectual Answer of my Prayers, and a plain Accomplishment of my Prophecy, with some more of my Brethren; for as I often earnestly, and more than ordinarily of late, desired of the Lord, this *Poor Man's Convincement and Repentance*, and that with an unusual Tenderness of Spirit, even when he was strong in his Gain-saying, so have I frequently told him, in the Name of God, and Pretence of many People, at our Meetings, (when he came on purpose to withstand us) that God would plead with him, by his Righteous Judgments; and that the Time would come, he should be forc'd to confess to the Sufficiency of that Light he then opposed; and to acknowledge that God was with us, of a Truth; all which, blessed be the Name of the Lord, is fulfilled, by the foregoing *Narrative*; where he confesseth himself a *Saul*, desires Forgiveness, testifies to us, that we are the Lord's People, and prays for our Increase. Thus hath our God vindicated his Glorious Name.

Nor do I insist on this so much, as if we had been hitherto barren of the like Instances that might encourage us; for a great Volume would not contain what we could say, of the *Living and Dying Testimonies given by great and harsh Opposers to this Blessed Way of God we are turned unto*: But so far as much as this Man was so lately, and so publicly a Gain-sayer, and so generally known of those that frequent our Meetings to have been such; and for that it was his own Desire, as well as that the Case is extraordinary, and that the Lord's Honour, and many Men's Souls are concerned, therefore is this published: And I pray God, with my whole Soul and Spirit, that it may be a Warning to all Opposers, of what Sort soever, That they gain-say not themselves into Eternal Destruction (for none of their Weapons shall ever prosper, the Lord hath said it,) but that they may turn unto the Light of Jesus in their own Hearts, and follow the Reproofs and Instructions of it, *Whose Ways are Ways of Purity, and all his Paths are Peace*; for he visits the Creature, to lead out of Sin, which is the only Cause of Trouble: And my Desire farther is, that we who have believed therein, may keep Covenant, stand our Ground, and not again turn into Folly. O! have a Care of a slothful Mind, that which can sit at Home and censure, but is not diligent in the Work of the Lord; Let us go on and press forward, towards the

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Glorious Recompence, and this keeps in the Universal Spirit, out of Murmuring and Grudgings, and herein shall we prosper, and be preserved for ever; and let this be the Godly Use we make of this Great Obligation which the Lord hath now eminently laid upon us, to watch and persevere, that we may hold out to the End, and give no Just Occasion to any to speak Evil of this Blessed Way of the Lord, that hath so signally been born Witness to, (even by such as have spoken Evil of it) when they came to die; as this *Narrative* (though briefly, yet fully) proves.

And as to the Persecution that now threatens, you know this, it comes all from the same Root, and he that drew a Testimony from this Opposer (and Persecutor, as he confesseth he was) will in due Time give Witness to his Holy Way, and you his People, from the Consciences of your Persecutors, as you know full well he hath frequently done in divers Places of this Nation; therefore never heed it, neither be ye moved at it, but be of Good Cheer, for the Shout of an immortal King is amongst us, who is the only *Sacred Majesty, Dread Sovereign, King, Prince, and Lord of Conscience*, and no Mortal Man whatever; for he only can be Lord of Conscience, who is greater than Conscience, and Author of Conscience; but that no Man is, because Conscience is the chiefest Part that constitutes that Man, therefore no Man can be Lord of Conscience: And be it known to all Powers on Earth, it is this Great Lord that hath reacht to your Souls, even *Israel's God*; wherefore keep you with him, hearken to his Holy Voice, and obey it diligently unto all Holiness, and all shall go well with you in the End: *Say unto the Righteous, it shall go Well with them; but say unto the Wicked, it shall go Ill with them*: This God gave his Prophet in Charge of Old, and it stands True to our Day, and shall while a good and a bad Man live upon the Earth.

You know, *My Brethren*, in whom you have believed, and have good Experience of his Power and Faithfulness: Call to mind his Noble Acts, and Valiant Deeds, his Great Salvation in all Ages; how sure, how ready, how willing, and how able he hath been to deliver our Ancestors, and you know he is the same now at this Day, trust there for ever; for he is greater in you, than he that is in the World, and I know assuredly that all these Things shall work together for Good, to them that keep in the Faith, *The Royal Faith, the Victorious Faith, that Faith that stands all Trials, and surmounts all Temptations, and through patient Suffering, triumphs over Rage, Darkness, and the Grave: 'Tis this exceeding precious Faith, that makes the Good Christian, the Good Man, the Good Subject, and keeps Man's Conscience void of Offence towards God and all Men*; and as we keep it, of Right may we say, *The Lord is our Light, whom should we fear; The Lord is the Strength of our Life, of whom should we be afraid*? O! those that flee before Informers, and run at the Sight of Persecutors (yea, though an Army of them) either never had, or have parted from this *Noble Faith*, which is pure Confidence in God, and intire Resignation to his Divine Will; come what will come, Christ will not have one Coward in his Spiritual Army: *Fear not what Man can do unto you*, was a great Part of his Instruction to his Disciples, the Pilgrim Preachers of his Holy Gospel to the World; but Consulters with Flesh and Blood, those that use base Stratagems to save themselves, that will not abide the Day, but flink from the Shock of Sufferings, and hide in Stormy Times, they betray God's Prerogative, Conscience's Liberty, sling up the Cause, and bring a *Spot upon Conscientious Separation*; such shall become an Abhorrence, and utter Detestation in the Sight of the Pure Jealous God, and all Good People.

My Brethren, I hope that few or none of these will be found amongst us, howbeit, these Things may be permitted for a Winnowing, that many may be proved, that so their Integrity may be the better manifested; for a Sincere, Holy, and Self-denying People, GOD will have to delight himself in:
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Blessed are they, whose *God is the Lord*, and whose Trust is in him for ever; for they shall never be moved. Into his Blessed Care and Protection, with my self, do I commit you all; and the Lord of Heaven and Earth preserve us all in his Holy Fear, Love and Patience to the End. *Amen.*

WILLIAM PENN.

AN

Address to Protestants of all PERSUASIONS:

More Especially the

Magistracy and Clergy,

FOR THE

Promotion of VIRTUE and CHARITY.

IN TWO PARTS. By W. P. a Protestant.

2 Pet. 1. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. Giving all Diligence, add to your Faith, Virtue; and 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 ye shall neither be barren nor unfruitful in the Knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ. But he that lacketh these Things, is blind, and cannot see far off, and hath forgotten that he was purged from his old Sins.

* THE PREFACE.

THE Acceptance this Address has found, with all Sorts of People, to whose Hands it has come, who value Religion for the Sake of Piety, more than out of Interest or Formality, hath brought it a second Time to publick View.

It was writ in the Year 1679. As a Christian Expedient for Peace and Safety; But our Animosities were then too great, to consider of the best Means to obtain them; which stood, and does, and will ever stand, in a thorow Reformation of Hearts and Lives; Else God, that cannot lye in the Ways of his Providence, will undoubtedly meet with us, as he has often done, and yet will do to our great Confusion, if we do not speedily repent and forsake those Courses by which he is provoked against us. The Design of the Author, was that of Christianity, to mend the Spirits and Lives of Men, by showing the Odiousness of Sin, the Vanity of Self, and the Beauty of Virtue, with the lamentable Consequences that never fail to attend the one, and the Advantages that always follow the other; wheresoever they are entertained, both to private Persons and Governments, to Church and State. In which, as he went to the Bottom, and dealt plainly with every Party, so he did it without any Animosity to their Persons; and shows he labour'd their Reformation, affectionately, truly and thorowly; both by letting them see the Snares they have fallen by, and how to get out of them.

* Note. This Preface was first put to a Second Edition of this Book

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Three Words may be said to comprehend this whole Treatise. Vice, Presumption and Violence; for under them is comprised the Matter he strikes at, from first to last. They have their agreeable Contraries, Virtue, Humility, and Charity, if not Unity. But we cannot come at them while the other stand in the Way.

He has exposed Vice in it's Deformities, and pointed to us the inevitable and dismal Effects of it, in those Countries where it has prevailed: A seasonable and informing Lecture for our own Times; which he chiefly refers to the Civil Magistrate, whose Duty therein he shows and presses, with the next and proper Means to suppress it: to wit, by a due Execution of our Just Laws upon the present vicious Livers, and a better Education of our Youth; that by preserving them from the Infections of Vice, the next Generation at least may have some better Pretence to Virtue.

He is very close, and perhaps sharp upon Presumption in Religion. This he detects likewise, and the many Mischiefs it has done to Christian Fellowship, and Civil Society too, by setting up Men's Opinions for Articles of Faith and Tyes of Religious Communion; Mistaking the Nature of true Faith, and debasing Morality, in it's Work and Weight in Religion; and subjecting Reason and Truth to the Results of Humane Authority. Whereby it has happened, that People have not had the Witness in themselves, for what they have embraced, nor their own Convictions to warrant their Conformity or Profession, but an Ancestor, a Minister, their Education, for the best Reason and Proof of their Confession. And such as could not frame themselves to an easie Compliance, but suffered Inquiry to take Place of Authority, and would not allow an ipse dixit, or a Constable's Staff, for a sufficient Resolution of their Scruples, have suffered deeply in their Persons or Estates.

Not that I would have Church-Society or Authority to be despised; they that do so, are much in the Wrong: Let every Thing have it's due Place and just Share; Parents, Education, Church-Power, &c. But let them have no more. Let God have his Part, who is Sovereign of the Conscience, and to whom every Knee must bow: And they that bow in Point of Religion, without the Convictions of his Spirit, are rather Idolaters than Believers; to be sure they are merely Formalists, and guilty of that Implicit Faith and blind Obedience, which at other Times we make so great a Fault, and a sufficient Reason of Separation.

Violence, which is the last Word, and that takes up the last Part of this Discourse, to which the Presumption, before express'd, naturally tends, is that Coercive Power, used by those who are the strongest Party, to impose their Opinions and Formalities upon the rest, at the Hazard of their Lives or Estates that refuse to conform; tho' they dissent out of pure Conscience to God: The Breaches, Ruin and Destruction that have followed upon Penal Laws for Religion, as they rise from Creed-making, and the Impatience of Men to bear dissent from their own Opinions, are become the Scandal of Christianity all over the World. These two Words, Presumption and Violence, are more immediately referred to the Clergy of all Perswasions, every where, tho' their Hearers are invited to examine themselves, how far they lie under the Guilt hereof, or are toucht with a Disposition to entertain the Spirit that leads to Persecution about Religion. Nor does the Author charge it upon every one of the Clergy: But the Faulty are reprehended, and the Ignorant instructed, and the Guiltless commended and confirmed in their Moderation. And what is said, of this Kind, of the Clergy, may be yet as reasonably said of the Laity; for tho' 'tis true that the Civil Officers that often prove the most violent Executioners of Penal Laws for Religion, are from among them; yet it is as true that from among them also are found the most temperate and merciful Spirits, that will least touch with Cruelty, and are the most sensible of the Miseries of the Persecuted, and express the greatest Compassion for them, and from whom at last, the best Part of their Relief comes. But to avoid Comparisons, and do what we can to be wholly upon the Healing and Truly reforming Hand, it is greatly to be wished that the Practice of Piety were the wain End and Scope of Men, the Subject of their Care and Emulation; and

that their Hatred were to Things, not to Persons, to Sin and not to Sinners. If we were as cautious at our own Actions, as we are at other People's Faiths, we should live better Lives, and they would live better by us: For so Holiness and Peace would be promoted. O that we could but once be persuaded to think of working out our own Salvation! It is not knowing, but doing, that recommends us to God, gives us Peace and fits us for Heaven. That were the ready Way to make our great Calling and Election sure. And what are we called to, but to Holiness, to Godliness, to Purity? which makes us fit to see God, and that fits us for Heaven: For without Holiness no Man, says the Apostle, shall see the Lord. He did not stay without Tongues, without Philosophy, or without being an able Disputant, a Critick, a Formalist, we should not see the Lord; but without Holiness: For it is the peculiar Privilege of the Pure in Heart, to see God; who is also of purer Eyes than to behold Iniquity; without recompensing it with Tribulation and Wrath. Let us then humble our selves to his Voice, bow to his Will, and set our selves to love his Law, and keep his Commandments. We may remember who it was that said, I have seen an End of all Perfection, but thy Commandments are exceeding broad. There is a Glory, a Comfort, a Treasure in them not to be equalled; but known only to those that do observe them. For Wisdom leads her Children in the Ways of Righteousness, in the midst of the Paths of Judgment, and causes them that love her, to inherit Substance, and she fills their Treasure. Riches and Honour and length of Days are in her Hands, and are the Portion she often bestows upon her Children: What then have we to do, but to hearken to her Voice, and turn at her Reproof, that we may live? The Spirit of Wisdom will be upon us, yea the Spirit of God and of Glory, will rest upon us. An Ornament, a Dignity above that of Earthly Crowns, and Diadems. There were Hopes of us, if we were but Religious in Earnest; everyone in his own Way; not false, cold and unfaithful to what we pretend. I mean not Exterior's now, but the holy Fear of God, which all profess, and none truly have that live without an Awful Sense of his Will and Omnipresence. It is this that would teach us Humility, and that would bring us to divine Charity, till Unity comes: which certainly would be very pleasant to God, very exemplary to the World, and honourable for Religion, as well as comfortable for our selves: For Religion at Heart would exercise our Eyes more within than without, at Home than abroad; and to conquer our Sins, and Selves, would be a Satisfaction, transcending that of Victory over the Arguments and Persons of our Adversaries. Have we Faith? Let us add then to our Faith, Virtue, or it's good for nothing; and to our Virtue, Knowledge, that it may be the more useful; and to Knowledge, Temperance; that we be not conceited, and to Temperance, Patience, lest we faint by the Way; and to Patience Godliness, that we may be devoutly Religious; and to Godliness, Brotherly Kindness; that our Zeal do not over-run Love and Fellowship; and to Brotherly Kindness, Charity; the Top of all Virtues and Graces, without which, Religion is a Cypher, a Bubble, an Apparition at most: No solid or valid Thing. Charity is comprehensive of all right Love. It reaches to God, to our Neighbour, and our selves, both inwardly and outwardly: It reaches to Heaven as well as to the Ends of the Earth. It loves all, and acts towards all upon a Principle of Love: yea it is that Love. Charity, says the Apostle, suffers long and is kind: Charity envieth not: Charity vaunteth not it self, is not puffed up, doth not behave it self unseemly, seeketh not her own, is not easily provoked, thinketh no Evil, rejoiceth not in Iniquity, but rejoiceth in the Truth: Beareth all Things, believeth all Things, hopeth all Things, endureth all Things. Charity never fails. Men are too often the worse for their Wit, for their Learning, ay for their Religion too, if Charity does not humble and sanctifie them. Ye know not of what Spirit ye are, said the blessed Saviour of the World, to some of his over-zealous Disciples. There is a false as well as a true Zeal, and by their Fruits we shall know them. True Zeal is against Sin, and shown best upon a Man's self, his own Life and Conduct: It is tempered with Wisdom, and will not overshoot the Mark, especially towards others. But false Zeal is nothing but

1 Cor. 13:
5, 6, 7, 8.

Passion

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Passion in the Name of Religion. It is impatient, Forward, Angry and Revengeful. It can Slander, Quarrel, Beat, Plunder and kill too, and all for God's Sake. Alas! their Zeal is the Excuse of their Choler; and for the most Part, those that are captivated with it, are worse Livers, than those they so evilly treat; and at best, show most busie and concerned about the outside of Religion. David was zealous, but not after this Sort; for tho' he tells us that his Zeal for God's House had eaten him up, yet he never said it had eaten up his Neighbours. That furious Zeal is strictly forbid by Christ, the Great Lord of the Christian Religion.

It will therefore do us no Hurt, if we try our own Spirits, and see with what Spirits we profess Religion and act for it, They that act not from Religion, can never act rightly for Religion; their Spirits must be wrong; let their Zeal swell as big as Mountains, their Faith can never remove one: They build upon the Sand, and the Fall of their Building will be at last, as terrible to themselves, as their ignorant Zeal made it formerly burdensom to others.

Well then, where shall we pitch the Nature and Business of Religion, under the various Notions and Shapes we find it wears among Men, and that plainly and intelligibly? And with our Answer to this, let us conclude this Preface.

Religion, in the Judgment of this Author, is Living up to what a Man knows of the Mind of God, and attending diligently upon that Light in himself, which gives him that Knowledge of his Duty.

This is the Gift of God by Christ, that enlightens every Man that comes into the World. This is the Talent that Men are entrusted with, to improve to the Saving of their Souls. And the Apostle tells us, that whatsoever may be known of God, is manifest in them, by this Light, because whatever makes manifest is Light, Peruse John 1. 9. Cap. 3. 21. Rom. 1. 19. Ephes. 5. 13, 14. He that knows and acquaints himself with this Holy Light in himself, that comes by Christ the great Light of the World, and brings his Deeds and Thoughts to it, and squares his Desires and Will, according to the Manifestations and Directions of it; will approve himself a Disciple of Christ, a Lover of Religion, and therefore a Religious Man indeed: The Nature and End of Religion being our Conformity to the Will of God, which the Apostle expounds to be our Sanctification, and that cannot be, till we receive this Holy Leaven, in our selves, by which the whole Lump of Man comes to be leavened: Man, in Body, Soul, and Spirit; Man, throughout; Man to be a New Man; for so the Apostolical Doctrine instructs us: That as we have long born the Image of the Earthly, so we may come to bear the Image of the Heavenly Man, the Lord from Heaven: And like him, to be Heavenly-minded. And truly that is the Man I would choose to associate my self with, and the Church, Society, or People, whose Communion I would prefer, that are Followers and Children of this Light of Jesus, who destitute of pompous Worship, and of tedious and Difficult Creeds, resolve all into an humble and daily Watch and Obedience to this Light of Christ, in the Conscience, both as to their Worship to God, and Conversation among Men, whatever the Unjust unthinking World is pleased to judge of them. I shall detain the Reader no longer from the Book it self. He will find Virtue and Charity the great Tendency of it. And tho' it may be objected by some, that much of the Service of it is over, because the Current of Persecution is stopt; they are under a great Mistake: The Service of it is not over; would it were: For Debauchery, of all Sorts, was never more impudent and epidemical; and as great Uncharitableness still appears among People. Their Hands are in some Measure stopt or diverted, but their Tongues are not, for they were never more on Fire against one another; and we know out of the Abundance of the Heart the Mouth speaks. They do not only whisper, but rail and threaten one another; and to be sure, Religion must be much of the Ensign of their Animosity: Therefore till Vice be suppress'd, and Education be better provided for, and Presumption and Violence extinguish'd, that so Virtue, Humility and Charity, may prevail among us, this Treatise will be serviceable: However we are not to measure our Duty by Success: But if it shall please Almighty God

God to favour the honest Purpose of the Author with his Blessing, that it may have those desirable Effects where it comes, the Author will exceedingly rejoice, and God shall have the Glory of this, as of all other the Services of his People, who is Worthy for ever.

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The Author's Premonition.

READER,

Great Books seldom find Readers, and it may be the Times may render this such: For the motion of Affairs is so swift, that Action treads hard upon the Heels of Writing, and there is little Time left to read: Besides, People had rather converse with the Living than the Dead, and such all Books are to Men in Business. This Reflection at first daunted me, the Traſt being grown thus under my Hand; but believing what I have writ to be both true and useful to our yet so much needed Civil and Ecclesiastical Reformation, and taking Encouragement by the kind Reception of some former Essays and Addresses I made, I resolved to let it go, but with this Care, that by prefixing Contents, thou mayst readily turn to that Part which may more immediately concern thee, or best suit and answer thy Inquiry.

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The First PART.

Part I.

Section 1. The Introduction.

Scct. 1.

My Friends and Country-men;

IF you believe, that there is a God, and that he is Holy, Just and Good; that he Made us, that we owe our selves to him, and that he is not careless of us, but the constant Observer of our Thoughts and Actions; and

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that

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Sect. 1.Gal. 6. 5, 6,
7.

Jer. 17. 10.

John 3. 21.
Rev. 22. 12.2 Cor. 13.
5.

that as he is the Rewarder of them that *fear, love and obey* him, so he is the severe Punisher of all such as transgress his Law, and break his Righteous Commandments: If (I say) you believe these Things, and not only, that there is a Final Day of Reckoning, but that God, even in this World, recompenses his Judgments upon the Wicked, and visits Nations with his hot Displeasure because of their Impiety (which hath been the sensible Experience and free Confession of all Ages) then it belongs to us of these Kingdoms to reflect upon our selves, and take a true View of our Actions, since *Divine Vengeance, for ought we see, is still at the Door*. And for the Lord's sake, let us have a Care in the doing of it, since *God will not be mocked*; and that our Miscarriage in such an Inquiry, will be, as only our own Infelicity, so of infinite Moment to us. I must needs be plain and earnest here; For if we miscarry in the Search, we shall certainly miscarry in the Cure. Sin gives the deadliest of all Wounds to Mankind; but with Grief I say it, for 'tis too true, there is no Wound so slightly healed. We rather seek our Ease, than our Security; like those Fools that love the pleasantest, not the safest Potions. It is ill at all Times to flatter a Man's self; but it is most Dangerous about *Repentance*. Something Men would keep, something Men would hide; and yet they have to do with that *Searcher of Hearts*, from whom it is impossible they should hide any Thing. This Folly increases our Account, endangers our Cure, and makes our Condition Desperate, if not irrecoverable.

O England, my Native Country, *Come to Judgment! Bring thy Deeds to the true Light*; see whether they are wrought in God or no. Put not off thy self with Hay, Straw and Stubble; for they will burn, and the *Fire is at the Door*, that will consume them. He is coming, whose Reward is with him, and will give every one according to his Works. Let us therefore Examine our selves, Try our selves, Prove our own selves, whether Christ be in us or not; if his Spirit, his Nature, his Meekness, his Patience, his great Self-denial dwell in us; if not, we are Reprobates; yet under the *Reproofs* of the Almighty; the Charge and *Guilt of Sin*; and his Witness in our own Consciences sends up Evidence to Heaven against us every Day: This I justly fear and take to be our Case. Let us therefore strictly look into our Conversations, and with an impartial Eye take a just View of those Sins, that most severely cry to the *Great Judge* against us. And they appear to me to be of *Two Sorts*; the one relating more particularly to the *State*, the other to the *Church* (if I may without Offence use that Distinction) for my Witness is with God, I intend not Provocation to any, but the Edification of all.

Those Impieties, that relate more particularly to the State to correct, are DRUNKENNESS; WHOREDOMS and FORNICATION; LUXURY or EXCESS, in APPAREL, in FURNITURE and in LIVING; PROFUSE GAMING; and finally OATHS, BLASPHEMY and PROPHANENESS: These Swarm in our Streets, these are a Scandal to our Profession, and cry aloud to Heaven, and provoke Divine Wrath against us.

Sect. 2.

Sect. 2 Of the Sin of Drunkenness.

DRUNKENNESS, or Excess in Drinking, is not only a *Violation of God's Law*, but of our own *Natures*: It doth, of all other Sins, rob us of our Reason, deface the Impressions of *Virtue*, and extinguish the Remembrance of God's Mercies and our own Duty: It fits Men for that which they would abhor, if *sober*. The *Incest, Murder, Robberies, Fires*, and other *Villanies*, that have been done in *Drunken Fits*, make *Drunkenness* a Common Enemy to Humane Society. It renders Men unfit for *Trust* or *Business*; It tells Secrets, betrays Friendship, disposes Men to be Trepanned and Cheated: Finally, it spoils Health, weakens Humane Race, and above all *provokes the Just God to Anger*, who cried thus of Old against those that were guilty of it; *Wo to the Drunkards of Ephraim! the Drunkards of Ephraim shall be trodden under feet: they have erred through Wine,*

and

Hsa. 28. 1, 2, 3
Amos 6. 3, 4,
5, 6, 7.

and through Strong Drink are out of the Way, the Priest and the Prophet have erred through Strong Drink, they err in Vision, they stumble in Judgment. Again, *Wo unto them that are Mighty to drink Wine, and Men of Strength to mingle strong Drink. Wo unto them that rise up early in the Morning, that they may follow strong drink; that continue until Night, till Wine inflame them: and the Harp, and the Viol, the Tabret and the Pipe, and Wine are in their Feasts; but they regard not the Work of the Lord, neither consider the Operations of his Hands. Therefore Hell hath enlarged her self, and opened her Mouth without Measure, and their Glory and their Multitude, and their Pomp, and he that rejoices, shall descend into it.*

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Part 1.
Sect 2.

Yet, you will bear me witness, I do not wrong the present Humour of too many in this Nation, and those not of the lowest Quality, in saying, that it is too often the Beginning and Top of their Friendship: It is their Common Diversion and Entertainment. I might safely say, the Poor of England could be maintain'd by their Excess. O! hath the God of Heaven given Men Plenty for such Ends? Or will this kind of Improvement of their worldly Talent give them Peace in the Day of Judgment? But that People should do this without Shame, nay, Glory in it too, is greatly to be lamented; for 'tis not only Palate or Appetite, but an unnatural Vanity of Conquest excites not a few; as if it were Matter of Triumph to drown a Man's Reason, and to degrade him to the Beast.

Let us hear, upon the whole Matter, the Sentence pronounced against them by the Wise Man. *Who hath Wo? who hath Sorrow? who hath Contentions? who hath Babbling? who hath Wounds without Cause? who hath Redness of Eyes? They that tarry long at the Wine, they that go to seek mixt Wine. Look not thou upon the Wine, when it is Red, when it giveth his Colour in the Cup, when it moveth it self aright; at the last it biteth like a Serpent, and stingeth like an Adder. Thine Eyes shall behold strange Women, and thine Heart shall utter perverse Things.*

Prov. 23. vers.
29, 30, 31,
32, 33.

Here is much of the Mischiefs of Drunkenness in a little, and of the Excess and Wantonness of the Drunkard. But alas! did ever any Age come near ours, when the very Tasting of the several Sorts of Wine (that are liberally drunk of at many Tables) is enough to distemper a Temperate Head? But that such Excesses should be endured by Christian Governments, while the Backs of the Poor are almost Naked, and their Bellies miserably pinch'd with Hunger, is almost as great a Shame to our Pretences to Policy, as those (I fear) we unwarrantably make to Religion. O! that we were fit to receive that Heavenly Exhortation of the Apostle, *Be not Drunk with Wine, wherein is Excess; but be filled with the Spirit* (which God knows is mockt at! He goes on) *speaking to your selves* (not in Lampoons nor Obscene Songs, that excite Lust, but) *in Psalms, and Hymns and spiritual Songs, singing and making Melody in your Heart to the Lord, giving Thanks always for all Things unto God and the Father, in the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ.*

Sect. 3. Of the Sin of Whoredom and Fornication.

Sect. 3.

THE next crying Sin is that of Whoredom and Fornication. From one of the cleanest People under Heaven, I fear, we are become one of the most Unchast, at least in and about London. The French have sufficiently revenged themselves upon us by the loose Manners they have brought amongst us, of which this makes a great Part. But I must needs say, to their Credit, but our Reproach, they keep their Wits in their Debaucheries, whilst we, by over-doing them, in the Imitation of them, lose both. What is become of the Ancient Education of the Kingdom? Our Integrity, Gravity and Manhood, which gave our Men so great Reputation in the World, is it not turn'd into Swearing and Drinking, Fiddling and Dancing, fine Clothes, a Duel and a Wench? Their Prophaneness must pass for Wit, and their base Crafts be called Policy.

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But where is that retired Breeding, which made our Women as famous for their *Virtue*, as they were always held for their *Beauty*? Alas! There hath been a sort of Industry used to subdue their Native Modesty, as if it were ill breeding to have it; and Arts practis'd to make them hardy against their own Blushes, and master their shy and bashful Disposition (so peculiar to Chastity) into an unconverted Confidence: as if it were their Perfection to be insensible of ill, and to be tame at all Things a Virtue. Strange! That *Sobriety* should be turn'd into *Levity*! and *Lust* called *Love*! and Wantonness, good *Humour*! To introduce which, nothing hath been so pernicious as the Use of *Plays* and *Romances* amongst us, where the warm and uneven Passions of our Youth, easily transported beyond the Government of their Reason, have been mov'd and excited to try that in Earnest, which they have heard or seen in Jest.

But which way soever this ungodly Latitude came in, certain it is, that what forty Years ago was not fit to be named in Conversation, is now practis'd without any Scruple. *Marriage*, which is God's Ordinance, and as lovely to chaste Minds as lawful, is now grown a dull Thing, old and clownish, kept up only for Issue, and that because the Law will have it so; a Sort of Formality not yet thought fit to be abrogated: So that what was once ordained of God for many other Helps and Comforts, and permitted by the Holy Apostle to prevent Lust (*better marry than burn*) is by the extravagant Growth of Vice turn'd to quite the contrary. For some Men and (which is worse) some Women too, have said, *They could love their Wives and Husbands, if they were not their Wives and Husbands*; tho' that be the true Reason, why they ought to love them. It is in short to say, If they were in that Condition, in which they ought not to love them, they could love them; but being in that Condition, in which they ought to love them, they declare, they cannot love them: Yet, Alas! they must be called Christians, and Children of God: What a Shame is this; and what Scandal to Society? But for God's sake, let this Impiety be laid to Heart! led not the Marriage Bed be so horribly defiled, let not our Virgins be so basely abused: It destroys *Honour*, *Fortitude*, *Health*: It pollutes Houses, and makes the Issue of the Nation Spurious. It occasions great Unkindnesses, Rents, Confusions and Divisions in Families, between Husband and Wife, Parents and Children, Masters, Mistresses, and Servants: It spots their Name: But above all, the poor Children are unhappy, that wear an Ignominy they never deserved. In fine, it teaches Young Men to slight Marriage, and married Men to break their Contracts. If Religion were not interested in it, yet the very Breed of the Nation is visibly injur'd by it: Good House-Men are more nice and careful in their Steeds: The Policy of these Kingdoms is concern'd in preventing the Mischiefs, that follow such *Licentious Practices*.

But if we will consider the Share that Religion has, both in Virginity and in Marriage, we shall find many severe Sentences pass upon the Violators of them. *Thou shalt not commit Adultery*, saith God. *The Adulterer shall be put to Death*, saith the same God. *I will be a swift Witness against the Adulterer*, saith the Lord. *Know ye not, that the Unrighteous shall not inherit the Kingdom of God? Be not deceived, neither Fornicators, nor Idolaters, nor Adulterers, nor Effeminate Persons, nor Abusers of themselves with Mankind*. And the Holy Apostle gives the Reason, *The Body is not for Fornication, but for the Lord, and the Lord for the Body: Know ye not (saith he) that your Bodies are the Members of Christ? Shall I then take the Members of Christ, and make them the Members of an Harlot? God forbid! Flee Fornication: He that committeth Fornication, sinneth against his own Body. What! (saith he) know ye not, your Body is the Temple of the Holy Ghost, which is in you, which ye have of God, and ye are not your own? For ye are bought with a Price: therefore glorifie God in your Body and in your Spirit, which are God's. If any Man defile the Temple of God, him shall God destroy*. O can Men profess to believe these Things, and lead that wretched Life they live! But yet again hear this Man of God: *But Fornication,*

Exod. 20. 14.
Lev. 20. 10.
Mal. 3. 5.
1 Cor. 6. 9, 13,
15, 18, 19, 20,
Ch. 3. 17.

cation, and all Uncleanneſs, or Covetouſneſs, let it not be once named amongſt you, as becometh Saints; neither Filthineſs, nor fooliſh Talking nor Feſting, which are not convenient; but rather giving of Thanks. For this ye know, that no Whoremonger, nor Unclean Perſon, nor Covetous Man, who is an Idolater, hath any Inheritance in the Kingdom of Chriſt and of God. Let no Man deceive you with vain Words; for becauſe of theſe Things cometh the Wrath of God upon the Children of Diſobedience: Be not ye therefore Partakers with them, and have no Fellowship with the unfruitful Works of Darkneſs; but rather reprove them: See then, that ye walk circumſpectly, not as Fools, but as Wiſe, redeeming the Time, becauſe the Days are Evil. I ſhall conclude with theſe Two Paſſages; the firſt is this; Marriage is Honourable in all, and the Bed Undeſiled; but Whoremongers and Adulterers God will judge! This is the other, But the Fearful and Unbelieving, and the Abominable and Murderers, and Whoremongers, and Sorcerers, and Idolaters, and all Lyars, ſhall have their Part in the Lake, which burneth with Fire and Brimſtone, which is the Second Death. This alone ought to deter all People, who have any Reſpect for Holy Scripture, and do believe the Mind of God to be declared therein. Let then both Cities, Courts, Towns and Houſes, be ſwept of ſuch Iniquity; let the Law have it's Courſe upon thoſe immoral Tranſgreſſors; let not God be provoked to deſtroy us, and let all ſuch turn to God by unfeigned Repentance; that Sobriety, Chſtity, and Virruous Converſation, may return again among us. So ſhall we eſcape the Wrath, that for this, with other Enormities, is ready to break out yet farther againſt us.

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Part I.
Sect. 3.Eph. 5. 3, 4,
5, 6, 7, 11, 15,
16.Heb. 13. 4.
Rev. 21. 8.

Sect. 4. Of the Sin of Luxury, or Exceſs in Living.

Sect. 4.

THE Third Crying Sin of this Land, is Great Luxury and Voluptuouſneſs, and that in ſeveral Reſpects: In Apparel, in Furniture, in Feaſting: In theſe Things there is great Exceſs. An Exceſs is the immoderate Uſe of any Thing. That which is Lawful in it ſelf, may be abuſed in the Uſe of it. What is more allowable, yet what is more abuſed than Clothes and Viſuals? The End of Apparel is to cover Nakedneſs, keep People warm, diſtinguiſh Sexes; but the End is perverted. It is now uſed more for Ornament, for Pride, for Luſt; to beget Eſteem, and to draw Reſpect to the Perſon that wears it, than any real Benefit: A Mean, an Eſtimate, a wretched Way to Honour, yet ſuch is the Folly of the Age, that few Things are more Reverenced. It opens Doors, gets Acceſs, obtains Diſpatches, carries away the Cup and the Knee from moſt other Pretences. The Truth is, this Vanity abuſes the Reaſon of Juſt Reſpect; for True Quality, if plain, is not to be known among Fine Clothes. But it does not only confound all Reasonable Diſtinction, and thoſe Civil Degrees that are among People, but it begets Pride: They think themſelves ſome Body, if they are Fine; Plain Clothes muſt give them the Way and the Wall, and keep the Diſtance too. It introduces Effeminacy, and excites to Wantonneſs; it provokes to Prodigality, and leads People to Idleneſs. But there is a Sort of Madneſs in it too; for 'tis not ſo much the Apparel, as the Trimming; not the Clothes, but the Cut, the Mode, the Figure, that prevails: And as often as this changes, Clothes grow uſeleſs, that are not half worn out. This is an Iniquity againſt the Good of the Government, as well as againſt God and his Creatures; and there is ſo ſtrong a Temptation in it, that not a few turn Naught to be Fine, as well as that the Fine turn Naught. In ſhort, there is no Good, no Advantage, Prudence or Convenience in this Exceſs: The Law of God and of the Land rebuke it: The third Chapter of Iſaiab is almoſt intirely employed againſt it, in which God does not only rebuke the Haughty Looks, the Wanton Eyes, and Enticing Mien and Behaviour of the Women of thoſe Times, but declares his Reſolution too, That he would take away the Bravery of their Ornaments, Chains, Bracelets, Rings, Jewels, and Changeable Suits of Apparel, and that their Perfume ſhould be turned into a Stink; and inſtead of a Girdle there ſhould be a Rent, and inſtead of Well-ſet Hair,

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Hair, Baldness; and instead of a Stomacher, a Girding of Sackcloth; and Burning instead of Beauty. Thy Men (said God) shall fall by the Sword, and thy Mighty in the War; and her Gates shall lament and mourn; she being desolate, shall sit upon the Ground.

This was also the Sin of *Tyrus*, as we may see, *Ezek. 27. For Pomp and Pride she excelled in those Days: She boasted in her Splendor and sumptuous Living; Her Buildings were Lofty, her Furniture Stately, her Apparel Costly, but her End was Trouble, and her Destruction very great. And God expressly threatens by his Prophet Zephaniah; I will punish the Princes and the Kings Children, and all that are clothed with strange Apparel. What is this Strange Apparel? Is it New Fashions? then we are Guilty with a Witness. Or is it the Fashions of Strange Countries? It is still our own Case. We have been more careful to receive the Law from France for our Clothes, than from Christ for our Conversation; and so prevalent is the Humour of that Country with us, and powerful the Ascendant it hath over us, that we seem to be Frenchmen living in England. But in this, as also in all other Things, the Christian Religion excels, and that for the Good of Civil Society. It reproves this Excess, limits the Vain Mind of Man, and teaches that Decent Plainness, which becomes the Providence and Gravity of Civil Government.*

1 Tim. 2. 9,
10.1 Pet. 3. 3, 4.
5.

Hear the Language of the Holy Apostles, whose Doctrine we all pretend to believe: *I will therefore (saith Paul) that Women adorn themselves in Modest Apparel, with Shamefacedness and Sobriety, not with Broidered Hair, or Gold, or Costly Array; but (which becometh Women professing Godliness) with Good Works. The same Doctrine is repeated by the Apostle Peter, speaking to the Christian Women, to whom he wrote, Let not your Adorning be that Outward Adorning of Plaiting the Hair, and of wearing of Gold, or 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 also, who trusted in God, Adorned themselves. Would to God I could say for the Women of our Age, that they trusted in God too, and Adorned themselves with no other Ornaments, than what agreed with the Modest and Humble Plainness of those Christian Times!*

But the Laws of the Land, as well as the Christian Law, reprove this Excess. They only want to be refreshed and enforced by the Care of our Superiors: Were they strictly put in Execution, it would not only prevent much Mischief, and increase the Wealth of the Kingdom, but make private Men in a little Time thank the Just and Seasonable Severity of the Government. For it would help to keep them within Compass, to preserve (which is one Way to increase) their Estate; to enlarge their Trade, provide better for their Children, and open their Hands more Liberally to the Poor: And this I am sure, God requires at our Hands.

What I have said against Excess in Apparel, is also applicable to Excess in Furniture: For as Finery is more valued than Clothes, so is the Furniture than the House. It is a most inexcusable Superfluity, to bestow an Estate to line Walls, dress Cabinets, embroider Beds, with an Hundred other unprofitable Pieces of State, such as Massy Plate, Rich China, Costly Pictures, Sculpture, Free-Work, Inlayings, and Painted Windows, of no Use in the Earth, only for Show and Sight: The Interest of which Money, so ill employed, might probably maintain the Poor of the Nation. O Lord God! Hast thou given us Plenty, and should we see others want? Should we clothe our Dead Walls, and let thy Poor go Naked? Can we feed our Eyes with these Objects, and not feed the Hungry with Bread, and spend our Money upon Lifeless Pictures, but shut up our Bowels to thy Living Image, the Poor and Nedy of the Earth? Rebuke this Evil Mind, and bring down the Pride of all Flesh, O Lord! for thy Name's Sake.

The last Excess is that of *Feasting and Voluptuousness*, immoderate Eating and Drinking, with that Strain of Mirth and Jollity, which is the Mode and

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and Practice of the Times. *Dives* is almost got into every Family, especially of those of Note and Estate; and it is Want of Wealth, and not of Will, that the greatest Part of the Nation is not Guilty: They mostly Sin to their Ability, and that is sad. But the *Sin of Voluptuousness* is swell'd to that Bulk, that there are more *Receipts for Eating and Drinking, than there are Precepts of Life in the Old and New Law*. The Book of Cookery has outgrown the Bible, and I fear is read oftener, to be sure, it is more in Use. In this Art the Lust of the Flesh is deeply concern'd; there is not so much Care of the Stomach as of the Palate, of Health, as Pleasure: It is the Taste, the Gust, the Relish, that makes the Viſuals go down; *therefore the Sauce is preferred before the Meat*. Twelve Penny-worth of Flesh, with Five Shillings of Cookery, may happen to make a Fashionable Dish; plain Beet, Mutton, or any other Thing, is become dull Food: But by that Time it's Natural Relish is lost in the Crowd of the Cook's Ingredients, and the Meat sufficiently disguised to the Eaters, it passes under a *French Name for a Rare Dish*. But there is one Thing in this Impiety more than ordinarily condemnab; it destroys Hospitality, and wrongs the Poor: For that Expence, which is now flung away upon a Vicious Palate, upon a *French Soap*, or Sauce, in former Times afforded several Dishes of Substantial Viſuals; which did not only feed Strangers or Neighbours, but the Poor, who have now little more than (what the Dogs had then) *Empty Dishes to lick*. This is abusing the Providence of God, tyrannizing over the Creatures made for Man's Use, and sacrificing their Poor Lives, not to our Lives, but to our Lust. 'Tis against such as these, the Creation groans, and from whose Intemperance it cries to be delivered, *Rom. viii. 21, 22*.

God in all Ages had a Controversie with Voluptuous Men, and the Testimonies of Sacred Records are strong and numerous against them: I will mention a few of them. *Voluptuousness was the Sin of the Old World: They were Eating and Drinking, Marrying, and giving in Marriage, pleasing the Lust of the Eye, the Lust of the Flesh, and the Pride of Life, until the Day of the Flood*. This also was the Condition of *Sodom*; Christ himself has express'd it in these Words: *In the Days of Lot they did Eat, they Drank, they Bought, they Sold, they Planted, they Builded; the same Day that Lot went out of Sodom, it Rained Fire and Brimstone from Heaven, and destroyed them all*. The Prophet *Ezekiel* has it in these Words, speaking to *Jerusalem*, Behold, this was the Iniquity of thy Sister *Sodom*, *Pride, Fulness of Bread, and Abundance of Idleness was in her and her Daughters: Neither did she strengthen the Hand of the Poor and Needy, and they were Haughty, and committed Fornication before me; therefore I took them away, as I saw Good*. And it is very Remarkable, that the Voluptuousness of the *Israelites* was joyned with their Idolatry. It is said, that when *Moses* was in the Mount, the People, impatient of his Stay, *Sat down to Eat and to Drink, and rose up to Play*. They had got a Calf of Gold, and were Dancing about it; but it was a dismal Ball, and they paid dear for their Junket, for several Thousands were slain; and it is said, *That God Plagued the People*. *Job's* Children had as ill Success in their Festivals, *they went from House to House Eating and Drinking; and a Tempest rose, and smote the Four Corners of the House, and it fell and kill'd them*. But most express is that Complaint of God by the Mouth of the Prophet *Amos*, against the Voluptuous Jews: *Ye that put so far away the Evil Day, and cause the Scar of Violence to come near; that lie upon Beds of Ivory, and stretch themselves upon their Couches, and eat the Lambs out of the Flock, and Calves out of the midst of the Stall. That Chant to the Sound of the Viol, and invent to themselves Instruments of Musick like David: That drink Bowls of Wine, and anoint themselves with the Chief Ointments; but they are not grieved for the Affliction of Joseph. Therefore now shall they go Captive with the First that go Captive, and the Banquet of them that stretch'd themselves shall be removed. And I will turn your Feasts into Mourning, and all your Songs into Lamentation; and I will make the End thereof a bitter Day*.

Gen. 6.
 Mat. 24. 37,
 38, 39.

Gen. 19.
 Luke 17. 28,
 29.

Ezek. 16. 49,
 56.

Exod. 32. 28.

Job 1. 19.

Amos 6. 3, 4,
 5, 6, 7. and
 Ch. 8. 20.

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--26.

I shall sum up these Excesses, and conclude the Instances, with the Story of *Dives*, more commonly known, than Reverently believed, at least considered : It is delivered to us by the Great Lord of Truth, in these Words. " There was a certain Rich Man, which was Clothed in Purple and Fine Linen, and fared Sumptuously every Day. And there was a certain Beggar, named *Lazarus*, which was laid at his Gate full of Sores, and desiring to be fed with the Crums, which fell from the Rich Man's Table : " Moreover the Dogs came and licked his Sores. And it came to pass, that " the Beggar died, and was carried by the Angels into *Abraham's Bosom*. " The Rich Man also died and was buried : And in Hell he lift up his Eyes, " being in Torments, and seeth *Abraham* afar off, and *Lazarus* in his Bosom. And he cried, and said, Father *Abraham*, have Mercy on me, and " send *Lazarus*, that he may dip the Tip of his Finger in Water, and cool " my Tongue, for I am Tormented in this Flame. But *Abraham* said, Son, " remember that thou in thy Life-time receivest thy Good Things, and " likewise *Lazarus* Evil Things ; but now he is comforted, and thou art " tormented. And besides all this, between us and you there is a Great " Gulf fixed, so that they which would pass from hence to you, cannot, " neither can they pass to us, that would come from thence.

This Great Passage comprehends the State of Men in both Worlds : It shews to us what that Life is in this World, which leads to *Misery* in the next, and what to *Happiness*. No *Sensual Man*, no *Voluptuous Person*, not those that deck themselves with *Delicate Apparel*, and fare *Sumptuously every Day*, that love their *Back* and their *Belly* more than God and the *Poor*, shall be receiv'd into *Abraham's Bosom*, or dwell in *Blessedness* for ever. Let none deceive themselves, the Jealous God will not be mocked, *If ye Sow to the Flesh, ye shall reap Corruption ; but if ye sow to the Spirit, ye shall reap Life Everlasting.*

Gal. 6. 8.

James 5. 5, 6,

Rom. 2. 8, 9.

Rom. 2. 7.

Ecclesi. 7. 2.

Luke 14. 12,
13, 14.

They that live in *Pleasures*, Kill the Just ; they Crucify the Just Witness in themselves : Such Treasure up *Wrath* against the Day of *Wrath*. *Wo, Anguish and Tribulation to every Soul that doth Evil, whether Jew or Gentile, Professor or Profane, Christian or Infidel :* For the *Dives's* under all these Names must turned into Hell : But such as thro' *Patience* and *Well-doing* wait for Immortality, as poor *Lazarus* did, after all their *Poverty, Neglect and Hunger*, shall receive *Glory, Honour and Eternal Life*. And truly it is some Comfort to the *Miserable* in this World, that they shall not live always in it, and that they have to do with a God, who is no *Respeller of Persons*. This Judge is impartial ; the *Poor* are upon Even Terms with the *Rich* ; and it will not be *Quality*, but *Integrity* ; not *Riches*, but *Righteousness* which will recommend us to him. No wonder then if the Prophet *Jeremiah*, in the Name of God, charged the ancient *Jews* Not to go into the House of Feasting ; and that *Ecclesiastes* hath said, *That it is better to go to the House of Mourning, than to the House of Feasting*, since so many Evils follow it. But there is one Feast, that even Christ himself allows us ; tho' I have little Reason to believe it will be imitated, when I consider the *Natural Aversness* that is, even among profess'd *Christians*, to his *Self-denying Precepts and Example*. Then said Jesus, *When thou makest a Dinner or a Supper, call not thy Friends or thy Brethren, neither thy Kinsmen nor thy Rich Neighbours, lest they also bid thee again, and a Repompense be made thee.* (This would beget Feasting, the Thing to be avoided, no such Matter) *But when thou makest a Feast, call the Poor, the Maimed, the Lame, the Blind, and thou shalt be Blessed, for they cannot recompense thee ; but thou shalt be recompensed at the Resurrection of the Just.* There are few, that strive to obey this Counsel ; there is so little of *Fashion* or of *Interest* in it. What ! Persons of *Quality* feast the *Poor*, Carve for the *Maimed*, and feed the *Blind* ? 'Tis too *Mean*, too *Ignominious*. If they have the *Bones*, the *Scraps*, the *Crums*, 'tis well. No, no, this Doctrine is too like him, that taught it, to be practised by them that are so *Unlike* him. They that follow him in these Things, must *Take up the Cross*, *despise the Shame*, and *Sow in Hope* : But because there is an *Everlasting Re-*
compense

compence for those that do; I fervently desire of God, that it would please him to put it into the Minds of both Magistrates and People to *Love Mercy, Do Justice, Walk humbly with the Lord, and Meekly and Charitably* towards all Men. I beseech you, in the *Tender Bowels* of a Christian Man, to consider of the *Present Conjuncture*: Is this a Time for *Feasts and Revels, Plays and Pastimes*, when the very *Wrath of God* seems to hang by a slender *Thread* over our Heads; O! let your *Moderation* be known unto all Men, now the Lord is so near at Hand, so very near indeed.

And I do humbly pray the *Supreme Authority* of this Land, to put a speedy Check to these *Exorbitances*, to *Discountenance* these *Excesses*, by the Revival of the good *Old Laws* of the Land, and in making of such New Ones, as may be thought convenient to prevent such *Fride and Prodigality*. For, I think, I may both with *Modesty* and *Truth* affirm, if the very *Unnecessary Expences* of most Ranks or Degrees in this Kingdom could be brought into one *Publick Purse*, they would arise to *Three Times* more Money, than either is given, or is requisite to the *Maintenance* of the Poor that are in it: And whether this be a Thing *Practicable* or no, it matters not, though I believe it is; the very *Preventing* of that Excess which is amongst us, would be pleasing to Almighty God, and one Way or other beneficial to the whole.

SECT. 5. Of the Evil of Gaming,

IT may not be improper for me here to follow this Head of Excess with the Sin of *Gaming*; an Invention of much Mischief in the World, and therefore inconsistent both with *Christianity* and *Civil Government*. The *Evils* that attend it are neither small nor few. It is *First* a Great Enemy to *Business*, and that just Care, that People ought to have for the Discharge of their respective Capacities in their *Civil Affairs*. *Next*, It is one of the Greatest *Thieves* to Men's *Estates*: Many brave Families have been ruin'd by a *Gamester*. That which hath been got by the *Care* and *Prudence* of a Father, it may be, hath been lost in one Night by the *Extravagant Humour* of a Son: But that the Reward of *Virtue* should be the *Stake of Folly*, and the painful Acquest of *Worthy Ancestors* exposed to the *Chance* and *Hazard* of the *Dice*, is such *Impiety* to *God's Providence*, *Ingratitude* to *Parents*, *Injury* to their own *Families*, and *Disgrace* to the *Government*, that I conceive it may very well deserve the Care of our *Superiors* to prevent that *Extravagancy* for the Future, by the Execution of the Laws in being against it. *Thirdly*, It is a great Consumer of Time. They who are addicted to *Gaming*, are generally the most idle and useless People in any *Government*: And give me leave to say, that Men are accountable to the Government for their Time: There ought to be no Idleness in the Land; for that End *Bridewells* are provided. Of many other Sins People are weary, but of this never, unless to Sleep or Eat, or for Want of Money to play. We are commanded to *Redeem the Time, because the Days are Evil*; but these People chuse rather to *Loose their Time*, and fall into the *Evil*, they should avoid. A *Gamester* and a *Christian* are as opposite as a *Saint* and a *Sinner*; for the *Christian* looks to God in the Increase of his Estate, but the *Gamester* to Skill and Chance; and there is no more of God in his Mind, than there is in his Game: And it cannot be otherwise. *Fourthly*, Therefore *Gaming* deserves to be suppress'd, because it has been the Occasion of *Breach of Friendship, Quarrels, Bloodshed and Murder*: if we ought to shun the Occasions of Evil, to be sure we ought not to indulge them.

The last Mischief that belongs to *Gaming* (which I shall mention at this Time) is the *Horrid Oaths and Passionate Imprecations* used by the generality of *Gamesters*; but because they are not confined to *Gaming*, but run thro' the whole *Conversation* of Men; they may very well challenge a Place among those *Crying Sins*, that I found my self oblig'd in Conscience to complain of to such as have Power in their Hands to punish and suppress them.

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Mic. 6. 1, 6,

7, 8,

Col. 3, 14.

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Ephes. 5. 16.

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Sect. 6. Of the *Florrid Sin* of Oaths, Cursing and Blasphemies.

I Have therefore reserved to speak of *Oaths, Curses* and *Blasphemies* 'till last, because I take them to be the most *provoking Sin*. The other Enormities of *Drunkeness, Whoredom, Excess, &c.* do more immediately relate to our selves; and are therefore Sins against God, because they are a Transgression of that Order, which he placed in the Nature of Things: But Oaths and Blasphemies must be referred to God himself; they are Sins committed more immediately against his *Being, his Name, and the Majesty and Dignity of his Nature*. It is horrible to hear, how he is called upon about every Thing be it never so trivial; yea, about nothing, and worse than nothing. He is summon'd at their *Games, their Sports, their Obscenities, in their Drunkeness, Whoredoms, Murders, Rapines, and Treachery*. There is a Generation that cannot speak without him, tho' they can live without him. They would make him a *Voucher* of all their *Falshood* and a *Witness* for their *Lyes* as often as they would be believ'd. But I tremble to remember, with what *Presumption* some Men, when transported into Rage, invoke him to damn those they are angry with, yea, themselves too; and how impiously they send him at their Pleasure upon the Errands of their Vengeance. Can there be greater Blasphemy, than to dare so much as to think, that the Holy, Wise and Just God should be the Executioner of their Passion and Fury, and the Avenger of their Malice and Corrupt Interests? And it is observable, that if in any thing they are cross'd or disappointed, they fall a *Swearing, Cursing, Damning, Blaspheming*, as if the Name of God should make them Satisfaction; or that it were a Sort of Ease to them, to deliver themselves of a *Burden of Oaths*.

But that which aggravates this Evil, is the *Impudence* of the People that commit it: They are not contented to use it at Home, and at Ale-houses and Taverns abroad; but in the open Streets, Markets and Fairs; in the most notorious Places of Commerce and Traffick; to the Dishonour of God, the Grief and Offence of Sober Men, and the bad Example of those that are not so. But this Shameful Impiety ends not here; it has not only prevail'd with the Populace, the Kennel, the Vulgar; but the Men of Quality, the Gentry, and the Nobles of the Realm, to whom God in his Providence hath been more Propitious, placing them at the Distance of Example and Imitation to the Multitude: Even those that ought to be the Heads of our Tribes, the Leaders of the People; whose Virtue should at least keep Pace with their Quality, are guilty of this Impious and Base Custom; and too many of them more concerned in it, than the Meanest of the People. And to carry this Practice to the utmost Height of that Mischief it seems capable of doing, too many, God knows, of those in Authority use it; even the Men, that by Law should suppress it! And if Men of Office and Power, that ought, in their several Trusts, to be a Terror to Evil-doers, were so, methinks, they should not suffer the Name of the God of the Nation (whom they pretend to worship) to be so *profanely us'd and blasphem'd*; and least of all, that they should be the Men themselves, who commit the Enormities that they should punish. To say Truth, and with Grief of Soul I speak it, so universal is this Contagion in the Kingdom, that not only the Elder Sort and Youth, but the Children are infected: The Boys of seven Years Old, that in my Time did not think upon an Oath, are now full of their *God-Damn-You's* and *God-Damn-Me's* at their Sports and Plays! And the Women of our Nation, especially those of any Rank, who by a Reserv'd Education and the Modesty of the Sex, were scarcely ever heard to Curse, even what they did not like, (much less to swear upon Ordinary Occasions) are, some of them, grown hardy enough to do both. At whose Door must all these Mischiefs lie? I beseech God to put it into the Hearts of our Superiors, to use their utmost Diligence to rebuke and suppress this and the like Impieties!

We profess our selves to be *Christians, Followers* of that *Jesus*; in whose Mouth no Guile was ever found, what Precept did he ever give us? What Example hath he left us to countenance this Practice? 'Tis true, he charged his Disciples, *Not to swear at all*; but we cannot think our selves to obey him, when we swear at every Thing: Pray consider the great Difference there is betwixt Christ and such Christians. Christ is Lord of a more perfect Law, than that which came by *Moses*, which admits of *Oaths* in some Cases; but they were few, and must be kept upon great Penalties; This New Law of *Jesus* takes away *Oaths* by taking away the Cause and Need of them, namely, *Falshood* and *Distrust*; and by planting *Plainness, Truth* and *Integrity* in the Natures of Men, which make them such Faithful Disciples to him, and so entirely Brethren to one another, that there seems no farther Use for *Oaths* among Men under that Qualification. *Ye have heard of Old Time*, (saith Christ Jesus) *Thou shalt not forswear thy self, but perform thy Vows unto the Lord*: This was not *Swearing* at Pleasure, nor *swearing* Vainly; this was thus far Good, it was the *Perfection* of the Law. So it was *Not to Kill, Not to commit Adultery*; but Christ Jesus carries it higher: *Thou must not be Angry*; *Thou must not look upon a Woman to lust after her*; *Thou must not swear at all*: *Thou must not do that which was Allowed or Dispensed with under the Law*: *For what the Law could not do through Weakness, I am come to do*; Therefore let your Communion, your Speech, for so the Word should be rendred, be *Yea, Yea, and Nay, Nay*; *Speak the Truth, by saying, Yea, Yea, or Nay, Nay*; *Yes, Yes, or No, No*; for what is more, or imports more, than this, or rises higher, or goes farther than this Plainness and Simplicity, is both *Needless* and *Evil* in a Christian; for it cometh of *Evil*. This is the Doctrine of Jesus: Certainly then there can be no Agreement between him and the *Swearing, Damning Christians* of this Age, who are so far from Obeying him, whose Name they take, that they are not come to the *Righteousness* of the Law, that condemns all *Vain Swearing*; but lie under the *Heavy Judgment* of the Lord for the Breach of his *Third Commandment, Thou shalt not take the Name of the Lord thy God in vain*: for the Lord will not hold him *Guiltless, that taketh his Name in vain*. It is esteem'd a *Profanation* of things set apart for *Divine Worship*, to employ them in our *Common and Ordinary Services*; and is it not *Profanation* with a *Vengeance*, to suffer the Name of the Great God to be prostituted at every Turn by *Lewd and Debauch'd People*? Can we be so careful of our own Names, and so careless of God's? Is it possible, that we can be more tender of our selves, than concern'd for him? for him, I say, who made us, and gives us *Life, Breath* and *Being*; to whom we owe our selves, and all that we are. But that Men, to right themselves, upon every little Affront, should expose their Lives to Utmost Peril, and not find in their Heart so much as to rebuke the Indignities daily put upon Heaven, is an ill Proof of *Zeal* and *Religion*.

But as insensible as such are of their Duty, God is not wanting to his own Glory: He has forbidden these things; let Men disobey at their Peril. *Ye shall not swear by my Name falsely*; saith God, *neither shalt thou profane the Name of thy God, I am the Lord*. Hear O ye Swearers, the Judgment that God has denounced against you! *Every one that Swareth shall be cut off, [how cut off?] from God*: Again, *The Land is full of Adulteries; and because of Swearing the Land mourneth*: Behold! the Whirl-wind of the Lord shall heavily fall upon the Head of the Wicked.

Sect. 7. Of the Sin of Profaneness.

TO this I shall add a *Brief Reflection* upon that pernicious Sin of *Profaneness*, so near of kin to *Oaths* and *Blasphemy*. Such is the Degeneracy of the Age we are fallen into, that *Profaneness* does not only go unpunish'd, but boldly lays Claim to Wit, and fills the Conversation of too many of those that think themselves rais'd above the Genius of the Vulgar. He is reputed Formal, that will not be Rude to Sacred Things; and

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Mat. 5.

Exod. 20. 7.

Jer. 23. 10. 19.
Zach. 5. 3.

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a Man insipid, of no Sense or Salt, who cannot Jeer Devotion : And which is strange, they make the *Bible* a Sort of *Common Place* ; but 'tis for Mockery, not for Piety. The Phrases they use, are pick'd to abuse that Holy Book ; and the Profaneness is placed to the Account of Wit. But truly, if Men must rally Religion at the Peril of passing else for Fools, and abuse Scripture to purge themselves from the Suspicion of Reverencing it, there is here an Unhappiness in being Conscientious, and on the Side of this World the Temptation to be Profane is stronger than the Encouragement to be Virtuous. For this is my Soul grieved, that Men should use their Wit to abuse him that gave it them : And that though there is more to be said for Religion than there can be said against it, both with Respect to its Reasonableness and Usefulness, and that the Hazard of being Irreligious, is incomparably greater on the Part of these *Atheistical Scoffers*, than of Men professing to fear God and believe another World ; They shall yet be so constant and Obstinate in their loose and lewd Conversation ? But if the profaning of the least Thing that was dedicated to the Worship of God in the Times of the Law, was so heinous a Sin, what should we say, when Men stick not to profane the Name of God himself, and scoff at his *Revealed Will*, so much Greater, than either Temple or Altar, or those Rites belonging unto them ! God Almighty give his strong Rebuke to this Extravagant Spirit.

And to you all, that live in the Practice of these open and *Crying Sins* I have at this time insisted upon, this I say unto you in the Fear of God : *Repent of the Evil of your Doings !* Bring not down the farther Judgments of God upon this Land, they may be the Affliction of many, but in the End they will be your *Punishment* : Ye shall pay the Reckoning of their Sufferings in the other World, and God will charge you with the Calamity that they shall endure ! Remember, before it's too late. *Dreadful Things* are denounced against the Wicked ; Therefore go not on to gratify your Hearts *Lusts* and to forget the Living God ; for this shall be the End of such Works, that God will certainly bring you to *Judgment* : And who may *Abide the Day of his Coming ? and who shall stand when he appears ?* No *Flesh* can stand in his Presence. Consider that Awakening Saying of the Apostle, *That the Righteous scarcely are saved* ; and if so, *Where shall the Ungodly, where shall the Wretched Sinner appear ?* How shall such be able to *hold up their Heads* in the Day of his Wrath, in the Hour of his Judgment, at that Great Time of Inquisition, when a *Final Reckoning* shall be past, and all must render an *Account* of the Deeds they have done, and receive the *Reward* due unto them ? Therefore, *while it is to Day, harden not your Hearts* against God and his Law : Flatter not your selves ; to be Christians, ye must be like Christ ; and if ye will be saved from Wrath, ye must be redeemed from Sin ; for *the Wages of Sin is Death* : What we sow, we must reap. Encrease not therefore Guilt upon your Consciences by Rebelling against the *Light*, that shines in them, &c. but lay your Impieties to Heart, mourn with true Contrition of Soul, and yet love Righteousness, and hate Iniquity ; and ye will prevent the *Civil Magistrate*, and probably avert the *Indignation* of God that hangs over the Nation. You cannot say you don't know your Duty, but you do not do it : The *Light* is come, and shines in you, and the *Grace* appears daily to you, and in you, against the very Imaginations and Motions to Evil ; and you are self condemned in your Excesses of all Sorts ; and if your Hearts condemn you, God will not justify you : Therefore bring your Deeds to the true Light with which Christ has enlightned you, and examine if they are wrought in God or no ; and begin a Cordial Reformation, which stands in the *Spirit of Reformation*.

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Sect. 8. An Address to the Civil Magistrate for Redress.

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HAVING thus ended my *Reflections upon the Five Great Crying Sins* of the Kingdom, and my *Reproof of the Advers and Promoters* of them; give me Leave to make my *Humble and Christian Address* to you that are in *Authority*. And in the *First Place*, I beseech you to remember, that tho' ye are as Gods on Earth, yet ye shall dye like Men: That ye are encompass'd with like Passions, and are subject to Sin. Such therefore of you, as may be concerned in any of these *Enormities* (to what ever Degree of Guilt it be) I beg you in the Name of God to *search your selves*, and to be just to your own Souls. O! let the Mercies and Providences of God constrain you to *Unfeigned Repentance*! Turn to the Lord, Love Righteousness, Hate Oppression, and he will turn to you, and love you and bless you.

In the next Place, be pleas'd to consider your Commission, and examine the Extent of your Authority, you will find that God and the Government have empower'd you to punish these Impieties: And it is so far from being a Crime, that it is your Duty. This is not troubling Men for Faith, nor perplexing People for Tenderness of Conscience; for there can be no Preference of Conscience to be Drunk, to Whore, to be Voluptuous, to Game, Swear, Curse, Blaspheme and Profane; no such Matter. These are Sins against Nature; and against Government, as well as against the *Written Laws of God*. They lay the Ax to the Root of *Human Society*, and are the *Common Enemies* of Mankind. 'Twas to prevent these *Enormities*, that Government was instituted; and shall Government indulge that which it is instituted to Correct? This were to render *Magistracy* Useless, and the Beating of the Sword Vain: There would be then no such Thing in Government as *A Terror to Evil-Doers*; but every one would do that which he thought Right in his own Eyes. God Almighty defend us from this Sort of *Anarchy*.

There are three great *Reasons*, which enforce my *Supplication*. The First is, The *Preservation of the Government*, which by such *Improvvidence and Debauchery*, is like to be greatly weakned, if not destroyed. The *Industry, Wealth, Health and Authority* of the Nation, are deeply concern'd in the Speedy and exemplary Punishment of these Extravagancies. This is the *Voice of Interest*, for the Common Good of the whole Society; *Rulers and Ruled*.

But there is an higher Voice, unto which *Christian Men* ought to have Regard, and that is the *Voice of God*, who requires us to fear him and obey his Righteous Commandments, at the Peril of making him our *Enemy*, whom we should make our common *Friend and Protector*: For upon his Goodness, depends our very Natural and Civil Comforts. So that it is our Interest to be good; and it is none of the least Arguments for Religion, that the Piety and Practice of it is the *Peace and Prosperity of Government*; and consequently, that *Vice* the Enemy of Religion, is, at the same Time, the Enemy of *Humane Society*. What then should be more concern'd for the Preservation of *Virtue*, than Government; that in it's abstract and true Sense is not only founded upon *Virtue*, but without the Preservation of *Virtue*, it is impossible to maintain the *best Constitution* that can be made? And however some particular Men may prosper, that are *Wicked*, and several private good Men miscarry in the Things of this World, in which Sense Things may be said to happen alike to all, to the *Righteous* as to the *Wicked*, yet I dare boldly affirm, and challenge any Man to the Truth thereof, that in the many Volumes of the History of all the *Ages and Kingdoms* of the World, there is not one Instance to be found, where the Hand of God was against a Righteous Nation, or where the Hand of God was not against an Unrighteous Nation first or last? Nor where a just Government perish'd, or an unjust Government long prospered? *Kingdoms* are rarely as short lived as Men, yet they also have a Time to die: But as *Temperance* giveth Health to Men,

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fo *Virtue* gives Time to Kingdoms; and as *Vice* brings Men betimes to their Grave, fo Nations to their Ruin.

'Tis the Reason given by God himself, for the Destruction of the old World. We have that Example before our Eyes; that a whole World has perisht for it's Sin, *it's Forgetfulness of God and their Duty to him; one Family only excepted*. Gen. 6. That is the Reason which God renders for casting out the People of those Countries, that he gave into the Hands of the Children of Israel; they were full of *Uncleannefs, Adulteries, Fornication, and other Impieties*. And though he is *Sovereign Lord* of the World, and may dispose of the Kingdoms therein, as pleaseth him (for he that gives can take away; and he that builds, can cast down; and Mankind is but a Tenant at Will, to receive or surrender at his Lord's *Good Pleasure*) yet he useth not that *Prerogative* to justifie his Gift of those Counties to the *Jews*; but at the End of his Prohibition of Unlawful Marriages and Lusts, he charges them in these Words; *defile not your selves in any of these Things: for in all these the Nations are defiled, which I cast out before you; And the Land is defiled: therefore do I visit the Iniquity thereof upon it; and the Land it self, vomiteth out her Inhabitants. Ye shall therefore keep my Statutes and Judgments, and shall not commit any of these Abominations, neither any of your own Nation, nor any Stranger, that sojourneth among you; that the Land spue nor you out also, when ye defile it, as it spued out the Nations that were before you.*

So *Saul's* Disobedience was his Destruction, and his Sin made Way for *David's* Title. *Saul* died (saith the Sacred Story) for his *Transgression*: This made the *Philistines* Conquerors; his own Sin beat him and kill'd him. *Saul* died for his *Transgression*; then if he had not sinned, he had lived; he had beaten his Enemies and kept the Kingdom? yes, the Place implies it. *This* then should deter Men, but Kings especially, who have so much to lose here, and so much to answer for hereafter. But what was *Saul's Sin*? It was, First, *Not keeping but disobeying the Word of the Lord*, both as it came by the Mouth of *Samuel*, God's Prophet, and as it spoke the Mind of God to him in his own Conscience (for *Moses* had said before that the Word of God was *nigh, in the Heart, and in God's Name* commanded the Children of Israel to obey and do it.) In short, he refused the Counsel of God, and God for his Counsellor: For in the next Place, he betakes himself to one that had a Familiar Spirit for Advice, saith the Story: *He enquired not of the Lord, therefore he slew him and turned the Kingdom unto David*. There are too many People troubled with Familiar Spirits; it were well, if they were less Familiar with them: Had *Saul* trusted in God, he needed not to have been driven to that Strait. He that was made King by God's Appointment, and endued with a Good Spirit, so basely to degenerate, as to run to a Witch for Counsel, could not but miscarry. To this Darknefs and Extremity Iniquity will bring Men: And truly, a Wo follows all such Persons; answerable to that Expression of God by the Prophet; *Wo unto them that take Counsel, and not of me*. When *Saul* (saith the Place) was little in his own Eyes, God honour'd him; he made him Head and King of the Tribes of Israel: But when *Saul* grew Proud, God deserted him, and for his Disobedience destroyed him. And what befel the Family of *Saul*, in some After-Ages befel both Kings and People, by the King of Babylon. The Reason rendred is this: Because the Kings did that which was Evil in the Sight of God, and stiffned their Necks, and hardned their Hearts from turning unto the Lord God of Israel; and because the Chief of the Priests and of the People transgressed very much after the Abominations of the Heathen. And when God sent his Messengers to reprove and warn them, and that out of his Great Compassion, they wickedly mocked his Messengers, despised his Words, and mis-used his Prophets, till his Wrath came upon them, and over-threw them.

1 Sam. 15.
17.2 Kings 24.
14.2 Chron. 36.
14.

I will here end my Instances out of *Sacred Story*; and let us now briefly consider, what the *Histories* of other *Places* will tell us; that we may observe some Proportion of Agreement in the *Providence* of God throughout the World.

The first Empire had *Nimrod's Strength*, and the Wisdom of the *Chaldeans* to establish it; and whilst their Prudence and Sobriety lasted, they prospered. No sooner came *Voluptuousness*, than the Empire decayed; and was at last by the *base Effeminacies* of *Sardanapalus*, in whom that Race ended, transfer'd to another Family. It was the Policy of an *Assyrian King*, in Order to subdue the Strength of *Babylon*, then under good *Discipline*, not to invade it with Force, but to debauch it. Wherefore he sent in *Players, Musicians, Cooks, Harlots, &c.* and by those Means introducing *Corruption* of *Manners*, there was little more to do, than to take it. *Nebuchadnezzar* by his *Virtue* and *Industry*, seen in the Siege of *Tyre*, and in many *Enterprises*, recover'd and enlarg'd the Empire; and it seems his *Discipline* (those Times considered) was so excellent, that it was praised in Scripture. But when he grew *Proud* and *Foolish*, forgetting that *Providence* that had shown it self so kind to him, he became a *Beast*, and grased amongst *Beasts*; till God, whom he had forgotten, had restor'd him the *Heart* of a *Man* and his Throne together.

He, dying left *Evil-Merodach* Heir to his Crown, not his Conduct, nor the Heart to consider what God had done by him: In his Time *Pride* and *Luxury* encreas'd, but came nor to it's full Pitch, till the Reign of *Belshazzar*, who did not only as *Nebuchadnezzar*, live, but dye a *Beast*. In him we have the exact Example of a Dissolute and Miserable Prince: He thought to fence himself against Heaven and Earth; dissolved in Pleasures, he worshipp'd no other God; his Story may make us well conclude, that God and Man desert those, that desert themselves, and neglect the Means of their own Preservation. The City was taken before he knew it, and the Sword almost in his Bowels, before he believ'd it: His Sensuality had wrapt him in such a Desperate Security. But he fell not by the Hand of one like himself; for God who had determin'd the End, prepar'd the Means. *Cyrus* and his *Persians* were the Men: The People were poor, inhabiting a barren Country; but hardy and of Sober Manners. *Cyrus* God had endued with *Excellent Natural Qualities*, cultivated (as Story tells us) by the Care of four of the most temperate, just and Wise Persons of those Times. This was he, whom God honour'd with the Name of his Shepherd, and who was the Executioner of his Vengeance upon the *Assyrians*. While he reigned, all was well; but after he and his virtuous Companions deceas'd, their Children fell into the Vices of the *Assyrians*; and though they reigned from the *Indus* to the *Hellepont*, they soon became the Conquest of the *Greeks*.

Never was there a greater Instance given of the Weakness of Pomp and Luxury, than in the Resistance made at *Thermopole*, where Three Hundred *Virtuous Spartans* encounter'd the Vast Army of *Xerxes*, consisting of no less than Seventeen Hundred Thousand Men. In short, the Defeats of *Salamine* and *Platea*, the Expeditions of *Xenophon* with *Cyrus* the Younger, almost into *Babylon*, and the Wars of *Agessilaus* into *Asia*, made it evident, that *Greece* wanted only Union and an Head, to make her self Mistress of that Vast Empire.

At last comes *Alexander* of *Macedon*, with the best Disciplin'd People that was then known: The Dispute was short, where Steel was against Gold, Sobriety against Luxury, and Men against Men that were turn'd Women. Thus, the *Persians* prepar'd by their own Vices, God deliver'd into the Hands of the *Greeks*, who as much excelled them in their Virtue, as they were short of their Dominion and Wealth. But this lasted not long; for *Alexander*, who died young, surviv'd his Virtue and Reputation, by falling into those Vices of the Nations, God had given him Power to trample under Foot; inasmuch that he, who was before Generous, became Barbarous and Tyrannical. *Egypt, Asia*, and *Macedon*, held up their Heads a while

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while; but not resisting the Torrent of Lewdness, that came upon them, suffer'd themselves to be over-whelm'd with Misery and Confusion.

Nor has this Calamity been peculiar to Monarchies; for several Republicks have fallen by the same Mischief. That of *Lacedamon* or *Sparta*, so Severe in her Constitution, and so Remarkable for the Virtue of her People, and that for many Ages, at last growing slack in the Execution of her Laws, and suffering Corruption insensibly to creep into her Manners, she became no more Considerable, but Weak and Contemptible.

The same may be said of *Athens*, the *Great School of Learning*, and of all the Republicks of *Greece*, most Famous for her Virtue and Philosophy, when that Word was understood not of *Vain Disputing*, but of *Pious Living*: She no sooner fell into Luxury, but Confusion and Revolutions made her as Inconsiderable, as she had been Great.

Rome, as she was the Greatest Common-Wealth, so the greatest Example of *Geniels* in Virtue and Vice, in Happiness and in Misery: Her Virtue and Greatness are Commemorated by *Austin* the Father, and the latter made the Effect of the former. God (saith he) gave the Romans the Government of the World, as a Reward for their Virtue. Their Manners were so Good, and their Policy so Plain and Just, that nothing could stand before them. And truly, they seem'd to have been employ'd by God to punish the Impious, and to instruct the Barbarous Nations: And so very Jealous was she of the Education of her Youth, that she would not suffer them to converse with the *Luxurious Greeks*. But Carelessness, with Length of Time, overcoming the Remarkable Sobriety of her Manners, who before seem'd invincible, she falls into equal, if not greater Miseries, than those that went before her, though she had not only Warning enough from their Example, but from *Hannibal's* Army, and her great Enemy: For one Winter's Quarter of *Hannibal* and his Army, in the Luxurious City of *Capua*, prov'd a greater Overthrow to them, than all the *Roman* Consuls and Armies had given them. They that had been Victors in so many Battles, turn'd Slaves at last to *Dancers*, *Buffoons*, *Cooks* and *Harlots*; so as from that Time they never did any Thing suitable to the Reputation gain'd by their former Actions; but fell without much Difficulty into the *Roman Hands*. Nay, not long before, *Rome* her self encountered one of the greatest Dangers, that ever had befallen her, by the Corruption of her own People, in the same Place, by the like Means: And though this Defection was recover'd by those that remain'd entire in their Manners, yet after the Overthrow of *Antiochus*, *Mithridates*, *Tigranes*, that the Riches and Vices of *Asia* came with a full Stream upon them, the very Heart of the City became infected; and the Lewd *Assatics* had this Revenge in their own Fall, that they ruin'd, by their Vices, those they were no Ways able to resist by their Force; like the Story of the *Dying Centaur*. Thus Pride, Avarice and Luxury having prepared *Rome* for Destruction, it soon followed. Virtue now grew intolerable in *Rome*, where Vice dared not for Ages to show it's Face. The Worthiest Men were cut off by Proscriptions, Battels or Murders, as if she resolv'd *Ipsam Virtutem exscindere*: She destroyed her own Citizens, and sent for Strangers to protect her, which ruin'd her. Which proves, that the Kingdom or State, that, under God, doth not subsist by it's own Strength, Prudence and Virtue, cannot stand: For the *Goths*, *Hunns*, and others, despised to serve those, whom they excelled in Power and Virtue, and instead of Guarding, took their Dominion from them. And truly, it might rather be called a Journey, than a Military Expedition, to go and pillage *Rome*; so weak had her Vices made her. Thus she that was feared by all Nations, became the Prey of all Nations about her. So ended that once Potent and Virtuous Common-Wealth.

The *Vandals* in *Africk* soon became Effeminate and Lewd, which brought upon themselves speedy Ruin. The *Goths* set up a Powerful Kingdom in *Spain* and Part of *France*, and by the Sobriety of their Manners, it flourished near Four Hundred Years, but it's End was not unlike the rest. Two corrupt Princes, *Vuitza*, and *Roderic*, by their dissolute Example, debauch'd the People, insomuch that Men ran an Hazard to be Virtuous: This made their

their Destruction easie to those whom God sent against them ; which were the *Moors*, occasion'd by the last of these Kings dishonouring Count *Juliano's* Daughter. In the Time of his Calamity, in vain did he expect the Aid of those that had been the Flatterers, and the Companions of his Vices : His Security (the Effect of his Luxury) was his Ruin. For whilst he thought he had no Body to subdue, but his own People, by abusing them, he Cut off his own Arms, and made himself an easie Prey to his Real Enemies : And so he perisht with his Posterity, that had been the Cause of the Mischief, which beset that Great Kingdom. However, so it came to pass, that the Remainder of the *Goths* mixing with the Ancient *Spaniards* (to that Day distinct) recovered the Liberty and Reputation of the Kingdom by an Entire Reformation of Manners, and a Virtue in Conversation as Admirable, as the Vices, by which their Fathers had fallen, were Abominable. But the present impoverished State of *Spain* can tell us, they have not continued that Virtuous Conduct of their Ancestors ; the Increase of their Vices having decayed their Strength, and lessened their People and their Commerce.

But why should we overlook our own Country ? that, whether we consider the Invasion of the *Romans*, *Saxons*, or *Normans*, it is certain the Neglect of Virtue and Good Discipline, and the present Inhabitants giving themselves up to Ease and Pleasure, was the Cause (if *Gildas* the *Brittain*, and *Andrew Horn* may be credited) of their Overthrow : For as the first bitterly inveighed against the Looseness of the *Brittains*, threatening them with all those Miseries that afterwards followed ; so the *last* tells us, that the *Brittains* having forgotten God, and being overwhelm'd with Luxury and Vice, it pleased God to give the Land to a poor People of the Northern Parts of *Germany*, called *Saxons*, that were of plain and honest Manners. God is unchangeable in the Course of his Providence, as to these Things : The like Causes produce the like Effects, as every Tree doth naturally produce it's own Fruits. 'Tis true, God is not careles of the World ; *He feeds the young Ravens, clothes the Lillies, takes Care of Sparrows, and of us, so as not an Hair of our Heads falls to the Ground without his Providence ;* but if Mendespise his Law, hate to be Reformed, spend their Time and Estate in Luxury, and persist to work Wickedness, he will visit them in his Wrath, and consume them in his fore Displeasure. To conclude, *Wars, Bloodshed, Fires, Plunders, Wafings, Ravishments, Slavery, and the like, are the Miseries that follow Immoralities, the Common Mischiefs of Irreligion, the Neglect of Good Discipline and Government.*

Nothing weakens Kingdoms like Vice ; it does not only displease Heaven, but disable them. All we have said, proves it : But, above all, the Iniquity and Voluptuousness of the *Jews*, God's chosen, who from being the most Prudent, Pious and Victorious People, made themselves a Prey to all their Neighbours. Their Vice had prepared them to be the Conquest of the First Pretender ; and thus from Freemen they became Slaves. Is God asleep, or does he change ? Shall not the same Sins have the like Punishment ? At least, shall they not be punisht ? Can we believe there is a God, and not believe, that he is the Rewarder, as of the Deeds of Private Men, so of the Works of Government ? Ought we to think him Careful of the Lesser, and Careless of the Greater ? This were to suppose he minded Sparrows more than Men, and that he took more Notice of private Persons than of States. But let not our Superiors deceive themselves, neither put the Evil Day afar off ; they are greatly accountable to God for these Kingdoms. If every poor Soul must account for the Employment of the small Talent he has received from God, can we think, that those High Stewards of God, the Great Governors of the World, that so often account with all others, must never come to a Reckoning themselves ? Yes, there is a Final Sessions, a General Assize, and a Great Term once for all, where he will Judge among the Judges, who is Righteous in all his Ways. There Private Men will answer only for themselves, but Rulers for the People, as well as for themselves. The Disparity that is here, will be observed there, and the Greatness of such Persons, as shall be then found Tardy, will be so far

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from extenuating their Guilt, that it will sling Weight in the Scale against them. Therefore give me Leave, I do beseech you, to be earnest in my humble Address to you; Why should ye not, when none are so much concern'd in the Good Intention of it? Thus much for the First Reason of my Supplication.

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Sect. 9. Of the Second Motive to this Address.

MY Second Reason urging me to this Humble and Earnest Address, is the *Benefit of Posterity*. I would think, that there are few People so Vicious, as to care to see their Children so; and yet to me it seems a plain Case, that *As we leave the Government, they will find it*: If some effectual Course be not taken, what with Neglect, and what with Example, Impiety, and the Miseries that follow it, will be entailed upon our Children. Certainly, it were better the World ended with us, than that we should transmit our Vices, or sow those Evil Seeds in our Day, that will Ripen to their Ruin, and fill our Country with Miseries after we are gone; thereby exposing it to the Curse of God, and Violence of our Neighbours. But it is an Infelicity we ought to bewail, that Men are apt to prefer the Base Pleasures of their present Extravagancies, to all Endeavours after a future Benefit; which besides the Guilt they draw upon themselves, our Poor Posterity must be greatly injur'd thereby, who will find those Debts and Incumbrances harder to pay, than all the rest we can leave them under. Upon this Occasion, I shall take the Freedom to say something of *Education*.

The Truth is, we are so much out of Order in the *Education of our Youth*, that I wish I could say, that we had only the *Sin of Neglect* to answer for. I fear, the Care has been rather to *Educate* them in a Way of such Vanity, as ends in great Inconveniencies here, and must needs find *Vexation of Spirit hereafter*. Our Universities have made more Loose, than Learned; and what Extravagancy is begun there, is usually perfected abroad, or at our Inns of Courts at Home; that now and then afford us a few *Able Lawyers*; but the Generality are like the Man of Old, who return'd Home *Seven Times Worse than he went out*. The Genius of this Nation is not inferior to any in the World; 'tis Industrious, 'tis Wise, 'tis Honest, 'tis Valiant, yet Soft and Merciful. And (without Partiality) we have Men, that have excelled in *Every Worthy Qualification*. But I must needs say, it has been more owing to the Goodness of God, in the Disposition of our Natures, than the Prudence and Care of those who have had the Charge of their Education. It was the Saying of a Wise Man, *Train up a Child in the Way he should go; and when he is Old, he will not depart from it*. This is prov'd to us every Day; but it is in the wrong Way, in the Way of Idleness, Wantonness, and Impurity of Manners. It is worth While, and high Time, to make the Experiment the other Way; to try what the Suppression of Vice, and the Encouragement of Virtue will do: In this our Superiors must begin, and give their *Example*, as well as shew their Power. There is scarcely any one Thing, that so much needs the Wisdom of the Nation in the Contrivance of a New Law, as the *Education of our Youth*, whether we consider the Piety or Prudence of our Manners, the Good Life, or Just Policy of the Government. There is such an *Example* of what Industry may do, in the Practice of the *Jesuits*, that I hope the present Conjecture will make the Proposal of the Thing more welcome to you.

Note, The Jesuit's Interest the Greatest in the Roman Church.

That the Interest of the *Jesuits* is the Greatest in the Roman Church and Empire, is so far from being doubted, that all Protestants wish it were; it is our Trouble rather than our Scruple: It may be, some other Orders are of the same Mind, being much Eclipsed since the Rise of this Great Interest. They first appeared about the Time of the Reformation, and apply'd themselves with all conceivable Industry, to secure the Tottering Papacy against the Progress of it. In this Attempt they ventur'd so much farther, than any of their Predecessors in the Church; that they have been esteemed,

of Merit, the Great Ministers and Governours of the Chair for some last Ages. Indeed, they have almost engrossed the whole Power of Church and State to themselves in several Principalities and Kingdoms. To them all other Orders seem but small Retailers: Their Great *Politicians*, their *Philosophers*, *Orators*, *Historians* and *Mathematicians* are generally found amongst this Society; so as we scarce see any Thing of Note come out from Men of that Religion, which is not subscribed E. S. J. The Fame and Apprehension of their extraordinary Learning, and the Arts they have to recommend it, have made their Order the Choice of most Princes and Men of Quality of that Religion for the Education of their Children; in whom they have carefully instill'd, with their Instructions and Principles, that peculiar Respect to their own Society, as hath greatly serv'd to the Advancement of it, when they have grown to Age and Power.

But that which above all other Stratagems hath prevailed to extend their Dominion in the *Roman Church*, has been their Erecting of Schools, where they have Colleges, for the *Free Education of Youth*: The very Doing of it *gratis* makes it look like Charity with the Poor, that have little to give; and with the Rich, that seldom love to part with Money, to be sure, it is no Objection. Thus obliging the Parents, they next fall to making themselves grateful with the Children: And here they Exercise not a little Skill. They strictly survey and Observe the divers Humours and Dispositions of their Scholars, and take great Care not to baulk their Capacity by cross or unsuitable Studies: But when once they are fixed, every Youth according to his Genius, it is not easie to be believed, what Pains they take to allure them to their Studies; how they will Tempt them with Childish Rewards, and excite them to their Book by raising an Emulation among them: So that to excel is more than a Rod; and Victory, than any Chastisement whatever. By these Arts they fit all Capacities with suitable Study, and cultivate them to the Pitch of Learning, they are capable of; and all with that Obligation upon the Youth to love them; that from thence forward they become partial Devotees to the Advancement of the Honour and Interest of that Order. To conclude, they have got into their Hands the Education of the Generality of the Youth of the *Romish* Religion in every Country from the King to the Peasant; and being Masters of them, when Boys, they grow Governours and Confessors to them, when they are Men; so as all seem to have fallen into their Hands; and being but one entire Interest throughout the World, and maintaining a most punctual Correspondence, they must needs have the Knowledge and Disposal of the Affairs of States and Kingdoms, by that Share they have in the Counsels of Princes, and that great Reliance that is upon their Judgment and Ability. This, if we regard only the *Romish* Religion, shews great Wit, Design and Industry: But if we consider well how formidable these Arts render them to Protestant Kingdoms, it will become us to use our utmost Prudence to secure our selves. And there seems not to me a more effectual Remedy, than a Wise and Virtuous Education of our Youth. In order to it, let us use Methods not inferior to theirs, but for better Ends: Let us employ our Skill to improve the Children's natural Abilities, to excite them to Virtue, and endear the truest Interest of their own Country to them. I will briefly set down, what at present occurs to me as a good Way of Education.

First, Let Care be taken *To breed up Youth in Morality*: *Virtue* prepares the Mind, helps the Understanding, and gives Industry to compass what is desired. I would have no Books used in Schools, in which there may be the least Indecency. There were, and not without Reason, ancient Canons against the Reading of such Heathen Authors; and not a few Learned and Sober Men have rebuked that Practice amongst us. It is an Affront to *Christianity*, yea, to our Natures, to fetch our Wit or our Manners from them. It were well, if some Tracts of Moral Virtues and Invectives against Vice were written in those Languages we would have Youth to learn; for in such Discourses they might obtain good Manners with the Language;

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ages; whereas by preferring in Schools Heathen Authors, our Youth has learned base Obsecinities and a corrupt Conversation.

II. In the next Place, I would propose some of the more obvious and easier Parts of Mathematicks, and the Knowledge of Plants and Natural Bodies, to be compos'd, on purpose, after a familiar Manner, that they may be instructed in the Knowledge of Nature, and learn Things at the same Time they learn Words: It is a most reprovable Ignorance that we know not our own Natures, the World we are of and in, the Parts that compose it, and their Nature and Service, their Sympathies and Antipathies. *Nature* is an excellent Book, easie, useful, pleasant and profitable; but how few, alas! are learned either in the *Macrocosm* or their *Microcosm*? I wish this were better understood, it would be both our Honour and our Advantage.

III. The last Sort of Books, which I would recommend, and are in my Opinion most suitable to their Maturity of Age and Understanding, are such as relate to the Histories and Transactions of our own Kingdoms; the Interest of the true Protestant Religion and Civil Policy amongst us. But because there are very few (if any) of these Discourses extant, it were Worth the Care of our Superiors, and an Act deserving Praise, that some Skilful, Sober and Judicious Men were set to work for the Composure of some small Tracts of this Nature; and as an Appendix to the whole, that there might be a Summary of the most virtuous and infamous Actions of former Times, with the Rewards and Punishments they have received from God and Just Government; that by the Power of Example they may be deterr'd from Vice, and provok'd to an honest Emulation of the Virtues and Reputation of the Ancients.

IV. In the fourth Place, *Cross* not the *Genius* of your Youth, but match their Talents well; for if you do not sute their Studies to their Understanding, it will be *Drawing up Hill*, *Going against the Grain* or *Swimming against the Tide*: That which will be gain'd, will be little; and with so much Labour and Time too, as will not quit Cost. It should be greatly the Care of those, who have the Charge of Youth, to make the Ways of Learning Easie and Chearful; which leadeth me to my last Observation upon this Head.

V. Let all honest Arts be used by Masters of Schools to *provoke* their Youth to Learning without much Fierceness or Beating: For that Sort of Education has nothing of that Free and Generous Disposition in it, which might be rais'd and improved in Youth by more gentle and reasonable Methods. They that are taught to obey only for base Fear, make Fear and not Reason the Rule of their Obedience; and this grows up in too many with their Age, that they turn meer Mercenaries and only worship Violence. In short, Make Instruction Easie, Correction Reasonable: Convince them of their Miscarriage with Mildness, then pardon them; and finally excite them to Amendment by Smiles and Favour. This awakens the Noble Part, and excites Youth to perform that, which may ingratiate them with their Tutors; who, if they at any Time commit an Error, should rather shew themselves affectionately sorry for them, than bitterly Angry. *Plato* being greatly displeased with his Servant, and going about to correct him, gave the Wand to one that stood by, saying; *Do thou beat him, for I am Angry*. Chastisement should be used with Reason and Reluctancy: A Discreet and Cool Hand may direct the Blow right and hit the Mark, when Men of Fury rather ease their Passion, than mend their Youth; especially, if the Correction exceed the Fault; for that hardens. This very Brutishness is more injurious to the Nature of our Youth, than usually their Instruction is beneficial.

Upon the whole Matter I take the Freedom to say, That if we would preserve our Government, we must endear it to the People. To do this, besides the Necessity of present Just and Wise Things, we must secure the Youth: And this is not to be done but by the Amendment of the Way of their Education, and that with all conceivable Speed and Diligence. I say, the Govern-

Government is highly oblig'd : It is a Sort of Trustee for the Youth of the Kingdom, who, though now Minors, yet, will have the Government, when we are gone. Therefore depress Vice and cherish Virtue, that, thro' good Education, they may become Good ; which will truly render them Happy in this World, and a good Way fitted for that which is to come. If this be done, they will owe more to your Memories for their Education, than for their Estates.

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Sect. 10. Of the Third and Last Motive for this Address.

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MY Third and Last Reason for this serious Supplication to the Civil Magistrate is so Great, that I find Difficulty to express it : 'Tis the Glory of that G O D, that made us ; that hath so often deliver'd us, and doth so plentifully provide for us ; who *sent his Son into the World to save us*, and waits every Day to be Good and Gracious to us. But he hath so particularly and with that Transcendency set the Marks of his Favour upon you, both in your Restoration and Protection, as scarce any Age can parallel. O ! Let a steady Virtue be the Return of these Mercies, and a pious Care to retrieve and encourage Morality, which is the very Basis of our Religion and Government, be the Humble Token of your Gratitude : It is your Office ; *you do but comply with the Reason of your own Institution* : God expects it and good Men beseech it from you. There is much in your Power at this Time, to make this the *Island of Peace and lasting Tranquility*. Lose not, I beseech you, the present Opportunity : Revive the Laws against these gross Iniquities ; Terrify all Evil-Doers, and cherish them that do well : Provide for the Poor, that their Stock may not be abus'd, nor their Cries pierce Heaven against you because of Neglect ; that God may yet Vouchsafe to spare us.

Your Sins (said God of old) *have withheld good Things from you* : 'Tis Righteousness that exalts a Nation ; but Sin is the Reproach of any People. Would ye prosper ? Then please God ; and if ye will please him, ye must put away the Wicked from amongst you ; at least, from Power and Offices in the Government ; they that would rule others should be just themselves and of Good Lives. It was both his Complainer and the Cause of his Judgment in Former Ages : *There are found Wicked Men among my People ; they lay Wait, as he that setteth Snares ; they set a Trap, they catch Men : As a Cage is full of Birds, so are their Houses full of Deceit : Therefore they are become Great and waxen Rich ; they are waxen Fat, they Shine. They overpass (or overlook) the Deeds of the Wicked, they judge not the Cause of the Fatherless ; yet they prosper.* These were no small Folk, but Men of Power ; such as got largely by the Government, and employ'd their Authority to enrich themselves, and not to relieve the Oppressed. I must needs say, (and can with great Truth) That *Mis-government* is the Occasion, though the Devil be the Cause of that Mischief and Ruin, that attend Nations.

What Kingdoms hath God destroy'd, and Cities turn'd into Rubbish, because of National Evils ; too much occasion'd by the Remissness of Magistrates ? The slack Hand, that the Riders of *Israel* held over the Manners of that unhappy People, made Way for their unsubjected Passions and corrupt Affections to break out into the vilest Impieties : But if Men shall be left to their own Licentiousness, to commit Sin with Greediness, and with Impunity despise the Laws of God and Men, all I can say is this : God, who is jealous of his Glory, the Great Avenger of his Law upon Rebellious Nations, will withhold his Mercies, and hasten his Judgments upon ours.

Hear the Word of the Lord (saith the Prophet *Hosea*) *ye Children of Israel ; for the Lord hath a Controversy with the Inhabitants of the Land : by Swearing, and Lying, and Killing, and Stealing and Committing Adultery they break out, and Blood touches Blood ; therefore shall the Land mourn.* And by the Prophet *Malachi* God threatens that People thus : *I will come near to you,*

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and Mal. 3. 5

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and I will be a swift Witness against Sorcerers, and against the Adulterers, and against false Swearers, and such as fear not me, saith the Lord of Hosts. Yea, to that Degree, was that Magistracy degenerated, that they thought it a Vain Thing to serve God; and keep his Commandments. They called the Proud Happy; yea, they that work Wickedness were set up, they were advanced to Places of Honour and Trust, and they that tempted God, were deliver'd: But the Word of the Lord was unto them a Reproach; they had no Delight in it: They made a Mock at Sin, laid Snares for the Innocent, and (like us) made Men Offenders for a Word, for a good Word, a Word of Reproof or an Harmless Opinion. Well, but what followed? Shall I not visit for these Things, saith the Lord, shall not my Soul be avenged on such a Nation as this? O that Magistrates would hear this! God as truly speaks to us by the Scripture now, as he did by them that writ it then to the Jews. Truly, 'tis our very Case; the same Impieties are daily found amongst us: Certainly God is offended, his Spirit grieved, and Heaven is set against us. For the Lord's Sake do your Duty in this present Conjunction, and mistake not your Measures: Let every Thing have its due Weight and Place with you; that is the Way to succeed. Ye are now warmly concern'd in the Discovery and Prosecution of a Jesuitical Plot; a Design, it seems, to destroy the King, blow up your Religion, and wrest the Government out of your Hands: In this, doubtless, ye do well; and all just Care to preserve the Peace of the Kingdom from such Mischievous Conspiracies, is most commendable in you, and deserves and draws all due Acknowledgments from Honest and English Minds; But, I beseech you, Let God have a Share in your Concern: Remember him as well as your selves. You confess, this Great Discovery is only owing to his Goodness; shall we be then more zealous for our own Safety, than for his Glory; who, when all is done, must save us, or we are lost. Let us make him our Friend, who is stronger than the Combinations of all our Enemies; and guard our selves against that which can only bring their Evil Devices to pass, (alas!) *Our Sin*. That is their Strength and the Poyson of their Arrows: Let us confess and forsake it; let us humble our selves under the mighty Hand of God, that it may not Grind us to Powder. And truly, if our Hearts were not harder than Adamants, this Testimony he has given us of his Care over us, notwithstanding all our repeated Provocations given to him, should break us into deep Contrition. O let his Long-suffering prevail upon us to Unfeigned Repentance! then shall we stand clear Men before God; and if so, he will quickly make our Enemies to flee before us.

If there be any Truth in *Sacred History*, any Credit to be given to *Christian Religion* or the Experience of Ages, This that I say of God and Government is true: And it is our Duty, yea, our Interest, the truest and easiest Way to Safety. God has decreed, *That Nation and Kingdom, that will not serve him, shall perish, yea, those Nations shall be utterly wasted* (Isaiah 60. 12.) *But great is their Peace, that love thy Law; It shall go well with the Righteous, but it shall go ill with the Wicked*; Upon them God hath threaten'd to Rain Snares, Difficulties, Perplexities; they shall not know which Way to turn themselves. I am not against the Use of Means: Men have not Wisdom and Power for nothing; but then let them use them in the Fear and Name of God: *Cursed is he that putteth his Strength in Man, and his Confidence in the Arm of Flesh*. And in another Place, *Wo to them that go down to Egypt for Help, and stay on Horses and trust in Chariots, because they are many; and in Horsemen, because they are very strong: but they look not to the Holy one of Israel, neither seek the Lord*. 'Twas his Reproof to the Nation that professed him, that they should seek to the Stratagems, and rely upon the Strength of Heathen Nations, rather than upon Faith in him, the Living God: And the Reason he gives in the third Verse is great, viz. *The Egyptians are Men and not God, and their Horses Flesh, and not Spirit, when the Lord shall stretch out his Hand, both he that helpeth shall fall, and he that is holpen shall fall down, and they all shall fall together*. If then the Hand of God be so much stronger than Man, for

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the Lord's Sake, let us lay hold of it; let that fight our Battels and decide the *Controversy*: *He that trusteth in the Lord, shall never be confounded.* It was the Saying of a Great King and a Great Conqueror, *By thee I have leaped over a Wall, by thee I have run through a Troop, &c.* Psal. 18. 19. who preserved the *Israelites* from *Pharaoh's Fury*, threw down the Walls of *Jericho*, when the Priests blew the Rams-horns, and gave *Gideon* his mighty Victories; with more of the like Kind. And we must not think that God is alter'd, or Faith is in it self weaken'd, that no Wonders are reserv'd for the latter and Christian Ages. The Truth is, Faith (generally speaking) is lost, and that holy Confidence now adays is esteemed *Presumption*: 'Tis become a Principle, that *such Things are not to be expected*; so that we shut up, or bar from our selves the true and most powerful Way of Deliverance. Let us not berake our selves to the common Arts and Stratagems of Nations, incredulous of the Strength of the God of *Israel*, who is the God of true Christians too. O! that our Faith may be greater than our Arms! no Matter for the Strength of our Enemies, if God be our Strength: And truly, 'tis vain to acknowledge a Providence in Human Things, and not to confide in him and rely upon him that provides for us. *I was Young* (said David) *and now I am Old, but I never saw the Righteous forsaken, nor his Seed begging Bread*: It shall go well with the Righteous. Therefore fear God, put away the Evil that provokes him, and trust not in Man, but in the Living God, and it shall yet go well with *England*.

What noble Feats did the Ancients do by *Faith*! and shall *Christians* have less than *Jews* had? Is not God the same? Yes; he is *Un-changeable*: But alas! we are not the same; that's our Mischief. Christ did not many *Mighty Works* in some Places, because they believed him not: If our Confidence be not in God, our Hopes will prove vain, and our Success will fail us. We shall but have Men of our Side, not God; Flesh and not Spirit: And if we should be so unhappy as to make this our Strength, both the Helpers and Helped will fall together. But let *Nineveh* teach us better Things, and may her Zealous King be the Example of ours; and let all the People say *Amen*! The Suitableness of which Story to our present Occasion makes me chuse to end this first Part of my Address with it.

For Word came unto the King of Nineveh; Yet Forty Days, and Nineveh shall be overthrown. And he arose from his Throne, and he laid his Robe from him, and cover'd him with Sack-cloth, and sate in Ashes. And he caused it to be proclaimed and published through Nineveh, (by the Decree of the King and his Nobles) saying, Let neither Man nor Beast, Herd nor Flock taste any Thing; let them not feed, nor drink Water. But let Man and Beast be covered with Sack-cloth, and cry mightily unto God: yea, Let them turn every one from his Evil Way, and from the Violence that is in their Hands. Who can tell, if God will turn and repent, and turn away from his fierce Anger, that we perish not. And God saw their Works, that they turned from their Evil Way; and God repented from the Evil, that he said, that he would do unto them, and he did it not, Jon. 2. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.

O God! Thou that workest Wonders in the Earth, whose Power cannot be controuled, in whose Hands are the Souls of Men and the Spirits of all Flesh, who can'st turn them in a Moment: Turn thou the Hearts of King and People unto thee, and one unto another. Do thou proclaim a Fast from Sin throughout these Sinful Kingdoms: Let Wickedness and Oppression find no Place among us. Turn away thy Fierce Wrath, Wipe away our Reproach, and Love us Freely, O God! for thy dear Son's Sake.

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THE SECOND PART.

Sect. 1. *Five Capital Evils that relate to the Ecclesiastical State of these Kingdoms.*

HAVING finish'd the *First Part* of my *Address* relating to the Immoralities of the Times, and left it with the *Civil Magistrate*, as, in Conscience, I found my self oblig'd to do, whose peculiar Charge it is, and, I earnestly and humbly desire and pray, that it may be his great Care effectually to rebuke them, I shall betake my self to the *Second Part* of this *Address*, that more immediately concerns us as *Profess'd Christians* and *Protestants*. But before I begin, I desire to premise, and do with much Sincerity declare, that I intend not the Reproach of any Person or Party: I am weary with seeing *so much of it in the World*: It gains nothing, that is worth keeping; but often hardens, what 'tis our Duty to endeavour to soften and win. But if, without Offence, I may speak the Truth, that which, to the best of my Understanding, tends to the present Settlement and future Felicity of my poor Country, I shall, by God's Help, deliver my self with the Modesty, Plainness and Integrity, that becomes a Christian, a Protestant, and an Englishman.

Those Capital Sins and Errors that relate to the *Ecclesiastical State* or Church-Capacity of these Kingdoms, and which are so inconsistent with *Christian Religion* and Purest Protestancy, and that, above all, displease Almighty God, are,

First, *Making Opinions Articles of Faith, at least giving them the Reputation of Faith, and making them the Bond of Christian Society.*

Secondly, *Mistaking the Nature of True Faith, and taking that for Faith which is not Gospel-Faith.*

Thirdly, *Debasing the true Value of Morality under Pretence of Higher Things, mistaking much of the End of Christ's Coming.*

Fourthly, *Preserring Human Authority above Reason and Truth.*

Fifthly, *Propagating Faith by Force, and Imposing Religion by Worldly Compulsion.*

These I take to be the *Church-Evils*, that have too much and too long prevail'd even in these Parts of the *Reformed World*: And though the *Roman Church* hath chiefly transcended other Societies in these *Errors*, and may, in a Sense, be said to be the Mother of them, She, from whom they took *Birth*, by whom they were brought forth and have been propagated in *Christendom*, yet there hath not been that *Integrity* to the Nature of *Christianity*, and *First Reason of Reformation* from the Papacy in our own Country, as had been and is our Duty to conserve.

Sect. 2. *Of Opinions passing for Faith.*

FIRST, *That Opinions pass for Faith, and are made Articles of Faith, and are enjoy'd to be embrac'd as the Bond of Communion.*

That this is so, let us take the most impartial View we can, and we shall find it to be true, both of the *National* and many other *Select Societies*.

That

That I may be understood in the Signification of the Word *Opinions*, I explain it thus: "Opinions are all those Propositions or Conclusions made by Men Doctrines of Faith and Articles of Communion, which either are not Expressly laid down in Scripture, or not so evidently Deduceable from Scripture, as to leave no Occasion of Doubt of the Truth of them in their Minds who sincerely and reverently believe the Text: Or, lastly, such as have no new or Credible Revelation to vouch them."

That this is our Case, let the several Confessions of Faith published by almost every Party in England be perused, and you will find such Propositions translated into Doctrines of Faith and Articles of Communion, as are, first, not only not express'd in Scripture, but, perhaps not well deduceable from Scripture: And if one Party may be but believ'd against another, we can want no Evidence to prove what we say. And, in the next Place, such as are, though not express'd, yet it may be, deduceable as to the Matter of them, are either carried so high, spun so fine, or so disguised by barbarous School-Terms, that they are rather a Bone of Contention, than a Bond of Concord to Religious Societies. Yet this has been the Unhappiness even of this Kingdom after all the Light of Reformation, which God hath graciously sent amongst us, Men are to be received or rejected for denying or owning of such Propositions. Wilt thou be a Presbyterian? Embrace and keep the Covenant, subscribe the Westminster-Confession and Directory: And so on to the End of every Society, that grounds Communion upon Conformity to such Propositions and Articles of Faith.

What a Stir have we had in England about the Word *Episcopos*? He that says it signifies an *Higher Office* than *Presbyter* shall have no Part or Fellowship with us: On t'other Hand, they that will debase *Episcopos* to *Presbyteros*, and turn *Levellers* or *Degraders* of *Episcopal* Dignity, shall be excommunicated, silenc'd, punish't. Is not this plain *Fall*? can any deny it, that love Truth more than a Party? The Fire kindled by this Contention, hath warm'd the Hands of Violence: It had been well, if Men had entertained *Equal Zeal* against *Impiety*, and been but half as much *Enemies* to Sin, as they have been against one another on such Accounts.

If we look a little back, we shall find, that the Debate of *Free-Will* and *unconditional Reprobation* filled this Kingdom with *Uncharitableness* and *Division*. In the Arch-Episcopacy of *Abbot* (reputed in himself a good Man) whosoever held, that Christ so died for all Men, that all Men might be saved, (if they would accept the Means) and that none were absolutely decreed to *Eternal Reprobation*, was reputed an *Heretick*, and *Excommunicated* as an Enemy to the *Free-Grace* of God, which, it seems, at that Time of Day, lay in being narrow.

In the Reign of Arch-Bishop *Laud* the Tide turned: And those that held an *absolute Election*, and *Reprobation*, without Regard had to the Good or Evil Actions of Men, and asserted, that Christ only died for the Elect, and not for all, must be discountenanced, displaced and pointed at as Men out of Fashion, though at the same Time *Conscientious*, *Sober* and (at worst) mistaken; and to be pitied rather than persecuted; and informed, not destroyed.

This Controversie begat the *Synod of Dort*: He that reads the *Epistles* of that Judicious Man *J. Hales* of *Eaton* Colledge, upon the Matter and Conduct of that Assembly, will find Cause of being sad at Heart; too many of them talking of Religion without the Spirit of it Men, perhaps, learned in Books, but few of the *Sticklers* gave any great Testimony of their Proficiency in that Science, which is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated. This Flame kindled between *Arminius* and *Episcopius*, &c. for the *Remonstrants*, and *Gomar*, *Sibrandus*, &c. for the *Predesminarians*, distracted Holland not a little, and had an ill Influence upon the Affairs of England, at least so far, as concerned the Church. But the mournfullest Part of that History is the ill Usage, *Martinus Crocius*, the Bishop of Landaff, and others had; who, though they were acknowledg'd to be sound in the Faith of those Things, which generally followed the Judgment of *Calvin*, as to the main Points controverted, yet if at any Time they appear-

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ed moderate in their Behaviour, gentle in their Words, and for Accommodation in some particulars, with the *Remonstrants* or *Free-Willers*; *Gomarus* and his Followers, not observing the Gravity due to the *Assembly*, the Rules of Debate, and least of all the Meekness of *Christian Communion*, fell foul of their Brethren, reproached their Tenderness, and began to fix Treachery upon their soper Endeavours of Accommodation; as if they intended to execute as well as maintain their Reprobation, and blow up their Friends rather than not destroy their Adversaries.

But if we will rise higher in our Enquiry, and view the Mischiefs of earlier Times, flowing from this Practice, the Fourth and Fifth Centuries after Christ will furnish us with *Instances* enough. We cannot possibly forget the heavy Life some Men made about the Observation of *Easter-Day*, as if their Eternal Happiness had been in Jeopardy: For so far were they degenerated from the Love and Meekness of Christianity, that about keeping of a Day, which perhaps was no Part, but to be sure, no *Essential Part* of the Christian Religion, they fell to Pieces; *reproach'd*, *revil'd*, *hated*, and *Persecuted* one another. A Day was more to them than Christ, who was the Lord and End of Days; and Victory over Brethren, sweeter than the Peace and Concord of the Church, the great Command of Jesus, whom they called Lord.

But the remarkable and tragical Story of *Alexander* Bishop of *Alexandria* and *Arius* his Priest, in their known Debate about the Nature and Existence of the Son of God, with the lamentable Consequence thereof, (as all Writers upon that Subject have related) witnesseth to the Truth of what I say. The Bishop's Curiosity, and the Strictness of *Arius*; the Presumption of the one to expound beyond the Evidence and Simplicity of the Text, and the captious Humour of the other, that would not bate the Bishop any Thing for his Age, or Rank he held in the Church, but Logically exacted the utmost Farthing of the Reckoning from his old Pastor, first began the Fray: Which as it became the Perplexity of Church and State some Ages, so it rag'd to Blood; and those that had been persecuted like Sheep by the *Heathen* not long before, turned Wolves against each other, and made Sport for the *Infidels*, doing their Work to their own Destruction. Nay, so much more Christian was *Themistius* the Philosopher, that he in his *Oration*, called *C O N S U L*, commended the Emperour *Jovianus* for his Moderation, and advised him to give that *Liberty of Conscience*, which profess Christians, refused to allow each other; who seem'd to think, they never did God better Service, than in Sacrificing one another for Religion, even as soon as ever they had escaped the *Heathen's* Shambles.

Did we duly reflect upon the unnatural Heats, Divisions and Excommunications among them, the many Councils that were called, the strong and tedious *Debates* held, the Translations of *Sees*, the *Anathemas*, the *Banishments*, *Wars*, *Sackings*, *Fires* and *Blood-shed* that followed this unnatural Division, that sprang from so nice a Controversie, one would verily believe no less, than that Religion it self had been in utmost Hazard; that *Judaism* or *Paganism* were over-running Christianity; and not, that all this Stir had been made about an *Iota*. For the whole Question was, whether *Homousia*, or *Homoiousia* should be received for Faith? In which the Difference is but the single Letter, *I*: Certainly, we must do Violence to our Understanding, if we can think that these Men were Followers of that *Jesus* that loved his Enemies and gave his Blood for the World, who hated their Brethren and shed one another's Blood for Opinions: The *Heathen Philosophers*, never were so barbarous to one another, but maintained a better Understanding and Behaviour in their Differences.

But how easily might all these Confusions have been prevented; if their Faith about Christ had been delivered in the Words of *Scripture*; since all Sides pretend to believe the *Text*? And why should any Man presume to be wiser, or plainer in Matters of Faith, than the Holy Ghost? 'Tis strange, that God and Christ should be wanting to express or discover their own Mind; or that the Words used by the *Holy Ghost*, should have that Short-

ness, Ambiguity or Obliquity in them, that our *frail Capacities* should be needed to make them more easie, proper and intelligible. But that we should scarcely deliver any one *Article of Faith* in *Scripture-Terms*, and yet make such *Ass* the *Rule and Bond* of *Christian Communion*, is, in my Judgment, an Offence hainous against *God* and *Holy Scripture*, and very injurious to *Christian Charity and Fellowship*. Who can express any Man's Mind so fully, as himself? And shall we allow that Liberty to our selves, and refuse it to *God*? *The Scriptures came not in old Time* (said the Apostle *Peter*) *by the Will of Man, but holy Men of God spake, as they were moved by the Holy Ghost*. Who can speak better, or express the Mind of the *Holy Ghost* plainer, than the *Holy Ghost*? The *Scripture* is the great *Record of Truth*, That which all these *Parties* in *Controversie* agree to be the declared Mind and Will of *God*, and they unanimously say, it ought to be believed, and *profess* as *such*. If this be true, in what *Language* can we so safely and properly declare our Belief of those Truths, as in the very *Language* of the *Scripture*?

And I cannot see how those Persons can be excused in the *Day of Gods Judgment*, who make Men *Heterodox* or *Heretical*, for refusing to subscribe their *Articles of Faith* that are not in *Scripture-Terms*, who in the same Time offer to declare their Belief of *God, Christ, Spirit, Man's Lapse or Fall, Repentance, Sanctification, Justification, Salvation, Resurrection, and Eternal Recompence* in the *Language of Holy Scripture*? I must say, it is preposterous and a Contradiction, that those who desire to deliver their *Faith* of *Truth*, in the *Language of Truth*, shall not be reputed *true Believers*, nor their *Faith* admitted. This were to say, that therefore their *Faith* is not to be received, because it is declared in the *Language* of that very *Truth*, which is the *Object* of that *Faith*, for which it ought to be received, and which is, on all Hands, concluded to be our *Duty to believe*. It seems then we must not express our Belief of *God* in his Words; but our own; nor is the *Scripture* a *Creed* plain or proper enough to declare a true Believer, or an *Orthodox Christian*, without our Glosses.

Are not Things come to a sad pass, that to refuse any other Terms than those the *Holy Ghost* has given us, and which are confessed to be the *Rule* or *Form* of sound Words, is to expose a Man to the Censure of being *unsound* in the *Faith* and unfit for *Christian-Communion*? Will nothing do but *Man's Comment* instead of *God's Text*? His Consequences and Conclusions in the Room of *Sacred Revelation*? I cannot see how any Man can be obliged to receive, or believe revealed Truths in any other *Language*, than that of the *Revelation it self*; especially if those that vary the Expression, have not the same Spirit to lead them in doing so, or that it appears not to me that they have the *Guidance* of that *Holy Spirit*. If the *Holy Ghost* had left *Doubts* in *Scripture*, which is yet irreverent to believe, I see not how Men can resolve them; it is the *Work* of that *Spirit*. And since Men are so apt to err, *Doubts* are better left in *Scripture*, than made or left by us. But it is to cross that Order of *Prudence* and *Wisdom* among Men, who chuse to conform their Expressions to the Thing they believe. If an honest Man hath related a *Story* to me, of something he hath seen, and I am to declare my *Faith* about it, if I believe the *Fall*, I will chuse to deliver it in the *Terms of the Relator*, as being nearest to the *Truth*.

Suppose a Father dying, makes his *Last Will and Testament*, and, as he thinks, so plain, that there can be no Mistake made by the *Executors*, but what is wilful: If they, instead of proving this Will, and acting according to the Plainness of it, turn *Commentators*, make more Difficulties than they find, and perplex the whole *Matter*, to the Children and Legatees, and send them to the *Law* for *Right*; will we not esteem such *Executors* ill Men, and justifie those Persons concern'd in their *Refusal* of their *Paraphrase*? *God* hath at sundry Times and in diverse Manners, by his *Prophets*, his *Beloved Son* and his *Apostles*, delivered to the World a *Declaration* of his blessed Will; but some have claim'd and taken to themselves the *Keeping, Explanation* and Use of it, so as those that chuse to be concluded by the *Letter and Text* of *Christ's Testament* in it's most important Points, expose

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themselves to great Prejudice for so doing ; for they are Excommunicated from all other Share in it, than the *Punishment of the Breakers* of it, which is part of their *Anathema*, who, of all others, are most guilty of *adding or diminishing*, by undertaking to determine, for others as well as themselves, the *Mind and Intention of the holy Ghost* in it.

But if it be True, as True it is, that few have writ of the Divine Authority of Scripture, who do not affirm that the very Penmen of it were not only inspired by the Holy Ghost, but so extraordinarily acted by him, as that they were wholly asleep to their own Will, Desires or Affections, like People taken out of themselves, and purely Passive, *as Clay in the Hand of the Potter, to the Revelation, Will, and Motion of the Spirit* ; and for this End, that nothing deliver'd by them, might have the least Possibility of Mistake, Error, or Imperfection, but be a *Complete Declaration of the Will of God to Men* ; I cannot see which Way such Men can excuse themselves from Great Presumption, that will, notwithstanding, have the *Wording of Creeds of Communion*, and reject that Declaration of Faith as insufficient, which is deliver'd in the very Terms of the Holy Ghost ; and deny those Persons to be Members of Christ's Church, that in Conscience refuse to subscribe any other Draught than that the Lord has given them.

Two Things oppose themselves to this Practice : *The Glory of God, and the Honour of the Scripture* ; in that it naturally draws People from the Regard due to God and the Scripture, and begets too much Respect for Men and their Tradition. This was the Difficulty Christ met with, and complained of in his Time ; they had set up so many *Rabbies* to learn them Religion, that the Lord of the True Religion could hardly find Place amongst them. And what did they do ? *They taught for Doctrines the Traditions of Men* : They gave their own and their Predecessors Apprehensions, Constructions, and Paraphrases upon Scripture, for the Mind and Will of God, the Rule of the People's Faith. They were near at this Pass in the Church of *Corinth*, when they cryed out, *I am for Paul, I am for Apollos, and I am for Cephas*, though they had not the same Temptation.

And that which followed then, ever will follow in the like Case, and that is *Distraction* ; which is the contrary to the Second Thing that opposeth it self to this Practice, and that is the Concord of Christians. For the Sake of Peace consider it : *Lo here and Lo there always followed ; one of this Mind, and another of that : As many Sells as Great Men to make and Head them*. This was the Case of the *Jews* ; and yet I do not hear, that they devoured one another about their Opinions and Commentaries upon Scripture ; but the Christians have done both ; Divided and Persecuted too. *First*, they have divided, and that mostly upon the Score of Opinions about Religion. They have not been contented with the Expressions of the *Holy Ghost* ; they liked their own better. And when they were set up in the Room of Scripture, and in the Name of Scripture, *Submission* was required upon Pain of Worldly Punishments. This dissatisfied Curiosity, this Unwarrantable, what shall I say ? This Wanton Search has cost *Christendom* dear, and poor *England* dearest of any Part of it.

I design not to grate upon any, or to revive old Stories, or search old Wounds, or give the least Just Occasion of Displeasure to those that are in present Power ; yet I must needs say, that Opinion on one Side or t'other, has been the Cause of much of that Discord, Animosity and Confusion that have troubled this Kingdom. And it seems to have been the great Stratagem of Satan, to prevent the spreading of the *Glorious Gospel of Salvation* in the World, by taking Men off from the Serious Pursuit of Piety and Charity, Humility, and Holy Living, Peace, and Concord : And, under Pretence of more raised Apprehensions, and sublime Knowledge of Religion, to put them upon introducing Curious and Doubtful Questions, that have given Occasion, first for Contention, and That, for Persecution. This was no more uncondemned, than unfore seen of the Apostle *Paul*, who exhorted his beloved Son *Timothy*, 1 Tim. 6. 3, 4, 5. *To avoid those that doted about Questions*, those Men that would be thought Skilful, Inquisitive Searchers

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after Truth, such as love to exercise their Faculties, and improve their Talents; but let us hear his Judgment, *Of which (says he) cometh Strife, Railings, Surmises, perverse Disputings of Men of Corrupt Minds.* And the Truth is, none else love such Disputings: *They, who seek a Daily Victory over the World, the Flesh and the Devil, and press fervently after Fellowship with God, and that Consolation that ensues such an Employment of their Time, have very little to lose upon Contention about Words.* I could wish I were able to say, that Vain Controversie were not our Case! But this is not all, the Apostle does expressly tell Timothy, *That if any Man consent not to Wholsom Words, even the Words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the Doctrine that is according to Godliness, he is Proud, knowing nothing, but doting about Questions, &c.* They were such as used Philosophy, and Vain Deceit, as he writes to the Colossians, Col. ii. 8. *Beware, says he, lest any Man spoil you through Philosophy and Vain Deceit, that is, drawn them away from the Simplicity of the Gospel, and the Wholsome Words of Christ, after the Traditions of Men, after the Rudiments of the World, and not after Christ.* He used no Humane Wisdom, yet he spake Wisdom, but it was in a Mystery, tho' to the humble Disciples of Jesus nothing was plainer; but it was a Mystery to the Wise Men of this World. And truly, they that are not unacquainted with the more degenerate Ages of the Greek Philosophers, how Philosophy, once taken for the Love of Virtue and Self-Denial, which they esteem'd Truest Wisdom, and was begun by Men of ordinary Rank, but great Example of Life, became little else, than an Art of Wrangling upon a Multitude of idle Questions, and so they entertain'd the Apostle Paul at Athens, may very well guess which Way Apostacy entred among Christians; especially, when we consider, that in the third and fourth Centuries, the Heathen-Philosophers had the Education of Christian Youth, and that no Man had any Reputation among the Christian Doctors, who were not well initiated in the Philosophy, Rhetorick, and Poetry of the Gentiles. Which made for Impurity of Language, and laid a Foundation for great Feuds in the Church: Christ and his Doctrine must be prov'd by Aristotle and his Philosophy. Yes, Aristotle must explain Scripture, and by Degrees methodize the loose Parts of it, and reduce them to Formal Propositions and Axioms; and by the Help of such Philosophers, the poor Fisher-Men were taught to speak Metaphysically, and grew Polite in the Sense of Athens, who, to say True, were neither Guilty of using nor understanding it. But as the first Rules of Philosophy were few and plain, and consisted in Virtuous Living, so the Christian Religion was deliver'd with much Brevity, yet much Plainness; suited to the Capacity of the Young, the Ignorant, and the Poor; to inform their Understandings, subdue their Affections, and convert their Souls to God, as well as Persons of more Age, Knowledge, and Ability.

And truly, when we consider the Smallness of the Writings of the Evangelists, the Shortness of Christ's Sermons, the Fewness of the Epistles writ by the Apostles, and the many and great Volumes of Commentators and Critics since, we may justly say, *The Text is almost lost in the Comment, and Truth hid, rather than revealed in those Heaps of Fallible Apprehensions.* Where by the Way, let me say, *That the Voluminousness of the Books is no small Token of the Unclearness of the Writers; for the more evident and better digested any Matter is, the more easie and short it will be in expressing.* But after the Christians had declin'd the Simplicity of their own Religion, and grew Curious and Wanton, loving God above All, their Neighbours as themselves, and keeping the Plain Commandments of Christ, that relate to Good Life, became but Ordinary and Homely Things: Their Easiness rendred them Contemptible: They gave but little Pleasure to Speculative Minds; they had nothing in them above Ordinary Capacities; and it seem'd hard, that Men of Inquisitive and Rais'd Spirits, should sit down with the Lesson of Rusticks and Peasants: Philosophers did not do so; and they would be like other Nations. 'Twas not enough now to know There was a GOD, and that He was but One, Just and Good, the Observer of their Actions, and the Rewarder of

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of their Deeds, and that therefore they should serve him; but they must be distinctly inform'd of his Nature, and all his Attributes, his Purposes and his Decrees, and the Suitableness of them all to the Line and Plummets of their Understanding: *So that God was to be, what their Conclusions would allow him to be; that yet knew not themselves.* Nor did it satisfy that there was a Christ, that this Christ was the Son of God, that God so loved Mankind, as beholding them in a Way of Destruction, he sent his Son to proclaim Pardon upon True Repentance, and offer'd a General Reconciliation to as many as received and embrac'd his Testimony; and that to that End He laid down his Life a Ransom, Rose and Ascended, and gave his Good Spirit to lead his Followers after his Example, in the Way of Truth and Holiness: *But they must search into the Secret of this Relation, how, and after what Manner he is the Son of God? His Nature, Power and Person must be discuss'd: They will be satisfied in this, before they can find in their Hearts to believe in him. Next, Whether he be the Cause, or the Effect of God's Love? What was that Price he paid, and Ransom he gave? And how he died for us? If Properly and Strictly, or Tropically and Elegantly, to satisfy the Justice of God? And whether God could, or could not have Saved Man another Way? If this Mercy were offer'd to all, or but some? And whether Acceptance and Repentance be with the Consent of the Creature, or by an irresistible Grace? What Body he Rose and Ascended with? And what Bodies we shall have in the Resurrection, in Nature, Stature, and Proportion? Lastly, What this Spirit is, that comes from Christ? If it comes from God also? Whether it be God, or an Inferior Minister? How it Exists? If a Person, in what Relation, Degree, or Dignity it stands to the Father and Son? With Abundance more of this Unreasonable Strain, flowing from the Curious, Ungovern'd, and Restless Minds of Men. No Man would be used by his Servant as they treat God. He must wait our Leisure, before we will believe, receive, and obey him: His Message is obscure, we don't understand it; he must gratify our Curiosity; we desire to be better satisfied with it before we believe or deliver it; it comes not presently up to Men's Understandings; 'tis too obscurely express'd, we will explain it, and deliver it with more Caution, Clearness and Success, than it is delivered to us. Thus God's Revelation hath been scan'd, and his Precepts examin'd, before Licens'd by his Creature; Man would be Wiser than God; more wary than the Holy Ghost. Our Lord, it should seem, understood not what Kind of Creature Man was, he wanted his Wisdom to admonish him of the Danger; or haply he thought not upon that Corruption, which should befall Mankind in these Latter Ages of the World, which might require the Abilities of Men to supply the Wants and Defects left by the Holy Ghost, in the Wording of the Scripture. — I wrong not this Practice; I render it not more Odious than it is: It is an inexcusable Piece of Presumption, that which debases the External Testimony of God, and draws Men off from that which is Eternal too. It introduces the Traditions of Men, in the Room of God's Records, and setteth up their Judgment and Results for the Rule of Christian Faith, and Canons of Christ's Church. This is one of those Things, that made Rome so hateful, and her Yoke intolerable to our Predecessors: Pretended Deductions from Scripture, put in the Room of Scripture, with a Superfedeas to all Dissent upon never so Just a Ground of Dissatisfaction.*

I beseech you *Protestants*, by the Mercies of GOD, and Love of JESUS CHRIST, ratified to you in his Most Precious Blood, *Flee Rome at Home*; Look to the Enemies of your own House! Have a Care of this Presumption; carry it not too high; lay not Stress, where God has laid none, neither use His Royal Stamp to Authorize your Apprehensions in the Name of his Institutions.

I do not say, that Men are never to express their Minds upon any Place of Scripture to Edification: There is a *Christian Liberty* not to be denied; but never to lay down *Articles of Faith*, which ever ought to be in the *Very Language of Holy Writ*, to avoid Temptation and Strife. You see, how the contrary Method hath been the *Great Make-Bate* in all Ages, and the Imposition

fiction of such Opinion, the Privilege of Hypocrites, but the Snare of many Honest Minds; to be sure the sad Occasion of Feuds and miserable Divisions. It was plainly seen, that by the many Disputes that rose from hence, Men's Wits were confounded with their Matters, Truth was lost, and Brotherhood was destroyed. Thus the Devil acted the Part both of Opponent and Defendant, and managed the Passions of both Parties to his End, which was Discord. And but too many were ready to persuade themselves, from the Miscarriages on both Sides, *That nothing Certain could be concluded about Religion*; for it so fell out, that whilst Men were perpetually wrangling and brawling about some one Opinion of Religion, the most important Points of Faith and Life were little regarded, Unity broken, Amity destroyed, and those Wounds made, that were never closed but with the Extinction of one Party: Not a *Good Samaritan* being to be found to heal and close them. Now it was that a *Godly Man* was distinguish'd from an Ungodly by this, let his Life have been almost what it would, that he seem'd to maintain the Opinions in Vogue, *and to abhor the Doctrine, which, in some One or Two Points, might be reputed Heretical, or Schismatical.*

O that we could but see how many, and how *Great Defeats Satan hath given to the Work of God in the Hearts of Men!* What Desolations he hath made by this one Evil, Controversie; begot of Opinion, and used for it; *and how few have contended for the Faith, as it was once deliver'd to the Saints!* He must be a Man of Brags, that could refrain from Weeping at these Calamities. And truly I must desire to take Leave sometimes to bewail this Broken Condition of *Christendom*, and to bestow my Tears in Secret upon these Common Ruins: And I beseech God Almighty, with a Soul sensibly touch't with the Mischiefs that naturally flow from this Practice, to awaken you to a most speedy and serious Consideration of your present Standing, and Amendment of your Miscarriage in this and all other Points that may concern your Good, and his Glory. Put away Wrath! Away with Clamours! Away with Arrogance and Impatience! Let that Holy Spirit of God, which we in common profess to be the *Christian's Guide*, have the ordering of our Understandings in Spiritual Things, lest Ignorance should mistake, Interest wrest, or Prejudice pervert the Sense of God's Book. For as too many are Ignorant of the Divine Truth through their own Concupiscence, and Vile Affections, that carry them away to the Desire of other Things, and therefore easily mistake about Nice or Obscure Matters; so there are not a few, who come to search the Scriptures with Pre-possess'd Minds, that are sorry to meet with a Contradiction to their own Judgment, instead of being glad to find the Truth, and who use their Wits to rack out another Sense than that which is Genuine; which Sort of Men use the Scripture for it's Authority, and not it's Sense, or Truth.

All this While, the Head is set at Work, not the Heart, and that which Christ most insisted upon, is least concerned in this Sort of Faith and Christianity; and that is, *Keeping His Commandments.* For 'tis Opinion, not Obedience; Notion, and not Regeneration, that such Men pursue. This Kind of Religion leaveth them as bad as it finds them, and worse; for they have something more to be proud of. Here is a *Creed* indeed, but of what? *The Conclusions of Men*, and what to do? To prove they believe in Christ, who, it seems, never made them. It had been happy for the World, that there had been no other *Creeds*, than what He and His Apostles gave and left: And it is not the least Argument against their being needful to *Christian Communion*, that Christ and His Apostles did not think so, who were not wanting to declare the Whole Counsel of God to the Church.

To conclude: If you desire Peace, love Truth, seek Piety, and hate Hypocrisy, lay by all those Things called *Articles of Faith, and Canons of the Church, that are not to be found in express Terms in Scripture, or so plainly Authorized by Scripture, as may, with Ease, be discern'd by every Honest and Conscientious Person.* And in the Room of those numerous and disputed Opinions, made the Bond of External Communion, let some Plain, General and Necessary Truths be laid down in Scripture Terms, and let them be
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few; which leads me to the next Point, and that is FAITH, which is generally mistaken in the very Nature of it.

Sect. 3. Of FAITH, and Mistakes about it.

THE Second Mischief that is amongst us, is the *Misunderstanding of the Nature of FAITH*; whence it comes to pass, that Men take that for Faith, which is not; and sit down in a Security pernicious to their Eternal Happiness. I shall briefly say something of what is not Faith, before I speak of that, which appears to me to be Truly and Scripturally such.

The Faith of our Lord Jesus Christ is not only not believing Men's Opinions and Determinations from the Sacred Text, of which I have so freely deliver'd my self, but it is not merely the Belief even of the Things contain'd in Scripture, to be True: For this the Devils and Hypocrites do, and yet are very *Bad Believers*: They refuse not the Authority of Scripture: The Devil made Use of it to Christ himself; but he would have the explaining and applying of it: And since he could not hinder the Divine Inspiration, if he may but be allow'd the Exposition, he hopes to secure his Kingdom. Since then the Verity and Authority of both History and Doctrine may be believ'd by the *Devil and Hypocrites*, that are false to their own Faith and Knowledge, we cannot without great Injustice to the Faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, which is the Faith of all His Followers, allow, That a meer Belief of the Verity and Authority of the History and Doctrine of Scripture, is that True and Precious Faith, which was the Saint's Victory over the World.

Faith then, in the Sense of the Holy Ghost, is by the Holy Ghost thus defined: viz. *The Evidence of Things not seen and the Substance of Things hoped for*. This is General and runs through all Ages; being received of all Sorts of Christians as a true Definition of Faith: But with leave, I shall express it thus: *True Faith in God is entirely believing and trusting in God, confiding in his Goodness, resigning up to his Will, obeying his Commands, and relying upon his Conduct and Mercies, respecting this Life and that which is to come*. For a Man cannot be said to believe in God, that believes not what he says and requires: And no Man can be said to do that, who does not obey it, and conform to it; for that is believing in God, *to do as he says*. This is in Scripture called the *Gift of God*; and well it may, for it is Supernatural: It crosses the Pride, Confidence and Lust of Man: It grows out of the Seed of Love, sown by God in the Heart, at least *it works by Love*: And this distinguishes it from the Faith of Ill Men and Devils, that though they do believe, they don't *Love God above all*, but something else instead of God, and are full of *Pride, Anger, Cruelty* and all Manner of Wickedness. But this Faith that works by Love, that Divine Love which God plants in the Heart, it draws and inclines Man, and gives him Power to forsake all that displeaseth God: And every such Believer becomes an *Enoch*, Translated, that is, Changed from the Fashion of this World, the Earthly Image, the Corrupt Nature; and is renewed in the Likeness of the Son of God, and *walks with God*. *The Just shall live by Faith*: They have in all Ages liv'd by this Faith; that is, been *sustain'd, supported, preserved*: The Devil within nor the World without could never conquer them. They walked not by Sight, but by Faith, and had Regard to the Eternal Recompence: No Visible Things prevailed with them to depart from the Invisible God, to quench their Love, or slacken their Obedience to him; the great Testimony of their Faith in Him.

This *Holy Faith* excludes no Age of the World; the Just Men, the *Cornelius's* in every Generation have had some Degree of it: It was more especially the Faith of the simpler Ages of the World, such as those in which the *Patriarchs* lived, who having not an outward Law, became a *Law to themselves, and did the Things contained in the Law*; for they be-

Rom. 2. 14.

Heb. 11. 39.

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lieved in God, and, through Faith, *obtained a good Report*. But because that it hath pleased God, in order to Man's Recovery from that grievous Lapſe Diſobedience hath caſt him into, *at ſundry Times and in divers Manners* to appear to the Sons of Men, firſt by his Prophets, and laſt of all by his Son; and that theſe ſeveral Maniſtations have had ſomething peculiar to them, and very remarkable in them, ſo that they claim a Place in our Creed; It will not be amiſs, that we briefly conſider them.

The firſt was that of the Prophets, in which *Moses* preceded, by whom the Law came to the *Jews*, but *Grace* and *Truth* to mankind by *Jeſus Chriſt*. The firſt brought Condemnation, the laſt Salvation; the one Judgment, the other Mercy; which was glad Tidings indeed. The one did fore-run the other, as in Order of Time, ſo in Nature of Diſpenſation: The Law was the Goſpel begun, the Goſpel was the Law fulfilled or finiſht: They cannot be parted.

The *Decalogue* or *Ten Commandments* were little more than what had been known and practiſed before; for it ſeem'd but an Epitome and Tranſcript of the *Law writ in Man's Heart* by the Finger of God: This is conſeſt on all Hands and in all Ages ſince, as the Writings of ancient Gentiles as well as Jews and Chriſtians tell us. This therefore muſt needs be a Part of our Creed; for it relates to that Righteouſneſs which is Indispensible and Immutable: The other Part of their Conſtitution that was peculiar to their Politick, Typical and Mutable State, the Goſpel is either unconcerned in it, or elſe ended it by the *bringing in of a better Hope and a more enduring Subſtance*. But *Grace* and *Truth* came by *Jeſus Chriſt*: *Grace* is oppoſed to the Condemnation of the Law, and *Truth* to Shadows. This is the moſt excellent Diſpenſation; it is ours, and it becomes us to weigh well our Intereſt in it. Take it in other Words of the Holy Ghoſt. *God, who at ſundry Times and in divers Manners ſpake in Times paſt unto the Fathers by the Prophets, hath in theſe laſt Days ſpoken to us by his Son. God ſo loved the World, that (after all the World's Provocations by Omiſſions and Commiſſions) he gave his only begotten Son into the World, that the World through him might be ſaved.*

And here Two Things preſent themſelves to our Conſideration: *Firſt*, the Perſon, who he was? What his Authority? *Secondly*, his Meſſage, his Doctrines, what he taught? Which though never ſo reaſonable in it ſelf, depended very much, in it's Entertainment among the People, upon the Truth of his Miſſion and Authority, that he was no Impoſtor, but came from God, and was the promiſed Meſſiah. This was done two Ways; by Revelation and by Miracles. By Revelation, to ſuch as were as well prepared and inclined, as honeſt *Peter*, the Woman of *Samarita*, and thoſe that were mov'd to believe him from the Authority in which he ſpake, ſo unlike that of the Formal *Scribes*. By Miracles, to thoſe that being blinded by Ignorance or Prejudice, needed to have their Senſes ſtruck with ſuch Supernatural Evidences, from many of whom this Witneſs came, *that he was the Meſſiah, the Chriſt and Son of God.*

In ſine, all was done within the Compaſs of that People, among whom he daily converſed, that was needful to prove he was from God, and had *God's Meſſage* to declare to the World. In ſo much that when ſome of his Diſciples were not ſo firm in their Belief of his Authority, as he deſerved at their Hands, he calls his own Works to prove his Commiſſion and convict them of Incredulity: *If ye will not believe, that the Father is in me, that he doth theſe Works by me; believe me for the very Works ſake*. Thus he argueth with the *Jews*: *Say ye of him the Father hath ſanctified and ſent into the World, thou Blaſphem'eſt; becauſe I ſaid, I am the Son of God? If I do not the Works of my Father, believe me not* (this is reaſonable; he that ſhall Judge the World, offers to be tryed himſelf; he goes on) *But if I do, though ye believe not me, believe the Works, that ye may know and believe, that the Father is in me.* And he laid the Sin of the *Jews* upon this Foot, *viz.* That they reſected him, after he had made Proof of his Divine Miſſion by ſuch extraordinary Works, *As no Men among them all could do:*

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Seſt. 3.
Heb. 1. 1.

John. 1. 17.

Heb. 1. 1.

John 3. 16, 17

John 14. 10,
11.
John 10. 36,
37. 38.

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which, to give them their Due, they do not deny, but shamefully pervert and foolishly abuse, by attributing them to the Power of the Devil. To which Malice and Slander he returned this inconfutable Answer; *A Kingdom divided against it self cannot stand: What! cast out Devils by the Prince of Devils?* 'Tis a Contradiction, and very Madness it self.

I have nothing to do now with *Atheists*, or those that call themselves *Theists*; but such as own themselves *Christians*; and shall therefore keep to my Task, namely; *What of the Christian Dispensation is so Peculiar and Important, as to challenge of Right the Name of Creed or Faith?* I say then, *That the Belief of Jesus of Nazareth to be the Promised Messiah, the Son and Christ of God, come and sent from God to restore and save Mankind,* is the first and was then the *only requisite Article of Faith*, without any large Confessions, or an Heap of Principles or Opinions resolv'd upon after Curious and Tedious Debates by Councils and Synods: And this may be proved both by Example and Doctrine.

It is evident from Example, as in the Case of *Peter*, who for having believed in his Heart and confess'd with his Mouth, *That Jesus was the Christ and Son of God*, obtained that *Signal Blessing*, Mat. 16. This made *Nathaniel a Disciple*; *Rabbi*, said he, *Thou art the Son of God, thou art the King of Israel.* It was the like Confession, that made Amends for *Thomas's* Incredulity, when he was sensibly assured of the Resurrection of *Jesus*, *My Lord and my God!* This was also the Substance of *Martha's* Confession of Faith to *Jesus*, when he said to her, *I am the Resurrection and the Life; he that believeth in me shall never die: believest thou this?* She answer'd, *Yea Lord, I believe, that thou art the Christ the Son of God, which should come into the World?* She answered him not as to that Particular of the Resurrection, but in General, *That he was the Christ, the Messiah, that was to come into the World*, and that sufficed. 'Twas a Confession not unlike to this, that the *Blind Man* made, to whom Christ gave Sight, when *Jesus* said to him, *Dost thou believe on the Son of God?* *Lord*, said he, *I do believe; and he worshipped him.* What shall we say of the Centurion, preferred by Christ himself before any in *Israel*, though a *Gentile*? Or of the Faith of the *Woman and Inhabitants of Samaria*, that he was the *Messiah*? Or of that *Importunate Woman* that cry'd to *Jesus*, *To cast a Devil out of her possess Daughter*, and would not be put off, to whom Christ said, *O Woman, great is thy Faith, be it unto thee even as thou wilt?* To which let me add the Faith of the People, that brought the *Man sick of the Palsy* to Christ, who uncover'd the Roof to let him down to be toucht; the Faith of *Jairus* the Ruler; and of that *Good Woman*, who pressed through the Croud to touch the Hem of Christ's Garment, to whom *Jesus* said, *Be of good Comfort, Daughter, thy Faith has made thee whole*: Also the *Two Blind Men*, that followed him out of the *Ruler's House*, crying, *Thou Son of David, have Mercy on us*; who, when *Jesus* had said, *Believe ye that I am able to do this?* Answer'd, *Yea, Lord*; upon which he touch'd their Eyes and said, *According to your Faith be it unto you*: Also the *Blind Man* near *Jericho*; The *Leprous Samaritan* that Christ cleansed; and that notable Passage of the *Woman* that kiss'd his Feet and anointed his Head; to whom he pronounced this happy Sentence; *Thy Faith hath saved thee, go in Peace.*

I will conclude this with that famous Instance of the *Thief* upon the *Cross*, who neither knew nor had Time to make a large Confession like the Creeds of these Days: but it seems he said enough; *Lord, remember me when thou comest into thy Kingdom.* And *Jesus* said unto him, *Verily, I say unto thee, to Day shalt thou be with me in Paradise.* By which it is easy to learn that 'twas the Heart, not the Mouth; the Sincerity, not the Words, that made the Confession Valid.

Nor was this only, in the Days of *Christ*, the Effect of his *Gracious Dispensation* or peculiar Indulgence, for after-times afford us the like Instances. This was the main Bent of *Peter's Sermon*; and when the *Three Thousand* believed that he whom the *Jews* had crucified, was both *Lord and Christ*

Christ, and repented of their Sins, and gladly received his Word, they are said to have been in a State of Salvation. Thus *Cornelius* and his Household and Kindred, so soon as *Peter* declared *Jesus* to be the Messiah, and that they had believed, the Holy Ghost fell upon them; and they were received into the Christian Communion. But the Story of the Eunuch is very pat to our Purpose: As he rid in his Chariot, he was reading these Words out of the Prophet *Isaiab*, viz. *That he was led as a Sheep to the Slaughter, and like a Lamb dumb before the Shearers, so opened he not his Mouth.* In his Humiliation his Judgment was taken away; and who shall declare his Generation? for his Life is taken from the Earth. *Philip* join'd, to him and ask'd him, *If he understood what he read?* He desir'd *Philip* to interpret the Mind of the Prophet, whether he spoke of himself or another? *Philip* upon the Place preached to him *Jesus*: The Eunuch was so well perswaded by the Apostle, that coming to a Water, he said, *What doth hinder me to be Baptized?* *Philip* answered him, *If thou believest with all thine Heart, thou mayst:* To this the Eunuch reply'd, *I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God.* Upon which he was baptized; and 'tis said, *He went away Rejoycing*; which indeed he might well do, that felt the Comfort of his Faith, the Remission of his Sin and the Joys of the Holy Ghost, which always follow true Faith in Christ.

I will conclude these Examples with a Passage in the *Acts*, of *Paul* at *Thessalonica*; 'tis this: *Paul, as his Manner was, went in unto them, and three Sabbath-days reasoned with them out of the Scriptures; opening and alledging that Christ must needs have suffered and risen again from the Dead; and that this Jesus (said he) whom I preach unto you, is Christ.* And some of them believed and consorted with *Paul* and *Silas*, and of the devout Greeks a great Multitude, and of the Chief Women not a few. Thus we may plainly see, that they were baptiz'd into the Faith of *Jesus*, and not into Numerous Opinions; and that this one Confession, from true Faith in the Heart, was the Ground and Principle of their Church-Fellowship. Then *God's Church* was at Peace; she thrive; there were then no Snares of Words made to catch Men of Conscience with. Then not many Words, but much Integrity; now much Talk, and little Truth: Many Articles, but *O ye of little Faith!*

Nor was this only the Judgment and Practice of that Time out of Condescension to Weakness, and Charity to Ignorance; for both Christ *Jesus* himself and his Apostles (those blessed Messengers of Holy Truth) have doctrinally laid it down, as the Great Test to Christians; that which should distinguish them from Infidels, and justly intitle them to his Discipleship, and Christian Communion one with another. Let us read a little farther: *Then said they to Jesus, what shall we do, that we might work the Works of God?* *Jesus* answered and said to them, *This is the Work of God, that ye Believe on him, whom God hath sent.* Verily, Verily, I say unto you, he that believeth on me, hath Everlasting Life. And upon another Occasion, to the Jews, he said, *For if ye believe not, that I am he, ye shall die in your Sins.* It must follow then, that if they did believe him to be the Messiah, the Anointed of God to Salvation, they should be saved. Most plain is that Answer of the Apostle to the Goaler, when he came trembling to them and said, *Sirs, What must I do to be saved?* Believe (said they) on the Lord *Jesus Christ*, and thou shalt be saved. The Apostle *Paul* confirms this in his Epistle to the Romans, when he says, *If thou shalt confess with thy Mouth, the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thine Heart, that God hath raised him from the Dead, thou shalt be saved.* For with the Heart Man believeth unto Righteousness, and with the Mouth Confession is made unto Salvation: For the Scripture saith, *Whoever believeth on him, shall not be ashamed.* For there is no Difference between the Jew and the Greek; for the same Lord over all is rich unto all, that call upon him. For whoever shall call upon the Name of the Lord, shall be saved. This was the Word of Faith which they preached; and he testify'd, that it was nigh in the Heart, as *Moses* had done before him. And, saith the Apostle *John*, on this Occasion, *Who is*

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Acts 2. 37,...

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Acts 10. 24,...

48.

Acts 8. 27,...

37.

Acts 17. 2. 3;
4.

John 6: 28,

29, 40-47.

Ch. 8. 24.

Acts 16. 30.

31.

Rom. 10. 8,

9, 10, 11, 12, 13.

Deut. 30. 14.

1 John 2. 22,

a Lyar,

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1 Joh. 4. 2. 15

Ch. 5. 1.

a Liar, but he that denieth, that Jesus is the Christ? — Hereby know ye the Spirit of God; every Spirit that confesseth (or every one that in Heart or Spirit confesseth) that Jesus Christ is come in the Flesh, is of God. Again, says he, *Whosoever shall confess, that Jesus is the Son of God, God dwelleth in him, and he in God*: Yet once more he affirms, *Whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Christ, is born of God*. But this is more than an Historical Belief, a true Sound and hearty Perswasion: A Faith that influenceth the whole Man into a suitable Conformity to the Nature, Example and Doctrine of the object of that Faith.

John 20. 31.
31.

I will conclude these Doctrinal Testimonies out of Scripture, with a conclusive Passage the Apostle John useth towards the End of his Evangelical History of Jesus Christ: *And many other Signs truly did Jesus in the Presence of his Disciples, which are not written in this Book; but these are written that ye might believe, that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing ye might have Life in his Name*. In which Place two Things are remarkable; First, That whatever Things are written of Jesus, are written to this End, *that we might believe that Jesus is the Christ*. Secondly, *That those that sincerely believe, shall through him obtain Eternal Life*. Certainly then, if this be true, their Incharity and Presumption must be great who have taken other Measures, and set another Rule of Christianity, than Jesus and his Apostles gave. This sincere Confession contented Christ and his Apostles; but it will not satisfy those that yet pretend to believe them: It was enough then for a Miracle and Salvation too, but it goes for little or nothing now. A Man may sincerely believe this, and be stigmatiz'd for a Schismatick, an Heretick, an Excommunicate: but I may say, as Christ did to the Jews in another Case, *From the Beginning it was not so*.

But here I expect to be assaulted with this Objection: *If this be all that is necessary to be believ'd to Salvation, Of what Use is the rest of Scripture?*

2 Tim. 3. 16,
17.

I Answer, Of Great Use, as the Apostle himself teaches us; *All Scripture is given by Inspiration of God, and is profitable for Doctrine, for Reproof, for Correction, for Instruction in Righteousness, that the Man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnish'd unto all good Works*. It concerns the whole Life and Conversation of a Man; but every Passage in it is not therefore fit to be such an Article of Faith, as upon which Christian-Communion ought or ought not to be maintained. For though it be all equally true, it is not all equally important: There is a great Difference between the Truth and Weight of a Thing. For Example: It is as true that Christ suffered under Pontius Pilate, as that he suffered; and that he was pierced, as that he died; and that he did eat after his Resurrection, as that he rose from the Dead at all; but no Person of common Understanding will conclude an equal Weight or Concernment in these Things, because they are equally true: The Death of Christ was of much greater Value than the Manner of it; his Resurrection, than any Circumstance of his Appearance after he was risen. The Question is not whether all the Truths contain'd in Scripture are not to be believ'd; but whether those Truths are equally Important? And whether the Belief with the Heart and Confession with the Mouth that *Jesus is the Christ and Son of God*, be not as sufficient now to entitle a Man to Communion here and Salvation hereafter; as in those Times? against which nothing can be, of Weight, objected.

If it be said, that this Contradicts the Judgment and Practice of many great and good Men.

I Answer, I can't help that. If they have been tempted, out of their own Curiosity or the Corruption of Times, to depart from the Ancient Paths, the Foot-steps of purest Antiquity and best Examples, let their Pretences have been what they will, it was Presumption: And it was just with God, that Error and Confusion should be the Consequence of those Adventures; nor has it ever fail'd to follow them.

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Lastly, if it be alledg'd, *That this will take in all Parties, yea, that Schismatics and Hereticks will creep in under this General Confession, since few of them will refuse to make it.*

I do say, 'Twould be an Happy Day. What Man, loves God and Christ, seeks Peace and Concord, that would not rejoyce if all our Animosities and Vexations about Matters of Religion were buried in this one Confession of Jesus, the great Author and Lord of the *Christian Religion*, so often lost in pretending to contest for it? View the Parties on Foot in Christendom among those called Protestants, observe their Differences well, and how they are generally maintain'd, and you will tell me that they are rent and divided about their own Comments, Consequences and Conclusions: Not the Text, but the Meaning; and that too, which perhaps is not in it self essential to Salvation, as the Dispute betwixt the *Lutherans and Calvinists*, the *Arminians and Predestinarians*, and the like. Is it not lamentable to think that those who pretend to be Christians, and Reformed ones also, should divide with the Winds and fight, as *pro Aris & Focis*, for such Things, as either are not expressly to be found in Scripture, or if there, yet never appointed or intended by Christ or his Apostles for Articles of Communion. Should they then erect their Communion on another Bottom, or break it for deviating from any other Doctrines than what they in so many Words have deliver'd to us for Necessary?

If we consider the Matter well, I fear it will be found that the Occasion of Disturbance in the Church of Christ hath in most Ages been found to lie on the Side of those who have had the greatest Sway in it. Very pertinent to our present Purpose is that Passage of *J. Hales of Eaton* in his *Traſt concerning Schism*: 'It hath, saith he, been the Common Disease of Christians from the Beginning, not to content themselves with that Measure of Faith, which God and Scriptures have expressly afforded us; but out of a Vain Desire to know more than is Revealed, they have attempted to discuss Things, of which we can have no Light neither from Reason nor Revelation. Neither have they rested here, but upon Preſence of Church-Authority, which is NONE, or Tradition, which for the most Part is but FIGMENT, they have peremptorily concluded and confidently imposed upon others a Necessity of Entertaining Conclusions of that Nature; and to strengthen themselves have broken out into Divisions and Factions, opposing Man to Man, Synod to Synod, till the Peace of the Church vanished without all Possibility of Recall. Hence arose those Ancient and many Separations amongst *Christians, Arianism, Eutychianism, Nestorianism, Photinianism, Sabellianism*, and many more both Ancient and in our Time.

Traſt of
Schism, (printed
with other
Things) page
212, 213.

And as he hath told us one great Occasion of the Disease, so he offers what follows for the Cure: 'And were Liturgies (says he) and Publick Forms of Service so framed, as that they admitted not of particular and private Fancies, but contained only such Things, as in which all Christians do agree, Schisms on Opinion were utterly vanished: Whereas to load our Publick Forms with the Private Fancies upon which we differ, is the most sovereign Way to perpetuate Schism unto the World's End.— Remove from them, whatsoever is scandalous to any Party, and leave nothing, but what all agree on; and the Event shall be that the Publick Service and Honour of God shall no ways suffer. For to charge Churches and Liturgies with Things unnecessary, was the First Beginning of all Superſtition.—If the spiritual Guides and Fathers of the Church would be a little sparing of incumbering Churches with Superfluities, and not over-rigid, either in reviving obsolete Customs, or imposing *New, there were far less Danger of Schism or Superſtition*—Mean while wheresoever false or suspected Opinions are made a Piece of the Church *Liturgy*, he that separates is not a *Schismatick*: For it is alike Unlawful to make Profession of known or suspected Falshoods, as to put in Practice Unlawful or Suspected Actions. He farther tells us in his Sermon of Dealing with Erring Christians, 'That it is the Unity of the Spirit in the Bond

p. 215, 216,
217, 218.

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J. Hales,
Golden Re-
mains. p. 49,
50.

of Peace, and not the Identity (or Oneness) of Conceit, which the Holy Ghost requires at the Hands of Christians — ‘ A better Way my Con-
ceit cannot reach unto, than that we should be willing to think, that
these Things, which with some Shew of Probability we deduce from
Scripture, are at the best but our Opinions. For this Peremptory Man-
ner of setting down our Conclusions under this high Commanding Form
of Necessary Truths, is generally one of the greatest Causes, which keeps
the Churches this Day so far asunder; when as a Gracious Receiving of
each other by mutual Forbearance, in this Kind, might peradventure, in
Time, bring them nearer together.

Thus much of this Great Man concerning Schism, the Cause and Cure
of it? And for the Notion of *Hereticks* he will help us altogether as well:
For though they are generally taken for such who err in Judgment about
Doctrines and Articles of Faith, yet if this Man may have any Credit,
and perhaps none of his Profession has deserv'd more, he tells us, that
Heresie is an Act of the Will, not of Reason, and is indeed a Lye, not a
Mistake: else (says he) how could that known Speech of *Austin* go for
true, *Errare possum, Hereticus esse nolo*: I may err, but I am unwilling
to be an Heretick. And indeed this is no other than what Holy Scripture
teacheth; *A Man that is an Heretick, after the first and second Admonition,*
reject; knowing, that he that is such, is subverted and sinneth; being Con-
demned of Himself. Which is as much as to say, that no Body is an Here-
tick, but he that gives the Lye to his own Conscience and is Self-condem-
ned: Which is not the Case of Men merely mistaken, or who only err in
Judgment. And therefore the Term of Hereticks is as Untruly as Unchari-
tably flung upon those that conscientiously dissent, either in Point of Dis-
cipline or Doctrine, from any Society of *Christians*; and it is not hard to ob-
serve that those who have most merited that Character, have most liberal-
ly bestow'd it.

But to shew you that neither true *Schismatick*, who is *One that unneces-*
sarily and unwarrantably separates from that Part of the Visible Church of
which he was once a Member, nor true *Heretick* who is a *Willful Subverter*
of True or an Introducer of false Doctrines, a Self-condemned Person, can
ever shelter himself under this Common Confession of Christianity, sincere-
ly made: Let us consider, that who-ever so declares Jesus to be the Messiah
and Anointed Saviour of God to Men, must be supposed to believe *all that*
of him, with Respect to which he is so called. Now that for which he is so
denominated, is that which God sent him to do: The Reason and End of
his coming he could best tell, who hath told us thus; *I am come, that ye*
may have Life, and that ye may have it more abundantly. The World was
dead in Trespasses and Sins, the Guilt and Defilement of Transgression had
kill'd the Soul as to Spiritual Life and Motion; and from under this power-
ful Death he came to redeem the Soul unto Life: In short, to restore Man
from that fearful Degeneracy his Disobedience to God had reduced him unto.

The Way he took to accomplish this Blessed Work was First, To preach
Repentance and the Approach of the Kingdom of God, which is his Rule
and Authority in the Hearts of Men, and that brings to the Second Thing
to be believed, namely.—

What he Taught?

First, His Doctrine led Men to *Repentance*: *Repent, for the Kingdom of*
God is at Hand. No Man could receive the Kingdom of God, whilst he
lived under the Kingdom and Power of Satan: so that to Repent is not on-
ly to bring their Deeds to the Light, which Christ exhorteth Men to; but
to forsake that upon Examination, which appears to be Evil. Wherefore
I conclude, that such as have not been acquainted with this Holy Repen-
tance, do not sincerely believe, neither can rightly confess Jesus to be the
Christ the Son of God, the Saviour of the World. Therefore saith the
Apostle, *Let him that nameth the Name of the Lord, depart from Iniquity;*
plainly implying that those do rather Prophane than Confess the Name of
the Lord, who do not Depart from their Iniquities. And, saith the Apo-
stle in another Place, *No Man can call Jesus Lord, but by the Holy Ghost:*
Which

Mark 1. 14.
John 3. 20, 21

Which opens to us the Nature of the True Confession we ought to make, and which, being truly made in a Scripture Sense, makes us Christians in a right Christian Acceptation; to wit, *That the True Confession of Jesus to be both Lord and Christ, is from such a Belief in the Heart as is accompany'd with the embracing and praising of his Holy Doctrine: such a Faith is the Work of the Holy Ghost*, and those that do not so Confess him or call upon him, that is, by Virtue of the overshadowing of this Divine Spirit and Power, are not truly Christians, true Worshipers, or Believers and Disciples of our Lord Jesus.

Furthermore, they that receive Christ receive his Kingdom, his Power and Authority in their Souls; whereby the strong Man that kept the House becomes bound, and his Goods spoil'd by this stronger Man, the *Lord's Christ*; who is come from Heaven to dwell in us and be the Hope of our Glory; for so he was preached to the Gentiles. This Kingdom, the Apostle tells us, stands in Righteousness, Peace and Joy in the Holy Ghost; and Christ tells us, where it is to be set up? *The Kingdom of God is within you*, saith the King himself; and where should the King be, but in his own Kingdom? They are blessed that feel him to Rule, and that live under the Swaying of his Righteous Scepter: for when this *Righteous One Rules the Earth, the Sons of Men rejoice*.

So that no Man can truly Confess and rightly believe Jesus to be the Christ and Son of God, who does not receive him to be his King to rule his Heart and Affections. For can a Man be said to believe in one that he will not receive? but *To as many as received Christ of old, gave he Power to become the Sons of God; which were born, not of Blood, nor of the Will of the Flesh, nor of the Will of Man, but of God*. What is this Will of God? Paul answers the Question: *The Will of God is your Sanctification*; for this Christ came into the World. So that those that believe and receive Christ, he is made to them *Righteousness, Sanctification and Redemption*; that is, he has saved them from their Sins, both Guilt and Defilement, and sanctified them from their Corruptions: They live now by the Grace of God, that teaches them to be of a *Sober, Righteous, Godlike Life*. *Ye shall know them by their Fruits*, saith Christ of the *Pharisees*; so shall Men know them, that sincerely believe and confess Christ, by their sanctified Manners and blameless *Conversations*. And Wo from the true and just God to them that make other Distinctions! for God has made no other; there will be but Goats and Sheep at the Last Day; Holy and Unholy; Just and Unjust. Therefore let that be our Distinction, which ever was and will be God's Distinction; for all other Measures are the Effects of the Passions and Presumptions of Men. But because it may be expected, that I should fix upon some few General Heads of Christian Doctrine from the Mouth of Christ and his Apostles, as requisite to *Christian Communion*, I should proceed to mention what Christ eminently taught.

He that reads his Sermon upon the Mount will find in the Entrance, how many States and Conditions Christ Blessed; *The Poor in Spirit, The Mourners, The Meek, They that hunger after Righteousness; The Merciful, The Pure in Heart, and the Peace-makers*; which indeed comprehend the whole of Christianity.

By *Mourners* we understand true Penitents, Men of Unfeigned Repentance; which leads them not only to confess but forsake their Sins. This *Godly Sorrow* Strips Men of all false Rests and Comforts, makes them *Poor in Spirit, Empty* of themselves, wanting the Comfort of the *Light, Life and Power of Jesus* to support and sustain them; yet as they stedfastly walk in that Measure they have, the *Atonement* of the Blood is felt, and it cleanseeth them from all Unrighteousness, which makes them Pure in Heart. And in this Condition no Food will serve their Turn but Righteousness; after this they Hunger and Thirst more than for the Bread that perisheth. They are full of *Meekness and Mercy, Making Peace and Promoting Concord* where-ever they come: For being themselves reconciled to God, they endeavour to reconcile all Men unto God and one unto another:

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Luke 17. 20,
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John 1. 12. 13.

1 Cor. 1. 30.

Mat. 5.

John 1. 7.

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PART. II.

SECT. 3.

1 Cor. 2. 3.

Submitting all Worldly Considerations to this incomparable Peace, that passeth all human Understanding.

In short, let us bring it Home to our Consciences, and deal faithfully with our selves. Do we know this *Holy Mourning*? This *Godly Sorrow*? Are we *Poor in Spirit* indeed? Not Self-conceited but *Humble, Meek and Lowly in Heart*, like him that bid us do so? Do we *Hunger after the Kingdom of God and Righteousness of it*? And are our *Hearts* purified by the Precious Faith of the Son of God that is a working, cleansing and conquering Faith? In fine, Are we *Merciful*? *Tender Hearted*? *Lovers of Peace more than Lovers of our selves*? *Persecuted, rather than Persecutors*? *Such as receive Stripes for Christ's Sake, and not those that beat our Fellow-Servants*? No Man has True Faith in Christ Jesus, that is not acquainted with these Blessed Qualifications. This is Christ's Doctrine; and to believe in him, is to obey it, and be like him.

Mat. 5. 20.

The great Intention of this Sermon, is to press People to a more Excellent Righteousness than that of the Scribes and Pharisees. For, saith Jesus to the Multitude, *Except your Righteousness shall exceed the Righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no Case enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.*

Vers. 22.

(1.) He taught, not only that *Killing*, but *Anger* without a very Just Cause, is Unlawful to his Disciples, his Followers.

Vers. 23. 24. 25.

(2.) He presses *Concord* above *Devotion*; *Mercy* before *Sacrifice*: He that will not use his utmost Endeavour to be reconciled to his Brother, shall find no Place for his Prayers with him that can only make them Effectual. *And every Man is his Brother.*

Vers. 28, 29, 30.

(3.) He not only forbids *Adultery*, which the Law forbids, but *Lust*. The *Ax of his Doctrine is laid to the Root of the Tree*; it reaches to the First Seeds of Things, to the innermost and most hidden Conceptions of the Mind because he has brought his Light near, and searches the innermost Parts of the Belly with his Divine Candle.

Vers. 33. 34.

(4.) From keeping and performing Legal Vows, to *Not Swearing at all*: And indeed, what Use can there be of any Swearing, where Men's *Yea is Yea*, and their *Nay, Nay*. There their Speech, their Answers, on all Occasions, should be, at the most, but *Yea, Yea*; or *Nay, Nay*.

Vers. 39. 40.

(5.) He taught not to resist Evil, but to suffer Loss, rather than enter into Contention: His Divine Wisdom did fore-see how much easier it would be to overcome the Violent Passions of Men by Patience, than Controversie. And he that justly considers the Unruliness of some Men's Dispositions, their Heats and Prejudices, will find, that it is not always a Real Injury, or Loss, but *some Passion, Revenge, or base Interest*, that puts them upon Clamours, and Suits of Law.

Vers. 34.

(6.) He taught us the highest Complacency and Charity: *If any Man compel thee to go a Mile, go with him Twain*. Be of an easie and ready Mind to *Do Good*; to all *Friendly Offices* be easily perswaded; and therein rather exceed, than fall short of any one's Entreaty, or Necessity.

Vers. 42.

(7.) He taught as *Great Liberality and Bounty*, *To give to him that asks, and from him that would borrow, not to turn away*. In short, to be Stewards of our *External Substance for the Good of Mankind*, according to our respective Abilities; not grudging, knowing whose it is, nor disbelieving, as knowing him who is both Able and Bountiful.

Vers. 43, 44, 45.

(8.) He advances the Doctrine of Loving Friends, to the Degree of Loving Enemies. *Ye have heard, said Jesus, that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy Neighbour, and shalt hate thine Enemy; but I say unto you, Love your Enemies, bless them that Curse you, do Good to them that hate you, and pray for them that despitefully use you, and persecute you*. Surely then, where no Anger dwells, no Revenge can grow; and if we must *Love Enemies*, there is no Man left to be hated. This is the Doctrine of that Jesus that laid down his Life for all; and this is the End for which he preached it, *That (says he) ye may be the Children of your Father which is in Heaven; for he maketh his Sun to Rise on the Evil and the Good, and sendeth Rain on*

the Just and on the Unjust. It is as much as if Christ had said, No Man can be like God, who does not Love his Enemies, and cannot Do Good to All. Consequently, He that does Love Enemies, and is ready to Do Good unto All, he is like God the Father that is in Heaven, who is Love.

(9.) Christ teaches us to avoid Ostentation in our Charity: *Take Heed that ye do not your Alms before Men, to be seen of them.*

(10.) He teaches us the Duty of Prayer, and what: *Not in the Corners of the Street, nor in the Synagogues to be seen of Men; but in the Closet, in the Secret of the Heart, betwixt God and the Soul. O Heavenly Precepts! He knew our Natures, our Weakness, and how to meet with it, and mend it. A Blessed Physician indeed! Let us receive Him, for He is sure, and He is Free.*

(11.) He forbids Hoarding, and Laying up of Money in Bank; but presses *Our Treasuring up Wealth in Heaven*; and the Reason is this, *That the One is Corruptible, and the other is Incorruptible.*

(12.) He teaches Dependence upon the Providence of God; calling the Distrustful, *O ye of Little of Faith. Which of you (says he) by taking Thought, can add One Cubit to his Stature? Therefore take no Thought, saying, What shall we Eat, or what shall we Drink, or wherewith shall we be Clothed? For after all these Things 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 to you.*

(13.) He sets up a Discrimination or Distinction between False and True Prophets; those that are his Disciples, from Counterfeits. *Ye shall know them,* said Christ, *by their Fruits: Do Men gather Grapes of Thorns, or Figs of Thistles? Even so every Good Tree bringeth forth Good Fruit, but a Corrupt Tree bringeth forth Evil Fruit. A Good Tree cannot bring forth Evil Fruit, neither can a Corrupt Tree bring forth Good Fruit: Wherefore by their Fruits ye shall know them.* This was the Distinction given by Christ to His Followers; the Tree was not accounted a Good Tree by the Leaves, but the Fruits; not by a meer Opinion, but Holy Living. The Faith in that Day, was an Entire Resignation and Dependence upon God, and not a Subscription to Verbal Propositions and Articles, though never so True: That was the Work of After-times, more Corrupt and Superstitious Ages, that laid more Strefs upon Consent, ay, the very Show of it, than Holiness, without which no Man shall ever see the Lord. But —

(14.) Lastly, Christ preaches the General Judgment. *Many will say to me in that Day, [What Day? the Last Day, or Day of Account, and Final Reckoning with Mankind:] Lord, Lord, have we not Prophesied in thy Name, and in thy Name Cast out Devils, and done many Wonderful Works? And then will I profess unto them, I never knew you, Depart from me, ye that work Iniquity. Not every one that saith, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven; but he that doth the Will of my Father which is in Heaven. Therefore whosoever heareth these Sayings of mine, and doth them, I will liken him unto a Wise Man, which built his House upon a Rock, and the Rain descended, and the Floods came, and the Winds blew, and beat upon that House, and it fell not, for it was builded upon a Rock. And every one that heareth these Sayings of mine, and doth them not, shall be likened unto a foolish Man, which built his House upon the Sand: And the Rain descended, and the Floods came, and the Winds blew, and beat upon that House, and it fell, and great was the Fall of it. And it came to pass, when Jesus had ended these Sayings, the People were astonished at his Doctrine; for he taught them as one having Authority, and not as the Scribes.*

By all which it is most plain, that as Christ is the Rock, on which True Christians build, so none can be said truly to build upon this Rock, but those that keep his Sayings, that do his Commandments, that obey his Doctrine. Wherefore that Faith of Jesus to be the Son and Christ of God, must be such a Faith, as does the Will of the Heavenly Father, and keepeth these Sayings of Christ.

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Part II.

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1 John 4. 8.

Mat. 6. 1.

Vers. 5. 6.

Vers. 19. 20.

Vers. 25. to the End.

Mat. 7. 15,
16, 17, 18,
19, 20.

Vers. 21. to the End.

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Mat. 7. 12.

Mat. 22. 37.

38, 39.

There are Two Places, in which Christ seems to sum up his blessed Doctrine : One is this, *Therefore all Things, whatsoever ye would that Men should do to you, do ye even so to them ; for this is the Law and the Prophets ;* Which (by the Way) Christ came not to destroy, but to fulfil. But the other Passage seems to be more full, the first relating only to our Dealings with Men ; this Second Passage comprehending our Duty both to God and Men, viz. *Thou shalt Love the Lord thy God with all thy Heart and with all thy Soul, and with all thy Mind ; this is the first and great Commandment : and the second is like unto it, Thou shalt love thy Neighbour as thy self. On these two Commandments hang all the Law and the Prophets.*

John 13. 34,

35.

John 15, 10,

12, 14, 17.

John 14. 21.

This is the Sum and Perfection of the Christian Religion, the great Commandment of Christ, and the certain Token of Discipleship, *A new Commandment (said Christ) I give unto you, that ye Love one another ; as I have loved you, that ye also love one another : By this shall all Men know, that ye are my Disciples, if ye have love one to another.* Again Christ speaks to his Disciples ; *If ye keep my Commandments, ye shall abide in my Love, even as I have kept my Father's Commandments, and abide in his Love : And this is my Commandment, that ye Love one another as I have loved you.* Yea, once more : *Ye are my Friends, if ye do, whatsoever I command you, that you Love one another. He that hath my Commandments and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me, and he that loveth me, shall be loved of my Father, and I will love him and will manifest my self to him : but he that loveth me not, keepeth not my Sayings.* So that only those are Friends and Disciples of Christ Jesus that do his Sayings and keep his Commandments ; and the Great Commandment of all is Love ; for upon this one Commandment do all the rest depend.

1 John 4, 16.

John 15. 12.

13, 14.

Heb. 10.

And indeed the Reason is very obvious, since he that loves God above all, will leave all for God : Not one of his Commandments shall be slighted : And he that loves his Neighbour will much more love the *Household of Faith*. Well may such be *True Christians*, when their Faith in Christ works by Love, by the Power of this Divine Power : He that dwells in this Love, dwells in God, (if John say True) for he is Love. And in this he recommended his Love unto us, *that he sent his Only Begotten Son, — that whatsoever believeth in him, should not perish, but have Everlasting Life.* Also herein did Christ manifest his Love, in laying down his Life for us. This is my Commandment, said Christ, *that ye Love one another, as I have loved you ; and greater Love hath no Man than this, that a Man lay down his Life for his Friends ; ye are my Friends, if ye do whatsoever I command you.* Indeed he gave his Life for the World, and offered up One Common Sacrifice for Mankind : And by this One Offering up of himself, once for all, he hath for ever perfected, that is, Quitted and discharged, and taken into Favour, them that are sanctified ; who have received the Spirit of Grace and Sanctification in their Hearts ; for such as resist it, receive not the Benefit of that Sacrifice, but Damnation to themselves.

Rom. 3. 25,

26, 27.

This Holy Offering up of Himself by the Eternal Spirit, is a great Part of His *Messiahship* ; for therein he hath both confirmed His Blessed Message of Remission of Sins, and Life Everlasting, to as many as truly believe in His Name, and hath given Himself a Propitiation for all that have sinned, and thereby come short of the Glory of God : Inasmuch that God is said by the Apostle Paul, *to be Just, and the Justifier of him which believeth in Jesus, whom God hath set forth to be a Propitiation, through Faith in his Blood, to declare his Righteousness for the Remission of Sins that are past, through the Forbearance of God.*

1 Tim. 2. 5, 6.

1 John 2. 1, 2.

Unto which I shall join His *Mediatorship or Advocacy*, link'd together both by the Apostle of the Gentiles, and the Beloved Disciple John : The first in these Words ; *For there is One God, and One Mediator between God and Men, the Man Christ Jesus, who gave himself a Ransom for all, to be Testified in due Time.* The Apostle John expresseth it thus : *My little Children, these Things write I unto you, that you Sin not ; and if any Man sineth, we have an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the Righteous ; he*
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is the Propitiation for our Sins, and not for ours only, but also for the Sins of the whole World. So that to be brief, the Christian Creed, so far as it is Declaratory, lies eminently in a Confession of these Particulars: Of the Divine Authority of the New, as well of the Old Testament Writings, and particularly of these Great, General, and Obvious Truths therein expressed, to wit, Of God, and Christ, his Miracles, Doctrine, Death, Resurrection, Advocateship or Mediation, the Gift of his Light, Spirit or Grace: Of Faith, and Repentance from Dead Works unto Remission of Sins, keeping his Commandments, and lastly, Of Eternal Recompence.—Less, once, than all this, would have done; and it does not shew the Age more Christian, but more Curious, indeed more *Infidel*, to be sure more Captious and Froward, *That there is this Stir made about External Creeds of Communion*: For Distrust of Brethren, and Incredulity among Christians, are no small Signs of their Decay of Faith towards God: *From the Beginning it was not so*.

But it may be here objected, *How shall we know that such a Declaration of Faith is Sincere?* I answer, *By recurring to that Evidence which God shall give us*. They that can Try Spirits under the Most Sheep-like-Clothing, have the most immediate and certain Proof, and such an One there is by the Saviour and Relish the Spirit of God gives, to them that have it, of the Spirits of Men: But let it suffice, that Christ hath told us, *By their Fruits ye shall know them*. If any Man, says Christ, *will come after me, let him take up his Cross and follow me*: And in another Place he tells us thus: *My Sheep hear my Voice, and I know them, and they follow me*; that is, they are led by my Spirit, they live my Life, they obey my Doctrine, they are of my own Nature. And the Apostle Peter assures us, *That True Faith purifies the Heart, and no Impurity can flow from a Pure Heart*. You may know this Faith by that Way, by which Abraham's Faith was known to be True, to wit, Obedience. He believed God, that is, He obeyed God; he submitted to the Will of God, and relied upon his Goodness: As if he had said, and he said it doubtless to himself, *He that gave me my Son by a Miracle, can work another to save him: To God all Things are possible*. It is called by the Apostle Paul, *The Spirit of Faith*; something more near and inward, than any External Articles and Declaration of Faith: That from whence all True Confessions and Good Works came; which made the Apostle Paul thus to say, *We give Thanks to God always for you all, making Mention of you in our Prayers, remembering without ceasing, your Work of Faith*.

'Twas this true Faith, that brings forth Works of Righteousness, by which Abel offered to God, Enoch was translated, Noah was saved. It is said of him, that he became the Heir of the Righteousness which is by Faith. By this Faith Abraham left his own Country, and obeyed the Voice of God. By Faith Moses was preserved from his Childhood; and when he came to Years, refused to be called the Son of Pharaoh's Daughter; By Faith he forsook Egypt, and passed the Red Sea. By Faith the Walls of Jericho fell down, and Rahab was saved. By Faith Gideon, Barak, Sampson, Jephtha, David, Samuel, and the Prophets, subdued Kingdoms, wrought Righteousness, obtained Promises, stopped the Mouths of Lyons, quenched the Violence of Fire, escaped the Edge of the Sword, with much more, too large to be utter'd here.

This is that Faith, which the Apostle James magnifies against all false Faiths: Faith (says he) *if it has not Works, is dead*. A Man may say, *Thou hast Faith, and I have Works; shew me thy Faith without thy Works, and I will shew thee my Faith by my Works*. And as if he had fore-seen the Answer made by the Men of Creeds and Articles, he speaks on this wise; *Thou believest that there is one God, thou dost well; the Devils also believe and tremble. But wilt thou know, O vain Man, that Faith without Works, is dead? Was not Abraham our Father, justified by Works, when he had offered Isaac his Son upon the Altar? Seest thou how Faith wrought with his Works? and by Works was Faith made perfect*.—And he was called the Friend of God. Very notable and informing is that Expression of his, *The Devils also believe and tremble*; and as if he had said, the Devil believes

1 John 4.

Mat. 16. 24.

John 10. 27.

Acts 15. 9.

Rom. 4.

2 Cor. 4. 13.

1 Thes. 1. 2, 3.

Heb. 11.

Jam. 2. 17, 18,
19, 20, 21, 22,
23, 24.

169.179 as well as you, and trembles too, which is more. This shows there is a Faith that is not the true Faith, and that not with Relation to the Matters believed, but the Spirit of the Mind in believing; For the Devils believe the Truth, literally, but their Faith works not by Love, no more than their Knowledge by Obedience, and therefore it does them no Good, and is not the true Faith. O that Christendom would lay this very one Thing to Heart! But I must proceed.

2 Pet. 1. 5. The Exhortation of the Apostle Peter is a farther and plain Discrimination of true Faith; And besides this, giving all Diligence, add to your Faith Virtue, and 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 ye shall neither be barren nor unfruitful, in the Knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ. But he that lacketh these Things is blind, and cannot see far off, and hath forgotten that he was purged from his old Sins: As if he had said, they have forgot where they begun, that think they can be Christians without a Life of Holiness.

I will seal up these Scripture-Testimonies of Faith, with that Account which is given us by the Apostle John, For whatsoever is born of God, overcometh the World: And this is the Victory, that overcometh the World, even our Faith. Who is he that overcometh the World, but he that believeth that Jesus is the Son of God? So that the Belief in the Son of God, must have this Evidence to prove it a true Belief in God's Account, that by it Men are born of God and overcome the World: Wherefore their Faith is false whom the World overcomes: I am not of this World, saith Christ Jesus; neither can that Faith be, that is rightly called the Faith of the Son of God.

There are three Passages left us upon Record by this Beloved Disciple of Jesus of great Weight and Importance to us: When he had discoursed of the Propitiation and Advocateship of Christ, he does immediately add; And hereby do we know, that we know him, if we keep his Commandments. Hethat faith, I know him, and keepeth not his Commandments, is a Liar and the Truth is not in him. But whoso keepeth his Word, in him verily is the Love of God perfected: Hereby know we, that we are in him. He that faith, he abideth in him, ought himself also so to walk, even as he walked.

The Second Passage very pertinent to this Matter, is in the next Chapter; My little Children, let us not love in Word, neither in Tongue, but in Deed and in Truth. And hereby we know that we are of the Truth, and shall assure our Hearts before him: For if our Heart condemn us, God is greater than our Heart, and knoweth all Things. Beloved; if our Heart condemn us not, then have we Confidence towards God: And whatsoever we ask, we receive of him, because we keep his Commandments, and do those Things that are pleasing in his Sight. And this is his Commandment, that we should believe on the Name of his Son Jesus Christ, and love one another, as he gave us Commandment.

The Third and last Passage, which I shall mention on this Account, is in his fourth Chapter of the same Epistle, viz. And we have seen and do testify, that the Father sent the Son, to be the Saviour of the World. Whosoever shall confess that Jesus is the Son of God, God dwelleth in him, and he in God. And we have known and believed the Love God hath to us. God is Love; and he that dwelleth in Love, dwelleth in God, and God in him. Herein our Love is made perfect, that we may have Boldness in the Day of Judgment, because, as he is, so are we in this World. So that keeping God's Word, and Commandments, and our Consciences from accusing us, and our being like to Christ in this World, is our loving of God as we ought to love him.

These are the Holy Fruits of all those that love God, and believe in Christ, that are the Family of the Faithful, regenerated and redeemed from the Earth: Where-ever two or three of them, are met together, Christ is in the Midst of them; they neither ask nor hope in Vain. With this Character

let us take a View of all Persons and Societies of Christians throughout the World, not forgetting our selves: *Let us hereby try their Faith and Religion, and our own; if it be of God the Father, it is Pure and Undeiled; it leads them that have it, to Visit the Fatherless and Widows in their Affliction, and to keep themselves Unspotted from the World.* Is this our Cafe? O that it were so!

If it be objected, *Which Way shall we obtain this like Precious Faith?* I answer, *You must take diligent Heed to the Light and Grace that come by Jesus; that Candle of the Lord which he has set up in our Souls: We must bring our Deeds to this Light, and see if they be wrought in God or no? For this gives us to discern betwixt the Precious and the Vile; the one gives Joy, the other brings a Load of Guilt upon the Soul.* Do we not know, *That we do the Things we ought not; and that we leave undone the Things we ought to do.* This, alas! will be our Judgment one Day, the Last, the Terrible Day: For therefore Men are Condemnable, because they know.

Those, therefore, that would obtain this *Precious Faith*, that overcomes the World, must embrace the *Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ*, by which this Faith is begotten; and they, who believe not in this Grace, nor receive it in the Love of it, nor give themselves up to be taught and led by it, can never be said truly to believe in him, from whom it comes, any more than the Jews may be said, *To believe in God, when they rejected Him that came from God, His Beloved Son.* He that denies the Measure; can never own or receive the *Fulness.* John bears Record, that he was *full of Grace and Truth, and that of his Fulness they received, and Grace for Grace: For the Law was given by Moses, but Grace and Truth came by Jesus Christ:* So that 'tis utterly impossible for a Man, *to believe in Christ, and not to be taught and led by the Grace that comes from him, and by him.*

'Tis a common Saying of People in these Days, *We are not under the Law, but under Grace;* who are in Truth under *Sin and the Law of Death*, and Subjects to the *Prince of the Power of the Air; who reigns in the Hearts of the Children of Disobedience;* and their Lives show it: No, those are under *Grace*, that live the holy Life of *Grace.* For the *Grace of God, that bringeth Salvation, saith the Apostle Paul, hath appeared unto all Men, teaching us, that denying Ungodliness and the Worldly Lusts, we should live Soberly, Righteously, and Godly in this present World:* These are the People that believe in Christ, unto the Saving of the Soul. This is that blessed *Light* which shines in the Hearts of those that believe, and gives the *Knowledge of the Glory of God in the Face of Jesus Christ.* The Ancients walkt in it, and found Eternal Life by it. *I am the Light of the World,* said Christ, *he that follows me, shall not walk in Darkness, but have the Light of Life.* The Saints armed themselves with it, against the *Fiery Darts of Satan*, and by the *Virtue and Power* that is in it, were enabled to overcome Temptation. And this will be the *Condemnation of Disobedient Men*, that they see, but shut their Eyes; they know the *Light*, but rebel against it. Christ, by his holy *Light* in the *Conscience*, shews Men their Danger, warns them of it, before it comes upon them: No Man on Earth can plead either *Ignorance or Surprise.*

'Tis true, the *Candle of the Wicked is often put out;* But that implies, It is often lighted, and that Men Sin against *Conviction, against Sight and Knowledge:* It is wilful, and that's dangerous. No Faith in *Disobedience* will do; no Faith without *Holy Fruits, Holy Works*, will save. Men must be born again if ever they will enter into the Kingdom of God: there is no Fellowship between *Christ and Belial:* People must part with their *Vile Affections and Inordinate Desires*, or they are no Company for Christ; they have no Share in him. What Part can *Pride* have in *Humility*, *Wrath* in *Meekness*, *Lust* in *Self-denial*, *Revenge* in *Forgiveness?* To pretend to believe in Christ, and not to be like him, is a Contradiction. *This is the Message (said the Beloved Disciple) which we have heard of him, and declare unto you, that God is Light; and in him is no Darkness at all: If we say, that we have Fellowship with him, and walk in Darkness, we Lye and do not*

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Sect. 3.

Jam. 1. 27.

John 3. 20, 21.

John 1. 14,
16, 17.

2 Tit. 11. 12.

John 8. 12.

Rom. 13. 12,
13, 14.

Job 21. 17:

John 3. 3.
2 Cor. 6. 14.
15.1 John 1. 5,
6, 7, 8, 9.

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Isaiah 44. 20.

the Truth. The Truth is, all such Fairb and Profession are a Lye, and that in the Right Hand, a Cheat upon a Man's self. But, says he, if we walk in the Light as God is in the Light, we have Fellowship one with another, and the Blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all Sin. If we say, that we have no Sin, [to be cleansed from] we deceive our selves, and the Truth is not in us: But if we confess our Sins, he is Faithful and Just to forgive us our Sins, and to cleanse us from all Unrighteousness,

Mark 3. 32,
33, 34, 35.

Mat. 19. 28,
29.

To conclude, Christ Jesus, the Son of God and Saviour of the World, is *Holy, Harmless, and Undeiled*, and so must his Followers be: He is no Head of a Corrupt Body, nor Master of Rebellious Servants: He that has not the *Wedding Garment*, must be cast out: The Branch, that brings not forth Fruit, will be cut off. But those that truly believe in his Name, walk in his Light, and are taught by his Grace to renounce the *Lusts of the Eye, the Lusts of the Flesh, and Pride of Life*; the unjust Profits, Pleasures and Poms of the World, and chuse to follow him in his own Holy Way of Resignation and Re-generation, the same is his Brother, his Sister and his Mother. And whatever Losses they may here sustain for his Name's Sake, they have the Promise of an *Hundred Fold* in this Life and the Inheritance of that which is Eternal.

And I do fervently beseech Almighty God, the Giver of all Saving Faith, mercifully to vouchsafe, more and more, to beget a Serious Inquiry in us, What that Faith is which we have? Who is the Author of it? And what Fruits it hath brought forth? That so we may not profane the Name of God by a *Vain Profession* of it, nor abuse our selves unto *Eternal Perdition*; But that we may endeavour, by God's Assistance, to approve our selves such Believers as sincerely fear God, love Righteousness, and hate every Evil Way, as becomes the Redeemed of God by the Precious Blood of his Son. Since therefore we are not our own, but the Lord's, who hath bought us with that Great Price, let us glorifie him in our Bodies, in our Souls, and in our Spirits, which are his: Then shall we be Children of *Abraham*, indeed, Heirs of the Promises, Partakers of that Resurrection and Life, that Immortality and Glory, which God the Righteous Judge will, one Day, plentifully distribute to them that abide in this precious Faith unto the End. This naturally brings me to my third Head, and an Unhappines we have long labour'd under.

Sect. 4.

Sect. 4. *Of Debasing the true Value of Morality under Pretence of Higher Things; and mistaking, in great Measure, the very End of Christ's Coming.*

Mat. 7. 12.

BY *Morality* I understand Virtuous Living, Purity of Manners; that Justice, Temperance, Truth, Charity, and Blamelesness in Conversation, out of Conscience and Duty to God and Man, which may well Denominate the Man that lives that Life, a Man Just, Virtuous, and Pious: In short, one that *does unto all Men, as he would have all Men do unto him*; this is my *Moral Man*. It is notorious how small an Estimate two Sorts of People have put upon him, the Profane and the Professors, the *Publicans* and the *Pharisees*: The first despise him as too *Squeamish, Nice* and *Formal*; they deride his Regularity, and make a Jest of his Preciseness. And thinking *No Man can be good*, because they are Naught, and that all must needs fall by those Temptations they will not resist, they construe Sobriety to be a Trick to decoy Mankind, and put a Cheat upon the World. If they hear any one say, *Such a Man is a Sober and Just Person*, they have learned, by themselves, to call him *Knave*; that he has a Design upon some Body, by being *Just* in little Things, to cheat in Things of more Moment. This Man is very Unfashionable among Men of *Immoral Principles*; for his very Looks and Life carry a Reproof with them upon *Vicious Men*; who, as if Virtue were their *Common Enemy*, are in Combination against the Lovers and Entertainers of her: The Reason is, because such true *Virtuoso* will

will neither do the Ill Things they would have them, nor flatter them in the Ill they do; and therefore where Ill Men have the Power, Good Men are sure to be made the *Common Enemy*.

But the Reproaches that Men of Morality receive at the Hands of Lewd Men, are more their Honour than their Suffering: That which is most of all Anxious, is, that Morality is denied to be Christianity, that Virtue has any Claim to Grace, and that those who glory to be called Christians, can be so Partial and Cruel as to renounce a meer *Just Man* their Society, and send him packing among the *Hearthen* for Damnation. And pray what's the Matter? *Why! though this Person be a sober Liver, yet he is but a General Believer; his Faith is at large. 'Tis true, he believes in God, but I hear little of his Faith in Christ.* Very well: Does he not therefore believe in Christ? or must he therefore be without the Pale of Salvation? Is it possible that a Man can truly believe in God and be damned? But as he that believes in Christ, believes in God, so he that believes in God, believes in Christ: For he that believes on him, that raised up Jesus from the Dead, his Faith shall be imputed to him for Righteousness, and says Christ himself; *He that believeth my Word, and believeth on him that sent me, hath Everlasting Life: Has he that believes in God no Interest in this Expression?* But more particular is that Place of the Apostle to the Hebrews, viz. *For he that cometh to God must believe that he is, and that he is a Diligent Rewarder of them that seek him.* Now if those who so believe can come to God, the Moral Man's Condition is not Dangerous even in the strictest Sense of the Word; not only such as have a General Faith of Christianity, and never adher'd to any particular Party, a Sense, we shall anon consider, but even those who never heard the History of Christ, nor had a distinct Knowledge of him, as we profess him.

For it seems a most unreasonable Thing, that Faith in God and keeping his Commandments should be no Part of the *Christian Religion*: But if a Part it be, as upon serious Reflection who dare deny it, then those before and since Christ's Time, who never had the External Law nor History, and have done the Things contained in the Law, their Consciences not accusing nor Hearts Condemning, but excusing them before God, are in some Degree concern'd in the Character of a true Christian. For Christ himself preach'd and kept his Father's Commandments, and came to fulfil and not to destroy the Law; and that not only in his own Person, but that the Righteousness of the Law might be also fulfilled in us.

Let us but soberly consider *What Christ is*, and we shall the better know whether Moral Men are to be reckon'd Christians. What is Christ but Meekness, Justice, Mercy, Patience, Charity and Virtue in Perfection? Can we then deny a meek Man to be a Christian; a Just, a Merciful, a Patient, a Charitable and a Virtuous Man to be like Christ? By me Kings Reign and Princes decree Justice, faith Wisdom, yea, the Wisdom that is from above; so may I say here, By Christ Men are Meek, Just, Merciful, Patient, Charitable and Virtuous; and Christians ought to be distinguished by their Likeness to Christ and not their Notions of Christ; by his Holy Qualifications rather than their own Lofty Professions and Invented Formalities. What shall we say then of that Extravagancy which those Men are guilty of who upon hearing a sober Man commended, that is not of any great Visible Profession, will take upon them to cast him off with this Sentence; *Tush, he is but a Moral Man; he knows nothing of Saving Grace: he may be damn'd for all his Morality.* Nay, some have gone so far as to say and preach, if not print, *That there are Thousands of Moral Men in Hell.*

But 'tis worth our while to consider that he that sins is not saved by Grace in that State, and that the Virtuous Man is the Gracious Man; For 'tis the Nature and End of true Grace, to make Men so. Unanswerable is that Passage of the Apostle, to the Romans, *Therefore if the Uncircumcision keep the Righteousness of the Law, shall not his Circumcision be counted for Circumcision? and shall not Uncircumcision, which is by Nature if it fulfil the Law, judge thee, who by the Letter and Circumcision dost transgress the*

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Part II.
Sect. 4.Rom 4. 22;
23, 24.
John 5. 24.
Heb. 11. 6.

Rom. 8. 4;

Prov. 8. 15;

Ro. 2. 26, 27
28, 29.

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Sect. 4.

the Law? For he is not a Jew, who is one outwardly, neither is that Circumcision, which is outward in the Flesh; but he is a Jew, which is one inwardly, and Circumcision is that of the Heart, in the Spirit, and not in the Letter, whose Praise is not of Men, but of God. So that he who keeps the Law of God, and abstains from the Impurity of the World, is the good Man, the just Liver; he is the Apostle's true Jew and Circumcision.

Wherefore it is not ill express'd by that extraordinary Man *J. Hales of Eaton*: The Moral Man, says he, is a Christian by the surer Side: As if he had said, Speculations may fail, Notions be mistaken, Forms wither, but Truth and Righteousness will stand the Test; and the Man that loves them will not be moved. He tells us, *That the Fathers had that Opinion of the Sincerity of the Life of some Heathens, that they believ'd God had in Store for such even his Saving Grace, and that he would make them Possessors of his Everlasting Kingdom.* And measuring your Satisfaction by the Pleasure I took in reading what the Author both quotes and comments upon this Subject, I will venture to transcribe him at large, whose Authority ought to go as far as his Reason, and he claims no more, nor indeed does any reasonable Man, since God himself seems to submit to that Method of overcoming us, to wit, Conviction, viz.

† "Let it not trouble you (saith he) that I entitle them to some Part of our Christian Faith, and therefore without Scruple to be receiv'd as Weak, and not to be cast forth as Dead. *Salvianus* disputing what Faith is; *Quid est igitur Credulitas vel Fides?* (saith he) *Opinor fideliter hominem Christo credere, id est, Fidelem Deo esse, hoc est, Fideliter Dei mandata servare.* What might this Faith be? (saith he) I suppose, it is nothing else, but Faithfully to believe Christ; and this is to be Faithful unto God; which is nothing else, but Faithfully to keep the Commandments of God. Not therefore only a bare Belief, but the Fidelity and Trustiness of God's Servants, faithfully accomplishing the Will of our Master, is required as a Part of our Christian Faith.

"Now, all those good Things which Moral Men by the Light of Nature * do, are a Part of God's Will written in their Hearts: wherefore so far as they were Conscientious in performing them (if *Salvianus* his Reason be good;) so far have they Title and Interest in our Faith. And therefore *Regulus*, that Famous Roman, when he endured infinite Torments, rather than he would break his Oath, may thus far be counted a Martyr and Witness for the Truth. For the Crown of Martyrdom fits not only on the Heads of those, who have lost their Lives, rather than they would cease to profess the Name of Christ; but on the Head of every one that suffers for the Testimony of a Good Conscience and for Righteousness Sake. And here I cannot pass by one very General and Gross Mistake of our Age. For in our Discourses concerning the Notes of a Christian Man, by what Signs we may know a Man to be one of the Visible Company of Christ, we have so tied our selves to this outward Profession, that if we know no other Virtue in a Man, but that he hath con'd his Creed by Heart, let his Life be never so profane, we think it Argument enough for us to account him within the Pale and Circuit of the Church. On the contrary Side, let his Life be never so upright, if either he be little seen in, or peradventure quite ignorant of the Mystery of Christ, we esteem of him but as dead. And those, who conceive well of those Moral good Things, as of some Tokens giving Hope of

† *J. Hales of Eaton, Golden Remains, Of dealing with Erring Christians, page 36, 37.*

* Or the Light which comes with us into the World, and grows up with us, as we are of a Capacity to discern the Teachings of it. See *Joh. 1. 9. ch. 8. 12. Rom. 1. 19. Ephes. 5. 13. 1 Joh. 1. 7.* All agree in it, As to it's Universality. But the Beloved Disciple instructs us of it's Original, Nature and Use, in the first Chapter of his Evangelical History, deeply and clearly: They had it before Christ's coming, as may be seen in *Joh 18. 5, 6. ch. 21. 17. ch. 24. 13, 16. Psalm 27. 1. 36. 9.*

" Life, we account but as a Kind of *Maniebes*, who thought the very
 " Earth bad Life in it. I must confess that I have not yet made that Pro-
 " ficiency in the Schools of our Age, as that I could see, why the Second
 " Table and the Acts of it are not as properly the Parts of Religion and
 " Christianity, as the Acts and Observations of the First? If I mistake,
 " then it is St. James that hath abus'd me; for he describing Religion by
 " its proper Acts, tells us, that *Pure Religion and undefiled before God and*
 " *the Father, is, to visit the Fatherless and the Widows in their Affliction,*
 " *and to keep himself unspotted of the World.* So that the Thing which is
 " an *especial refined Dialect* of the New Christian Language signifies nothing
 " but *Morality and Civility*, that in the Language of the Holy Ghost im-
 " ports *True Religion*. Thus far J. Hales.

He hath said so well on this Account, that there is little Need I should
 say any more; yet let me add thus much: Did Men mind the Language
 of the Holy Ghost more than their own Conceits, they would not stile those
 meer *Moral Men* in a Way of Disgrace, who are not of their *Perswasion*;
 it would suffice, that those that *Fear God and work Righteousness in all Na-*
tions are accepted of him; That Christ himself hath said, *He that doth the*
Will of my Father which is in Heaven, shall enter into the Kingdom of Hea-
ven; and of them that work Iniquity, *Depart from me, I know you not*.

My Friends, Let us not deceive our selves, God will not be mocked; *Such*
as we sow, we shall certainly reap. The Tree is known by it's Fruits, and
 will be judg'd according to it's Fruits. *The Wages of Sin is Death*: Men
 will find it so; and every Man shall receive his Reward suitable to his
 Work. For People to talk of *Special Grace*, and yet be carried away by
 Common Temptations: To let Pride, Vanity, Covetousness, Revenge, &c.
 predominate, it is Provoking to God: But to conceit that the Righteous
 God will indulge his People in that Latitude, which he condemns in other
 Men, is abominable. 'Tis Sanctification, that makes the Saint; and Self-
 denial that constitutes the Christian; and not filling our Heads and eleva-
 ting our Fancies by applying those Promises to our selves, which as yet
 we have no Interest in, though we may think they belong to no Body else:
 This *Spiritual Flattery* of our selves is most pernicious. I cannot but say,
 with the Apostle, *'Tis neither Circumcision nor Uncircumcision, Jew nor Gen-*
tile (this not t'other Thing) but the New Creature, created after Christ Jesus
in Holiness: for without Holiness no Man shall ever see the Lord. And
 what is *Holiness*, but abstaining from Wickedness? And what's that but
 keeping the Law of God? *Great Peace have they that love thy Law*, said
 David, that had known the Trouble of breaking it: Therefore it is that
Grace and Truth are come by Jesus Christ, to help us to fulfil the Law, not
 to excuse our *Disobedience to the Law*: And what before we were unable,
 this gives us Force to do. So that Christianity is not an *Indulgence* of Peo-
 ple under Weakness and Disobedience, but the Compleating and Perfection
 of that Righteousness which without him was but short and Imperfect,
 through the all-sufficient Grace and Power that came by Jesus Christ.

Give me Leave, I beseech you, for I have a Godly Jealousie upon me; I
 fear, lest the very *End of Christ's Coming is mistaken*; and of how dreadful
 a Consequence such a Mistake would be, you cannot possibly be ignorant,
 that believe there is *No Salvation in any other Name*. Let us hear the Testi-
 mony of Scripture: They are the Words of Christ himself, *I must preach the*
Kingdom of God. for therefore am I sent. Now, what is this Kingdom of
 God, but God's Government? And where is this Kingdom and Govern-
 ment to be set up, but in Man? So Christ tells us, *Behold the Kingdom of*
God is within you. So that the Reason of his being sent, is, that the King-
 dom and Government of the Devil may be destroyed, the strong Man that
 kept the House, the Heart, be dispossessed, and the Kingdom and Govern-
 ment of God in the Soul, erected and established. We are taught to pray
 for it, as little as we make of it. *Thy Kingdom come, thy Will be done*. Would
 to God People would but consider what they Pray for! For they are scan-

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Part II.
Scd. 4.

Acts 10. 34;
35.

Mat. 7.

Gal. 6.
Mat. 7.
Rom. 6. 23i

Rom. 2. 29:
Gal. 6. 15.
Heb. 12. 14.

Psal. 119:
165.

John 1. 16, 17.

Luke 4. 43.

Ch. 17. 21.

Luke 11. 2.

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John 10. 11.

John 10. 10.

Hos. 13. 4.

Rom. 6. 4.

daliz'd at the Thing they ask, and both neglect and revile the Substance of their own Prayers: *Thy Kingdom come, and thy Will be done*; but believe neither. It was the Office God designed his Son to. *The Thief* (says Christ) *does not come but to kill, to steal, and to destroy*; that is, *to steal away the Heart from God, and to kill and destroy all good Desires and Inclinations in the Soul*: For the Devil is the Thief and Destroyer: *But I am come* (says Christ) *that ye might have Life, and that ye might have it more abundantly*. Again, *O Death, I will be thy Death!* as if he had said, *I will kill that which kills the Soul: I will breath the Breath of Life into it again; and, by my Spirit and Grace, I will beget Holy Motions, and kindle Heavenly Desires in it after God, after the Kingdom of God, and the Righteousness thereof*: This is the *Newness of Life*: And I will not only restore that Life the Soul has lost, but I will increase it: I will add to it, that it may have *Life more abundantly*; more Power and Strength to resist Evil, and embrace and delight in that which is Good.

Mat. 1. 21.

Mat. 3. 11,
12.

John 1. 69.

Indeed he was Anointed of God for this Purpose; and is therefore called the *Restorer of Pubs*, the *Repairer of Breaches*, and the *Builder up of Waste Places*; that is, he is ordained of God for the Recovery of Man from his *Fallen and Disobedient State*, This is the Reason of his Name: *Thou shalt call his Name JESUS*, said the Angel, *for he shall save his People from their Sins*: Not from Wrath only, but from Sin, which is the Cause of Wrath. That is, of Bad Men, he will make them really Good Men; and of Sinful and Unholy, he will make them Holy and Righteous Men, such as truly believe in him. This is the Burden of *John's* Testimony: *There is One*, says he, *that cometh after me, is mightier than I, He shall Baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with Fire; whose Fan is in his Hand, and he will thoroughly Purge his Floor*. And seeing *Jesus* coming to him, said, *Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the Sins of the World!*

Acts 10. 43.

Ephes. 1. 7.

Mat. 18. 11.

Luke 19. 10.

I know the Use that too many make of these Scriptures, as if they were an *Hebraism*, borrow'd from the *Old Sacrifices*, which may be said, *To take away Sin by taking away the Guilt, and not that the Natures of Men are Restored and Perfected*. And indeed, this is that Sense which I dread above all others, because it perverts the *End of Christ's Coming*, and lodges Men in a Security pernicious to their own Souls. For though it is most true, that *Remission of Sin was, and is preached in his Name and Blood, and that Sin, in a Sense, may be said to be taken away, when the Guilt of the Sin is removed by Remission*; yet this is only of Sin past, that upon Repentance is forgiven: But this is not the Whole, Full and Evangelical Sense, as Christ's own Words do plainly import. For, says he, *the Son of Man is come to save that which was Lost*. And upon another Occasion he expresseth himself to the same Purpose, and almost in the same Words, *For the Son of Man is come to seek and to save that which was Lost*. Now, who is this that is Lost, but Man? And in what Sense can Man be said to be Lost, but by Sin and Disobedience? That it was which cast him out of the Presence and Garden of God, and put him in a Condition of Eternal Misery. If Christ then came to *Save Lost Man*, he must be understood to Save him from that which puts him into a Lost Condition, and that is Sin; for *The Wages of Sin is Death, and the Servant of Sin is a Son of Perdition*.

Rom. 6. 23.

Chap. 17. 17.

Christ has determin'd this Point beyond all Exception, in his Discourse with the *Jews*, (*John* 8. 31, 32, 33, 34.) *Then said Jesus to those Jews, which believed on him, if ye continue in my Word, then are ye my Disciples indeed; and ye shall know the Truth, and the Truth shall make you Free*. What Freedom was this? Certainly from Sin; suitable to that Passage in his Prayer: *Sanctify them through thy Truth, thy Word is Truth*. But some *Jews* present, proud of their Privileges, apprehended not the Liberty Christ spoke of, and therefore answer'd him thus: *We are Abraham's Seed, and were never in Bondage to any Man; how sayst thou, Ye shall be made Free?* Jesus answered them, *Verily, verily, I say unto you, whosoever committeth Sin, is the Servant of Sin*. In which Place it is very remarkable, that Men are only to be distinguished by their Works; that no Claims, Privileges, Successions,

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Sect. 4.

Successions, or Descents are available, *but he that commits Sin, is the Servant of Sin.* So that Christ's Free Man is he that is freed from Sin: This is his Follower and Disciple. And as Christ oppos'd the Works of the Jews, who unjustly sought to kill him, to their Pretensions they made to be *Abraham's Seed*; so must we oppose the Actions of ill Men to their better Professions: We must faithfully tell them, *He that commits Sin, is the Servant of Sin*; from which Servitude Christ came to Save his People, and is therefore rightly called, *The Saviour and the Redeemer.*

This Doctrine is closely followed by the Apostle Paul in his sixth Chapter to the Romans. Therefore we are buried with him by Baptism into Death, that like as Christ was raised up from the Dead by the Glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in Newness of Life — Knowing this, that our Old Man is crucified with him, that the Body of Sin might be destroyed, that henceforth we should not serve Sin — Likewise reckon ye also your selves to be Dead indeed unto Sin, but alive unto God through Jesus Christ our Lord. As if he had said, The End of Christ's coming, is to turn People from their Sins; and that those who persist in their Disobedience, resist the Benefits that come by him.

Let not Sin therefore reign in your Mortal Body, that ye should obey it in the Lusts thereof. Neither yield ye your Members as Instruments of Unrighteousness unto Sin; but yield your selves unto God, as those that are Alive from the Dead, and your Members as Instruments of Righteousness unto God — Know ye not, that to whom ye yield your selves Servants to obey, his Servants ye are to whom ye obey; whether of Sin unto Death, or of Obedience unto Righteousness? — For when ye were the Servants of Sin, ye were free from Righteousness. What Fruit had ye then in those Things, whereof ye are now ashamed? For the End of those Things is Death. But now being made Free from Sin, and become Servants to God, ye have your Fruit unto Holiness, and the End Everlasting Life. For the Wages of Sin is Death, but the Gift of God is Eternal Life, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

To conclude, nothing can be more apparent, than that Freedom from Actual Sinning, and giving Newness of Life to the Souls of Men, was the Great Reason of Christ's Coming, and the End for which he hath given us out of his Fulness of Grace and Truth, *Grace for Grace*; and that to be under Grace, and not under the Law, is not to have Liberty to do that now, which ought not to have been done before, or to be excused from former moral Obligations, as the Ranters interpret it; but to be freed from the Condemnation of the Law, First, through Remission of the Sins that are past upon Faith and Repentance, and next, by freeing us of that Weakness by which we were disabled from keeping God's Just Law, and fulfilling the Righteousness of it, in receiving and obeying the Light and Grace that comes by Jesus Christ.

Very pertinent is that Passage of the Apostle Paul to Titus, to our present Purpose, for it seems to comprehend the End of Christ's Coming, and the Faith and Duty of his People; which our Great Selden, after all his Painful Readings, and Curious Inquisitions, said, but a little before his Death, Was the Most Weighty Passage of the whole Bible to him, as the Bible was the Best of Books in the World, viz. For the Grace of God, that bringeth Salvation, hath appeared to 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 the 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.

In which comprehensive Passage, we find the End of Christ's Coming to be Our Redemption from all Iniquity, both to blot out our Sins that are past, and to purify our Hearts from the Sin that remains. We have the Means that works and brings this Salvation into our Souls, which is the Grace; and the Way, by which this Grace doth accomplish it, is by Teaching us to deny Ungodliness and Worldly Lusts, and to live Soberly, Righteously, and Godly.

Rom. 6. 4, 6;
11.Rom. 6. 19
13, 16, 20, 21;
22, 23.Tit. 2. 11, 12;
13, 14.

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Part. II.
Sect. 4.1 John 3. 4.
5, 6, 7, 8, 9,
10.

John 15. 24.

1 John 3. 9,
10.

1 John 1. 7.

Ch. 2. 6, 14.

Chap. 4. 17.

Eph. 5. 27.

Rom. 13. 14.
Eph. 4. 12.
Gal. 5. 22,
23, 24.John 10. 4.
5, 27.

Godly in this present World. Which has this great Encouragement joyned to it, that those who so live, have only Right to look for that Blessed Hope and the Glorious Appearing of the Great God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ.

I will add the Testimony of his Beloved Disciple *John*, who has defined to us the End of Christ's Coming, thus: *Whosoever committeth Sin, Transgresseth also the Law; and ye know, that he was manifested to take away our Sins.* And to shew that this is understood, not only of the Guilt of Sins past, but of the Nature and present Power of Sin in Man, observe what follows; *Whosoever abideth in him (Christ) Sinneth not.* As if this Apostle had foreseen the present Mischief Christianity labours under both on the Side of Evil Men, and of but too many mistaken Professors. He adds, *Little Children, let no Man deceive you; he that doth Righteousness is Righteous, even as he is Righteous; he that committeth Sin is of the Devil, for the Devil sinneth from the Beginning.* (Now comes his most expresse Passage to the Matter in Hand) *For this Purpose the Son of God was manifested, that he might destroy the Works of the Devil:* Which is more than the Remission of Sins that are past; here is the Destruction of the Power and Kingdom of Satan. They that know not this, know not Christ as he should be known, not savingly. For as we, for our Lord is known by his Fruits, by the Works which he works in us: Therefore it is said, *That his own Works praise him.* And said Christ, *If I had not done among them the Works which no other Man did, &c.* So that he referred to his Works to prove his Nature and Mission.

He therefore that lives in Sin denies Christ, by denying the End of his Coming. The Fool did not say with his Mouth, but in his Heart, *There is no God*; yet but too many now a-days, plead with their Tongues and Pens for *Sin Term of Life*, by endeavouring to shew the Impossibility of overcoming Sin. But what saith this Apostle farther of the Business? *Whosoever is born of God, doth not commit Sin: In this the Children of God are manifest, and the Children of the Devil, whosoever doth not Righteousness, is not of God; neither he that loveth not his Brother.* But if you walk in the Light, as God is in the Light, we have Fellowship one with another, and the Blood of Jesus Christ his Son, cleanseth us from all Sin. He that saith he abideth in Christ, ought himself also so to walk, even as Christ walked. A little lower in the same Chapter he says, *I have written unto you, Young Men, because ye are strong, and the Word of God abideth in you, and ye have overcome the Wicked One.*

I will add one Scripture-Testimony more in the present Case, and it is this: *Herein (saith John) is our Love made perfect, that we may have Boldness in the Day of Judgment, because as he is, so are we in this World.*

Behold now the true End of Christ's Coming! viz. To save from Sin and to purge us from all Iniquity; that he might present us to God without Spot or Blemish. Let us not then flatter our selves, for we shall be the Losers: Neither let us make that impossible through our Infidelity, which a Grain of Sincere Faith can make not only Possible but Easy. What has been, may be again; nay, in this Case must be. Did the First Christians overcome the Wicked one? so must the Last Christians too. Were those Ages led by the Holy Spirit, and taught by the Grace of God to live God-like, or like God in the World? so must we of these latter Ages too, if we will be blessed for ever; that, having put off the old Man, the Devil and his Works, we may put on Christ the new and heavenly Man, the second Adam, with his Holy Life and Works; so shall the Fruits of his Spirit shine through us, which are Love, Joy, Peace, Long-suffering, Patience, Gentleness, Faith, Meekness, Temperance; for they that are Christ's have Crucified the Flesh, with the Affections and Lusts: They hear his Voice that leads them out of the Concupiscences of this Vile World, and they follow him, and he gives unto them Eternal Life, and a Stranger they will not follow. The World, the Flesh and the Devil make up this Stranger, and those that are carried away by this Stranger are in an Unreconciled State to God, and, so dying, must inevitably perish. Well, then will we be true Christians?

Christians? Have we Faith? then let us take the Advice of that good Man Peter; Let us add to our Faith Virtue, and 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 says he, if these Things be in you and abound, they make you, that ye shall neither be barren nor unfruitful in the Knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ. But he that lacketh these Things is blind, and cannot see far off, and hath forgotten that he was purged from his old Sins. Wherefore the rather, Brethren, give Diligence, to make your Calling and Election sure; for if ye do these Things, ye shall never fall. For so an Entrance shall be ministered unto you abundantly into the Everlasting Kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Thus much, O ye Protestants! That profess a Reformation, and value your selves upon it, Of the true Reformed Doctrine of Godliness, a virtuous and good Life, without which your Profession will be the Aggravation of your Guilt. For know this once for all, that a true Reformation lies in the Spirit of Reformation, reforming the Minds and Manners of such as profess it. God Almighty open your Eyes and affect your Hearts with this great Truth.

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Part II.
Sect. 4.
1 Pet. 1. 5, 7.
8, 9, 10, 11.

Sect. 5. *The Fourth great Ecclesiastical Evil, is Preferring Humane Authority above Reason and Truth.*

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THIS and the next Evil, which is the last now to be considered, to wit, Propagation of Faith by Force, Religion by Arms, are the Two Legs upon which the false Church hath in all Ages stood. Under this Degeneracy we find the Jewish Church at Christ's coming, and he complains of it, Ye teach for Doctrines the Traditions of Men, ye seek to kill me, a Man that has told you the Truth: But I challenge the whole Account of Time, and Records of the World, which are come to the Hands of this Age, to tell me When, Where, and by whom, these Principles have been received, improved and used, in any Sort of Proportion or Comparison, with the Practice of that Church, which has long prided her self in the Name of Catholick and Christian. And yet I could wish nothing of these Two Ill Principles had found any Place amongst Us, that call our selves Protestants; though to the great Men of her Communion, in divers Countries of Europe, is chiefly owing most of that Ignorance, Superstition, Idolatry, Persecution and Blood-shed that have been among Christians, since the Christian Profession hath grown to any Power in the World. I shall consider them severally, respecting us, and in their due Order, with as much Brevity as well I can.

Mat. 15. 9.
John 8. 40.

That Humane Authority hath been preferred above Reason and Truth, that is, That the Apprehensions, Interpretations, Conclusions and Injunctions of Men have been reputed the great Necessaries or Essentials to Salvation and Christian Communion, inasmuch as a sober and reasonable Dissent hath been too often over-rul'd, not by Weight of Argument or Evidence of Truth, but by the Power and Numbers of Men in Ecclesiastical Office and Dignity, is, and speak Modestly, in a large Degree true among us. The First Church-Evil reprehended in this Discourse may begin the Proof, and give the first Witness upon this Part of the Charge, viz. That Opinions have been made Articles of Faith; that is, The Construtions and Conclusions of Men from Sacred Writ, and not the Text it self, have been enjoynd and impos'd as Essential to Eternal Salvation, and External Christian Communion. Inasmuch as no Reason, Scripture or purest Antiquity hath been suffered to prevail against such Determinations, and too often not enough to excuse those that have pleaded for a Conscientious Dissent from them; the Authors of them either resting upon the Authority of their own Judgments, or conforming themselves to the Example of Ages less pure and clear.

I Conscientiously refuse to name Parties, because I am tender of giving the least Offence; but upon a Just Observance of those Revolutions of Protestancy that have been amongst us, we may see, with what Stiffness, not to say Obstinacy, several Models of Religion and Draughts of Creeds have

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have been contended for. I would beseech every Party, in Christ's Name, to look into it self; for I don't, because such are best able (if they will be Impartial and put no Cheat upon themselves) to make the Application of what I say. However, I will name those Points, about which the Authority of Man, as it seems to me, has been so positive. Of *God*, as to his *Prescience* and *Predetermination*: Of *Christ*, as to his *Natures* and *Personality*, and the *Extent* of his *Death* and *Intercession*: Of *Free-Will* and *Grace*: Of *Faith* and *Works*: Of *Perseverance* and *Falling away*: Of the *Nature* and *Power* of the *Church*: And Lastly, of the *Dignity* and *Power* of the *Clergy*.

And if Men please but to lay their Hands upon their Hearts, and cast their Eyes upon the Scriptures; if they will but use the Light that God has afforded them, and bring such Debates and Results to the Test of that Light and the Sound Form of Words, the Holy Ghost hath used and preserv'd amongst us, I need not take the Employment upon me of pointing to Humane Authority among the several Parties of *Protestants*, as to these Points, since nothing will be clearer. For it is about the Meaning of this, and the Intention of that Place of Scripture, the Contest hath been and still is; and how to maintain and propagate those Conceits: So that the falling out is in the Wood of our own Opinions, and there the Contention is kindled, that consumes all about our Ears. A most unwarrantable Curiosity and Nicety, for the most Part, that hath more Influence upon our Passions, than our Practice, which is usually the worse in Point of Charity, and not the better for them in any Thing. O that we would but be impartial, and see our own Over-plus to the Scriptures, and retrench that redundancy, or keep it modestly! for 'tis an horrid Thing that we *Protestants* should assume a Power of ranging our human Apprehensions with the Sacred Text, and injoining our Imaginations for Indispensible Articles of *Faith* and *Christian Communion*.

But the next Proof of the Prevalency of *Humane Authority* amongst us *Protestants*, is *The great Power and Sway of the Clergy, and the People's Reliance upon them for the Knowledge of Religion, and the Way of Life and Salvation*. This is such plain Fact, that every Parish more or less proves it. Is not *Prophecy*, once the Church's, now engross'd by them and wholly in their Hands? Who dare publicly *Preach* or *Pray*, that is not of that *Class* or *Order*? Have not they only the Keys in keeping? May any body else pretend to the Power of *Absolution* or *Excommunication*? Much less to constitute Ministers? Are not all Church Rites and Privileges in their Custody? Don't they make it their proper Inheritance? Nay, so much larger is their Empire than *Cesar's*, that only they begin with Births and end with Burials: Men must pay them for *Coming* in and *Going* out of the World. To pay for dying is hard! Thus their Profits run from the Womb to the Grave, and that which is the Loss of others, is their Gain, and a Part of their Revenue. Both Lives and Deaths do bring Grift to their Mill, and Toll to their Exchequer, for they have an Estate in us for our Lives, and an Heriot at our Deaths.

'Tis of this great Order and Sept of Men only, that all *Synods* and *Conventions* are, of modern Ages, compounded; and what they determine, is called the *Canons* or *Decrees* of the *Church*; though, Alas! She is only to Obey, what they of the Gown Ordain; giving us thereby to understand, that they want the Authority of her Name, where they deny her to have a Part, or to be present.

But they have not only been the usual Starters of new Opinions, and the great *Creed-Makers* among *Christians*, but the Sway they have long had with the People, makes them so considerable an Interest in the Eyes of the *Civil Magistrate*, that he often finds it not for his Safety to disoblige them. Upon this it is, we see them so Successful in their Solicitations of Publick Authority to give its Sanction to their Opinions and Forms; and not only recommend them (which goes certainly a great Way with the People) but impose their Reception, and that on severe Penalties: Insomuch, that

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either Men must offer up their Understandings to their Fears, and dissemble Conviction to be safe, or else perish : There is no Medium. Something of this lies near us : God Almighty open our Eyes to see both the Truth and Mischief of this Thing.

But what shall I say of that implicit Reverence the People have for the Clergy, and Dependence upon them about *Religion and Salvation* ; as if they were the only Trustees of Truth, and high Treasurers of Divine Knowledge to the Laity : And we daily see, that the blind Opinion they have of their Office (as that which is peculiar to that Order, and not common to Christians, be their Gifts as they will) disposes them to rely entirely upon their Performances. The Minister is Chooser and Taster and every Thing for them : They seem to have deliver'd up their Spiritual Selves, and made over the Business of Religion, the *Rights of their Souls* to their *Pastors*, and that scarcely with any Limitation of Truth too : And as if he were, or could be their *Guarantee*, in t'other World, they become very insolent of any further search here. So that if we would examine the respective Parishes of *Protestant* as well as *Papish* Countries, we shall find, and it is come to that sad pass, that very few have any other Religion than the Tradition of their Priest. They have given up their Judgment to him, and seem greatly at their Ease, that they have discharged themselves of the Trouble of *Working out their own Salvation and Proving all Things, that they might hold fast that which is good.* And in the Room of that Care bequeath'd the Charge of those Affairs to a standing Pensioner for that Purpose.

Thus the Clergy are become a sort of Mediators betwixt Christ and us, that as we must go to God by Christ, so must we come to Christ by them : They must be, it seems, like the *High Priest* under the Law, who only enter'd into the *Holy of Holies* ; whose *Lips preserved Knowledge* ; and by them we must understand the *Divine Oracle*. As if the Mysteries of Salvation were not to be intrusted with the Vulgar, or that it were a kind of Prophanation to expose them to their View, and the only way to make them cheap and contemptible to suffer *every Christian* to have the keeping of them ; though they belong to *every Christian*. But this Language, thanks be to God, is that of Humane Authority that would magnify the Mysteries of Salvation by the Ignorance of those that should know them, as if the *Gospel-Dispensation* were not that of full Age, but Infancy or Minority.

'Tis true, the State of People under the Law and the *Levitical Priesthood* is called a State of *Bondage, Childhood and Minority*, and the Law therefore is term'd a *School-master* to bring us to Christ ; but it is as true, that the State of Christianity is reputed the Age of *Grace, Freedom, Manhood and Inheritance* by the same Apostle : And that we should have external Guardians of our Faith and Religion upon us after we are come to Years of Discretion, that might be very allowable under the feeble State of our Minority, is not to obtain greater Freedom, but to make our Case worse. For it is more tolerable to be used as Children when we are Children, and know nothing above that Condition, than 'when riper Years have brought us to the Understanding and Resentment of Men. But it is almost as unpardonable as it is unsufferable, to make that Infancy the Perfection of the *Christian-Religion*, as if there were nothing beyond wearing a *Bib and being fed, carried and govern'd as Nurses please* ; that is, as the *Priest* will. It is a Knowing and Reasonable, and not a blind Obedience, that commends a Man : *Children* should be ruled, because they have not so ripe an Understanding or *Choice* ; but because 'tis not so with Men, Reason ought to conduct them in their Duty, that the Service they perform to God, may be such as the Apostle calls a Reasonable one ; The *Will* is no longer *Will* if not *Free*, nor *Conscience* to be reputed *Conscience*, where it is compelled. The Gospel is not the Time of Ceremonial Works, but of Faith, therefore not coercive, because out of our own Power ; it is the Gift of God.

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But though this be very unhappy, that so excellent a Reformation, founded upon the freest Principles of Inquiry, common to all that had Souls to save, should so miserably degenerate into *Formality and Ignorance, Implicit Faith and blind Obedience*; yet that Part of our History is most lamentable to me, where we find the *Noble Bereans*, the diligent Inquirers, People that desire to *prove all Things*, that they may *hold fast that which is good*; such as would see with their own Eyes, and that dare not transfer the Right of Examination of Points that so nearly concern their Immortal Souls to any mortal Man; but who desire to make their Faith and Religion, the Faith and Religion of their *Conscience and Judgment*, that on which they dare depend and rest their Eternal Happiness in the Day of Judgment: That these, I say, should instead of being cherisht, be therefore exposed to the *Displeasure of the Clergy, the Scorn of the Rude Multitude, and the Prosecution of the civil Magistrate*, has some thing in it, I confess, is harsh and anxious to remember, and I only do it for this Purpose, that it may put us in mind of our great Declension from Primitive *Protestancy*, and how much Humane Authority has crept into the Affairs of Religion since that Time of the Day, when we made it a prime Article of our *Protestant Creed* to reject and renounce it.

And that you may yet see your selves short of your own Pretences, if not contrary to your express Principles, and how much you have narrow'd your selves from the use of your First Principle; let us suppose a *Turk* is convinced, that Christ is that, which he believed *Mahomet* to be, the *Greatest of all Prophets*, That *Mahomet* was an Impostor, That *Jesus* is the only Saviour and Mediator; but being Catechistically taught the Two Natures in one Person, the *Hypostatical Union*, in fine, the *Athanasian Creed* and other Articles of Faith, or Rites of your Church, not so clearly express'd in Scripture, nor easily apprehended or assented to, will not this poor Creature be looked upon either as *Infidel* or *Heretick*, and renounced all share in Christ and Christian Fellowship, because his Weakness or Understanding will not allow him to come up to the full Inventory of Articles believed and imposed by you? Certainly you must either be partial, and give him that Liberty you deny to Persons of equal Tenderness, or else you must, after your present Streightness, conclude him *Infidel* or *Heretick*, tho' he believe one God, Christ to be the only Mediator, the Gift of the Spirit, the Necessity of Holiness, Communion and Charity. But I would beseech you that we may consider if this bears any Proportion with the Wisdom and Love of God, in sending Christ into the World to save you and me?

The Apostle became all unto all, to win some; but this is becoming all unto none, to force all: he thereby recommends the utmost Condescension that can be lawful; but this Use of *Humane Authority* seems to make it unlawful to condescend: As if Faith per Force were better than Love; and Conformity, however it be come at, than *Christian Condescension*.

The blessed Apostle had his Eye to the *Good Intention and Sober Life* of the Weak; and used an holy Sort of Guile to catch them: He seems as if he dissembled the Knowledge of those *averse Opinions* which they held, or the Necessity of their embracing those Doctrines, which as yet they might not believe. He fell not to debate and canvass Points in Difference between them, which, instead of Union, would have enflam'd the Difference and rais'd Contention: No, no, he became all unto all, that is, he stooped to all Capacities, and humbled himself to those Degrees of Knowledge that Men had, and valued that which was good in all; and with this Sweetness he practis'd upon them to their farther Proficiency in the School of Christ. These Allurements were all his Injunctions? Nay, in this Case he makes it an Injunction to use no other: Let us therefore (says he) as many as be perfect, be thus minded; and if in any Thing ye be otherwise minded, God shall reveal even this unto you. Which is to say, you shall not be imposed upon, stigmatiz'd or excommunicated for Want of full Satisfaction, or because you do not consent before Conviction; for God shall reveal it to you; you shall see and know what you do, and to God you shall owe your Knowledge and

and Conformity; and not to Human Authority and Imposition: Your Faith shall not be implicit, nor your Obedience blind, the Reason of your Hope shall be in you.

Pray let us compare this with the Language of our own Times, where because People cannot come up to the Prescriptions of Men, but plead the Liberty of Dissent, though with never so much Sobriety and true Tenderness of Conscience, they are upbraided after this Manner: *Are you wiser than your Superiors? Were our Fore-fathers out of the Way? Did no body know the Truth 'till you came? Are you abler than all our Ministers and Bishops, and your Mother the Church? Cannot it content you to believe as she believes? Is not this Pride and Presumption in you, a Design to make and lead Sects and Parties?* with the like Entertainment.

Now this is that which you your selves, at least in the Persons of your Ancestors, have stiled *Popery*; yea, *Popery* in the Abstract; to wit, *Implicit Faith and Blind Obedience*: If so, then say I, let us also have a Care of *Popery* in Protestant Guise, for that *Popery* is likely to do us most Injury that is least suspected. I beg you, by the Love of God and Truth, and as you would lay a sure Foundation of Peace here, and eternal Comfort to your own Souls, that you would consider the Tendency of upbraiding and violently over-ruling the Dissent of Conscientious and Peaceable People: For if you will rob me once of the Liberty of my Choice, the Use of my Understanding, the Distinction of my Judgment, no Religion comes amiss; indeed it leads to no Religion. It was the Saying of the Old King to the then Prince of Wales and our present King; *Make the Religion of your Education the Religion of your Judgment*: which to me is of the Nature of an Appeal from his Education to his Judgment about the Truth of his Religion that he was Educated in: And that Religion which is too tender to be examined is unsound: *Prove all Things, and hold fast that which is good*, lies as an Impeachment against Imposition, deliver'd upon Record by the Apostle Paul in the Name of the Holy Ghost. 'Twas the same Apostle that commended the Bereans of Old, for that *they diligently searched the Scriptures*, whether those Things, deliver'd by the Apostles concerning the Messiah, were true.

Nay Christ himself, to whom all Power was given in Heaven and in Earth, submitted himself to the Test: He did not require them to believe him, because he would be believ'd; he refers them to the Witnesses that God bore to him: *If I bear Witness of my self, my Witness is not true*. He also sends them to the Scriptures; and pleads the Truth of his Authority from that of his Doctrine and Miracles: *If I had not done among them the Works which none other Man did*. And finally challenges them to convince him but of one Sin: *Which of you convinceeth me of Sin? and if I say the Truth, why do ye not believe me?* He offers to Reason the Matter, and submit himself to the Judgment of Truth, and well he might, who was Truth it self.

But an *Imposing Church* bears Witness of her self, and will be both Party and Judge: She requires Assent without Evidence, and Faith without Proof, therefore false: Christian Religion ought to be carried on only by that Way, by which it was introduced, which was *Persuasion*; *If any Man will be my Disciple, let him take up his Cross and follow me*: And this is the Glory of it, that it does not destroy, but fairly conquer the Understanding.

I am not unacquainted with the Pretences of Romanists to Abnegation, to a Mortified and Self-denying Life, and I do freely acknowledge, that the Author of the *German Theology*, Taulerius, Thomas a Kempis, and other Mysticks in that Communion, have written Excellent Practical Things, but there is scarcely any Thing of this Violent *Popery* in those Tracts: On the contrary, the very Nature and Tendency of them is Diametrically Opposite to the compulsory Spirit and Constitution of that Church, and all others that practise Imposition in Religion, whatever name they walk under.

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John 5. 31, 32;
37, 39.
Ch. 15. 24.
Ch. 9. 46.

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And as it is one great Mark of the false Church to pervert the right End of True Doctrine, so hath she excelled in the Abuse of that Excellent Word *Self-denial*: For she hath translated it from *Life to Understanding*, from *Morals to Faith*; *Subjugare intellectum in Obsequium fidei*, to subject the Understanding to the Obedience of Faith, is the perpetual Burden of their Song, and Conclusion of their Conferences. But what is this *Faith*? That which conquers the World and purifies the Heart? By no Means: But 'tis ro believe that the Church of *Rome* is the *True Church*, and the *Pope* Christ's *Vicar*, and the *Visible Head* of that Church.

Thus that *Self-denial* which relates to our *Wills* and *Affections* in a corrupt State, they apply to the Use of our Understanding about Religion, as if it were the same Thing to deny that which we understand and know to be the Will of God that we should deny, (which is the *Christian Self-denial*) and to deny that very *Knowledge* and *Understanding* which is God's Gift and our Honour. Whereas *Religion* and *Reason* are so consistent, that *Religion* can neither be understood nor maintain'd without *Reason*: For if this must be laid aside, I am so far from being infallibly assured of my Salvation, that I am not capable of any Measure or Distinction of Good from Evil, Truth from Falshood. Why? I have no Understanding, or at least, not the Use of any. All the Disadvantage the *Protestant* is under in this, is that of his greater Modesty, and that he submits his Belief to be tried, which the other refuses, under the Pretence of unaccountable Infallibility; to that Authority Reason Demurs; right Reason I mean; the Reason of the first Nine Verses of the First of *John*. For so *Tertullian*, and some other Ancients as well as Modern Criticks, gives us the Word *Logos*; and the Divine Reason is One in all; that Lamp of God which lights our Candle and enlightens our Darknes, and is the Measure and Test of our Knowledge.

So that whereas some People excuse their Embracing of that Religion by urging the Certainty that is in it, I do say, 'Tis but a *Presumption*. For a Man can never be certain of that, about which he has not the Liberty of Examining, Understanding or Judging: Confident (I confess) he may be; but that's quite another Thing than being certain.

Yet I must never deny, but that every Christian ought to believe as the Church believes, provided the Church be true; but the Question is, Which is that true Church? And when that is answer'd, as a Man may Unlawfully Execute a Lawful Sentence, so he may falsely believe as the True Church believes: For if I believe what she believes, only because she believes it, and not because I am convinced in my Understanding and Conscience of the Truth of what she believes, my Faith is false, though hers be true: I say, it is not true to me, I have no Evidence of it.

What is this *Church*, or *Congregation* rather (as worthy *Tindal* every where translates it) but a *Company of People agreed together in the sincere Profession and Obedience of the Gospel of Christ*. Now look what Inducement they severally had to believe and embrace the Gospel and unite into Fellowship, that we must have to join with them: For as they made not one another an infallible Authority to one another, upon which they first embraced the Gospel, neither are we to ground our Belief thereof upon *their Authority jointly*; but as they had a Rule to believe and commune, so must we have the *same Rule* to embrace their Communion. So that the Church cannot properly be the Rule of my Faith, who have the same Faith, and Object for my Faith, that she has. I argue thus,

I must believe as the Church believes, that is, I must have the same Faith the Church has; then I must have the same Rule, because the Church can be no more the Rule of that Faith, than she can be that Faith of which some would make her the Rule. If then the Church has Faith, and that Faith have a Rule, and that she can no more be the Rule of her own Faith, than she can be that Faith it self, it follows she cannot be the Rule of the Faith of her Members, because those Members have the same Faith, and make up this Church. For that which is the Rule of the Con-

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gregation's Faith in general, must reasonably be the Rule of every Member's Faith that makes up that Congregation, and consequently of every Member that may hereafter adhere to it. So that to talk of believing as the Church believes, to flourish upon that Self-denial and Humility, which takes all upon Trust, and revile those with the bitterest Invectives that are modestly scrupulous and act the *Bereans* for their Souls (who think that Ensigns of Nature and Condescension may be better used, and in this Occasion is ill placed and dangerous) is to put the Knife to the Throat of Protestantism; and, what in them lies, to sacrifice it to implicit Faith and blind Obedience. For it cannot be denied but that the great Foundation of our Protestant Religion is *the Divine Authority of the Scriptures from without us, and the Testimony and Illumination of the Holy Spirit within us*. Upon this Foot the first Reformers stood, and made and maintain'd their Separation from Rome, and fiely offered up their innocent Lives in Confirmation: With good Cause therefore it is the general Consent of all sound Protestant Writers, *That neither Traditions, Councils, nor Canons of any visible Church, much less the Edicts of any Civil Sessions or Jurisdiction, but the Scriptures only, interpreted by the Holy Spirit in us, give the final Determination in Matters of Religion, and that only in the Conscience of every Christian to himself*. Which Protestation made by the first publick Reformers against the Imperial Edicts of Charles the Fifth, imposing Church Traditions without Scripture Authority, gave first Beginning to the Name of *Protestant*, and with that Name hath ever been receiv'd this Doctrine, *which prefers the Divine Authority of the Scripture and Spirit to that of the Church and her Traditions*. And if the Church is not sufficient to be implicitly believed, as we hold it is not, what can there else be named of more Force with us, but the Divine Illumination in the Conscience, or Conscience in the best Sense of the Word; than which, God only is greater? But if any Man shall pretend that the Scripture judges, according to his Conceptions or Conscience, for other Men, and that they must take their Religious Measures by the Line of his Direction; such a Person makes himself greater than either Church, Scripture or Conscience. And, pray, let us consider if in any Thing the Pope is by our Protestant Divinity so justly resembled to Antichrist, as in assuming Infallibility over Conscience and Scripture, to determine as he thinks fit; and so in effect to give the Law to God, Scripture, Magistrates and Conscience. To this Protestants have, without Scruple, apply'd that to the *Thessalonians*, *Sitting in the Temple of God, exalting himself above all that is called God*.

1 John 3: 20

2 Thess: 2: 4

Rom. 14: 4

To check this Exorbitancy, the Apostle Paul demands, *Who art thou that judgest another's Servant? to his own Lord he stands or falls? Which sheweth with great Evidence, that Christians of all Sizes, great and small, are but Brethren, and consequently, all Superiority, Lordship and Imposition are excluded: But if there be a Difference, 'tis in this, that, as Christ taught, he that is greatest is to be Servant to the rest: But what is more opposite to a Servant than a Lord, and to Service than Injunction and Imposition, and that on Penalties too: Here it is that Christ is Lord and Law-giver, who is only King of this inward Kingdom of the Soul. And it is to be noted that the Apostle did not write this to a private Brother; or in some special Case, but to the Church, as a General and standing Truth, and therefore now as *Authentick* and proper as then. And if this be true, I cannot see how any, or even the most Part of the Church, that are still but Brethren to the rest, of one voluntary *Communion* and *Profession*, can with any Shew of Reason impose upon them; and escape the Reproof of this Scripture: For all Societies are to govern themselves, according to their Institution, and first Principles of Union. Where there is Violence upon this Part, *Tyranny* and not *Order* is introduced. Now since *Persuasion* and *Conviction* begin in all true *Christian Societies*, they must uphold themselves upon the same free Bottom, or they turn *Antichristian*. I beseech you here, let us examine our selves faithfully, and I am perswaded that something of*

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this will yet appear among some of us, who shew great Reverence to that free Name.

But to make good their unreasonable Conceit of Church-Authority, they object *Christ's Words*; go tell the Church, that is, say they, *The Church is the Rule and Guide of Faith*; whatever the Church agrees upon, and requireth your Assent to and Faith in, that you must necessarily believe and submit to. But though, as before, it is confest, in a Sense, we must believe as the true Church believes, yet not because she so believes; but for the same Reasons that she her self did and does so believe; in that none can truly believe as she believes; but must do so upon the same Principles and Motives, for which they believed, that first made up that *Christian Church*. To talk of being the Rule and Guide in Point of Faith, is to contradict Scripture, and justle Christ out of his Office, which is peculiar to him. He is given to his Church an Head, that is, a Councillor, a Ruler, a Judge, and is called a Lawgiver, and says the Apostle, if any Man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his; and the Children of God are led by the Spirit of God. And he was Wisdom and Righteousness to the Church Apostolick, and is so to his own Church all the World over. Besides 'tis absurd that the Church can be the Rule and Guide of Faith, for as such, she must be her own Rule and Guide, the Faith of the Members being that of the Church, which cannot be.

But what then can be the Meaning of Christ's Words, *Go tell the Church*? Very well. I answer, 'tis not about Faith, but Injury, that Christ speaks; and the Place explains it self, which is this: Moreover, if thy Brother shall trespass against thee, go and tell him his Fault, between thee and him alone. Here is Wrong, not Religion; Injustice, not Faith or Conscience concerned; as some would have it, to maintain their Church-Power. If he shall hear thee, thou hast gained thy Brother, but if he will not hear thee, then take with thee one or two more, that in the Mouth of two or three Witnesses, every Word may be established; and if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it unto the Church; but if he neglect to hear the Church, let him be unto thee as an Heathen Man and a Publican. Verily I say unto you, whatsoever ye shall bind on Earth, shall be bound in Heaven, and whatsoever ye shall loose on Earth, shall be loosed in Heaven, &c. The Matter and Manner of which Passage deliver'd by Christ, shews that he intended not to set up Church Power about Faith and Worship, unto which all must bow, even without, if not against Conviction. The Words *Trespas* and *Fault*, prove abundantly, that he meant private and personal Injuries, and that not only from the common and undeniable Signification and Use of the Words *Trespas* and *Fault*, but from the Way Christ directs and commands for Accommodation, viz. That the Person wronged, speaks to him that commits an Injury alone, if that will not do, that he take one or two with him; but no Man can think that if it related to Faith and Worship, I ought to receive the Judgment of one, or two, or three, for a sufficient Rule. This has not been the Practice, at least nor the Principle of the most degenerated Church since the primitive Times; for most, if not all, agree, that nothing lower than the Church can determine about Matters of Faith, and even many with Reason cannot go so far; I mean as to Injunction and Imposition. Yet Christ seems to fix a Blame upon him, than complies not with the Person he has offended, and more if he refuse to give Satisfaction, after one or two have also entreated him; but therefore it cannot relate to Matters of Faith and Scruples of Conscience, but *Personal and Private Injuries*. Which is yet clearer from this Part of Christ's Saying, viz. That in the Mouth of two or three Witnesses every Word may be established: Which implies a Tryal and Judicial Proceeding, as is customary in civil Cases, about personal and private Trespases, for it were not so proper to speak of Witnesses on any other Account. This is interpreted, beyond Exception, by the Apostle to the Corinthians; where he reproves and forbids them to go to Law one with another before Unbelievers; arguing thus, Do you not know that the Saints shall judge the World; and if the World shall be judged by you, are ye unworthy

1st. 9. 6.
Rom. 8. 9.
14.

Mat. 18. 15,
16, 17, 18.

1 Cor. 6. 1.
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why to judge the smallest Matters? This shews the meaning of Church Authority in those Days, and is a natural Exposition upon Christ's Words, in Case of Trespas and Refractoriness, *tell the Church*. And 'tis yet the Practice of all Sober, just and quiet People, rather to refer their Controversies to approv'd Men, than to tear one another to Pieces at Law.

But it is worth our Notice, that as any Decision upon an *Arbitration*, obliges only the Parties to set down content with that award, be it loss or gain, which the Arbitrators think equal, as the next best Way to accommodate Differences, and nor that such award should alter their first Thoughts and Opinions they had of their Right, or force them to declare they are of the Arbitrators Mind; so is it most unreasonable, where the Church is only an *Arbitrator* about personal Trespas, or *Umpire* at most, from thence to imagine a Power to determine and impose Faith, and that upon severe Penalties, as well of this World unto which *Christ's Church* has no Relation, as of the other World. I say, this very Thing, well weigh'd, breaks all their Fallacies to Pieces, and decides the Business beyond all Contradiction, between those that stand upon the *Spirit within and the Scripture without*, on the one Hand, and such as merely rest upon the *Traditions of Men and Authority of the Church*, on the other Hand. For if in an Arbitration, I am not bound to be of the Arbitrators Mind, though for Peace Sake I submit to their Award, and that the *Church Power*, in this Place controverted, relates only to external and personal Trespas, Injuries or Injustices, as the Place it self plainly proves, there can be no Sense, Reason or Modesty in the Earth, on the Part of those High-Church Men, from hence to *wring and extort the Power of defining, resolving and imposing upon all People, under temporal and eternal Punishment, Articles of Faith and Bonds of Christian Communion*.

I conclude this of the Church, with saying, that 'tis not *Identity of Opinion*, but *Justice*, nor *Religious Uniformity*, but *Personal Satisfaction* that concerns the Text, and therefore Reason, sober Conscience and good Sense may at any Time lawfully insist upon their Claim, to be heard in all their Scruples or Exceptions, without Disrespect to that excellent Doctrine when rightly understood, *go tell the Church*.

To this, let me add something about this great Word *Church*. Some Men think they are sure enough, if they can but get within the *Pale of the Church*, that have not yet considered what it is. The Word *Church* signifies any Assembly, so the *Greeks* used it: And it is by worthy *Tindal* every where translated *Congregation*. It has a two fold Sense in Scripture. The first and most excellent Sense is that, in which she is called the *Body and Bride of Christ*. In this Respect she takes in all Generations, and is made up of the Regenerated, be they in Heaven or on Earth, thus *Ephes. 1. 22, Ch. 5. 23. to 33. Col. 1. 16, 17, 18. Heb. 12. 22, 23. Rev. 21. 2. Chap. 22. 17.* Here Christ only can be Head: This *Church* is washed from all Sin; nor a Spot nor a Wrinkle left: Ill Men have nothing to do with this Church, within whose Pale is only Salvation; nor is this universal and truly *Catholic* Church capable of being convened to be told of Wrongs or Trespas. The other Use of that Word in Scripture is always referred to particular Assemblies and Places, that is the *Church*, which by Christ's Doctrine, is to be told of Personal Injuries, and whose Determination, for Peace Sake, is to be adher'd to and submitted to: They must of Necessity be the adjacent or most contiguous Company of Christian Believers, those to whom the Persons in Difference are by external Society and Communion related: And that such private and distinct Assemblies are called the Church, is apparent from the Acts and Writings of the Apostles: The Church of *Jerusalem, Antioch, Corinth, Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamos, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia, Laodicea, Rome, Galatia, Thessalonica, Crete*, &c. Peruse those Places, *Acts 5. 11. and 9. 31. and 11. 22. 26. and 14. 23, 27. Rom. 15. 5. 1 Cor. 1. 2. and 4. 17. and 14. 4. Rev. 2. and 3 Chap.* By which it plainly appears that the *universal and visible Church*; so much bragg'd of, for
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the *Rule and Judge of Faith*, &c. is an upstart Thing, and like mean Families, or ill got Goods, it uses false Heraldry to give it a Title.

For the Apostolick Times, to which all others must vail, and by whom they must be tried, knew no such Conceit: And the Truth is, it was first started, when the Pride of one Man made him ambitious, and his Power able to bid for *Headship, Empire and Sovereignty*: It was then needful to his being *Universal Head*, that he should first have an *Universal Body*. But suppose such a Church there were, 'tis utterly impossible that such a Church could be called together in any one Place; or at any one Time, to be told, or to determine of any Thing: So that yielding the Thing by them desired, 'tis useless and impracticable to the Ends for which they desire it. But alas! who knows not, that loves not to be blind, that the Church among them is the *Priesthood*? The few cunning Men govern the Majority, and intitle their Conceits the *Canons of Christ's Church*, to give them Entrance and Acceptance: And then Humane Power and Force, the Policy and Weapons of this World, must be employed to back their Decrees. And all this comes from the *Ignorance and Idleness* of the People, that give the Pride and Industry of the Clergy an Opportunity to effect their Designs upon them. For so mean Spirited are the People, as to take all upon Trust for their Souls, that would not trust or take from an *Arch-Bishop* a brass Shilling or a slit Great.

'Tis prodigious to think what *Veneration* the *Priesthood* have raised to themselves, by their usurpt Commission of *Apostleship*, their pretended Successions, and their *Clank Clank* of extraordinary Ordination. A *Priest*, a *God on Earth*, a *Man that has the Keys of Heaven and Hell*; do as he says or be damn'd! What Power like to this? The Ignorance of the People, of their Title and Pretences, hath prepared them to deliver up themselves into their Hands, like a crafty Usurer, that hedges in the Estate on which he has a Mortgage; and thus they make themselves *over in Fee* to the Clergy, and become their proper *Patrimony*, instead of being their Care, and they the true Ministers or Servants of the People: So that believing as the Church believes, is neither more nor less than rooking Men of their Understandings, or doing as ill Gamesters are wont to do, get by using false Dice. Come, come, it's believing as the *Priesthood* believes, which has made Way for the Offence, wise and good Men have taken against the Clergy in every Age. And did the People examine their Bottom, the Ground of their Religion and Faith, it would not be in the Power of their Leaders to cause them to err. An implicit Veneration to the Clergy begun the Misery. What, doubt my Minister, arraign his Doctrine, put him to the Proof! by no Means: But the Consequence of not doing it, has been the Introduction of much false Doctrine, Superstition and Formality, which gave just Occasion for Schism; for the Word has no Hurt in it's self, and implies only a Separation; which may as well be right as wrong.

But that I may not be taxed with Partiality, or upbraided with Singularity, there are two Men, whose Worth, Good Sense, and true Learning, I will at any Time engage against an entire Convocation of another Judgment, viz. *Jacobus Acontius* and *John Hales of Eaton*, that are of the same Mind, who, though they have not writ much, have writ well and much to the Purpose. I will begin with *Jacobus Acontius* at large, and do heartily beseech my Readers to be more than ordinarily intent in reading what I cite of him; their Care and Patience will be requited by his Christian and very acute Sense.

It remains that we speak of such Causes of the not perceiving that a Change of Doctrine is introduced, as consist in the Persons that are taught. Now they are chiefly two, *Carelessness* and *Ignorance*. *Carelessness* for the most Part ariseth hence, In that the People *trust too much* to their Pastors; and persuade themselves, that they will not slip into any Error, and that therefore they have small Need to have an Eye over them, that they are bound rather to embrace whatsoever they shall hold forth, without any curious Examination. Hereunto may be added many other Bufilesses

' Business, whereunto Men addict themselves : For that Saying is of large
 ' Extent, *Where Men's Treasure is, there is their Heart*, and that other,
 ' *No Man can serve two Masters*. Now, how it may come to pass that
 ' after a People hath once had a great Knowledge of Divine Truths, the
 ' said Knowledge may as it were vanish away, besides that Cause which
 ' hath been even now alledged, we shall in another Place make Discovery
 ' of some other Reasons. We shall for the present add only this one, that
 ' the People themselves are in a perpetual Kind of Mutation, some daily
 ' dying and departing, others succeeding and growing up in their Stead.
 ' Whence it comes to pass, That since the Change which is made in every
 ' Age is *small*, either the People cannot perceive it, or if they do observe
 ' it, yet they esteem it not of such Moment, as to think fit to move any Dis-
 ' ference thereabout. This Thing also is of very great Force to keep the
 ' People from taking Notice of a Change in Doctrine, when Men shall
 ' persuade themselves, that they are not able to judge of Matters of Reli-
 ' gion, as though *It is, It is not*, and other Words used in Scripture, do
 ' not signify the same which they do in common discourse ; or as if no-
 ' thing could be understood without some great Knowledge in the Tongues,
 ' and Arts or Sciences, and as if the Power of the Spirit were of no Efficacy
 ' without these Helps. Whereby it cometh to pass, that whilst they
 ' think they understand not even those Things which in some Sort they do
 ' understand, being expressed in most clear and evident Words, they do at
 ' length arrive to that Blockishness, that they cannot understand them in-
 ' deed, so that, though they have before their Eyes a Sentence of Scrip-
 ' ture so clear, that nothing can be more evident, yet if they to whose Au-
 ' thority they in all Things subject themselves, shall say any Thing Point
 ' blank opposite thereunto, they will give Credit unto them, and imagine
 ' themselves not to see that which they see as clear as the Light. And by
 ' these Means verily it comes to pass, that when the Doctrine of Religion
 ' is corrupted, the Mutation is not discover'd. Furthermore, when the
 ' Doctrine is once begun to be changed, it must needs be, that out of one
 ' Error another should spring and propagate infinitely ; and God, for Just
 ' Reasons of his own, blinding them, Men bring upon themselves so great
 ' Darkness, and slip into such foul Errors, that if God of his Mercy open
 ' a Man's Eyes, and let him see those Errors he lives in, he can scarcely
 ' believe himself, or be persuaded that he was ever envelop'd with such
 ' blind Errors. Which thing is as true, and as well to be seen in Men of
 ' greatest Learning and Experience. If thou shalt thoroughly peruse the
 ' Writings of some of the School-men (as they call them) thou shalt in
 ' some Places meet with so much Acuteness, as will make thee admire :
 ' Thou shalt see them oftentimes cleave a fine Thread into many Parts,
 ' and accurately Anatomise a Flea, and a little after fall so foully, and a-
 ' vouch such Absurdities, that thou canst not sufficiently stand amazed ;
 ' wherefore we must obey that Advice of the Poet ;

*Principiis obstu, sero medicina paratur,
 Cum mala per longas invaluere moras,*

Resist betimes ; that Medicine stays too long,
 Which comes when Age has made the Grief too strong.

' Now there is Need of a double Caution, *viz.* That there be no Change
 ' made in the Doctrine, when it is pure : And if any Change be made, that
 ' there be notice taken of it. Now look what change is made in this Kind,
 ' all the Blame is laid upon those whose Office it is to instruct the People :
 ' For though themselves are the Authors of the Change, yet will the Peo-
 ' ple impute it to the Ministers Sleepiness, and want of Care at least. It
 ' concerns therefore the Pastors and Teachers to be Eagle-eyed, and to be
 ' very well acquainted with those Causes whereby the Change of Doctrine
 ' becomes undiscover'd, and to have them at their Fingers Ends, and to be
 ' wary,

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wary, that on no Hand they may miscarry. Now it will be an excellent
 Caution for the keeping of Doctrine pure, if they shall avoid all curious
 and vain Controversies: If they shall set before their Eyes the Scope and
 End of all Religious Doctrines, and likewise a Series or Catalogue of all
 such Things as make to the Attainment of that End (of which we formerly
 spake;) if they shall affect, not only the Matter it self, but also,
 the Words and Phrases which the Holy Ghost in Scripture makes Use of,
 and exceedingly suspect all different Forms of Speaking. Not that I
 would have them speak nothing but *Hebraisms*; for so their Language
 would not be plain nor intelligible: but I wish that they would shun all
 such Expressions, as have been invented by overnice Disputants, beyond
 what was necessary to express the Sense of the *Hebrew* and *Greek*, and
 all those Tenets which Men by their own Wits do collect and infer from
 the Scriptures. Now of what Concernment this will be, we may gather
 by this Instance: The *Papists* think it one and the same Thing to say, *The*
Church cannot Err; and to say in the Words of our Lord, *Wheresoever*
two or three shall be gathered together in my Name, there will I be in the midst
of them. Yet is the Difference very great, which may thus appear, for-
 asmuch as in Case any one shall conceive the Church to be the Pope, Car-
 dinals, and Bishops anointed by the Pope; he hearing the aforesaid Sen-
 tence, will judge, that whatsoever they shall decree, ought to be of Force.
 But if he shall rather mind the Words of our Lord, and shall consider
 that those Kind of Men do regard nothing but their own Commodity,
 Wealth and Dominion; he will be so far from so understanding them,
 that peradventure not being able to allow the Deeds and Practices of
 these Men, he will come to hope from those Words, That if himself, with
 some other good Men, loving God with their whole Heart, shall come
 together, and unanimously implore the Assistance of God, they shall be
 better able to determine what it is that ought to be believ'd and practis'd
 for the Attainment of Salvation, than if they should persist to put their
 Confidence in such Pastors. Now this Rule, that the Words of the Scrip-
 ture ought to be used rather than any other, is then especially to be ob-
 serv'd, when any Thing is delivered as a certain and tryed Truth, or as a
 Rule of Faith or Life, or out of which any other Thing is to be inferred.
 For in Expositions and Explanations, as there is need happily of greater
 Liberty, so is there less Danger if it be taken. For, when as the Word of
 God, and the Exposition thereof, are at one and the same Time both to-
 gether in View as it were, there no Man can be ignorant, that the Expo-
 sition is the Word of Man, so that he may reject it, in case it seem imper-
 tinent. And look, by what Means a Man may hinder the Doctrine of
 Religion from being changed, by the self-same he may find whether it
 be changed or no. Now every Man ought to compare the Doctrine of
 that Age wherein he lives, with no other Doctrine than that which was
 out of Question spotless, which is the Doctrine of the Apostles. Where-
 fore, notwithstanding that in our Age the Gospel is as it were revived,
 yet ought not any Man thus to think, that he ought to Examine whe-
 ther the Gospel hath not lost any of that Purity whereunto it had at
 this Time arrived; he ought rather to look again and again, whether
 some Corruption do not yet remain, whether it be not in some Part as yet
 not sufficiently restored to its ancient Purity and Lustre; and confidently
 perswade himself, That he cannot be (that I may so speak) sufficiently
 superstitious in rejecting every Word which is not in the Scriptures. For
 as much as Man will ever be more wise and wary than the Holy Spirit,
 and can very hardly forbear to mingle somewhat from his own Head:
 So that whatever comes from Man, can never be sufficiently suspected.
 And because a Thing will be so much the better preserv'd, by how much
 the Greater is the Number of those that keep it; the People ought often
 to be put in Mind, that both the Reading of the Scriptures and the Care
 of Religion belongs not to the Pastors of the Church only; but that every
 one that would be sav'd ought to make diligent Search, whether any Cor-
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ruption be already, or is for the future like to be introduc'd; and this to do no less carefully, than if he were perswaded that all beside himself were asleep: And whatsoever is wont to take the common People off from such Studies, Care must be taken that that Thing be wholly taken away. Concerning which Matter, we shall more conveniently discourse anon.

Now, Forasmuch as the Profit will be small, if some private Man shall observe that an Error is introduc'd, unless he discover the said Error, and lay it open: there must of Necessity be some Way how this may conveniently be done. Now there cannot be a more fitting Way, than that which the Apostle propounds to the *Corinthians*. *Let two or three Prophets speak, and let the rest judge; and if any thing be revealed to him that sits by, let the former be silent. For ye may all prophecy one by one, that all may learn, and all may be exhorted.* If some one Person shall always speak in the Church, and no Man at any Time may contradict him, it will be a very strange Thing, if that one Man be not puffed up, if he do not fall into such a Conceit of himself, as to think that he is the only Man, that he only hath Understanding, he alone is wise: That all the rest are a Company of Brute Animals as it were, who ought to depend only upon him, and to do nothing but learn of him. And if any Man shall think, that himself likewise hath some Ability to teach, he will account that Man an heinous Offender. But what says the Apostle to this? *Did the Word of God come from you? or came it unto you only? If any seem to be a Prophet, or Spiritual; let him acknowledge what I write unto you to be the Commands of the Lord. But if any one be ignorant, let him be ignorant. Wherefore Brethren, labour that ye may Prophecy, and forbid not to speak with Tongues, let all Things be done decently and in order.* It is exceedingly to be lamented, that this Custom, and the Practice of this Command of the Lord, is not again restor'd into the Churches, and brought into Use. But some Men may say, Such is the Rashness of this Age of ours, such the Boldness, such the Impudence, that if it were allowed to every one to speak in the Congregation, there will be no End of Brawls and Contention. Why so? Is a Man another Kind of Creature now, than what he was of Old? Thou wilt say, He is: For Mankind hath continually degenerated, grown worse and worse, and seems now to have attained the Top of Corruption. Is it so indeed? But, suppose it to be so; Thou that art the Teacher of the People, art not thou also thy self made of the same Mold? Art not thou born in the same Age? Inasmuch as this Ordinance principally was intended to keep Pastors within the Bounds of Modesty, that they may understand that they are not the Authors of the Word of God, that they have not alone received the Spirit: By how much the more Mankind hath degenerated, by so much the greater Need is there thereof; for that there is now more Rashness, Arrogance, Pride, than of Old; this is true, as well of the Pastors and Teachers, as of the rest of the People. Art thou a Prophet? Hast thou any Portion of the Spirit? If thou hast not, so unfitting it is, that thou alone shouldst speak in the Congregation, that there will hardly be found any that deserves rather to be silenc'd, than thy self. But if thou art a Prophet, if thou hast the Spirit, mark what the Apostle says, *Acknowledge (quoth he) that these Things which I write, are the Commandments of the Lord.* Go to then, On the one Side we have the Judgment of our Lord, willing that Prophecy (for this is a Word that we are obliged to use) should be common to all, and that not for the Destruction, but the Salvation of the Church: On the other Side, we have thy Judgment, who fearest least that may breed Contention and Confusion; whose Judgment now ought we rather to stand to? If thou shalt conceive we must stand to thine, consider what thou assumest unto thy self, and what will become of thy Modesty. Our Lord, it should seem, understood not what a Kind of Creature Man was; he wanted thy Wisdom belike, to admonish him of the Danger; or haply he thought not upon that Corruption which

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‘ should beset Mankind, whereby such a Liberty might prove unprofitable. But *Paul* answers thee, *That God is not the Author of Contention, but of Peace*: Who well knowing what might move Contentions, what begat Peace, and not loving nor willing to have Contention, but Peace, willed that this Liberty of Prophecy should be in the Church. What canst thou say to the contrary? What hast thou to object against God himself, wilt thou accuse him of Indiscretion? No Man hath so wicked a Tongue, as to dare to do it, Yet if thou shalt diligently search thine Heart, thou shalt find there a certain Disposition ready to contend even with God himself: Which Motion of thy Heart, must by no Means be hearken’d unto, but sharply repressed, and wholly subjected to the Spirit of God. It may seem peradventure an absurd Thing, that after some very learned Person hath spoken, some contemptible Person shall be allow’d to contradict him. Can such a Person so do without great Rashness and Temerity? Were I to speak according to the Judgment of Man, verily I could not deny it. But if we be really perswaded, that the Knowledge of Matters Divine, ought not to be attributed to our *Watchings, Studies, Wits*, but to *God* and to his *Spirit*, wherewith he can in a Moment endue the simplest Person in the World, and that with no more Labour or Difficulty than if he were to give it to one that had spent *Nestor’s* Age in Study: What Reason is there for me to judge that this Man does rashly and unadvisedly, if he shall arise and contradict? Is not the Spirit able to reveal somewhat to him, which he hath hidden from thee? Now, if the Spirit have revealed somewhat to him, and to that End revealed it that he might contradict, that by his Means the Thing may be revealed to the Church; shall I say that he hath done rashly in obeying the Holy Ghost? And if thou think otherwise, verily thou art not perswaded that the Spirit is the Author and Teacher of this Knowledge, but that all the Praise thereof is due to *Studies, Watchings*, and the *Wits* of Men. And if this be thy Judgment, I tell thee again, that thou art not only unworthy to be sole Speaker, but worthy rather to be the only Person not permitted to speak in the Congregation.

‘ And that thou mayst the better understand, that the most unlearned ought to be allowed to speak, consider, God will have himself to be acknowledged the Author of his own Gifts: He will not have his Praise attributed unto our *Studies* or *Wits*, but unto himself. But if the Man that hath spent all his Life in Study, speak wisely, it is not attributed to *God*, but to *Study*: In Word, perhaps, it may be attributed to *God*, yet not without a vehement Reluctancy of our Judgment; and this is that which, I say, God will not abide. But if so be thou shalt hear a wise Word come out of the Mouth of some unlearned Person, thou must needs, whether thou wilt or no, acknowledge *God* to be the Author thereof. So, when *God* was minded to give unto *Israel* a Victory against the *Midianites*, under the Conduct of *Gideon*, and *Gideon* had gathered together Thirty Thousand Men, lest the *Israelites* should boast that they had gotten the Victory by their own Strength, and not by the Assistance of *God*, (which might have been conceived, if *Gideon* had fought with so numerous an Army) he would not suffer him to have above Three Hundred, that it might appear that he was the Cause of the Victory, and not the Number or Valour of those that fought. Now, besides the Glory of *God*, hereby great Profit does accrue to the Church: For if the People shall see now one Man, now another, endued with the Spirit, beyond all Expectation; many will thereby be encouraged to hope for the same Gift, if they shall ask it: many will learn and profit; and it will thereby come to pass, that when Occasion shall be to choose a Minister, the Church shall not need to call strange and unknown Persons to that Office, but she may have of her own such as are fit to be chosen; Men whose Conversation and Manners are sufficiently known. And when the Number of such as are able to prophecy, shall be great, the Church will not be forced to use such Pastors as from their very Childhood have

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‘ proposed to themselves such Office as the Reward of their Studies ; and
 ‘ addicted themselves to the Study of Scripture and Religion, no other-
 ‘ wise then they would have done to some Trade, whereby they meant in
 ‘ Time to get their Living : So that a Man can expect but very few of
 ‘ them to prove other than Mercenary or Hireling Pastors.

‘ Now, that it was the Custom of the Jewish Church, that all might
 ‘ thus Prophesie, we may hence conjecture, in that it is upon Record,
 ‘ *Luke 4*, how our Lord, upon the Sabbath-day, according to the Custom,
 ‘ came into the Synagogue, took a Book and expounded a place of Esay ; and
 ‘ how, being twelve Years of Age, he sat at Jerusalem in the Temple among
 ‘ the Doctors, and did Dispute. For he could not so do by virtue of any
 ‘ ordinary Office, forasmuch as his Age was incapable, neither did the
 ‘ Doctors know who he was. Yea rather, our Lord in so doing must needs
 ‘ make use of the Power which was granted to every one to speak. It re-
 ‘ mained in the Christians Congregations until the Times of Constantine at
 ‘ the least. Forasmuch as we have these Words of Eusebius, the Writer
 ‘ of Church Affairs, to that Effect : *If any Man inspired by the Grace of*
 ‘ *God, should speak unto the People, They all with great Silence, fixing their*
 ‘ *Eyes upon him, gave such Attention, as if he had brought them some Er-*
 ‘ *rand from Heaven.* So great was the Reverence of the Hearers, such or-
 ‘ der was seen among the Ministers. One after another, another after him.
 ‘ Neither were there only two or three that prophesied, according to what
 ‘ the Apostle said, but to all was given to speak ; so that the Wish of Moses
 ‘ seems rather to have been fulfilled in them, when he said, *Would God*
 ‘ *all the People might Prophecy.* There was no Spleen, no Envy, the Gifts
 ‘ of God were dispensed, every one according to his Ability, contributing
 ‘ his Assistance for the Confirmation of the Church : And all was done
 ‘ with Love, in such sort, That they strove mutually to honour each other,
 ‘ and every one to prefer another before himself. But to the End this
 ‘ common Prophecying may be profitable to the Church, we must diligent-
 ‘ ly mark what the Apostle advises. For a sure Thing it is, that the
 ‘ Pride of Man is so great, that whatever hath once fallen from him, he
 ‘ will by any Means have it stand for a Truth ; neither can he suffer that
 ‘ any Man should infringe the same. So that if he might be permitted to
 ‘ judge, that last spake, it will be a Miracle if a Man in his Life Time
 ‘ should see any one give way to him that contradicts him : What is Paul’s
 ‘ Advice therefore in this Case ? *Let two or three Prophets speak, and let*
 ‘ *the rest judge.* He will not therefore have the same Persons to be Parties
 ‘ and Judges. And he adds a little after, *And the Spirit of the Prophets,*
 ‘ *is subject to the Prophets ; for God is not the Author of Dissension, but*
 ‘ *of Peace.* So that as soon as any Man hath spoken his own Mind, he
 ‘ ought to rest himself satisfied with the Judgment of the rest, and not
 ‘ obstinately to make no End of contending : If this be not done, a sure
 ‘ Thing it is ; there will be no End of Strife. But what if any Man will
 ‘ not be content to submit to the Judgment of the rest : Verily I would
 ‘ avouch, that being sharply admonished, that he disturb not the Congre-
 ‘ gation, and that he go not against the Command of the Apostle, or ra-
 ‘ ther of our Lord, commanding the Spirits of the Prophets to be subject
 ‘ to the Prophets, he ought to be cast out of the Society, though he should
 ‘ hold the prime Place in the Congregation : The People likewise must
 ‘ frequently be admonished, that Liberty for any one to speak in the Con-
 ‘ gregation, is not therefore granted by the Apostle, to the end every one
 ‘ should speak what comes to his Tongue’s End, as if he were in a Mar-
 ‘ ket ; but whereas he gives Liberty to him to speak to whom any Thing
 ‘ is revealed, he would have all Rashness and Impudence to be laid aside.
 ‘ He that reverences not the Church of God, let that Man know, he de-
 ‘ spiseth the Spirit of God, who is President there ; and shall be sure not
 ‘ to escape unpunished. Before a Man propounds any Thing to the Church,
 ‘ he ought to consider again and again, how sure a Manifestation he hath
 ‘ of that Thing, and whatever the Matter be, let him be sure not to for-

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get a sober, modest, bashful Behaviour, without which Virtues, doubtless no good can be effected. But here we must attentively consider, both how far a Man ought to submit to the Judgment of the Congregation, and who may deservedly be accounted a Troubler of the Church. Verily, I conceive a Man ought so far to give way, as that after I have allowed what I had to say for my Opinion, if yet the rest shall not allow of my Judgment, I ought to give over defending of it, and cease to be troublesome to the Congregation concerning the same: But I ought not to be compelled to confess that I have erred, nor to deprecate any fault, while I do not yet understand that I have erred, for so I should sin against God. He therefore is a Troubler of the Church, that will not, so far as we have expressed, submit to the Judgment of the Church, but goeth on to be troublesome; but especially that Man who would exact of another that which he ought not to do; viz. to recant, being not persuaded that he is in an Error. But those Men are commonly reputed Troublers of the Church, who refuse to ratify whatever shall any Ways fall out of the Pastors Mouths. Again, in this Place it may reasonably be demanded, whether, when that a Matter hath been once or twice debated, and some Man, knowing the Judgment of the Congregation, would again reduce it into Controversie, he ought to be heard, or enjoined Silence, and take the Matter for determined: But of this we shall in another Place more conveniently dispute. That which remains therefore, is, that we wrestle with God, by daily Prayers, to grant that we may have the Use of this so sovereign and saving Liberty, so profitable to the Church, and that thereby we may reap Abundance of Fruit. And that he would, to that end, break and tame our Spirits with his Spirit, and render them mild and gentle: and not suffer, what he hath ordained for the Confirmation and Establishment of his Church, to be, by the Stubbornness and Perverseness of our Wits and Minds, turned to the Mischief and Destruction thereof. With much more to the same Purpose, too large to be here inserted.

What I have cited, makes an Apology, for doing so, needless; His whole Book is a most accurate Account of Satan's Stratagems, to cause and keep up Divisions among *Christians*; deserving a first Place with the most Christian Writers since the Apostolical Times. He was an *Italian*, of excellent Natural and Supernatural Endowments, banished about *Luther's* Time for the Gospel.

Let us now inform our selves of the Judgment of that great Man of our own Country *J. Hales* of *Eaton* in his Treatise of the Power of the Keys. Upon the Matter in hand, viz. 'To your second Query, *Whether the Keys were confined to the Apostles only?* The answer is in no case hard to give, it may perchance, in some case, be dangerous; for there is a Generation of Men in the World, the Clergy they call them, who impropriate the Keys unto themselves, and would be very angry to understand, that others from themselves should claim a right unto them. To your Question then, no doubt but originally none received the Keys from the Mouth of our Saviour, but the Apostles only; none did or ever could manage them with that Authority and Splendor, as the Apostles did, who were, above all most amply furnished with all Things fitting so great a Work. For whereas you seem to intimate, that the preaching Mission was communicated to others, as the seventy two Disciples, as well as the Apostles, you do but mistake your self, if you conceive that the Keys of the Gospel were any way committed to them: For concerning the Mystery of Jesus Christ, and him crucified for the Sins of the World (wherein, indeed, the opening the Kingdom of Heaven did consist) They received it not, they knew it not. To be the prime Reporters of this, was an Honour imparted only to the Apostles: Yet were they not so imparted, as that they should be confined to them. Every one that heard and received the Light of the saving Doctrine from them, so far forth as he had understanding in the Ways of Life, had now the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven committed

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‘mitted to his Power, both for his own and others use. Every one, of what State or Condition soever, that hath any occasion offered him, to serve another in the Ways of Life, Clergy, or Lay, Male or Female, whosoever he be, hath these Keys, not only for himself, but for the Benefit of others. For if Natural Goodness teach every Man, *Lumen de Lumine, Erranti comiter monstrare viam*, &c. then how much more doth Christian Goodness require of every one, to his Ability, to be a Light to those who sit in Darkness, and direct their Steps, who most dangerously mistake their Way? To save a Soul, every Man is a Priest. To whom I pray you, is that said in *Leviticus*, *Thou shalt not see thy Brother Sin, but shalt reprove, and save thy Brother?* And if the Law binds a Man, when he saw his Enemies Cartel to stray, to put them in their Way; How much more doth it oblige him to do the like for the Man himself? See you not how the whole World conspires with me in the same Opinion? Doth not every Father teach his Son, every Master his Servant; every Man his Friend? How many of the Laity in this Age, and from time to time in all Ages, have by writing for the publick good, propagated the Gospel of Christ, as if some secret Instinct of Nature had put into Men’s Minds thus to do, &c.

To this let me add his Sense of the Force of the Fathers Authority in the Decision of Controversies, and how far the Ancients, whether Fathers or Councils, ought to be interested in the Debates of these Times, which may not be improper to the present subject, because not a few build upon their Bottom, the Clergy to be sure, that pretend to direct the rest.

‘You shall find (says he) that all *Schisms* have crept into the Church by one of these three Ways; either upon Matter of Fact, or Matter of Opinion, or Point of Ambition. For the first; I call that Matter of Fact, when something is required to be done by us, which either we know or strongly suspect to be unlawful; so the first notable *Schism*, of which we read, in the Church, contained in it Matter of Fact; For it being, upon Error, taken for necessary that an *Easter* must be kept; and upon worse than Error, if I may so speak, (for it was no less than a Point of *Judaism*, forced upon the Church upon worse than Error, I say) thought further necessary, that the ground for the Time of our keeping that Feast, must be the Rule left by *Moses* to the *Jews*; there arose a stout Question, *Whether we were to Celebrate with the Jews, on the fourteenth Moon, or the Sunday following?* This Matter, though most unnecessary, most vain, yet caused as great a Combustion, as ever was in the Church, The West separating and refusing Communion with the East, for many Years together. In this Fantastical Hurry, I cannot see, but all the World were *Schismatics*: Neither can any Thing excuse them from that Imputation; excepting only this, that we charitably suppose that all Parties, out of Conscience, did what they did.

‘A Thing which befel them through the Ignorance of their Guides, for I will not say their Malice, and that through the just Judgment of God, because through Sloth and Blind Obedience, Men examined not the Things which they were taught, but like Beasts of Burden, patiently couched down, and indifferently underwent whatsoever their Superiors laid upon them. By the Way, by this you may plainly see the Danger of our Appeal unto Antiquity, for Resolution in Controverted Points of Faith, and how small Relief we are to expect from thence. For if the Discretion of the chiefest Guides and Directors of the Church, did in a Point so trivial, so inconsiderable, so mainly fail them, as not to see the Truth in a Subject, wherein it is the greatest Marvel how they could avoid the Sight of it; can we, without Imputation of extream Grossness and Folly, think so Poor Spirited Persons, competent Judges of the Questions now on Foot, betwixt the Churches? Pardon me! I know not what Temptation drew that Note from me.

How these Two worthy Men will come off, I can’t tell: They have ventured fairly, and yet I think their Case not hazardous at all. You have them

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them in three Points plain. First, *That relying upon the Clergy as Guardians of Truth to the People, and the People's not examining the Truth of Things from them, is not Apostolical, but Apostatical.* Secondly, *That no Councils or Fathers ought to be the Rule or Judge of our Faith.* Thirdly, *That to Save Souls, every Man is a Priest:* That is, the People are interested in the Christian Ministry, which is not tied to Times, Places, Persons and Orders, as under the Law; but free to all that have obtained Mercy and Grace from God. And therefore Peter calls the Believers, 1 Pet. ii. 5, 9. an Holy and Royal Priesthood. So that every Believer is a Priest to himself under the Gospel. But all this I have mentioned with design, if it be possible, to bear Men off that superstitious and dangerous Veneration they carry to the Names of Church, Priesthood, and Fathers; as if they were to be saved by them, and not by Christ, *who is the Only Head and Saviour of the True Church, and God over all, Blessed for ever.* And truly, when I consider the wide Dependence some People have upon the Church, whilst they know not what She is, and make it a Principle not to enquire, I am amaz'd, and often struck with Horror, to observe with what Confidence they expose their Souls. This Principle it is, and not Enquiry, that makes Men careless and unactive about their own Salvation: But let none deceive themselves, *as they Sow they shall Reap,* Gal. vi. 5. 7. *Every one must bear his own Burden.* 'Tis not to be saved to be within the Pale of any Visible Church in the World. That is putting an Eternal Cheat upon our selves. *All Things are ill Things, within or without the Pale:* That matters not; and as Sin can't be Christened, nor Impiety reconciled to Christianity by any Arts of Men, *So the Wages of Sin will be Death,* Rom. vi. 23. *Eternal Death.* To be therefore of the Church of which Christ is Head, the Redeemed, Regenerated Church of Christ, is quite another Thing, than to be of any Visible Society whatever; for in all such Communions there are, but too many, that have no True Title to Christianity. If then that *Immaculate Church, of which Christ is Head,* be made up only of *Holy and Regenerated Souls* throughout the Societies of Christians, this will administer but little Comfort to those, that presume upon their being within the Pale of the Visible Church, that are without the Pale of Virtue and Holiness.

But to proceed to those Scriptures that are irreconcilable to *implicit Faith and Blind Obedience:* *He that believeth, hath the Witness in himself,* 1 John v. 10. This General Rule respects no Persons: It is the Result of the *Holy Ghost* to all Believers. *Such have no Need to go to Rome, nor Winifred's Well, to the Shrines of Saints, the Priests, nor the Church, for a Proof of their Faith.* They have an Evidence nearer Home: They have the Witness of their Faith, and the Reason of their Hope in themselves.

It is true, this is a Private Judge; but (as it happens) 'tis one of the *Holy Ghost's* setting up; of all Things, I confess, most destructive to *Papacy*, no Doubt; for there is a Judge in every Man, that sincerely believes, to whom he must stand and fall in this and the other World. For (saith the Apostle) *If our Heart condemn us, God is greater than our Heart, and knoweth all Things: Beloved, if our Heart condemn us not, then have we Confidence towards God.* 1 John iii. 20, 21. That is, *the Witness in our selves discharges us.* *The Spirit beareth Witness with our Spirits, that we are the Children of God,* Rom. viii. 16. and Sons of the True Church: Not She that hath fasted her self with the Flesh of Saints, and died her Garments in the Blood of Martyrs, who hath Merchandized in the Souls of Men: But of that Church which is Crowned with Stars, and Cloathed with the Sun, and has the Moon under her Feet. A Church of Light and Knowledge, of Understanding and Truth, and not of implicit Faith and blind Obedience: One that tramples upon all Sublunary Glory, and not she that makes her Pretences to Religion a Decoy to catch the Empire of the World.

Of like Tendency is that Notable Passage of the Apostle Paul to the *Corinthians*, 2 Cor. xiii. v. *Examine your selves, whether ye be in the Faith, prove your own selves: Know ye not your own selves, how that Jesus Christ is in you, except ye be Reprobates?* Here is not a Word of the Pope, nor an

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External Judge; no Humane Inquisition or Authority *Examine your selves, whether ye be in the Faith? Prove your own selves:* But which Way shall we do this? By Christ, who is the *Great Light*, that shines in our Hearts, to give us the Knowledge of God and our selves: *He that believes in him, has the Witness in himself; he is no Reprobate; his Heart condemns him not.*

To which I will add another Passage to the same Purpose, in his Epistle to the *Galatians*, Gal. vi. 4, 5. *But let every Man prove his own Work, then shall he have Rejoycing in himself alone, and not in another: For every Man shall bear his own Burden.* Here every Man is enjoyned to turn Inquisitor upon himself; and the Reason rendred shews the Justice of the Thing; *because my Rejoycing must be in my self alone, and not in another. I stand and fall to no Man; such as I Sow, I must Reap at the Hand of God, if Paul say true.* Men's Pardons are Vain, and their Indulgences Fictitious; *For every Man shall bear his own Burden in that Great Day of the Lord.* It cannot therefore be Reasonably thought that another Man should have the keeping of my Understanding at my Eternal Cost and Charge, or that I must entirely depend upon the Judgment of a Man or Men, who erring, (and thereby causing me to err) cannot be Damned for me, but I must pay their Reckoning at the Hazard of my own Damnation.

I am not unacquainted with the great Objection that is made by *Roman Catholics*, and some *Protestants* too, *High Church-Men* perhaps, *That Love the Treason, but hate the Traytor; That like this Part of Popery, but hate the Pope, viz. There are Doubts in Scripture, even about the most important Points of Faith: Some Body must guide the Weak; there must be some One Ultimate, External, and Visible Judge to appeal to, who must determine and conclude all Persons as to their Doubts and Apprehensions concerning the Interpretation of Scripture; otherwise, So many Men, so many Minds; the Church would be filled with Controversie and Confusion.*

I Answer, That the Scriptures are made more doubtful than they are, by such as would fain preserve to themselves the Umpirage and Judgship of their Meaning. I deny it in Point of Fact, that Man's Duty is not most plainly express'd in all that concerns Eternal Salvation. But 'tis very strange, that when God intends nothing more by the Scriptures, than to reach the Capacities of Men, as to Things on which their Eternal Salvation depends, that no Book, if such Men say true, should be so obscure, or subject to so many various, nay, contradictory Constructions. Name me one Author, *Heathen, Jew, or Christian*, that ever wrote with that Obscurity and seeming Inconsistency, which some gladly pretend to find in the *Holy Scripture*, that they might have the use and keeping of them from the *Vulgar*, and make their own Ends by it: Is then every Body's Book to be understood but God's? Was that Writ not to be understood? In short, One of these Two Things must be True; *Either that God intended not to be understood, or to be understood, in what he commanded to be written.* If he resolved *Not to be understood*, it had been better there had been nothing writ; for then there had been no Doubts about the Meaning of it; but if it was his Purpose *To be understood of Men*, it must be supposed, that what he caused to be written, was plain enough for Men to understand, or he mist his own Aim and End, and writ it to no Purpose, which were too low and absurd a Thought of the Infinite Goodness and Wisdom.

If it should be told me, *That it is not denied but that the Scriptures may be understood by some Body, but not by every Body, for that the Great, Visible Judge must needs understand them, because it belongs to his Office to resolve those Doubts, and determine those Controversies that may arise about understanding them, but not every one that reads them.*

Ans. I must also say, that this is not True in Fact: For it is ridiculous to imagine, that *Luke* did not make *Theophilus* his own Judge in the reading of what he writ to him, or that the Apostles in writing to the several Churches, as *Rome, Corinth, Ephesus, &c.* to whom they directed their Epistles, did not intend that they should understand what they writ, or that they erected any such Officer in the Church, as an Expounder of their Epistles

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Epistles to the Assembly to be necessarily believed. For we know in those Days, *the People made the Church*, they were the *κλήρὸς* the Clergy, however it came about that it benowengrossed into fewer Hands, as you may see in the *Greek of Peter*, 1 Pet. v. 4. *Μηδ' ὡς καὶ κληρονομίαν τῶν κληρῶν*, which *κληρῶν*, is Translated *Heritage* in all our Bibles. But this is as if the *Priests* only were the *Lord's Heritage*; which can't be, for a Reason obvious to all, namely, that they have long reign'd as Lords over God's Heritage, or Clergy, forbid expressly by *Peter*, therefore not the Heritage and Clergy over which they so Rule like Lords; by no Means. I will say no more but this, 'tis no Convincing Proof to me of their Humility. But to shut up this Argument about the Difficulty of Understanding the Scripture, and pretended Necessity of a Visible Judge; I say, *Whatsoever may be spoken, may be written*; or thus; *Whatsoever a Visible Judge can now say, the Holy Penmen by God's Direction might have written*; and what an Omniscient and Omnipotent God did know, and could do for Man's Salvation, an Omnibenevolent God, that tells us, *He delights not in the Death of one Soul, but rather that he should be saved*, would certainly have done for Man. And because God is as *Omnibenevolent*, as *Omniscient* and *Omnipotent*, we must conclude he has done it; and 'tis great Presumption, and a mean Shelter to Ignorance or Ambition, to raise a Credit to Human Devices, by beating down the True Value of the Scriptures.

They are dark; What follows? *They must not be read*? What follows then? *Why then such Teachers may do as they list with the People*. But did the *Pharisees*, with their broad Phylacteries, know God's Mind better than the Prophets? Or could they deliver it clearer? No such Matter: It is by the same strange Figure, that the School-Men *know the Mind of Christ better than the Apostles*, and that the Council of Trent can declare Faith more clearly than the Holy Ghost in the Scripture hath done; and yet this is the English of their Doctrine, that hold to us those Lights to read the Scripture by; and that would have us search their Canons and Decrees, to find out the Mind of the Holy Ghost in Scripture.

The Confusions that are pretended to follow such an Enquiry, are but the wretched Arts of Selfish Men, as much as in them lies, to keep *Light and Truth out of the World*. When the Net was cast into the Sea, there came some Good, some Bad Fish; it was not the *Fisher's Fault* they were no better. Enquiry is not to be blamed for the ill Use weak, or worse Men, make of it. The *Bereans* might not all believe, though they might all search; for Men don't enquire with equal Wisdom, Love, and good Desire: *Some seek and find not, some ask and receive not*; James iv. 3. therefore must none ask or seek after that which is Good? Or because some ask or seek amiss, will it follow that the Thing it self is naught? If Superstition, Error, Idolatry, and Spiritual Tyranny be detected, and Truth discover'd, will it not more than make amends for all that Weakness and Folly some Men have brought forth by the Liberty of such an Enquiry? The Enemies of *Light* may be as Rhetorical as they please upon the Excess or Presumption of some, Bolder than Wise, and more Zealous than Knowing, but if they had nothing to lose by the Discovery, they would never be the Enemies of a *Christian Search*. It is to be fear'd, such get that Obedience and Subjection by a blind Devotion, which no Man could yield them upon better Information; And is it Reasonable that Men of that Stamp, should secure their Empire by the Ignorance of the People? Ignorance ought to be the Mother of Devotion with none but those that cannot be Devout upon better Terms: It is the Glory of a Man that he is Religious upon Reason, and that his Duty and (Lev. 22. 18, 29.) Sacrifice, are not Blind or forc'd, but Free and Reasonable. Truth upon Knowledge, though vext with Schism, Wise and Good Men will chuse before ignorant Religion, and all it's Superstitious Effects with Uniformity. Enough of this.

But this Notion Of an *Infallible Visible Judge*, is as False in Reason as in Fact. For first, it takes away the Use of every Man's Reason, and it is a Contradiction to have any, unless he were such an Interpreter, and such a Judge;

Judge, as would conclude us by Conviction, and not by Authority: That would be the most Welcome Person in the World. But to over-rule my own Sight, to give the Lye to my own Understanding, say, *Black is White*, and that *Two and Three make Ten*; thus *Subjugare intellectum in Obsequium fidei*; to yield my Understanding to such an In-evident Way of Faith, nay, which is worse, to believe a Lye, for so it is to them, to whom the Thing to be believed, appears Untrue, is most Unreasonable.

If we must be *Led*, it had been easier for us to have been born Blind, we might then have better follow'd the *Dog and the Bell*; for we could not mend our selves; *but to See, and to be Led*; and that in *Ways we see to be foul or wrong, this is Anxious.* Here lies the Dispute: And truly here the Question might fairly end, *Either put out our Eyes, or let us use them*: But if we have Eyes for our Minds as well as for Bodies, I see no Reason why we should trust any Man, or Men, against the Eyes of our Understanding, any more than we ought to confide in them against the Sense and Certainty of the Eyes of our Bodies.

Where is the *poorest Mechanick* that would be paid his Labour in base Coin for Silver, by either *Pope or Bishop*? And can we be so Brutish, as to think our *Nobler Part* void of Distinction, about that *Treasure which is of Eternal Moment.* For though *Peter* was to feed the Sheep, yet the Sheep were not to follow *Peter*, but *Christ.* *My Sheep hear my Voice*, says he, *and follow me, and a Stranger they will not follow,* John x. 14. Here is no Mediator betwixt *Christ* and his Sheep; nor does any Body else bear his Voice for them; but they hear his Voice themselves. And though the Shepherd may have many Servants, yet *He only is their Shepherd, and they are only the Sheep of his Fold.*

But there are three Places of Scripture, that come fresh into my Remembrance, that are very pertinent to the present Occasion. The first is this, Rom. i. 19. *That which may be known of God, is manifest in Men, for God hath shewed it unto them*: That is, *The Spirit of Man being the Candle of the Lord*, Prov. xx. 27. God hath enlightned it to manifest unto Man, what is necessary for him to know both of God and himself. Here is no Need of *Wax-Candles, or Tapers, or a Visible Guide and Church*; for still, *He that believes, has the Witness in himself.*

Another Passage is this: *Be ye Followers of me, even as I am also of Christ*, 1 Cor. xi. 1. In which the Apostle is so far from setting himself up a Judge over the Church of *Corinth*, that he makes his Appeal to them concerning his Doctrine and Conversation, regulating both by that of *His Lord Jesus Christ*, and making them Judges of the Truth of his Conformity to that Example. *Be ye Followers of me*: How? After what Manner? What! Absolutely, without Examination? Must we believe Thee without any Trial, and take what thou sayest for granted, without any more to do? No such Thing. *Be ye Followers of me, even as I also am of Christ*: I submit myself to be judg'd by you according to that Rule; and all Men and Churches are to be thus measur'd, that lay Claim to the Name of *Christian*: The Text will bear it.

The Third Passage is in his Second Epistle to the same Church of *Corinth*; 'tis this; 2 Cor. 4. 1, 2. *Therefore seeing we have this Ministry, as we have received Mercy, we faint not: but have renounced the hidden Things of Dishonesty, nor walking in Craftiness, nor handling the Word of God deceitfully, but by Manifestation of the Truth, commending our selves to every Man's Conscience in the Sight of God.* Here is the utmost Imposition the Apostle makes Use of: He requires not Men to receive him without Evidence, and refers himself to that of their own Consciences in the Sight of God. This was the Way of making *Christians* then; it must be the Way of keeping and making Men *Christians* now.

Conscience, in the best Sense of the Word, has ever been allowed to be a Bond upon Men in all Religions: But that Religion, whoever holds it, which under Pretence of Authority, would supersede Conscience, and instead of making Men better, the End of Religion, make them worse, by con-

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foundings all Sense and Distinction betwixt *Good and Evil*, and resolving all into an *implicit Faith and blind Obedience* unto the Commands of a *visible Guide and Judge*, is false, it cannot be otherwise. For to admire what Men don't know, and to make it a Principle not to inquire, is the last Mark of *Folly* in the Believer, and of *Imposture* in the Imposer. To be short, a *Christian* implies a Man, and a Man implies *Conscience and Understanding*; but he that has no *Conscience* nor *Understanding*, as he has not, that has deliver'd them up to the Will of another Man, is no *Man*, and therefore no *Christian*.

I do beseech you *Protestants* of all Sorts, to consider of the Danger of this Principle, with Respect to *Religion*. Of Old 'twas the Fool that said in his Heart, *there is no God*? But now, upon this Principle, Men must be made *Fools* in Order to believe there is one. Shall *Folly*, which is the Shame, if not the Curse of Man, be the Perfection of a *Christian*? Christ indeed has advis'd us to become as *little Children*, but never to become such *Fools*; for as the Proverb is, this is to be led by the Nose, and not by our Wits. You know that God hates the *Sacrifices of Fools*: Eccle. 5. 1. *I will pray with the Spirit and with Understanding also*, saith the Apostle. 1 Cor. 14. Let us commend that Testimony, which we believe to be true, to the Consciences of Men, and let them have the Gospel Privilege of *Examination*. Error only loses upon Tryal: If this had been the Way to *Christianity*, with Reverence be it spoken, God had not made our Condition better, but worse; for this transpires our Faith and Dependence upon God, to Man; and the Possibility, if not Probability of *Mans erring*, exposes us to a greater Insecurity than before: For where I never trusted, I never could be deceived: But if I must abandon my own Sense and Judgment, and yield my self up to the Faith and Authority of another (to say no more of the Blindness and Lameness of such Belief and Devotion) what Security can I have, that the Man or Men whom I trust, may not err, and deceive me? And that Deceit is irreparable.

Again, since Man is a reasonable Creature, and that the more reasonable he is in his Religion, the nearer to his own being he comes, and to the Wisdom and Truth of his Creator, that did so make him: A Religion without Reason, imposed by an unaccountable Authority, against Reason, Sense and Conviction, cannot be the Religion of the God of Truth and Reason. For it is not to be thought that he requires any Thing that carries any Violence upon the Nature of his Creature, or that gives the Lye to that Reason or Sense with which he first endowed him. In short, either convince my Understanding by the Light of Truth and Power of Reason, or bear down my Infidelity with the Force of Miracles: For not to give me Understanding or Faith, and to press a Submission that requires both, is most unreasonable.

But if there were no other Argument than this, it goes a great Way with me, that as to such as have their Understanding at Liberty, if they are mistaken there may be Hopes of reclaiming them, by informing them; but where the Understanding and Conscience are enslaved to Authority, and where Men make it a Principal Doctrine, to suspect their own Sense, and Strive against their own Convictions; to move only by other Men's Breath and fall down to their Conclusions; nothing seems to be left for the soundest Arguments, and clearest Truths, to work upon. They had almost need to be Re-Created in Order to be converted; for who can reasonably endeavour to make him a *Christian*, that is not a Man; which he cannot be truly said to be, who has no Understanding, or resolves not to use it, but reject it, which is yet worse: For he that has no Understanding, has no Prejudice against it, but he that purposely denies and abuses it, is so much worse, as that he turns Enemy to him that has and uses his Understanding. He therefore can never be convinced of his Error, who is prejudiced against the necessary Means of Conviction, which is the Use of his Understanding, without which 'tis impossible he should ever be convinced.

To conclude, I have reserved, till last, one Argument, which is ad *Hominem*

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minem, unanswerable by us Protestants, and without yielding to which, we cannot be consistent with our selves, or be thought to do unto others, what we would have others do unto us, and that is this: *The Translation of the Scripture* was the painful Work of our Ancestors; and this I call *their most solemn Appeal to the People, against the Pope and Traditions of Rome in the Business of their Separation*. For when the Question arose of the divine Authority of this or the other Practice in the Doctrine or Worship of the Roman Church, presently they recurred to the Scriptures, and therefore made them speak *English*, that they might witness for them to the People. This *appeal* to the People in Defence of their Separation, by making them Judges of their Proceeding against the Church, according to the Testimony of the *Holy Scripture*, puts every Man in Possession of them. Search the Scriptures, say the first Protestants, *prove all Things; see if what we say against the Pope and Church of Rome be not true*; and in Case any Difficulty did arise, they exhorted all to wait upon God, for the divine Aid of his Spirit, to illuminate their Understandings, that one should not impose upon the other, but commend them to God: Be *Brotherly, Patient, Long-Suffering*, ready to help the *Weak*, inform the *Ignorant*, shew *Tenderness* to the *Mistaken*, and with *Reason and Moderation* to gain the *Obstinate*. In short, *Protestancy, is a restoring to every Man his just Right of Inquiry and Choice*: And to it's Honour be it ever spoken, there is a greater *Likelihood* of finding Truth, where all have Liberty to seek after it, than where it is denyed to all, but a few *Grandeers*, and those too as short sighted as their *Neighbours*. But now let us Protestants examine, if we have not departed from this *Sobriety*, this *Christian Temperance*? How comes it that we who have been forgiven much, have our selves fallen upon our *Fellow-Servants*, who yet owe us nothing? Have not we refused them this reasonable Choice? Have we not *threatened, beaten and imprisoned them*? Pray consider, have you not *made Creeds*, framed Faiths, *formed and regulated a Worship*; and *strictly enjoyn'd* all Men's Obedience, by the Help of the Civil Power, upon Pain of great Sufferings, which have not been spared upon *Dissenters*; though they have been, in common, Renouncers and Protesters with you, against the *Pope and Church of Rome*. For this the Land mourns, Heaven is displeased, and all is out of due Course.

To give us the *Scriptures*, and knock our Fingers for taking them: To translate them that we may read them, and punish us for endeavouring to understand and use them as well as we can, both with respect to God and our Neighbour, is very unreasonable upon our Protestant Principles. I wish we could see the Mischief we draw upon our selves, and which is worse upon our Cause; for the *Papist*, in this Case, acts according to his Principle, but we against our Principle, which shews indeed that we profess the better Religion, but that we also are more condemnable. If we will consider it seriously, we shall find it not much more injurious to Scripture, Truth and good Conscience, that we believe as the Church believes, than that we believe as the Church says the Scripture would have us believe. For where is the Difference, since I am not allowed to use my Understanding about the Sense of Scripture any more than about the Faith of the Church: And if I must not receive any thing for Faith or Worship from Scripture, but what is handed to me through the Meanings of the Church, or her Clergy, I see my self in as ill Terms, as if I had sat down with the old Doctrine of believing as the Church believes. And had the Controversy been only for the Word *Scripture*, without the Use and Application of it, for, at this Rate, that is all that is left us, truly the Enterprize of our Fathers had been weak and unadvised; but because nothing less was intended by them, and that the Translation of the Scripture was both the *Appeal and Legacy* of those Protestant Ancestors; for the Reasons before-mentioned, I must conclude we are much degenerated from the Simplicity of Primitive Protestancy, and need to be admonished of our Backslidings: And I heartily pray to Almighty God, that he would quicken us by his repeated Mercies and Providences to return to our first Love, to the Light and Spirit of his Son,

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that we may become Sons indeed, the Ground of true Christianity, and from whence the true Ministry hath it's Spring, which is open and free to those that are Proficients in that Holy School.

Let the Scriptures be free, Sober Opinion tolerated, Good Life cherish'd, Vice punish'd: Away with Imposition, Nick-Names, Animosities, for the Lord's Sake, and let the Scripture be our Common Creed, and Pious Living the Test of Christianity, that God may please to perfect his good Work of Grace he has begun, and deliver us from all our Enemies, both within and without.

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Sect. 6. *Of the Propagation of Faith by Force.*

I Am now come to the last Point, and that is *Propagation of Faith by Force*: In which I shall, with the *Ecclesiastick*, consider the *Civil Magistrate's* Share herein: For tho' the Churchmen are principally guilty, who being professing Ministers of a Religion which renounces and condemns Force, excite the Civil Magistrate to use it, both to impose their own Belief, and suppress that of other Men's; yet the Civil Magistrate in running upon their Errands, and turning Executioner of their Cruelty upon such as dissent from them, involves himself in their Guilt.

That in this Protestant Country Laws have been made to prosecute Men for their Dissent from the National Worship, and that those Laws have been executed, I presume will not be deny'd: For not only our own Histories since the Reformation will furnish us with Instances unbecoming our Pretences, as the Case of Barrow, Penrey, &c. in Queen Elizabeth's Time, and others in the Reign of King James and Charles the First, but our own Age abounds with Proofs. *Thousands have been excommunicated and imprison'd; whole Families undone; not a Bed left in the House, not a Cow left in the Field, nor any Corn in the Barn: Widows and Orphans strip without Pity, no Regard being had to Age or Sex: And what for? only because of their Meeting to Worship God after another Manner than according to the Form of the Church of England; but yet in a very peaceable Way.*

Nor have they only suffered this by Laws intended against them, but, after an excessive Rate, by Laws known to have been never design'd against them, and *only intended against the Papists*. And in these Cases four Times the Value hath not served their Turn. We can prove Sixty Pounds taken for Thirteen, and not One Penny return'd, as we made appear before a Committee of the late Parliament, *which is the Penalty of four Offences for one*; to say nothing of the gross Abuses that have been committed against our Names and Persons, by Men of ill Fame and Life, that have taken the Advantage of our Tenderness, and the present Posture of the Law against us, to have their revengeful and covetous Ends upon us. And tho' we are yet unredrest, not a Session of Parliament has past these Seventeen Years, in which we have not humbly remonstrated our Suffering Condition: We have done our Part, which has been patiently to suffer and modestly to complain: It is yours now to hear our Groans, and, if ever you expect Mercy from God, to deliver us. The late Parliament, just before it's Dissolution, was preparing some Relief for us; if that Parliament could think of it, yea, begin it, we hope you will finish and secure it.

The better to remove all Scruples or Objections, that *Politically* or *Ecclesiastically*, on the Part of the State or the Church, may be advanced against us in this Request, I shall divide this Discourse into two Parts: First, *Cesar's Authority*; next, the *Church's Power in Things that relate to Faith and Conscience*; with my Considerations upon both.

* Our Blessed Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, did long since distinguish the Things of Caesar from the Things of God, in his plain and notable Answer

* Note, The greatest Part of what follows in this Section, was first printed by Way of Appendix to the *Continued Cry of the Oppressed for Justice*, Anno 1675.

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Mat. 22. 17
21.

John 11. 38.

unto that ensnaring Question of the Jews, *Is it lawful to pay Tribute to Caesar or not.* Render (says he) unto Caesar the Things that are Caesar's, and to God the Things that are God's: That is, Divine Worship, and all Things relating to it, belong unto God, *Civil Obedience to Caesar.* God can only be the Author of right Acts of Worship in the Mind: This is granted by all; therefore it is not in the Power of any Man or Men in the World, to compel the Mind rightly to worship God. Where this is but attempted, God's Prerogative is invaded, and *Caesar*, by which Word I understand the Civil Government, engrosseth All. For he doth not only take his own things as much as he can, but the Things appertaining to God also; since if God hath not Conscience for his Share, he hath nothing. *My Kingdom*, says Christ, *is not of this World*, nor is the Magistrate's Kingdom of the other World: Therefore he exceeds his Province and Commission when ever he meddles with the Rights of it. Let Christ have his Kingdom, he is sufficient for it; and let *Caesar* have his, 'tis his Due. Give unto Caesar the Things that are Caesar's, and to God the Things that are God's. Then there are Things that belong not to *Caesar*, and we are not to give those to him which belong not to him; and such are God's Things, Divine Things, Things of an Eternal Reference: But those that belong to *Caesar* and his Earthly Kingdom, must be, of Duty, rendred to him.

If any shall ask me, *What are the Things properly belonging to Caesar?* I answer in Scripture Language, *To love Justice, do Judgment, relieve the Oppressed, right the Fatherless, and in general be a Terror unto Evil-doers, and a Praise to them that do well;* for this is the Great End of Magistracy: And in these Things they are to be obey'd of Conscience as well as Interest.

But perhaps my Answer shall be reckoned too general and ambiguous, and a fresh Question started, *Who are the Evil-doers, to whom the Civil Authority ought to be Terrible?* But this ought in my Judgment to be no Question with Men that understand the Nature of Civil Authority; for those are the Evil-doers that violate those Laws which are necessary to the Preservation of Civil Society, as *Thieves, Murderers, Adulterers, Traytors, Plotters, Drunkards, Cheats, Vagabonds*, and the like mischievous and dissolute Persons: Men void of Virtue, Truth and Sincerity, the Foundation of all good Government, and only firm Bond of human Society. Whoever denies me this, must at the same Time say, *that Virtue is less necessary to Government than Opinion*, and that the most *Vitiated* Men, professing but *Caesar's Religion*, are the *best* Subjects to *Caesar's Authority*, consequently, that other Men, living never so honestly and industriously, and having else as good a Claim to Civil Protection and Preferment, shall, meerly for their Dissent from that Religion, (a Thing they can't help; for *Faith is the Gift of God*) be reputed the worst of Evil-doers; which is followed with exposing their Names to Obloquy, their Estates to Ruin, and their Persons to Goals, Exiles, and Abundance of other Cruelties. What is this, but to confound the *Things of Caesar* with the *Things of God*, Divine Worship with Civil Obedience, the Church with the State, and perplex human Societies with endless Debates about Religious Differences? Nay, is not this to erect new Measures to try the Members of Worldly Societies by, and give an Accession to another Power, than that which is necessary to the Constitution of Civil Government? But that which ought to deter wise Rulers from assuming and exercising such an Authority, is the Consideration of the pernicious Consequences of doing so.

For, *First*, It makes *Property*, which is the first and most fix'd Part of *English* Government floating and uncertain; for it seems, no Conformity to the Church, no Property in the State: And doubtless, the Insecurity of Property can be no Security to the Government: Pray think of that.

II. It makes me owe more to the Church than to the State; for in this Case, the Anchor I ride by, is not my Obedience to Laws relating to the Preservation of Civil Society, but Conformity to certain Things belonging to the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church: So that though I may be

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an honest, industrious *Englishman*, a great Lover of my Country, and an Admirer of the Government I live under, yet if I refuse to profess the Religion that either now is, or hereafter may be imposed, be it never so false, that is all one, I must neither enjoy the Liberty of my Person, nor the quiet Possession of my Estate.

III. This not only alters the Government, by sacrificing Men's Properties for that which cannot be called a Sin against Property, nor an Offence to the Nature of Civil Government, if any Transgression at all, but it narrows the Interest and Power of the Governours: For look what Number they cut off from their Protection, they cut off from themselves and the Government; not only rendring thereby a great Body of People useless, but provoking them to be Dangerous: To be sure it clogs the Civil Magistrate in his Administration of Government, making that necessary which is not at all necessary to him as *Cesar*.

It is a Sort of *Duumvirateship* in Power, by which the Civil Monarchy is broken: For as that was a Plurality of Men, so this is a Plurality of Powers. And to speak freely, the Civil Power is made to act the Lackey, to run of all the unpleasant Errands the froward Zeal of the other sends it upon; and the best Preferment it receives for it's Pains, is to be *Informer*, *Constable*, or *Hangman* to some of the best Livers, and therefore the best Subjects in the Kingdom.

O! What greater Injustice to *Cesar* than to make his Government vary by such Modes of Religion, and oblige him to hold his Obedience from his People, not so much by their Conformity to him, as to the Church, a meer Relative of tother World.

IV. This is so far from resembling the Universal Goodness of God, who dispenses his Light, Air, Showers and comfortable Seasons to all, and whom *Cesar* ought always to imitate, and so remote from increasing the Trade, Populacy and Wealth of this Kingdom, as that it evidently tends to the utter Ruin of Thousands of *Traders*, *Artificers* and *Husbandmen*, and their Families; and by increasing the Charges, It must needs encrease the Poor of the Nation.

V. This must needs be a great Discouragement to Strangers from coming in, and settling themselves amongst us, when they have Reason to apprehend that they, and their Children after them, can be no longer secured in the Enjoyment of their Properties, than they shall be able to prevail with their Consciences to believe, That the Religion which our Laws do now, or shall at any Time hereafter approve and impose, is undoubtedly True; and that the Way of *Worshipping God*, which shall be at any Time by our Laws enjoined, is, and shall be more agreeable to the Will of God, than any other Way in which God is Worshipped in the World.

VI. That Way of *Worship* we are Commanded Conformity to, doth not make *Better Livers*, that is a Demonstration, Nor *Better Artists*, for it cannot be thought that going to Church, hearing *Common-Prayer*, or believing in the present *Episcopacy*, learn Men to *Build Ships or Houses*; to make *Clothes, Shoes, Dials or Watches*; *Buy, Sell, Trade, or Commerce better*, than any that are of another Perswasion. And since these Things are Useful, if not *Requisite in Civil Society*, is not prohibiting, nay ruining, such Men, because they will not come to hear *Common-Prayer*, &c. destructive of *Civil Society*? Pray shew me better Subjects. If any object, *Dissenters have not always been so*, the Answer is ready, *Do not expose them, protect them in their Lives, Liberties and Estates*; for in this present Posture they think they can call Nothing their own, and that all the Comforts they have in this World, are Hourly liable for Forfeiture for their Faith, Hope and Practice concerning the other World. Is not this to destroy Nature and Civil Government, when People are ruined in their Natural and Civil Capacity, not for Things relating to either, but which are of a Supernatural Import?

VII. This deprives them of Protection, who protect the Government. *Dissenters* have a great Share in the Trade, which is the Greatness of this Kingdom; and they make a large Proportion of the *Taxes* that maintain the Government. And is it Reasonable, or can it be Christian, when they *Pay Tribute to Cesar*, to be preserved in an Undisturbed Possession of the *Rest*, that the *Rest* should be continually exposed for the Peaceable Exercise of their Consciences to God?

VIII. Neither is it a Conformity to True and Solid Religion, such as is Necessary to Eternal Salvation, wherein most Parties Verbally agree, but for a Modification of Religion; some peculiar Way of Worship and Discipline. *All confess One God, One Christ, One Holy Ghost, and that it is indispensably requisite to Live Soberly, Righteously, and Godly in this present Evil World*, 2 Tit. xi. 12. yet is one prosecuting the other for his Conscience, *Seizing Corn, Driving away Cattel, Breaking open Doors, taking away, and spoiling of Goods; in some Places not leaving a Cow to give poor Orphans Milk, nor a Bed to lie on; in other Places Houses have been swept so clean, that a Stool hath not been left to sit on, nor so much as Working Tools to Labour for Bread. To say nothing of the Opprobrious Speeches, Bloody Blows, and Tedious Imprisonments, even to Death it self, through Nastiness of Dungeons, that many innocent People have suffered only for their Peaceable Conscience.*

IX. But this Way of proceeding for Maintenance of the National Religion, is of an ill Consequence upon this Account, that Heaven is barred as much as in Men lies, from all farther Illuminations. Let God send what *Light* he pleases into the World, it must not be received by *Cesar's* People, without *Cesar's* Licence; and if it happen that *Cesar* be not presently Convinced as well as I, that it is of God, I must either renounce my Convictions, and lose my Soul to please *Cesar*, or profess and persevere in my Persuasion, and so lose my Life, Liberty or Estate, to please God. This hath frequently occur'd, and may again. Therefore I would entreat *Cesar* to consider the sad Consequence of Imposition, and remember both that God did never ask Man Leave to introduce Truth, or make farther Discoveries of his Mind to the World, and that it hath been a Woful Snare to those Governments that have been drawn to employ their Power against his Work and People.

X. This Way of Procedure endeavours to stifle, or else to punish Sincerity; for Fear or Hopes, Frowns or Favour, prevail only with base Minds; Souls degenerated from True Nobleness. Every Spark of Integrity must be extinguish'd, where Conscience is sacrificed to Worldly Safety and Preference. This Net holds no Temporizers: Honest Men are all the Fish it catches: But one would think they should make but an ill Treat to such as reckon themselves *Generous Men*, and what is more, *Christians* too. That which renders the Matter more unjustifiable, is the Temptation such Severity puts Men upon, not hardy enough to *Suffer for Conscience*, yet strongly perswaded they have *Truth* on their Side, to desert their Principles, and smother their Convictions, which in plain Terms, is to make of Sincere Men, Hypocrites: Whereas it is one Great End of Government, by all Laudable Means, to preserve Sincerity; for without it there can be no Faith or Truth in Civil Society. Nor is this all, for it's a Maxim worthy of *Cesar's* Notice, *Never to think him True to Cesar, that is False to his own Conscience*: Besides, rap'd Consciences treasure up *Revenge*, and such Persons are not likely to be longer Friends to *Cesar*, than he hath Preferences to allure them, or Power to deter them from being his most implacable Enemies.

XI. There is not so ready a Way to *Atheism*, as this of extinguishing the *Sense of Conscience for Worldly Ends*: Destroy that *Internal Rule of Faith, Worship and Practice towards God*, and the Reason of my Religion will be Civil Injunctions, and not Divine Convictions; consequently, I am to be of as many Religions as the Civil Authority shall impose, however untrue or

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contradictory. *This Sacred Tye of Conscience, thus broken, farewell to all Heavenly Obligations in the Soul, Scripture-Authority, and Ancient Protestant Principles.* Christ may at this Rate become what the *Jews* would have had Him and His Apostles to be reputed, to wit, *Turners of the World upside down*, as their Enemies represented them; and the Godly Martyrs of all Ages, so many Self-Murderers; for they might justly be esteem'd *Resisters of Worldly Authority*, so far as that Authority concern'd in self with the Imposition of Religion, because they refused the Conformity commanded by it, even to Death.

And it may not be unworthy of *Cæsar's* Consideration, that from these Proceedings People are tempted to inter, there is nothing in Religion but *Worldly Aims and Ends*, because so much *Worldly Power* is abus'd, under the Name of Religion, to vex and destroy Men for being of another Religion; and that he hazards the best Hold and Obligation he hath to Obedience, which is Conscience: For where they are taught only to Obey for *Interest*; *Duty* and *Conscience* are out of Doors. By all Means let *Conscience* be Sacred, and *Virtue* and *Integrity* (though under Dissenting Principles) cherish'd: *Charity* is more powerful than *Severity*, and *Persuasion* than all the *Penal Laws* in the World.

Lastly, To the Reproach of this Course with wise Men, it hath never yet obtain'd the End desired, since instead of Compliance, the Difference is thereby widened, and the Sufferers are pitied by Spectators, which only helps to increase the Number of Dissenters, for whoever is in the Wrong, few think the Persecutor in the Right. This in all Ages, having been the Issue of severe Prosecution of Dissenters for Matters of Religion; what a Cruel, Troublesome, Thankless, Successless Office is it for *Cæsar* to be employ'd in? May he take better Measures of his Authority and Interest, and use his Power to the Encouragement of all the *Virtuous* and *Industrious*, and Just Punishment of the *Lazy* and *Vicious* in all Persuasions; so shall the Kingdom Flourish, and the Government Prosper.

Church Power supposeth a *Church* first. It will not be improper therefore to examine; first, What a Scripture New-Testament-Church is; and next, what is the Scripture-Power belonging to such a Church. A Scripture-Church as she may be called Visible, is a *Company or Society of People, believing, professing and practising according to the Doctrine and Example of Christ Jesus and his Apostles*, and not according to the *Scribes and Pharisees*, that taught for Doctrine the Traditions of Men. They are such as are Meek in Heart, Lowly in Spirit (a) Chast in Life, (b) Virtuous in all Conversation, (c) full of Self Denial, (d) Long-suffering and Patient, (e) not only forgiving, (f) but loving their very Enemies; which answers Christ's own Character of himself, Religion and Kingdom, which is the most apt Distinction that ever can be given of the Nature of his Church and her Authority, viz. (g) *My Kingdom is not of this World.* Which well connects with *Render unto Cæsar the Things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the Things that are God's.*

It was an Answer to a very suspicious Question; for it was familiarly bruited that he was a King, and came to possess his Kingdom, and was, by some, called the King of the Jews.

The *Jews* being then subjected to the Roman Empire, it concern'd *Pilate, Cæsar's Deputy*, to understand his Pretensions, which upon better Information he found to center in this, *My Kingdom is not of this World, else would my Subjects fight for me.* As if he had said, these Reports are a meer Perversion of my Peaceable and Self-denying Intentions; an Infamy invented by malicious *Scribes and Pharisees*, that they might the better prevail with *Cæsar* to Sacrifice me to their hatred and revenge.

I am *Cæsar's* Friend, I seek none of his Kingdoms from him, nor will I sow Sedition, plot or conspire his Ruin; no, *Let all Men render unto Cæsar the Things that are Cæsar's*: That's my Doctrine; for I am come to erect a Kingdom of another Nature than that of this World, to wit, a

Spiritual

- a Mat. 11. 10
- b 1 Pet. 3. 2.
- 2 Cor. 11. 2.
- c Phil. 4. 8.
- 1 Pet. 4. 15.
- d Mat. 16. 24
- e 2 Cor. 4. 6.
- f Luke 6. 37.
- g Joh. 18. 36.

Spiritual Kingdom, to be set up in the Heart; and Conscience is my Throne, upon that will I sit, and rule the Children of Men in Righteousness; and whoever *lives Soberly, Righteously and Godly in this World*, shall be my good and loving Subjects. And they will certainly make no ill ones for *Cesar*, since such Virtue is the End of Government, and renders his Charge both more easie and safe than before. Had I any other Design than this, would I suffer my Self to be reproached, traduced and persecuted by a conquered People? Were it not more my Nature to suffer than revenge, would not their many Provocations have drawn from me some Instance of another kind than the Forbearance and Forgiveness I teach? certainly, were I animated by another Principle than the Perfection of Meekness and Divine Sweetness, I should not have forbidden *Peter* fighting, saying, *put up thy Sword*, or instructed my Followers to bear Wrongs; but have revenged all Affronts, and, by Plots and other Stratagems, have attempted Ruin to my Enemies, and the Acquisition of worldly Empire: And no doubt but they would have fought for me. Nay, I am not only patiently, and with Pity to Enemies, sensible of their cruel *Carriage* towards me for my Good Will to them, whose Eternal Happiness I only seek; but I foresee what they further intend against me: They design to crucifie me: And to do it, will rather free a Murderer than spare their Saviour. They will perform, that *Cruelty* with all the Aggravation and Contempt they can; deriding me themselves, and exposing me to the Derision of others: They will mock my Divine Kingship with a *Crown of Thorns*, and in mine Agonies of Soul and Body, for a Cordial, give me *Gall* and *Vinegar* to drink. But notwithstanding all this, to satisfy the World that my Religion is above Wrath and Revenge, I can forgive them.

And to secure *Cesar* and his People from all Fears of Imposition, notwithstanding my Authority, and the many Legions of Angels I might command, both to my Deliverance, and the Enforcement of my Message upon Mankind; I resolve to promote neither with worldly Power; for it is not of the Nature of my Religion and Kingdom. And as I neither assume nor practice any such Thing my self, that am the great Author, Promoter and Example of this Holy Way; so have I not only never taught my Disciples to live or act otherwise, or given them a Power I refuse to use my self, but expressly forbid them, and warn'd them, in my Instructions, of exercising any the least Revenge, Imposition or Coercion towards any. This is evident in my Sermon preached upon the Mount, where I freely, publicly, and with much Plainness, not only *prohibited Revenge*, and *enjoyed Love to Enemies*, making it to be a great Token of true Discipleship to suffer Wrongs, and conquer Cruelty by Patience and Forgiveness; which is certainly very far from Imposition or Compulsion upon other Men.

Furthermore, when I was strongly bent for *Jerusalem*, and sent Messengers before to prepare some Entertainment for me and my Company, in a Village belonging to the *Samaritans*, and the People refused because they apprehended I was going to *Jerusalem*, though some of my Disciples, particularly *James* and *John*, were provok'd to that Degree, that they asked me, if I were willing that they should command Fire from Heaven to destroy those *Samaritans*, as *Elias* in another Case had done; I turned about, and rebuked them, saying, *Ye know not what Manner of Spirit ye are of; for I am not come into the World to destroy Men's Lives, but, by my peaceable Doctrine, Example and Life, to save them.*

At another Time, one of my Disciples relating to me some Passages of their Travails, told me of a certain Man they saw, that cast out Devils in my Name, and because he was not of their Company, nor followed them, said he, *we forbid him*; as if they thereby served and pleased me; but I presently testified my Dislike of the Ignorance and Narrowness of their Zeal, and, to inform them better, told them, they should not have forbid him; *for he that is not against us is for us.*

My Drift is not Opinion, but Piety: They that cast out Devils, convert Sinners, and turn Men to Righteousness, are not against me, nor the Na-

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Titus 2. 12.

Mat. 26. 52

Mat. 27. 27

Ver. 27. 27

Ver. 29.

Ver. 43.

Luke 23. 34

Mat. 26. 53.

Mat. 5. 44

45, 46, 47

Luke 9. 53

54, 55, 56.

Luk 9. 49, 54

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25, 26, 27, 28
29, 30-1Ver. 27, 38.
39.

John 15. 12.

ture and Religion of my Kingdom, and therefore ought to be cherish'd rather than forbid. That I might sufficiently declare and inculcate my Mind in this Matter, I did at another Time, and upon a different Occasion, preach against all Coercion and Persecution for Matters of Faith and Practice towards God, in my Parable of the Sower, as my Words manifest, which were these; *The Kingdom of Heaven is likened unto a Man which sowed good Seed in his Field; but while Men slept, his Enemy came, and sowed Tares among the Wheat, and went his Way; but when the Blade sprung up, and brought forth Fruit, there appeared the Tares also; so the Servants of the Householder came and said, didst thou not sow good Seed in thy Field? from whence then hath it Tares? he answered, an Enemy hath done this; the Servants said unto him, wilt thou then that we go and gather them up? but he said, Nay, lest while ye gather up the Tares, ye root up also the Wheat with them, let both grow together till the Harvest, and in the Time of Harvest I will say to the Reapers, gather ye together first the Tares, and bind them in Bundles to burn them, but gather the Wheat into my Barn.*

And that I might not leave so necessary a Truth misapprehended of my dear Followers, or liable to any Mis-constructions, my Disciples, when together, desiring an Explanation, I interpreted my Words thus:

He that soweth the good Seed is the Son of Man; the Field is the World; the good Seed are the Children of the Kingdom; but the Tares are the Children of the Wicked One; the Enemy that sowed them is the Devil; the Harvest is the End of the World; and the Reapers are the Angels.

This Patience, this Long Suffering and great Forbearance belonging to my Kingdom and the Subjects of it; my Doctrine speaks it, and mine Example confirms it, and this can have no possible Agreement with Imposition and Persecution for Conscience. 'Tis true, I once whipt out the Profaners of my Father's Temple; but I never whipt any in. I call'd, I cry'd to every one that thirsted to come, and freely offer'd my Assistance to the Weary and heavy Laden; but I never impos'd my Help, or forced any to receive me; for I take not my Kingdom by Violence, but by Suffering. And that I might sufficiently deter my Followers from any such Thing, as I profess my self to be their Lord and Master, so have I commanded them to love one another in a more especial Manner. But if instead thereof any shall grow proud, high-minded, and beat or abuse their Fellow-Servants in my Religious Family, when I come to take an Account of my Household, he shall be cut asunder, and appointed his Portion among the Unbelievers. Behold the Recompence I appoint to imposing Lordly Persons, such as count others Infidels, and to make them such Believers as themselves, will exercise Violence towards them, and if they prevail not, will call for Fire from Heaven to devour them; and if Heaven refuse to gratify their Rage, will fall a Beating and Killing, and think, it may be, they do God good Service too, but their Lot shall be with Unbelievers for ever.

Nay, I have so effectually provided against all Maltreat, that I expressly charged them, *not to be many Masters; for one was their Master: I told them, the greatest amongst them was to be Servant to the rest, not to impose upon the rest: Nay, that to be great in my Kingdom, they must become as gentle and harmless as little Children, and such cannot force and punish in Matters of Religion.* In fine, I strictly commanded them *to love one another*, as I have loved them, who am ready to lay down my Life for the Ungodly, instead of taking away Godly Men's Lives for Opinions. And this is the great Maxim of my Holy Religion, *He that would be my Disciple, must not Crucify other Men, but take up his Cross and follow me, who am meek and lowly*, and such as endure to the End, shall find Eternal Rest to their Souls; this is the Power I use, and this is the Power I give.

How much this agrees with the Language, Doctrine and Example of Jesus Christ, the Son and Lamb of God, I shall leave them to consider that read and believe Scripture. But some affected to present Church-Power, and desiring their Ruin that conform not to her Worship and Discipline, will

will object, *That Christ did give his Church Power to bind and loose, and bid any Persons aggrieved tell the Church.*

I grant it; but what binding was that? was it I Pray with outward Chains and Fetters, in nasty Holes and Dungeons? nothing lets: O, was it that his Church had that true Discerning in her, and Power with him, that what she bound, that is, condemned, or loosed, that is, remitted, should stand so in God's Sight and Christ's Account?

But tell the Church; and what then? Observe Christ's Extent in the Punishment of the Offender: *If the Offender will neither receive private Admonition, nor hear the Church, then (says Christ) let him be to thee as an Heathen, &c.* Here's not one Word of Fines, Whips, Stocks, Pillories, Goals, and the like Instruments of Cruelty, to punish the Heretick: For the Purport of his Words seems to be no more than this; If any Member of the Church refuse thy private Exhortation, and the Church's Admonition, look upon such a Person as obstinate and perverse, have no more to do with him; let him take his Course, thou hast done well, and the Church is clear of him.

Well, but say the *Church Fighters* of our Age, *Did not St. Paul wish them cut off that troubled the Church in his Time?* Yes: But with what Sword think you? Such as Christ bid *Peter* put up, or the *Sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God?* Give him leave to explain his own Words; *For though we walk in the Flesh, We do not War after the Flesh; for the Weapons of our Warfare are not Carnal, but mighty through God, to the pulling down of strong Holds, casting down Imaginations, and every high Thing that exalteth it self against the Knowledge of God, and bringing every Thought into Obedience to Christ.*

What think you of this? Here are Warfares, Weapons, Oppositions and Conformity, and not only no external Force about Matters of Religion used or countenanced, but the most express and pathological Exclusion and disclaiming of any such Thing that can be given.

It was this great Apostle that askt that Question, *Who art thou that judgest the Servant of another?* To his own Lord he standeth or falleth: but he shall stand; for God is able to make him stand. Can we think that Imposition or Persecution is able to Answer him this Question in the Day of Judgment? Do we with Reason deny it to the *Papacy*? With what Reason then can we assume it to our selves? Let us remember who said, *Not that we have Dominion over your Faith, but are Helpers of your Joy. Helpers, then not Imperfomers not Persecutors.* What Joy can there be in that to the Persecuted? But if *Paul* had no such Commission or Power over Conscience, I would fain know by what Authority more inferiour Ministers and Christians do claim and use it.

The Apostle *Peter* is of the same Mind; *Feed* says he, *the Flock of God, not by Constraint, &c. neither as being Lords over God's Heritage.* The Heritage of God is free, they have but one Lord in and of their Religion, *Christ Jesus*, and they are Brethren.

The Apostle *Paul* says, *That where the Spirit of the Lord is there is Liberty*, but where *Coercion, Fines and Goals* are, there is no Liberty. Is it to be supposed that Men in these Days are instructed by the Spirit of the Lord to destroy People in this World for their Faith about the other World? That cannot possibly be; such mock at it. Again, says that Apostle to the Christians of his Time, *You are called to Liberty*; from what I pray, *Sin and the Ceremonies of the Law?* And shall the End of that call be the entrhalling Conscience to human Edicts in Religion, yea, about meer Ceremonies of Religion, under the Gospel? This would make our Case worse than the *Jews*, for their Worship stood on divine Authority; and if Christ came to make Men free from them, and that those very Ordinances are by the Apostle call'd beggarly Elements and a burdensom Yolk, Is it reasonable that we must be subject to the Injunctions of Men in the Worship of God, that are not of equal Authority with them?

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Part II.
Sect. 6Mat. 26. 52.
Eph. 6. 12.
to the 18.
2 Cor. 10. 3;
4. 5.
1 Tim. 1. 18.

Rom. 14. 4.

1 Pet. 5. 2. 3.
Mat. 23. 9.

2 Cor. 3. 7.

Gal. 5. 13.

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Rom. 14. 9.
10.

The Apostle yet informs us, *for this End*, says he, *Christ both dyed and rose again, that he might be Lord both of the Dead and Living*: But why dost thou judge thy Brother? Than which nothing can more expressly oppose the *Imposition, Excommunication, and Persecution* that are among us; 'Tis as if he had said, Christ is Lord of *Christians*, by what Authority dost thou pretend to judge his Servants? Thou also art but one of them: A Brother at most. Thou hast no Dominion over their Faith, nor hast thou Commission to be Lord over their Consciences; 'tis Christ's Right, his Purchase, he has paid for it: *For this End he both dyed and rose again, that he might be Lord of Dead and Living*; that he might rescue them, from the Jaws of Oppression; from those that usurp over their Consciences, and make a Prey of their Souls, *But why dost thou judge thy Brother?* If not judge; then not *Persecute, Plunder, Beat, Imprison* to Death our Brethren; that must needs follow. Come, let us Protestants look at Home, and view our Actions, if we are not the Men.

Rom. 14: 5.

In short, *Let every Man be fully perswaded in his own Mind, and if any Thing be short, God will reveal it*; let us but be patient. It was not *Flesh and Blood* that revealed Christ to Peter, they are Christ's Words, therefore let us leave off the *Consultation, and Weapons of Flesh and Blood*, and trust Christ with his own Kingdom: He hath said, *that the Gates of Hell shall not prevail against it*; and we cannot think that he would have us seek to *Hell's Gates* to maintain it: And if it is not of this World, then not to be maintain'd by *Force and Policy*, which are the Props of the Kingdoms of this World. God, the Apostle tells us, *has chosen the weak Things of this World, to confound the Mighty*: Therefore he has not chosen the Strength and Power of this World, to suppress conscientious People, that as to humane Force, are justly accounted weakest and most destitute, in all Ages, of Defence.

1 Cor. 7. 23.

I will here conclude my Scripture-Proofs with this Exhortation or Injunction rather of the Apostle. *Ye are bought with a Price, be not ye the Servants of Men*. The Subject here is not *human*, wherein human Ordinances are to be obeyed; that is not the Question; but *Divine*; and those that for Fear or Favour of Men desert their Principles, and betray their Consciences, they renounce their Lord, deny him that bought them, and tread his Blood, the *Price* of their Souls, under their Feet: *Ye are bought with a Price*, Christ has purchas'd you, you are not your own, but his that bought you, therefore *be not the Servants of Men*, about God's Things or Christ's Kingdom; vail to no Man's Judgment, neither make Man's Determinations, your Rule of Faith and Worship. *Stand fast in the Liberty, wherewith he has made you free, and be not entangled again, into Bondage, for we are not come to that Mountain that we cannot touch, to Sinai*: We are not now to be kept under like *School-Boys* or *Minors*: That Imposition might be useful then, which is a Bondage now. *Moses* was God's Servant and faithful, he saw, heard, and went up to the Mount for the People; *but Christians are come to Mount Zion, to Jerusalem, the Mother of Peace and Freedom*. Much then depended upon the Integrity of *Moses*, and yet God sent for the People near the Mount, that they might see his Glory; and wrought Wonders and Miracles to engage their Faith and vindicate the Integrity of *Moses* his Servant (as the 12, 13, 14, 15, and 16 Chapters of *Numbers* declares) and which none now can pretend to vouch the Exercise of their Authority: I say it pleased God then to appear by those Ways; *but now the Law is brought Home to every Man's Heart, and every one shall know God for himself, from the least to the greatest, My Sheep*, says Christ, *hear my Voice*. And let us remember that there is no Possibility of Deception here, where there is no Necessity of trusting. In fine, *Ye are bought with a Price, be not ye the Servants of Men. One is Lord, even Christ, and ye are Brethren*.

Heb. 8.
John 10.
Mar. 16.

But methinks I hear a stout Objection, and 'tis this: *At this Rate you will overthrow all Church-Discipline, all Censure of Errors, if no Man or Men can determine*. My Answer is ready and short, No Scripture Church-Discipline

Discipline is hereby oppugned or weakned : *Let not the Sentence end in Violence upon the Conscience unconvinced* : Let who will expound or determine, so it be according to true Church-Discipline, which can be exercised on them only, who have willingly joyn'd themselves in that Covenant of Union, and which proceeds only to a Separation from the rest, a disavowing or disowning, and that only in Case of falling from Principles or Practices once received, or about known Trespases : But never to any *Corporal or Pecuniary Punishment* ; The *two Arms* of Anti-Christ, or rather of the great Beast which carries the *Whore*.

But let us observe what sort of Church-Government the Apostle recommends. *Avoid foolish Questions, and Genealogies, and Contentions, and Striving about the Law; for they are unprofitable and vain: A Man that is an Heretick, after the first and second Admonition, reject*, knowing that he that is such, is subverted, and sinneth, being *condemned of (or in) Himself*, or Self-condemned.

It's very remarkable, *First*, That this great Apostle, instead of exhorting Titus to stand upon Niceties, and sacrifice Men's Natural Comforts and Enjoyments for Opinions of Religion, enjoins him to shun Disputes about them; leaving the People to their own Thoughts and Apprehensions in those Matters, as reputing the Loss of Peace, in striving, greater than the Gain that could arise from such an Unity and Conformity : Which exactly agrees with another Passage of his ; *Let us therefore as many as be perfect, be thus minded ; and if in any Thing ye be otherwise minded, God shall reveal even this unto you.* He did not say you shall be *fin'd*, pillaged, Excommunicated and *slung* into Prison, if ye be not of our Mind.

2dly, That, in the Apostle's Definition, an *Heretick* is a *Self-condemned Person*, one conscious to himself of Error and Obstinacy in it ; but that are not conscientious Dissenters ; for many ten Thousands in this Nation act as they believe, and dissent from the national Religion purely upon a Principle of Conscience to Almighty God ; and would heartily conform if they could do it upon Conviction, or with any Satisfaction to their own Minds : And with Men of any Tenderneſs or common Sense, their continual great Sufferings in Person and Estate, and their Patience under them, are a Demonstration, or there can be none in the World, that Conscience and not Humour or Interest is at Bottom.

Nor can their Persecutors disprove them, unless they could search Hearts ; and that is a little too far for a fallible Spirit to reach, and an infallible One they deny. So that the Apostle makes not the *Heretick* to lie upon the Side of Mis-believing, or not coming up to his Degree of Faith and Knowledge, but upon the Side of *Wilfully, Turbulently, Obstinately, and Self-condemnedly*, maintaining Things inconsistent with the Faith, Peace and Prosperity of the Church.

Granting us then not to be Obstinate and Self-condemned Dissenters, and you cannot reasonably refuse it us, How do you prove us Erroneous in the other Part ? All Parties plead Scripture, and that for the most opposite Principles. The Scripture, you say, cannot determine the Sense of it self ; it must have an Interpreter : if so, he must either be *Fallible* or *Infallible* : If the first, we are worse than before ; for Men are apt to be no less confident, and yet are still upon as uncertain Grounds : If the last, this must either be an *external* or an *internal* Judge : If an *external*, you know where you are without pointing ; for there stands nothing between you and *Papery* in that Principle : If an *internal* Judge, either it is our selves or the Spirit of Christ dwelling in us : Not our selves, for then the Rule would be the Thing ruled, which cannot be ; and if it be the Spirit of Christ Jesus, and the Apostle tells us, *Rom. 8. That unless we have the Spirit we are none of Christ's*, then is the Neck of Imposition broken ; and what halt thou to do to judge me ? Let me stand or fall to my own Master : And upon this Foot when *Luther, Zuinglius, Calvin, Melancthon, Beza, Bullinger, Zanchinus* Abroad, and *Tindal, Barnes, Cranmer, Ridley, Hooper, Jewel, Brad-*

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Part. II.
Sect. 6.1 Tim. 4. 5;
6.
2 Tim. 2. 23;
Tit. 2. 9.

Phil. 3. 15

Rom. 8;

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ford, Philpot, Sanders, Rogers, &c. at Home; and as good Men, and constant Martyrs, in Ages before them.

But suppose Conscientious Dissenters as ill Men as the Apostle describes an *Heretick* to be; what is the Punishment? This is close to the Point: Stand it.

2dly. *A Man that is an Heretick after the first and second Admonition, reject; that is, deny his Communion, declare he is none of you, condemn his Proceedings by a publick Censure from among your selves. What more can be strained, by the fiercest Prosecutors of Men for Religion, out of these Words?*

But will we be governed by the Rules of Holy Writ? Have we any true Veneration for the Exhortations and Injunctions therein? Then let us soberly consider, what the Apostle *Paul* advises and recommends to his beloved *Timothy* upon the present Occasion, and I dare promise an End to *Content* and Persecution for Religion. *Flee youthful Lusts; but follow Righteousness, Faith, Charity, Peace, with them that call on the Lord out of a pure Heart; but foolish and unlearned Questions avoid, knowing that they do gender Strifes. And the Servant of the Lord must not strive, but be gentle unto all Men, apt to teach, patient, in Meekness instructing those that oppose themselves, if God peradventure will give them Repentance to the acknowledging of the Truth.* 2 Tim. 2. 22, 23, 24, 25.

There is such a Depth of Wisdom lodged in this one Passage, that I find Difficulty to express my self upon it, and yet I shall with Pleasure endeavour it. Here is both *Faith* and *Government*, *Religion* and *Duty*, all that becomes us towards God, our Brethren, our Neighbour, our Selves, yea, our Opposers and Enemies.

Flee youthful Lusts: that is, avoid Sin, turn away from every Appearance of Evil, flee the Temptation as soon as thou seest it, lest it ensnare thee; but follow Righteousness, Charity and Peace; seek and love Holiness and there will be Charity and Peace to thy self, and in thee, to all Men. Rom. 14. 17. 1 Cor. 4. 20. For the *Kingdom of God stands in Righteousness and Peace and Joy in the Holy Ghost*; not in Contest about Words, nor in maintaining foolish and unlearned Questions, *which reach not the Soul*, nor carry any Force upon our Affections, nor learn Men to be better, to have more *Piety, Virtue, Goodness*; but are meer Notions and Speculations, that have no Influence upon Holy Living, or Tendency to the Regiment of our Passions: Such Questions as the Curiosity or Wantonness of Men's Wit or restless Fancy are apt to start under Pretence of Divine Truth, and Sublime Mysteries: These Niceties, Conceits and Imaginations of Men, (not bottomed on the Revelation of the Eternal Spirit, but Human Apprehension and Tradition) *such Questions avoid, meddle not with them*; but, next to Youthful Lusts, flee them by all Means; for they draw to *Strife, to Heats, Animosities, Envy, Hatred and Persecution*, which unbecome the Man of God; for says this Apostle, *He must not strive, but be gentle unto all Men, apt to teach, patient*: Let his Rank, Notion, Opinion or Faith be what it will, he must not be Fierce, nor Censorious, much less should he persecute or excite *Cesar* to do it for him; no such Matter: *He must be apt to teach* and inform the Ignorant; and in Case it succeed not, he ought not to be Outragious, or go about to whip or club it into him: He must be *patient*, that is, he must not think to force and bend things to his own Will or Time, but commit his Honest Endeavours to God's Blessing, *that can raise, of the Stones of the Streets, Children unto Abraham*. This Sort of Man will serve God *against his Will*, instead of submitting his Will to God's: There is no Evil he will stick at to serve God his Way, he will plunder and kill for God's Sake, and meritoriously send all his Passions upon the Errands of his ignorant Zeal; and the Trophies that it loves, are the Spoils and Havock it makes upon Mankind; the most unnatural and dangerous Temper in the World. Our Blessed Lord, that knew what was in Man, has left us his Remark upon it, *Luke 9. 55.* The Want of this Patience has been the Undoing of all.

But

But some will object, *O! but it is not Ignorance! 'tis Obstinacy and Opposition*: Hardly judged, my Friend; but admit it were so, here's a Receipt for the Malady, and that of the Apostle's prescribing. Observe the following Words: *In Meekness instructing those that oppose themselves, if God peradventure will give them Repentance, to the acknowledging of the Truth.* Then not *Fining, Plundering, Beating, Stocking, Imprisoning, Banishing and Killing*, even Opposers themselves, for Religion; unless there be a Way of doing these Things with Gentleness, Patience and Meekness; which I confess I think no Body ever heard of.

But as the Apostle gives *Timothy* another Method than is now used by the Sons of Violence for reclaiming Opposers, so the Reason of the Counsel makes all other Ways unlawful, *viz. If God peradventure will give them Repentance to the Acknowledgment of the Truth.* I would hereupon enter the List with a Persecutor: Is Repentance in my own Power, or is it in thine to give me? The Apostle says neither: 'Tis God's Gift alone; *If God peradventure will give them Repentance, &c.* Since Repentance then is in the Case, and that God alone can give it, of what Use are Violent Courses, which never beget Repentance? On the contrary, they have rarely fail'd to raise Prejudice and beget Hardness in the Sufferer, and Pity in the Beholder.

But was this the Evangelical Rule and Practice? Yes, that it was. O then! whence comes *Imposition, Force, Cruelty, Spoil of Goods, Imprisonments, Knockings, Beatings, Bruisings, Stockings, Whippings, and Spilling of Blood for Religion*? What Church is that whose Officers are so far from clothing the Naked that they strip the Clothed; from feeding the Hungry, that they take their Bread from them; and those, some of them, poor Widows and helpless Orphans? And so remote are they from visiting the Sick and Imprison'd, that they drag away their Beds from under them, and cast their Persons into Prison for Conscience Sake. Nay, some have been so unnatural that they haled away an Honest Man from a Meeting to Goal at *Reading*, a while since, not permitting him to take Leave of his poor Wife, newly delivered, and in a Dying Condition, though she much desired it, and liv'd but just by the Meeting, from whence they took him; with an Hundred more Things, that I forbear being particular in, because I would not be thought to provoke when I aim only at Christian Reproof and Admonishment. In fine, What are they that for no other Cause pass such *Dreadful Excommunications*, as render the Excommunicants little better than *Outlawed Persons*, subjecting their Civil and Natural Rights to their Pride, Passion, Interest or Revenge, unless they will purchase their Enjoyment at the dear Rate of giving their own Consciences the Lye? For what else can be the Consequence of conforming to that I do not believe? Is not this to destroy sincere Men, and make and save Hypocrites? When it is but too palpable that Vice reigns without Controul, and few of these busy Men, these *Conscientious-Hunters*, give themselves the thought of correcting Manners, defending Virtue, or suppressing Vice.

O, that such as are concerned would soberly consider if any Thing be so Scandalous to True Religion as Force! Who can think that Evidence Good that is extorted? And what a Church is that which is made up of such Proselytes, or that employs such Means to make them? It is *base Coyn* that needs Imposition to make it current, but true Metal passeth for its own intrinsic Value. O where is that Christian Meekness, Patience and Forbearance! How many have been ruined, that were never exhorted, and excommunicated before they were once admonished? This is not to serve God, but worldly Interest: It's quite contrary to Christ's Counsel and his Followers and Practice. He came to save, and not to destroy Nature, to magnify his Grace. You pretend most of you, to dislike *J. Calvin's* unconditional Reprobation, yet practise it: If you say, no, *Conformity* is your Condition, I answer, It is as unreasonable to require an Impossibility, as cruel to damn Men for not doing it: For, as you say, *his Doctrine makes God to command them to repent, that cannot repent; and yet damn them if they repent*

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pent not : So you enjoin Men to relinquish their present Faith and Worship, and conform to yours, which is not in their Power to do, yet damn them in a temporal Respect if they refuse it : For you make such an unavoidable Dissent punishable with the Destruction of Men's Liberties and Estates. You had better leave off valuing your selves upon the Metcy and Well-natur'dness of that Tenet of the Universal Love of God to Mankind 'till you love more than your selves, and abominate that the Church of England should be the Elect to the Civil Government and all others as Reprobates, since you pretend to detest the like Injustice in John Calvin's Notion of Election and Reprobation.

And the Truth of it is, this helps on *Atheism* as much as any Enormity in the Land; when witty Men are not willing to take Pains to examine after the Truth and Excellency in Religion, so that People that call themselves Christ's Ministers and the Apostles Successors and Followers, affect and seek Government, and yet twice deny it, when they go to receive it: That some others grow Lordly, live Voluptuously, and watch after the biggest Preferments, not being excited by most Service for God, but earthly Power and Wealth for themselves; and that, at the same Time, they persecute Men of more Self-denial, for Matters of Opinion about Faith and Worship towards God; so that *Non-Conformity* to the Church, *No Protection* from the State. Which, among *Protestants*, is so much the more unreasonable; *First*, Because they, by these Courses, implicitly own and assume the highest Infallibility and Perfection, and yet deny any such Thing. For it supposes that nothing is Truer, nothing Perfecter; or else they both persecute Men to embrace a Fallible and Imperfect Religion, and with cruel Penalties provide against any thing more true or Infallible; which is the greatest Injury to the World that can be, in as much as it is a plain Endeavour to frustrate all those excellent Prophecies and gracious Promises God hath given, and the Holy Scriptures declare of the latter Days. But *Secondly*, It exposes *Protestants* to the Laish and Scorn of the *Papist* unavoidably; for, at this Rate, you that, with Reason, think it Ignorance and Irreligion in the *Papist* to imagine himself discharged in God's Account, by believing only as the Church believes, conceive your selves, at the same Time, justify'd by believing only as a few of your own *Doctors*, or else as the State believes. But if the Church cannot use Force in Religion, because she cannot infallibly determine to the Conscience without Convincement, much less ought a few *Doctors* or the Civil Authority to use Force where they can much less judge. Unless you would make them the Civil Executioners of your Displeasure who have no Civil Power to give them such Commission; and to be sure no Ecclesiastical Authority to Exercise any Force or Violence about Religion. For the *Papist*, judging by his Principles, punishes them that believe not as the Church believes, *though against Scripture*; but the *Protestant*, who teaches every one to believe the Scripture, *though against Church-Authority*, persecutes, against his own Principles, even them that in any Particular so believe as he, in general, teaches them to believe. This is hard, but true upon the *Protestant*; for what is plainer than that he afflicts those, that, according to his own Doctrine, believe and honour Holy Scripture, but, against it, will receive no Human Interpretation. *Them*, I say, who interpret Scripture to themselves, *which, by his Position, none but they to themselves can interpret*; *Them*, that use the Scripture no otherwise, by his own Doctrine, to their Edification, than He himself uses it to their Punishing; and so whom his Doctrine acknowledges true Believers, his Discipline persecutes as Hereticks.

To sum up all at this Time, If we must believe as *Cæsar* appoints, why not then as the Church believes? But if not as either, *without Convincement*, pray how can Force be lawful? Let me recommend one Book to you, that of Right claims a Place with you, and that is *Bishop Taylor's of Liberty of Prophecy*; never answer'd, that I have heard of, and I have Reason to believe, never will be attempted; for indeed it is unanswerable. That was the Judgment of a Doctor under Persecution, I could be glad if it might

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might be the Practice of Bishops in their Power: I may say the same of *J. Tillotson's* sober and seasonable Discourse before the Commons on the Fifth of November. And, the Truth is, I am the more earnest with you at this Time, because I find that God daily shews us he has great *good Will* to poor England. O why should we drive him from us by our Disobedience to him, and our Severities to one another! He has lately put a Price into our Hands, and continues to pour his Favours upon us: All depends upon a sincere Reformation and our Perseverance therein.

To give Testimony of this, *let us with our whole Hearts turn to God, and keep his Holy Law*; and let us but be jealous of his Glory, *by punishing Vice, and cherishing Virtue*, and we may assure our selves he will interest himself in our Safety. Of this we cannot doubt; for he who has begun to do it under our Disobedience, will not desert us in our sincere Repentance. And as this is our Duty to God, without which we vainly hope for Deliverance, so is there a Duty we owe to one another, that is the next requisite to our Preservation.

Let, therefore, all *Asperities* be avoided, *Nick-Names* forbidden, and the *Oppressed Protestant* delivered. Revive the noble Principle of *Liberty of Conscience*, on which the Reformation rose: *For in Vain do we hope to be deliver'd from Papists, 'till we deliver our selves from Popery.* This *Coercion upon Conscience and Persecution for Religion* are that Part of *Popery* which is most justly hated and feared: And if we either fear or hate *Popery* for it's Cruelty, *shall we practise the Cruelty we fear or hate it for?* God forbid! No, not on those that have used it to us. This were the Way to be deserted of God, and left to their Cruelty. The same Sins will ever fix the same Odium, and find the same Punishment where-ever they are; yea greater, by how much Protestants pretend to better Things: If they burnt your Ancestors, don't you *strip and starve* your Brethren: Remember the many Thousands now persecuted in this Kingdom for the Sake of their tender and very peaceable Consciences; *Husbands are unlawfully separated from their Wives, and Parents from their Children, their Corn, Cattle and Household-stuff swept away, perhaps at the Instigation of some lewd and indigent Informer, or to please the Malice of an ill-dispos'd Neighbour.* In the mean Time many, once sufficient, are expos'd to Charity, the Fruits of their honest Labour and Bread of their poor helpless Children being now made the Forfeiture of their Conscience.

Friends and Country Men, there is a deep Doctrine in this Providence; examine it well, that you may reap the Benefit of it: And among the rest, let me tell you, this is not the least Part of it, that God is shewing you Mercy, that you may shew Mercy, and has awaken'd you at the Brink of the Pit, that you may help your Brethren out of it, ay, your Enemies. Be wise and considerate; It will be much your own Fault if you are not happy. And truly I have no Manner of Scruple, but God will preserve us, if we will not cast away our selves. For our own *Sins and Folly* can only direct the Hand that seeks to hit and hurt us; and shall we make it successful to our own Ruin? *Let us therefore turn away from all Impiety; let the Magistracy discourage and punish it; and let us forbear and love one another.* If we begin with God, we shall end with God, and that is with *Success*: Else, be assured, we shall only inherit the Wind of our own Invention, and be deserted of him then, when we shall most want him.

In short, reverence the present Providence; and though your Lives have not deserv'd it, let them now be grateful and not abuse it. Pursue your Advantages throughly, but wisely; be as temperate as zealous, and to your Enemies as generous as just. Insult not over ill Men for the Sake of their ill Principles, but pity their Unhappiness, whilst you abhor the Cause of it: Let them see that you had rather inform than destroy them, and that you take more Pleasure in their Conversion than your own Revenge. This will be the greatest Confutation upon them, that they be taught the Goodness of your Religion by the Mildness of it, and by it's Mercy the Cruelty of their own. The Indian *Atabaliba* rejected the *Romish Baptism* because of

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the *Spanish Tyranny*; whence it was usual with those *Poor Americans* to desire they might not go to *Heaven* if the *Spaniards* went thither. I know there be little Arts used to prevent *Protestant Union*, and that in a *Protestant Guise*? and 'tis a *Trick*, not of Yesterday, to put one Party of *Protestants* upon devouring four or five, that both the *Protestant Church* may have the Odium of *Eating* or *Devouring* her own *Children*, and that another *Interest*, behind the *Hangings*, may find the more easy and creditable Accession to the Chair: It is the Men of this Strain, though under Disguise, that now seek to distract you; and to effect it the better, old Stories must be had up, *Acts of Oblivion violated*, the *Dead disturb'd*, their *Tombs rised*, and they *haled out of their Graves to receive a new Sentence*: That condemning the *Living* of that *Interest* by the *Dead*, they might be deserted of those, that, to say True, cannot be long safe without them.

If any Thing Sober and Judicious be propos'd for allaying Asperities, accomodating Differences, and securing to Prince and People a just and legal Union of Interest, as our Government requires, we must presently be told of 41, and 42, as if there were a sort of *Necromancy* in the Numbers, or that the naming of those Figures (long since made Cyphers by an *Act of Oblivion*) had Power enough to lay the active and generous Spirits of our Times: But they find themselves mistaken in their *black Art*, and that *Things as well as Times are changed*; The Mask is off, and he that runs may read, *Res Nolunt male Administrari*.

Men in their Pleas and Endeavours for Truth, Justice and Sincere Religion will not be overborn or staggered by such stale and trifling Reflections, rarely used, of late, but to palliate wretched Designs, or discredit good ones with Men of weak Judgment, though perhaps of loyal Principles.

I beseech you let us not be unskilful in these Tricks, that we may not be mistaken or abused by them: I cannot tell a Time in which the Minds of all Sorts of *Protestants* have been more powerfully and unanimously engag'd to endeavour a good Understanding between the King and People. And as I am sure it was never more needed, so, let me say, no Age hath put a richer Price into the Hands of Men, or yielded a fairer Occasion to fix an happy and lasting Union upon: In order to which let me prevail with you that we may study to improve this great Principle as the necessary Means to it, viz. *That God's Providence and our own Constitution have made the Interest of Prince and People One*; and that their *Peace and Greatness lie in a most industrious and impartial Prosecution of it*.

Those that teach other Doctrine, as that the Prince hath an Interest apart from the Good and Safety of the People, are the sole Men that get by it, and therefore find themselves oblig'd to study their Misunderstanding; because they only are disappointed and insecure by their Union.

Experience truly tells us that such Persons have another Interest than that which leads to a common Good, and are often but too artificial in interesting Princes in the Success of it: But prudent and generous Princes have ever seen that it is neither safe nor just; and that no Kingdom can be govern'd with true Glory and Success but there where the Interest of the Governour is one with that of the Governed, and where there is the strictest Care to steer all Transactions of State, by the *Fundamentals*, or the first and great Principles of their own Constitution: Especially, since swerving from them hath always made Way for Confusion and Misery in Government. Our own Stories are almost every where vext by this Neglect; and those of our Neighbours must submit to the same Truth.

To conclude and sum up the whole Discourse; If you will both cure present and prevent future Grievances, it will greatly behove you to take a most deliberate and unbiass'd View of the present State of Things, with their proper Causes and Tendencies. Let us confront our Ecclesiastical Matters with the plain Text and Letter of Holy Scripture; this is *Protestant*: And let us compare our Civil Transactions with the Ancient Laws and Statutes of the Realm; this is *English*. And I do humbly and heartily beseech Almighty God, that he would so dispose the Hearts of Prince and People,

as that firm Foundations may be now laid for a Just and Lasting Tranquility to these Nations: And believe me if you please, unless they are Just and Equal they cannot last. Time will prove it, because it always has, and that God is unchangeable in the Order and Justice of his Providence. And, since Righteousness exalts a Nation, and that Sin is the Shame of any People: therefore will I close with David's Prayer, Psal. 7. 9. *O let the wickedness of the Wicked come to an End, but Establish the Just: For the Righteous God tryeth the Hearts and the Reins.*

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An APPENDIX of the CAUSES and CURE of Persecution.

I Impute all Persecution for Religion to these Seven ensuing Causes, tho' properly speaking, there is but one Original Cause of this Evil, and that is the Devil, as there is but one Original Cause of Good, and that is God.

I. The first Cause of Persecution is this, *That the Authors and Users of it have little or no Religion at Heart*; They are not subject to the Ground and first Cause of true Religion in their own Souls; for it is the Part of true Religion to *humble the Mind, break the Heart, and soften the Affection*; It was God himself that said, *Unto this Man will I look, even to him that is poor and of a contrite Spirit, and trembles at my Word*; not one that breaks Pates, and plunders Goods for Religion. *Blessed are they that mourn, said Christ, they shall be comforted*; but not Those that sell Joseph and make Merry. *Blessed are the poor in Spirit, for theirs is the Kingdom of God*; Those that are low in their own Eyes; not such as devour and damn all but themselves. *Blessed are the Meek, for they shall inherit the Earth*; such as are gentle and ready to help, and not Tyrannize over Neighbours. *Blessed are the Merciful, for they shall obtain Mercy*; what then shall become of those that are Cruel, under Pretence of doing it for God's Sake? *Blessed are the Peace-makers, for they shall be called the Children of God*; then Disturbers and Destroyers of their peaceable Neighbours shall not be called so. *Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after Righteousness, for they shall be filled*; but not those that hunger and thirst after our Corn and Cattel, Houses and Land for Conscience sake. *And Blessed are you, says Christ, when Men shall Revile and Persecute you, &c.* Then not those that Revile and Persecute others that are Sober and Harmless: Not one Blessing to his Conscience-hunting Doctrine and Practice, that devour the Widow and Orphans for Religion. Were Men inwardly and truly Religious, they would have so low an Opinion of themselves, so tender a Regard to Mankind, so great an awe of Almighty God, as that none of these froward Passions would have any Sway with them. But, the Mischief is, *unmortified Passions pretend to Religion*; a proud, impatient, arrogant Mind would promote it; than which, nothing of Man is more remote from it; mistaking the very Nature and End of Christ's peaceable Religion, *Which if the Apostle James say true, is to visit the Fatherless and Widow, and keep our selves unspotted of the World.* But, on the contrary, They turn Widow and Fatherless out of House and Home, and spot themselves with the Cruelty and Injustice of usurping their poor Patrimony, the Bread of their Lives, and Sustainance of their Natures: Such Men as these are void of natural Affection; their Religion has no Bowels, or they are without Mercy in the Profession of it; which is the Reverse of true Religion, *that makes us love Enemies, do good to them that hate us, and pray for them that despitefully use us*: And so much stronger, in Souls truly Religious, is the Power of Love to Mankind than any self revenging Passion, that from an humble and serious Reflection upon the Mercies and Goodness of God to them, they do not only suppress

Eccl. 65. 2.

Jam. 1. 27.

Mat. 5. 44.

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any rising of Heart against their Persecutors (much more against peaceable Dissenters) but with much softness and Charity, commiserate their Ignorance and Anger: Offering to inform them, and praying that they may be forgiven. This is to be Religious, and therefore those that Persecute for Religion any ways are *Irreligious*.

II. The next Cause of Persecution is the gross but general mistake which People are under concerning the Nature of the Church and Kingdom of Christ: For the lamentable Worldliness of Mens Minds hath put them upon those Carnal Constructions which have made Way for all the external Coercion and Violence, used by bad and suffer'd by good Men, on the Score of Religion, from the Beginning. And no wonder if ordinary Persons tumble upon this Construction, when the Disciples of Jesus shew'd themselves so ill read in the Mysteries of his Kingdom, that after all the Intimacy they had had with him, they refrain'd not to ask, *When shall the Kingdom be restored to Israel*. They look't abroad, had a Worldly Idea in their Minds; *Jews* like, they waited for external Deliverance from the Power of the *Romans*, rather than an Internal Salvation from the Dominion of *Satan*; and interpreted those Words to Worldly Loss and Freedom, which did relate to the Loss and Redemption of the Soul: But Jesus taught them better Things; yet so, as not to deny or flatly discourage and rebuke them; for that, though true, might have been more at that Time, than they could have born; therefore he winds off with them upon the Time and the Season of the Thing, knowing that the Time was at Hand, that they should be better taught and satisfied of the Nature of his Kingdom, unto which he referred them. *When the Spirit of Truth comes, it shall lead you into all Truth, &c.*

John 16. 13.

That the Kingdom of Christ is not of this World, has been before observed, and the Reason is so great that all Men of Common Sense must allow it, upon Christ's Principle and Argument; for says he, *then would my Servants fight for me*; truly implying, because the Kingdoms of this World are evidently set up and maintained by worldly Force, and that he will have no worldly Force used in the Business of his Kingdom, that therefore it is not of this World. Consequently, those that attempt to set up his Kingdom by worldly Force, or make that their Pretence to use it, are none of his Servants: They are truly but Men of this World; such as seek an Earthly, and not an Heavenly Crown and Kingdom: Themselves, and not Christ Jesus. Where, by the way, let me observe, that though the *Jews*, to engage *Pilate* the more easily to their side, impeach't Christ of being an Enemy to *Cesar*, they were Enemies, and He appeared a Friend to *Cesar*; for he came to reform the Lives of Men, to make them better Subjects; to obey *Cesar*, not for Fear, but for *Conscience-sake*: A way to make *Cesar's* Province, both easie and safe. But the *Jews* would have had him *Cesar's* Enemy; one that should have forceably rescu'd them from *Cesar* Power; That was what they waited for; a Captain General to head the Revolt, and with an High Hand to overbear and captive *Cesar*, as he had done them: And, 'tis more than probable, that this Appearance being after quite another Manner and to another End than they expected; They therefore rejected him; their Hearts being set upon the Desire of Worldly Empire:

John 18. 36.

But to return, Christ told his Disciples, *that he had chosen them out of the World*; how pray? Not to converse or live bodily in it? No such Matter: But he had chosen or singled them from the Nature, Spirit, Glory, Policy and Pomp of this World. How Persons, so qualified, can make a Worldly Church or Kingdom, unless they desert Christ's Doctrine, is past my Skill to tell. So that the Capacity that Christians stand in to Christ is Spiritual, and not Worldly or Carnal; and for that Reason not Carnal or Worldly, but Spiritual Methods and Weapons only are to be used to inform or reclaim such as are Ignorant or Disobedient. And if we will give Ancient Story credit, we shall find that Worldly Weapons were never employ-
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ed by the Christian Church till she became Worldly, and so ceast to be truly Christian.

But why should I say the *Church*? the most abused Word in the World; It is her Leaders have taught her to err; and that of *believing as the Church believes*, is so far from being true in Point of Fact as well as Reason, that the Church her self has long believed as the Clerg, that is, the Priest, believed, ever since that Sort of Men have practised a Distinction from, and Superiority upon, the Laity. He that will peruse the Ecclesiastical Story delivered us by *Eusebius Pamphilus*, *Socrates Scholasticus*, *Evagrius*, *Rufinus*, *Sozomen*, and more especially the Councils, *B. Usher*, ay, and *Baronius himself*, will find but too many and sad Instances of the Truth of this.

In short, People apprehending the Church and Kingdom of Christ to be Visible and Worldly, like other Societies and Governments, have thought it not only to be Lawful, but Necessary to use the Arts and Force of this World to support his Church and Kingdom; especially since the Interest of Religion hath been incorporated with that of the *Civil Magistrate*: For from that Time he hath been made *Custos utriusque Tabule*, and such as offend, though about Church Matters, have been reputed Transgressors against the State, and consequently the State interested in punishing the Offence. Whereas had *Christians* remain'd in their primitive Simplicity and Purity, in the Self-denying, Patient and Suffering Doctrine of *Christ*; Christianity had stood in Holy Living and not in Worldly Regiment; and it's Compulsion would have been Love, it's Arms Reasons and Truth, and it's utmost Rigour, even to obstinate Enemies or Apostates, but Renouncing of their Communion, and that not till much Forbearance and many Christian Endeavours had been used to reclaim them.*

To sum up all; The Kingdoms of this World, stand in outward, Bodily and Civil Matters, and here the Laws and Power of Men reach and are effectual. But the Kingdom and Church of Christ, that is chosen out of the World, stands not in *Bodily Exercise* (which the Apostle says profits little) nor in Times nor Places, but in Faith, and that Worship which Christ tells us is in *Spirit and in Truth*: To this no worldly Compulsion can bring or force Men; 'tis only the Power of that King of Righteousness whose Kingdom is in the Minds and Souls of the Just, and he rules by the Law of his own free Spirit, which, like the Wind, *Bloweth where it listeth*: And as without this Spirit of Regeneration no Man can be made a Member of Christ's Church or Kingdom, and less a Minister, so neither is it in the Power of Man to command or give it, and consequently all worldly Force employ'd to make Men Members of Christ's Church and Kingdom is as ineffectual as unnatural. I could be very large upon this Point, for it is very fruitful, and so much the Cause of Persecution, that if there were never another to be assign'd, this were enough; and upon due Consideration it must needs meet with every Man's Judgment and Experience, I will here add the Sense of Memorable *Hales of Eaton* upon this Subject.

1 Tim. 4. 8.

Joh. 4. 23, 24.

Joh. 3. 8.

' When our Saviour, in the *Acts*, after his Resurrection, was discoursing to his Disciples concerning the Kingdom of God, they presently brake forth into this Question, *Wilt thou now restore the Kingdom unto Israel*? Certainly this Question betrays their Ignorance: Their Thoughts still ran upon a Kingdom, like unto the Kingdoms of the World, notwithstanding they had so long and so often heard our Saviour to the contrary: Our Saviour therefore shortly takes them up, *Non est vestrum*, your Question is nothing to the Purpose; the Kingdom that I have spoken of is another Manner of Kingdom than you conceive. Sixteen hundred Years, *Et quod excurret*, hath the Gospel been preached unto the World, and is this Strain spunged out yet? I doubt it. Whence arise those novel and late Disputes, *de Notis Ecclesie*, of the Notes and Visibility of the Church? Is it not from hence, they of *Rome* take the World and the Church to be like *Mercury* and *Sessa* in *Plautus* his Comedies, so like one another, that one of them must

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‘ must wear a *Toy* in his Cap, that so the Spectators might distinguish them; whence comes it, that they stand so much upon *State* and *Ceremony* in the Church? Is it not from hence, that they think the Church must come in like *Agrippa* and *Bernice* in the *Acts* *μὴ ἀ πολλὰς ἐκρίσας*, as St. *Luke* speaks, with a great deal of *Pomp*, and *Train*, and *Shew*, and *Vaniry*? And that the Service of God, doth necessarily require this Noise and Tumult of outward *State* and *Ceremony*? Whence comes it, that we are at our Wits End, when we see *Persecution*, and *Sword*, and *Fire*, to range against the true Professors of the Gospel? Is it not because, as these bring Ruin and Desolation upon the Kingdoms of the World, so we suppose they work no other Effect in the Kingdom of Christ? All these Conceits, and many more of the like Nature, spring out of no other Fountain than that *old inveterate Error*, which is so hardly wiped out of our Hearts, That the *State* of the Church and Kingdom of Christ, doth hold some Proportion, some likeness with the State and managing of temporal Kingdoms: Wherefore to pluck out of our Hearts, *Opinionem tam infusam, tam vetustam*, a Conceit so ancient, so deeply rooted in us, our Saviour spake most excellently, most pertinently, and most fully, when he tells us that his Church, that his Kingdom is not of this World.

Joh. 18. 36.

‘ In which Words of his, there is contained the true Art of discovering and knowing the true Nature and Essence of the Church. For as they which make *Statues*, cut and pare away all Superfluities of the Matter upon which they work; so our Saviour, to shew us the true Proportion and Feature of the Church, prunes away the World, and all Superfluous excrescencies, and sends her to be seen, at he did our first Parents in Paradise, stark naked: As those Elders in the Apocryphal Story of *Susanna*, when they would see her Beauty, commanded to take off her Mask; so he that longs to see the Beauty of the Church, must pull off that Mask of the World, and outward shew. For as *Juda* in the Book of *Genesis*, when *Thamar* sat vail’d by the Way Side, knew not his Daughter from an Whore; so whilst the Church, the Daughter and Spouse of Christ, sits vail’d with the World, and *Pomp* and *Shew*, it will be an hard Matter to discern her from an Harlot. But yet further, to make the Difference betwixt these Kingdoms the more plainly to appear, and so better to fix in your Memories, I will briefly touch some of those Heads, in which they are most notoriously differenced.

‘ The first Head wherein the Difference is seen, are the Persons and Subjects of this Kingdom: For as the Kingdom of Christ is not of this World, so the Subjects of this Kingdom are Men of another World, and not of this. Every one of us bears a double Person, and accordingly is the Subject of a double Kingdom: The Holy Ghost, by the Psalmist, divides Heaven and Earth betwixt God and Man, and tells us, as for God, He is in Heaven, but the Earth has been given to the Children of Men: So hath the same Spirit, by the Apostle St. Paul, divided every one of our Persons into Heaven and Earth, into an outward and earthly Man, and into an inward and Heavenly Man: This Earth, that is, this Body of Clay hath he given to the Sons of Men, to the Princes under whose Government we live; but Heaven, that is, the inward and spiritual Man, hath he reserved unto himself: They can restrain the outward Man, and moderate our outward Actions by Edicts and Laws; they can tie our Hands and our Tongues; — *Illā se jactet in aula Æolus*: Thus far they can go, and when they are gone thus far, they can go no farther: But to rule the inward Man in our Hearts and Souls, to set up an Impartial Throne in our Understandings, and Wills, this Part of our Government belongs to God and to Christ: These are the Subjects, this the Government of his Kingdom: Men may be Kings of Earth and Bodies, but Christ alone is the King of Spirits and Souls. Yet this inward Government hath Influence upon our outward Actions: For the Authority of Kings over our outward Man is not so absolute, but that it suffers a great Restraint; it must stretch no farther than the Prince of our inward Man pleases: For if secular Princes stretch

‘ stretch out the Skirts of their Authority to command ought by which our
 ‘ Souls are prejudic’d, the King of Souls hath in this Case given us a
 ‘ greater Command, *That we rather obey God than Men.*

III. A Third Great Cause of Persecution for Religion is this, *that Men make too many Things necessary to be believed to Salvation and Communion.* Persecution entred with *Creed-making*; for it so falls out, that those who distinguish the Tree in the Bulk, cannot with the like Ease discern every Branch or Leaf that grows upon it; and to run out the necessary Articles of Faith to every good or true Thing that the Wit of Man may deduce from the Text, and so too, as that I ought to have a distinct *Idea* or *Apprehension* of every one of them, and must run them over in my Mind as a Child would conn a Lesson by Heart, of which I must not miss a Tittle upon my Salvation; this I think to be a Temptation upon Men to fall into Dispute and Division, and then we are taught, by long Experience, that he that has most Power will oppress his Opinion that is weaker; whence comes Persecution: This certainly puts Unity and Peace too much upon the Hazard. *Mary’s* Choice therefore was not of many Things, *but the one Thing necessary*, as Christ, the Lord of the true Divinity Terms it. *Luke 10. 42.* And pray what was this one needful Thing, *but Christ Jesus himself, and her Faith, Love and Obedience in and to him?* Here is no perplex’d Creed to subscribe, no *System* of Divinity to charge the Head with; *This One needful Thing* was *Mary’s* Choice and Blessing: May it be ours, and, I should hope a quick End to Controversies, and consequently to Persecutions.

IV. Another Cause of Persecution, is *The Prejudice of Education*, and that *Byass Tradition* gives to those Men, who have not made their Religion the Religion of their Judgment: For such will forbid all the Inquiry which might question the Weakness or Falshood of their Religion, and had rather be deceiv’d in an honourable Descent, than be so uncivil to the Memory of their Ancestors as to seek the Truth, which found, must reprove the Ignorance of their Ages; of this, the vainest of all Honours, they are extream careful; and at the very Mention of any Thing, to them new, tho’ as old as Truth, and older than this World, are easily urg’d into a Tempest, and are not appeased but by a *Sacrifice*. This Ignorance and Want of Inquiry helps on Persecution.

V. Another Reason, and that no small one, is *Self-Love* and *Impatience of Men under Contradiction*, be it of Ignorance, that they are angry with what they cannot refute, or out of private Interest, it matters not: Their Opinion must reign alone, they are tenacious of their own Sense and can’t indure to have it questioned, be there never so much Reason for it. Men of their Passions are yet to learn that they are ignorant of Religion, by the want they have of Mortification; such Persons can easily let go their Hold on Charity, to lay violent Hands upon their Opposers: If they have Power, they rarely fail to use it so; not remembering, that when they absolv’d themselves from the Tye of Love, Meekness and Patience, they abandoned true Religion, and contended not for the Faith, once deliver’d to the Saints, which stood therein, but for meer Words.

It is here that proud Flesh, and a capricious Head disputes for Religion, and not an humble Heart and a Divine Frame of Spirit. *Men that are angry for God, Passionate for Christ, that can call Names for Religion, and sling Stones for Faith*, may tell us they are *Christians* if they will, but no Body would know them to be such by their Fruits; to be sure they are no *Christians* of Christ’s making.

I would to God that the Disputants of our Time did but calmly weigh the Irreligiousness of their own Heats for Religion, and see if what they contend for will quit the Cost, will countervail the Charge of departing from Charity, and making a Sacrifice of Peace to gain their Point. Upon so seasonable a Reflection I am confident they would find that they rather show their Love to Opinion than Truth, and seek Victory more than Concord.

Could Men be contented, as he whom they call their Lord was, *to declare their Message, and not strive for Proselytes, nor vex for Conquest*, they would

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would recommend all to the Conscience, and if it must be so, patiently endure Contradiction too, and so lay their Religion, as he did his, not in Violence but Suffering: But I must freely profess, and in Duty and Conscience I do it, that I cannot call that Religion, which is introduced against the Laws of Love, Meekness and Friendship: Superstition, Interest or Faction, I may.

There is a Zeal without Knowledge, that is Superstition; there is a Zeal against Knowledge, that is *Interest* or *Faction*, the true *Herésie*; there is a Zeal with Knowledge, that is *Religion*; therefore blind Obedience may be Superstition, it can't be Religion; And if you will view the Countries of Cruelty, you shall find them superstitious rather than Religious. *Religion* is gentle, it makes Men better, more friendly, loving and patient then before. And the Success, which followed *Christianity*, whilst the ancient Professors of it betook themselves to no other Defence, plainly proves both the Force of those passive Arguments above all corporal Punishments, and that we must never hope for the same Prosperity, *till we fall into the same Methods*. Gal. 5. 22. James 3. 17. Are Men impatient of having their Conceits own'd? they are then most to be suspected. Error and Superstition, like crackt Titles, *only fear to be searcht, and run and cry for Authority and Number*. Truth is plain and steadfast, without Arts or Tricks; will you receive her, well; if not, there is no Compulsion. But, pray tell me, what is that desired Uniformity that has not Unity, and that Unity, which has not Love, Meekness and Patience in it? I beseech you hear me, for those Men depart from the Spirit of *Christianity* that seek with Anger and Frowardness to promote it. Let us not put so miserable a Cheat upon our selves, nor such an Affront upon *Christianity* as to think that a most gentle and patient Religion can be advanced by most ungentle and impatient Ways. I should sooner submit to an humble Opposition, than to the greatest Zealot in the World, and rather deliver up my self to him that would modestly drop a controverted Truth, than to such as seek tempestuously to carry it; for even Error, bashfully and patiently defended, endangers Truth, in the Management of imprudent and hasty Zeal; and gives to it that Lustre, which only good Eyes can see from Gold. Alas! it is for want of considering that Men don't see, that to disorder the Mind in Controversie is a greater Mischief, than to carry the Point can be a Benefit; inasmuch as it is not to be Religious to apprehend rightly, but to do well: The latter can scarcely be without the former, but the former often is without the latter, which brings me to my sixth Cause of Persecution.

VI. Another, and that no small Cause of *Persecution*, is a *Misapprehension of the Word Religion*. For when once the Ignorance or Prejudice of Men, has perswaded them to lay more weight upon their own *Opinion*, or *Dissent* of their Neighbours, than in Truth the Thing will bear, to excuse their Zeal or justify their Spleen or Credit, they presently heighten the Difference to a new Religion; whence we so frequently hear of such Reflections as these, *new Gospels and Faiths, upstart Religions and Lights*, and with the like *Scare-Crows*, amuse the Vulgar, and render their own Design of ruining honest Men the more practicable. But I would obviate this Mischief; for a new Religion has a new Foundation, and consequently where there is the same Foundation, there cannot be a new Religion. Now the Foundation of the Christian Religion is Christ, and that only is another Religion than the Christian which professes another Foundation, or corruptly adds to that Foundation; by adding of other Mediators, and introducing a new Way of Remission of Sin: Which at least cannot be said of the several sorts of Protestants? For Protestants therefore to reproach each other with *new Religions and Gospels*; and by their indecent and unchristian Behaviour, to enflame their own Reckoning, and draw into more Discord, is a Sin against God, an Injury to the common Cause of *Protestancy*, and to the Security of the civil Interest of that Country, where the Inhabitants are of that Religion, as well as a real Injustice to one another: For Protestants don't only agree in the same Fundamentals of Christianity, but of *Protestancy*

too

too, that is, in the Reasons of Separation from *Rome*, which was also *Christian*. Let not every circumstantial Difference or Variety of *Cult* be Nicknam'd a *new Religion*, neither suffer so ill an Use to be made of such Dissents as to carry them beyond their true Bounds; for the Meaning of those Arts of ill Men, is to set the People farther off from one another than they really are, and to aggravate Differences in Judgment to Contrariety in Affection: And when they have once inflam'd them to Variance and Strife, nothing can hinder Persecution but Want of Power; which being never wanted by the strongest Side, the Weakest, though truest, is oppress'd, not by Argument but Worldly Weapons.

VII. The *seventh* and last Cause I shall now assign for Persecution is this, *That Holy Living is become no Test among us, unless against the Liver*. The Tree was once known by its Fruits: It is not so now: The better Liver, the more dangerous, *is not a Conformist*, and so the more in Danger, and this has made Way for Persecution. There was a Time, when Virtue was Venerable and good Men admired; but that is too much derided, and Opinion carries it.

He that can persuade his Conscience to comply with the Times, *be he Vicious, Knavish, Cowardly, any Thing*, he is protect'd, perhaps prefer'd. A Man of Wisdom, Sobriety and Ability to serve his King and Country, *if a Dissenter*, must be blown upon for a *Phanatick*, a Man of *Faction*, of *disloyal Principles*, and what not?

Rewards and Punishments are the Magistrates Duty and the Government's Interest and Support. Rewards are due to Virtue, Punishments to Vice. Let us not mistake nor mis-call Things; let Virtue be what it always was in Government; *good Manners, sober and just Living*; and Vice, *ill Manners and dishonest Living*. Reduce all to this; Let *such good Men have the Smiles and Rewards*, and *such ill Men the Frowns and Punishments of the Government*: This ends Persecution, and lays Opinion to Sleep. Ill Men will make no more Advantages by such Conformity, nor good Men no more suffer for Want of it.

In short: As that Religious Society deserves not the Protection of the Civil Government which is inconsistent with the Safety of it; so those Societies of Christians that are not only not Destructive of the Civil Government, but Lovers of it, ought, by the Civil Government, to be secured from Ruin.

God Almighty open our Understandings and Hearts, and pour out the Spirit of thorough Reformation upon us; for it is in the Spirit, and not in the Words of Reformation, that the Life and Prosperity of Reformation stands; that so we may be all conscientiously dispos'd to seek and pursue those things which make for Love, Peace and Godliness, that it may be well with us and ours, both here and for ever.

For yet a little while and the Wicked shall not be; yea, thou shalt diligently consider his Place, and it shall not be; but the Meek shall inherit the Earth, and shall delight themselves in Abundance of Peace. The Wicked Plotteth against the Just, and gnasheth upon him with his Teeth; the Lord shall laugh at him; for he seeth that his Day is coming. Psal. 37. 10, 11, 12, 13.

The Judgment of King JAMES and King CHARLES the First about Persecution for Religion.

WE find it asserted by King James in his Speech to the Parliament in the Year 1609. *That it is a pure Rule in Divinity, That God never loves to plant his Church with Violence and Blood*: And he furthermore said, *It*

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Part II.

It was usually the Condition of Christians to be Persecuted, but not to Persecute.

And we find the same Things in Substance asserted again by his Son, King Charles the First, in his Book known by the Name of ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ; printed for R. Royson, as followeth.

Page 67. In his Prayer to God, he said, *Thou seest how much Cruelty, amongst Christians, is acted under the Colour of Religion; as if we could not be Christians, unless we Crucify one another.*

Page 28. *Make them at length seriously to consider, that nothing Violent and Injurious, can be Religion.*

Page 70. *Nor is it so proper to hew out Religious Reformatations by the Sword, as to polish them by fair and equal Disputations, among those that are most concern'd in the Differences, whom not Force but Reason ought to convince.*

Sure, in Matters of Religion, those Truths gain most upon Men's Judgments and Consciences, which are least urged with Secular Violence, which weakens Truth with Prejudices.

Page 115: *It being an Office not only of Humanity, rather to use Reason than Force, but also of Christianity to seek Peace and ensue it.*

Some Words of Advice from King CHARLES the First to the then Prince of Wales, now King of England, &c.

Page 165. **M**Y Counsel and Charge to you is, That you seriously consider the former Real or Objected Miscarriages, which might Occasion my Troubles, that you may avoid them, &c.

Beware of Exasperating any Passion, by the Crofness and Asperity of some Men's Passions, Humours and private Opinions, employ'd by you, grounded only upon Differences in lesser Matters, which are but the Skirts and Suburbs of Religion, wherein a Charitable Connivance and Christian Toleration, often dissipates their Strength, when rougher Opposition fortifies, and puts the Despised and Oppressed Party into such Combinations, as may most enable them to get a full Revenge on those they count their Persecutors.

Page 166 *Take Heed that Outward Circumstances and Formalities of Religion devour not all.*

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Some Fruits of SOLITUDE,

IN

Reflections and Maxims. relating to the Conduct of Human Life.

In Two PARTS.

The P R E F A C E.

Reader,

THIS Enchiridion, I present thee with, is the Fruit of Solitude: A School few care to learn in, tho' none instructs us better. Some Parts of it are the Result of serious Reflection: Others the Flashings of Lucid Intervals: Writ for private Satisfaction, and now published for thy Help to Human Conduct.

The

The Author blesseth God for his Retirement, and kisses that Gentle Hand which led him into it : For tho' it should prove Barren to the World, it can never do so to him.

He has now had some Time he could call his own; a Property he was never so much Master of before : In which he has taken a View of himself and the World; and observed wherein he hath hit and miss'd the Mark : What might have been done, what mended, and what avoided in his Human Conduct : Together with the Omissions and Excesses of others, as well Societies and Governments, as private Families, and Persons. And he verily thinks, were he to live over his Life again, he could not only, with God's Grace, serve Him, but his Neighbour and himself, better than he hath done, and have Seven Tears of his Time to spare. And yet perhaps he hath not been the Worst or the Idlest Man in the World; nor is he the Oldest. And this is the rather said, that it might quicken, thee, Reader, to lose none of the Time that is yet thine.

There is nothing of which we are apt to be so lavish as of Time, and about which we ought to be more Solicitous; since without it we can do nothing in this World. Time is what we want most, but what, alas! we use worst; and for which God will certainly most strictly reckon with us, when Time shall be no more.

It is of that Moment to us in Reference to both Worlds, that I can hardly wish any Man better, than that he would seriously consider what he does with his Time : How and to what Ends he employs it; and what Returns he makes to God, his Neighbour and himself for it. Will he ne'er have a Leger for this? This, the greatest Wisdom and Work of Life.

To come but once into the World, and trifle away our true Enjoyment of it, and of our selves in it, is lamentable indeed. This one Reflection would yield a thinking Person great Instruction. And since nothing below Man can so think; Man, in being Thoughtless, must needs fall below himself. And that, to be sure, such do, as are unconcern'd in the Use of their most Precious Time.

This is but too evident, if we will allow our selves to consider, that there's hardly any Thing we take by the right End, or improve to it's just Advantage.

We understand little of the Works of God, either in Nature or Grace. We pursue False Knowledge, and mistake Education Extremely. We are violent in our Affections, confused and immethodical in our whole Life; making that a Burthen which was given for a Blessing; and so of little Comfort to our selves or others : Misapprehending the true Notion of Happiness, and so missing of the right Use of Life and Way of Happy Living.

And 'till we are perswaded to stop, and step a little Aside, out of the Noisy Croud and Incumbering Hurry of the World, and calmly take a Prospect of Things, it will be impossible we should be able to make a right Judgment of our selves, or know our own Misery. But after we have made the just reckonings which Retirement will help us to, we shall begin to think the World in great Measure Mad, and that we have been in a Sort of Bedlam all this While.

Reader, whether Young or Old, think it not too soon or too late to turn over the Leaves of thy past Life : And be sure to fold down where any Passage of it may affect thee : And bestow thy Remainder of Time, to correct those Faults in thy future Conduct : Be it in Relation to this or the next Life. What thou would'st do, if what thou hast done were to do again, be sure to do as long as thou livest, upon the like Occasions.

Our Resolutions seem to be vigorous, as often as we reflect upon our past Errors; But, alas! they are apt to flat again upon fresh Temptations to the same Things.

The Author does not pretend to deliver thee an exalt Piece; his Business not being Ostentation, but Charity. 'Tis Miscellaneous in the Matter of it, and by no Means Artificial in the Composurc. But it contains Hints, that may serve thee for Texts to preach to thy self upon, and which comprehend much of the Course of Human Life: Since whether thou art Parent or Child,

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Prince or Subject, Master or Servant, Single or Married, Publick or Private, Mean or Honourable, Rich or Poor, Prosperous or Improsperous, in Peace or Controversy, in Business or Solitude: Whatever be thy Inclination or Aversion, Practice or Duty, thou wilt find something not unsuitably said for thy Direction and Advantage. Accept and Improve what deserves thy Notice; the rest excuse, and place to Account of good Will to thee and the whole Creation of God.

Part. I.

Reflections and Maxims.

1. **Ignorance.** IT is admirable to consider how many Millions of People come into, and go out of the World, Ignorant of themselves, and of the World they have lived in.

2. If one went to see *Windfor-Castle*, or *Hampton-Court* it would be strange not to observe and remember the Situation, the Building, the Gardens, Fountains, &c. that make up the Beauty and Pleasure of such a Seat: And yet few People know themselves: No, not their own Bodies, the Houses of their Minds, the most curious Structure of the World; a living walking Tabernacle: Nor the World of which it was made, and out of which it is fed; which would be so much our Benefit, as well as our Pleasure, to know. We cannot Doubt of this when we are told that the invisible Things of God are brought to light by the Things that are seen, and consequently we read our Duty in them, as often as we look upon them, to him that is the Great and Wise Author of them if we look as we should do.

3. The World is certainly a great and stately Volume of natural Things; and may be not improperly stiled the *Hieroglyphicks* of a better: But, alas, how very few leaves of it do we seriously turn over! This ought to be the Subject of the Education of our Youth, who, at Twenty, when they should be fit for Business, know little or nothing of it.

4. **Education.** We are in Pain to make them Scholars, but not Men! To talk, rather than to know; which is true *Cantering*.

5. The first Thing obvious to Children is what is *sensible*; and that we make no Part of their Rudiments.

6. We press their Memory too soon, and puzzle, strain and load them with Words and Rules; to know *Grammar* and *Rhetorick*, and a strange Tongue or two, that it is ten to one may never be useful to them; leaving their natural Genius to *Mechanical* and *Physical* or natural Knowledge uncultivated and neglected; which would be of exceeding Use and Pleasure to them through the whole Course of their Life.

7. To be sure, Languages are not to be despised or neglected. But Things are still to be preferred.

8. Children had rather be making of Tools and Instruments of Play; *Shaping, Drawing, Framing and Building, &c.* than getting some Rules of Propriety of Speech by Heart: And those also would follow with more Judgment, and less Trouble and Time.

9. It were happy if we studied Nature more in natural Things; and acted according to Nature; whose Rules are few, plain and most reasonable.

10. Let us begin where she begins, go her Pace, and close always where she ends, and we cannot miss of being good *Naturalists*.

11. The Creation would not be longer a Riddle to us: The *Heavens*; *Earth and Waters*, with their respective, various and numerous Inhabitants: Their Productions, Natures, Seasons, Sympathies and Antipathies; their Use, Benefit and Pleasure, would be better understood by us: And an *Eternal Wisdom, Power, Majesty and Goodness*, very conspicuous to us; through those sensible and passing Forms: The World wearing the Mark of it's Maker,

Maker, whose Stamp is every where visible, and the Characters very legible to the Children of Wisdom.

12. And it would go a great Way to caution and direct People in their Use of the World, that they were better studied and knowing in the Creation of it.

13. For how could Men find the Confidence to abuse it, while they should see the Great Creator look them in the Face, in all and every Part thereof?

14. Therefore Ignorance makes them insensible, and that Insensibility hardly misusing this Noble Creation, that has the Stamp and Voice of a *Deity* every where, and in every Thing, to the Observing.

15. It is Pity therefore that Books have not been composed for Youth, by some curious and careful Naturalists, and also Mechanicks, in the *Latin* Tongue, to be used in Schools, that they might learn Things with Words: Things obvious and familiar to them, and which would make the Tongue easier to be attained by them.

16. Many able Gardeners and Husbandmen are yet ignorant of the Reason of their Calling; as most Artificers are of the Reason of their own Rules that govern their excellent Workmanship. But a Naturalist and Mechanick of this Sort, is Master of the Reason of both, and might be of the Practice too, if his Industry kept Pace with his Speculation; which were very commendable; and without which he cannot be said to be a compleat Naturalist or Mechanick.

17. Finally, if Man be the Index or Epitomy of the World, as Philosophers tell us, we have only to read our selves well to be learn'd in it. But because there is nothing we less regard than the Characters of the Power that made us, which are so clearly written upon us and the World he has given us, and can best tell us what we are and should be, we are even Strangers to our own Genius: The Glass in which we should see that true instructing and agreeable Variety, which is to be observed in Nature, to the Admiration of that Wisdom and Adoration of that Power which made us all.

18. *pride.* And yet we are very apt to be full of our selves, instead of Him that made what we so much value; and, but for whom we can have no Reason to value our selves. For we have nothing that we can call our own; no, not our selves: For we are all but Tenants, and at Will too, of the great Lord of our selves, and the rest of this great Farm, the World that we live upon.

19. But methinks we cannot answer it to our Selves as well as our Maker, that we should live and die ignorant of our Selves, and thereby of Him and the Obligations we are under to Him for our Selves.

20. If the Worth of a Gift sets the Obligation, and directs the Return of the Party that receives it: he that is ignorant of it, will be at a loss to value it and the Giver, for it.

21. Here is Man in his Ignorance of himself. He knows not how to estimate his Creator, because he knows not how to value his Creation. If we consider his Make, and lovely Compositure; the several Stories of his lovely Structure. His divers Members, their Order, Function and Dependency: The Instruments of Food, the Vessels of Digestion, the several Transmutations it passes. And how Nourishment is carried and diffused throughout the whole Body, by most innate and imperceptible Passages: How the Animal Spirit is thereby refreshed, and with an unspeakable Dexterity and Motion sets all Parts at work to feed themselves. And last of all, how the Rational Soul is seated in the Animal, as it's proper House, as is the Animal in the Body: I say, if this rare Fabrick alone were but considered by us, with all the rest by which it is fed and comforted, surely Man would have a more reverent Sense of the Power, Wisdom and Goodness of God, and of that Duty he owes to him for it. But if he would be acquainted with his own Soul, it's noble Faculties, it's Union with the Body, it's Nature and End, and the Providences by which the whole Frame

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Frame of Humanity is preserved, he would Admire and Adore his good and great God. But Man is become a strange *Contradiction* to himself; but it is of himself: Not being by Constitution, but *Corruption* such.

22. He would have others obey him, even his own Kind; but he will not obey God, that is so much above him, and who made him.

23. He will lose none of his Authority: no, not bate an Ace of it: He is humorous to his Wife, he beats his Children, is angry with his Servants, strict with his Neighbours, revenges all Affronts to Extremity; but, alas! forgets all the while that *he is the Man*; and is more in Arrear to God, that is so very patient with him, than they are to him with whom he is so strict and impatient.

24. He is curious to wash, dress and perfume his Body, but careless of his Soul. The one shall have many Hours, the other not so many Minutes. This shall have three or four new Suits in a Year, but that must wear its old Cloaths still.

25. If he be to receive or see a great Man, how nice and anxious is he that all Things be in Order? And with what Respect and Address does he approach and make his Court? but to God, how dry and formal and constrained in his Devotion?

26. In his Prayers he says, *Thy Will be done*: but means his own: At least acts so.

27. It is too frequent to begin with God and end with the World. But He is the good Man's Beginning and End; his *Alpha* and *Omega*.

28. **Zurup.** Such is now become our Delicacy, that we will not eat ordinary Meat, nor drink small, pall'd Liquor; we must have the best, and the best cook'd for our Bodies, while our Souls feed on empty or corrupted Things.

29. In short, Man is spending all upon a bare House, and hath little or no Furniture within to recommend it; which is preferring the Cabinet before the Jewel, a Lease of seven Years before an Inheritance. So absurd a thing is Man, after all his proud Pretences to Wit and Understanding.

30. **Inconsideration.** The Want of due Consideration is the Cause of all the Unhappiness Man brings upon himself. For his second Thoughts rarely agree with his first, which pass not without a considerable Retrenchment or Correction. And yet that sensible Warning is, too frequently, not Precaution enough for his future Conduct.

31. Well may we say, our Infelicity is of our selves; since there is nothing we do that we should not do, *but we know it, and yet do it.*

32. **Disappointments and Resignation.** For *Disappointments*, that come not by our own Folly, they are the Tryals or Correction of Heaven: And it is our own Fault, if they prove not our Advantage.

33. To repine at them does not mend the Matter: It is only to grumble at our Creator. But to see the Hand of God in them, with an humble Submission to his Will, is the way to *turn our Water into Wine*, and engage the greatest Love and Mercy on our side.

34. We must needs disorder our selves, if we only look at our Losses. But if we consider how little we deserve what is left, our Passion will cool, and our Murmurs will turn into Thankfulness.

35. If our Hairs fall not to the Ground, less do we or our Substance without God's Providence.

36. Nor can we fall below the Arms of God, how low soever it be we fall.

37. For though our Saviour's Passion is over, his Compassion is not. That never fails his humble, sincere Disciples: In him, they find more than all that they lose in the World.

38. **Putmuring.** Is it reasonable to take it ill, that any Body desires of us that which is their own? All we have is the Almighty's: And shall not God have his own when he calls for it?

39. Discontentedness is not only in such a Case Ingratitude, but Injustice, For we are both unthankful for the Time we had it, and not honest enough to restore it, if we could keep it.

10. But

40. But it is hard for us to look on Things in such a Glass, and at such a Distance from this low World; and yet it is our Duty, and would be our Wisdom and our Glory to do so.

41. **Censoriousness.** We are apt to be very pert at censuring others, where we will not endure Advice our selves. And nothing shews our Weakness more than to be so sharp-sighted at spying other Men's Faults, and so purblind about our own.

42. When the Actions of a Neighbour are upon the Stage, we can have all our Wits about us, are so quick and critical we can split an Hair, and find out every Failure and Infirmary: *But are without feeling, or have but very little Sense of our own.*

43. Much of this comes from ill Nature, as well as from an inordinate Value of our selves: For we love rambling better than Home, and blaming the unhappy, rather than covering and relieving them.

44. In such Occasions some shew their Malice and are witty upon Misfortunes; others their Justice, they can reflect apace; but few or none their Charity; especially if it be about Money Matters.

45. You shall see an old Miser come forth with a set Gravity, and so much Severity against the Distressed, to excuse his Purse, that he will, 'ere he has done, put it out of all Question, That **RICHES** is *Righteousness* with him. *This, says he, is the Fruit of your Prodigality* (as if, poor Man, *Covetousness* were no Fault) Or, *of your Projects, or grasping after a great Trade*: While he himself would have done the same Thing, but that he had not the Courage to venture so much ready Money out of his own trusty Hands, though it had been to have brought him back the *Indies* in Return. But the Proverb is just, *Vice should not correct Sin.*

46. They have a Right to censure, that have an Heart to help: The rest is Cruelty, not Justice.

47. **Sounds of Charity.** Lend not beyond thy Ability, nor refuse to lend out of thy Ability; especially when it will help others *more than it can hurt thee.*

48. If thy Debtor be honest and capable, thou hast thy Money again, if not with Encrease, with Praise: If he prove insolvent, don't Ruin him to get that, *which it will not ruin thee to lose*: For thou art but a Steward, and another is thy Owner, Master and Judge.

49. The more merciful Acts thou dost, the more Mercy thou wilt receive; and if with a charitable Employment of thy Temporal Riches, thou gainest Eternal Treasure, thy Purchase is infinite: Thou wilt have found the Art of Multiplying indeed.

50. **Frugality or Bountp.** Frugality is good, if Liberality be joyn'd with it. The first is leaving off superfluous Expences; the last bestowing them to the Benefit of others that need. The first without the last begins Covetousness; the last without the first begins Prodigality: Both together make an excellent Temper. Happy the Place where that is found.

51. Were it universal, we should be cur'd of two Extreames, *Want* and *Excess*: And the one would supply the other, and so bring both nearer to a Mean; the just Degree of earthly Happiness.

52. It is a Reproach to Religion and Government to suffer so much Poverty and Excess.

53. Were the Superfluities of a Nation valued, and made a perpetual Tax or Benevolence, there would be more Alms-houses than Poor; Schools than Scholars; and enough to spare for Government besides.

54. Hospitality is good, if the poorer Sort are the Subjects of our Bounty; else too near a Superfluity.

55. **Discipline.** If thou wouldst be happy and easy in thy Family, above all Things observe *Discipline*.

56. Every one in it should know their Duty; and there should be a Time and Place for every Thing; and whatever else is done or omitted, *be sure to begin and end with God.*

56. **Industry.**

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Part. I.

57. **Industry.** Love *Labour*: For if thou dost not want it for Food, thou may'st for *Physick*. It is wholesome for thy Body, and good for thy Mind. It prevents the Fruits of Idleness, which many Times comes of nothing to do, and leads too many to do what is worse than nothing.

58. A Garden, an Elaboratory, a Work-house, Improvements and Breeding, are pleasant and profitable Diversions to the Idle and Ingenious: For here they miss ill Company, and converse with Nature and Art; whose Variety are equally grateful and instructing; and preserve a good Constitution of Body and Mind.

59. **Temperance.** To this a spare Diet contributes much. Eat therefore to live, and do not live to eat. That's like a Man, but this below a Beast.

60. Have wholesome, but not costly Food, and be rather cleanly than dainty in ordering it.

61. The Receipts of Cookery are swelled to a Volume, but a good Stomach excels them all; to which nothing contributes more than Industry and Temperance.

62. It is a cruel Folly to offer up to Ostentation so many Lives of Creatures, as make up the State of our Treats; as it is a prodigal one to spend more in Sauce than in Meat.

63. The Proverb says, *That enough is as good as a Feast*: But it is certainly better, if Superfluity be a Fault, which never fails to be at Festivals.

64. If thou rise with an Appetite, thou art sure never to sit down without one.

65. Rarely drink but when thou art Dry; nor then, between Meals, if it can be avoided.

66. The smaller the Drink, the clearer the Head, and the cooler the Blood; which are great Benefits in Temper and Business.

67. Strong Liquors are good at some Times, and in small Proportions; being better for Physick than Food, for Cordials than common Use.

68. The most common Things are the most useful; which shews both the Wisdom and Goodness of the Great Lord of the Family of the World.

69. What therefore he has made rare, don't thou use too commonly: Lest thou should'st invert the Use and Order of Things; become Wanton and Voluptuous; and thy Blessings prove a Curse.

70. *Let nothing be lost*, said our Saviour: But that is lost that is misused.

71. Neither urge another to that thou would'st be unwilling to do thy self; nor do thy self what looks to thee unseemly and intemperate in another.

72. All Excess is ill; but Drunkenness is of the worst Sort: It spoils Health, dismounts the Mind, and unmans Men: It reveals Secrets, is Quarrelsome, Lascivious, Impudent, Dangerous and Mad: In fine, he that's Drunk is not a Man; because he is so long void of Reason, that distinguishes a Man from a Beast.

73. **Apparel.** Excess in *Apparel* is another costly Folly: The very Trimming of the vain World would cloath all the Naked One.

74. Chuse thy Cloaths by thine own Eyes, not another's. The more plain and simple they are, the better. Neither Unshapely nor Fantastical; and for Use and Decency, and not for Pride.

75. If thou art clean and warm, it is sufficient; for more doth but rob the Poor, and please the Wanton.

76. It is said of the true Church, *The King's Daughter is all glorious within*: Let our Care therefore be of our Minds more than of our Bodies, if we would be of her Communion.

77. We are told with Truth, that Meekness and Modesty are the Rich and Charming Attire of the Soul: And the plainer the Dress, the more distinctly, and with greater Lustre, their Beauty shines.

78. It is great Pity such Beauties are so rare, and those of *Jezebel's* Forehead are so common: Whose Dresses are Incentives to Lust; but Bars, instead of Morives, to Love or Virtue.

79. **Right Marriage.** Never marry but for Love; but see that thou lov'st what is lovely.

80. If Love be not thy chiefest Motive, thou wilt soon grow weary of a Married State, and stray from thy Promise, to search out thy Pleasures in forbidden Places.

81. Let not Enjoyment lessen, but augment Affection; it being the basest of Passions *to like when we have not, what we slight when we possess.*

82. It is the Difference between Lust and Love, that this is fix'd, that Volatile. Love grows, Lust wasts by Enjoyment: And the Reason is, that one springs from an *Union of Souls, and the other Springs from an Union of Sense.*

83. They have divers Originals, and so are of different Families: That inward and deep, this superficial; this transient, and that permanent.

84. They that Marry for *Money*, cannot have the true Satisfaction of Marriage; the requisite Means being wanting.

85. Men are generally more careful of the Breed of their Horses and Dogs, than of their Children.

86. Those must be of the best Sort, for *Shape, Strength, Courage and good Conditions*: But as for these, their own Posterity, *Money shall answer all Things.* With such, it makes the *Crooked Streight, sets Squint-Eyes right, cures Madnefs, covers Folly, changes ill Conditions, mends the Skin, gives a sweet Breath, repairs Honours, makes Young, works Wonders.*

87. O how *sordid* is Man grown! Man, the Noblest Creature of the World, as a *God on Earth*, and the Image of him that made it; thus to mistake Earth for Heaven, and *Worship Gold* for God!

88. **avarice.** Covetousness is the *greatest of Monsters*, as well as the *Root of all Evil.* I have once seen the Man that *died to save Charges.* What! Give Ten Shillings to a Doctor, and have an Apothecary's Bill besides, that may come to I know not what! No, not he: Valuing Life less than *Twenty Shillings.* But indeed such a Man could not well set too low a Price upon himself; who, though he liv'd up to the Chin in Bags, had rather die than find in his Heart to open one of them, to help to save his Life.

89. Such a Man is *felo de se*, and deserves not *Christian Burial.*

90. He is a common *Nuisance*, a *Weyer* croses the Stream, that stops the Current: An *Obstruction*, to be remov'd by a Purge of the Law. The only Gratification he gives his Neighbours, is to let them see that he himself is as little the better for what he has, as they are. For he always looks like *Lent*; a sort of *Lay-Minim.* In some Sense he may be compar'd to *Pharaoh's lean Kine*, for all that he has, does him no good. He commonly wears his Cloths till they *leave him*, or that no Body else can wear them. He affects to be thought *poor*, to escape *Robbery and Taxes*: And by *looking* as if he wanted an Alms, excuses himself from giving any. He ever goes late to Markets, to cover buying the worst: But does it because that is cheapest. He lives of the *Offal.* His Life were an insupportable Punishment to any Temper, but his own: And no greater Torment to him on Earth, than to live as other Men do. But the Misery of his Pleasure is, that he is *never satisfied* with getting, and always in *Fear of losing* what he cannot use.

91. How vilely has he lost himself, that becomes a *Slave* to his Servant; and exalts him to the Dignity of his Maker; *Gold* is the *God*, the *Wife* the *Friend* of the *Money-Monger* of the World.

92. But in Marriage do thou be wise; prefer the *Person* before *Money*, *Virtue* before *Beauty*, the *Mind* before the *Body*: Then thou hast a *Wife* a *Friend*, a *Companion*, a *Second Self*; one that bears an equal Share with thee, in all thy Toyls and Troubles.

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93. Chuse one that measures her Satisfaction, Safety, and Danger, by *thine*; and of whom, thou art sure, as of thy secretest Thoughts: A *Friend* as well as a Wife, which indeed a *Wife* implies: For she is but *half* a Wife that is not, or is not capable of being *such* a Friend.

94. *Sexes* make no Difference; since in *Souls* there is none: And they are the Subjects of *Friendship*.

95. He that minds a Body and not a Soul, has not the better Part of that Relation; and will consequently want the noblest Comfort of a married Life.

96. The Satisfaction of our Senses is *low*, *short*, and *transient*: But the *Mind* gives a more raised and extended Pleasure, and is capable of an Happiness founded upon *Reason*; not bounded and limited by the Circumstances that Bodies are confin'd to.

97. *Here* it is we ought to search out our Pleasure, where the Field is large and full of Variety, and of an induring Nature: *Sickness*, *Poverty* or *Disgrace*, being not able to *shake* it, because it is not under the moving Influences of *Worldly Contingencies*.

98. The Satisfaction of those that do so, is in *well doing*, and in the *Assurance* they have of a future Reward. That they are *best* loved of those that love most, and that they enjoy and value the Liberty of their *Minds* above that of their Bodies; having the *whole Creation* for their Prospect; the most *noble* and *wonderful Works* and *Providences* of God, the *Histories* of the Ancients, and in them the *Actions*, and *Examples* of the virtuous; and lastly, *themselves*, their *Affairs* and *Family*, to exercise their Minds and Friendship upon.

99. Nothing can be more entire and without Reserve; nothing more zealous, affectionate and sincere; nothing more contended and constant, than such a Couple; nor no greater temporal Felicity than to be *one* of *them*.

100. Between a Man and his Wife, nothing ought to rule but *Love*. Authority is for *Children* and *Servants*; yet not without Sweetness.

101. As Love ought to bring them together, so it is the best Way to keep them well together.

102. Wherefore use her not as a Servant, whom thou wouldst perhaps have serv'd *Seven Tears* to have obtained.

103. An Husband and Wife that love and value one another, shew their Children and Servants, that they should do so too. *Others* visibly *lose* their Authority in their Families, by their Contempt of one another; and teach their Children to be unnatural by their own Examples.

104. It is a general Fault, not to be more careful to preserve Nature in Children; who at least in the second Descent, hardly have the *Feeling* of their Relation; which must be an unpleasant Reflection to affectionate Parents.

105. Frequent *Visits*, *Presents*, *intimate Correspondence* and *Intermarriages*, within allowed Bounds, are means of keeping up the Concert and Affection that Nature requires from Relations.

106. **Friendship.** *Friendship* is the next Pleasure we may hope for: And where we find it not at Home, or have no Home to find it in, we may seek it abroad. It is an Union of *Spirits*, a Marriage of *Hearts*, and the Bond thereof *Virtue*.

107. There can be no Friendship where there is no Freedom. Friendship loves a free Air, and will not be penned up in straight and narrow Enclosures. It will speak freely, and act so too; and take nothing ill, where no ill is meant; nay, where it is, 'twill easily forgive, and forget too, upon small Acknowledgments.

108. Friends are true *Twins* in Soul; they sympathize in every Thing, and have the same Love and Aversion.

109. One is not happy without the other, nor can either of them be miserable alone. As if they could change Bodies, they take their Turns in Pain as well as in Pleasure; relieving one another in their most adverse Conditions.

110. What one enjoys, the other cannot want: Like the Primitive Christians, they have all Things in common, and no *Property but in one another*.

111. **Qualities of a friend.** A true Friend unboresomes freely, advises justly, assists readily, adventures boldly, takes all patiently, defends courageously, and continues a Friend unchangeably.

112. These being the Qualities of a Friend, we are to find them before we chuse one.

113. The *Covetous*, the *Angrv*, the *Proud*, the *Jealous*, the *Talkative* cannot but make ill Friends, as well as false.

114. In short, chuse a Friend as thou dost a Wife, *till Death separate you*.

115. Yet be not a Friend beyond the *Altar*: But let Virtue bound thy Friendship: Else it is not Friendship, but an evil Confederacy.

116. If my *Brother* or *Kinsman* will be my Friend, I ought to prefer him before a Stranger, or I shew little Duty or Nature to my Parents.

117. And as we ought to prefer our Kindred in Point of Affection, so too in Point of *Charity*, if equally needing and deserving.

118. **Caution and Conduct.** Be not easily acquainted, lest finding Reason to cool, thou makest an Enemy instead of a good Neighbour.

119. Be reserved, but not Sour, Grave but not Formal, Bold but not rash, Humble but not Servile, Patient not Insensible, constant not Obstinate, Cheerful not Light, rather Sweet than familiar, familiar than intimate, and intimate with very few, and upon very good Grounds.

120. Return the *Civilities* thou receivest, and be ever grateful for Favours:

121. **Reparation.** If thou hast done an Injury to another, rather own it than defend it. One Way thou gainest Forgiveness, the other thou *doublest* the Wrong and Reckoning.

122. Some oppose *Honour* to *Submission*: But it can be no Honour to maintain, what it is dishonourable to do.

123. To confess a Fault, that is none, out of Fear, is indeed *mean*: But not to be afraid of standing in one, is *brutish*.

124. We should make more *Hast* to right our Neighbour, than we do to wrong him, and instead of being vindictive, we should leave him to judge of his own Satisfaction.

125. True Honour will pay *treble* Damages, rather than justify one Wrong by another.

126. In such Controversies, it is but too common for some to say, *both are to blame*, to excuse their own *Unconcernedness*, which is a *base Neutrality*. Others will cry, *they are both alike*; thereby involving the Injured with the Guilty, to *mince* the Matter for the Faulty, or cover their own Injustice to the wronged Party.

127. *Fear* and *Gain* are great Perverters of Mankind, and where either prevail, the *Judgment* is violated.

128. **Rules of Conversation.** Avoid *Company* where it is not *profitable* or *necessary*; and in those Occasions speak *little* and *last*.

129. *Silence* is Wisdom; where speaking is *Folly*, and always safe.

130. Some are so foolish as to interrupt and anticipate those that speak instead of hearing and thinking before they answer; which is uncivil as well as silly.

131. If thou thinkest twice, before thou speakest once, thou wilt speak twice the better for it.

132. Better say nothing, than not to the Purpose. And to speak pertinently, consider both what is fit, and when it is fit to speak.

133. In all Debates, let *Truth* be thy Aim, not Victory, or an unjust Interest: And endeavour to *gain* rather than to expose thy Antagonist.

134. Give no Advantage in Argument, nor *lose* any that is offered. This is a Benefit which arises from *Temper*.

135. Don't use thy self to dispute against thine own Judgment, to shew *Wis*, lest it prepare thee to be too *indifferent* about what is *Right*: Nor against another Man, to *vex* him, or for meer Trial of Skill; since to *inform* or to be *informed*, ought to be the End of all Conferences.

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136. Men are too apt to be concern'd for their *Credit*, more than for the Cause.

137. *Eloquence*. There is a Truth and Beauty in *Rhetorick*, but it oftner serves ill Turns than good ones.

138. Elegancy is a *good Mien* and *Address* given to Matter, be it by proper or figurative Speech : Where the Words are apt, and Allusions very natural, Certainly it has a moving Grace : But it is too artificial for Simplicity, and oftentimes for Truth. The Danger is, lest it delude the Weak, who in such Cases may *mistake* the *Handmaid* for the *Mistress*, if not *Error* for Truth.

139. 'Tis certain, Truth is least indebted to it, because she has least Need of it, and least uses it.

140. But it is a reproveable Delicacy in them that despise Truth in *plain Cloaths*.

141. Such *Luxuriants* have but false Appetites ; like those Gluttons, that by Sawces force them, where they have no Stomach, and Sacrifice to their Palate, not their Health : Which cannot be without great Vanity, nor that without some Sin.

142. *Temper*. Nothing does Reason more Right, than the *Coolness* of those that offer it : For Truth often suffers more by the Heat of it's Defenders, than from the Arguments of it's Opposers.

143. *Zeal* ever follows an Appearance of Truth, and the Assured are too apt to be warm ; but 'tis their weak Side in Argument ; Zeal being better thewn against *Sin*, than Persons or their Mistakes.

144. *Truth*. Where thou art obliged to speak, be sure to speak the Truth : For Equivocation is *half way* to Lying ; as Lying, the *whole Way* to Hell.

145. *Justice*. Believe nothing against another, but upon good Authority : Nor report what may hurt another, unless it be a *greater Hurt* to others to conceal it.

146. *Secrecy*. It is *wise* not to *seek* a Secret, and *honest* not to *reveal* one.

147. Only trust thy self, and another shall not betray thee.

148. Openness has the Mischief, though not the Malice of Treachery.

149. *Complacence*. Never Assent meerly to please others. For that is beside Flattery, oftentimes Untruth ; and discovers a Mind liable to be fervile and base : Nor contradict to vex others, for that shews an ill Temper, and provokes, but profits no Body.

150. *Shifts*. Do not accuse others to excuse thy self ; for that is neither Generous nor Just. But let *Sincerity* and *Ingenuity* be thy Refuge, rather than Craft and Falshood : For *Cunning borders very near upon Knavery*.

151. *Wisdom* never uses nor wants it. *Cunning to Wise*, is as an Ape to a Man.

152. *Interest*. *Interest* has the *Security*, though not the *Virtue* of a Principle. As the World goes, 'tis the surer Side : For Men daily leave both Relations and Religion to follow it.

153. 'Tis an odd Sight but very evident, That Families and Nations, of cross Religions and Humours, unite against those of their own, where they find an *Interest* to do it.

154. We are tied down by our *Senses* to this World ; and where 'that is in Question, it can be none with worldly Men, whether they should not forsake all other Considerations for it.

155. *Inquiry*. Have a Care of *Vulgar Errors*. Dislike, as well as Allow *Reasonably*.

156. Inquiry is *Human* ; Blind Obedience, *Brutal*. Truth never loses by the one, but often suffers by the other.

157. The usefulest Truths are plainest : And while we keep to them, our Differences cannot rise high.

158. There

158. There may be a *Wantonness* in Search, as well as a Stupidity in Trustring. It is great Wisdom equally to avoid the Extreams.

159. **Right timing.** Do nothing *improperly*. Some are Witty, Kind, Cold, Angry, Easy, Stiff, Jealous, Careless, Cautious, Confident, Close, Open, but all in the *wrong Place*.

160. It is ill mistaking where the Matter is of *Importance*.

161. It is not enough that a Thing be *Right*, if it be not fit to be done. If not Prudent, though Just, it is not adviseable. He that loses by getting, had better lose than get.

162. **Knowledge.** Knowledge is the *Treasure*, but Judgment the Treasurer of a *wise Man*.

163. He that has more Knowledge than Judgment, is made for another Man's Use more than his own.

164. It cannot be a good Constitution, where the Appetite is great and the Digestion weak.

165. There are some Men like *Dictionaries*, to be look'd into upon Occasion, but have no Connexion, and are little entertaining.

166. Less Knowledge than Judgment will always have the Advantage upon the *Injudicious* knowing Man.

167. A wise Man makes what he learns his own, t'other shews he's but a Copy, or a Collection at most.

168. **Wit.** Wit is an happy and striking Way of expressing a Thought.

169. 'Tis not often, though it be lively and mantling, that it carries a great Body with it.

170. Wit therefore is fitter for Diversion than Business, being more grateful to Fancy than Judgment.

171. Less Judgment than Wit, is *more Sail than Ballast*.

172. Yet it must be confess'd, that Wit gives an Edge to Sense, and recommends it extremely.

173. Where Judgment has Wit to express it, there's the best Orator.

174. **Obedience to Parents.** If thou would'st be obeyed, being a Father; being a Son, be *Obedient*.

175. He that begets thee, *owes* thee; and has a natural Right over thee.

176. Next to God, thy *Parents*; next them, the *Magistrate*.

177. Remember that thou art not more indebted to thy Parents for thy *Nature*, than for their *Love* and *Care*.

178. *Rebellion*, therefore, in Children, was made *Death* by God's Law, and the next Sin to *Idolatry*, in the People; which is *renouncing* of God, the great *Parent* of all.

179. *Obedience* to Parents is not only our Duty, but our *Interest*. If we received our Life from them, we *prolong* it by obeying them: For *Obedience* is the first Commandment with *Promise*.

180. The *Obligation* is as indissoluble as the Relation.

181. If we must not disobey God to obey them, at least we must let them see, that there is *nothing else* in our Refusal. For some unjust Commands cannot excuse the general Neglect of our Duty. They will be our Parents, and we must be their Children still: And if we cannot act for them against God, neither can we act against them for our selves or any Thing else.

182. **Bearing.** A Man in Business must put up many Affronts, if he loves his own Quiet.

183. We must not pretend to see all that we see, if we would be *easy*.

184. It were endless to dispute upon every thing that is disputable.

185. A *vindictive* Temper is not only *uneasy* to others, but to them that have it.

186. **Promising.** Rarely promise. But, if lawful, *constantly* perform.

187. Hasty Resolutions are of the Nature of *Vows*; and to be equally avoided.

188. I will never do this, says one, *yet does it*: I am resolv'd to do that, says another; but *flings* upon second Thoughts: Or does it, tho' awkwardly,

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ly, for his Word's Sake: As if it were *worse* to break his Word, than to do amiss in keeping it.

189. Wear none of thine *own Chains*; but keep free, whilst thou art free.

190. It is an Effect of *Passion* that Wisdom corrects, to lay thy self under Resolutions that cannot be well made, and worse perform'd.

191. **Fidelity.** Avoid all thou can'st being *Entrusted*: But do thy utmost to discharge the Trust thou undertakest: For Carelessness is *Injurious*, if not unjust.

192. The Glory of a Servant is *Fidelity*; which cannot be without Diligence, as well as Truth.

193. *Fidelity* has *Enfranchised Slaves*, and *adopted Servants* to be *Sons*.

194. Reward a good Servant well: And rather quit than *disquiet* thy self with an ill one.

195. **Master.** Mix *Kindness* with Authority; and rule more by *Discretion* than Rigour.

196. If thy Servant be Faulty, strive rather to convince him of his Error, than discover thy *Passion*: And when he is sensible, *forgive* him.

197. Remember he is thy *Fellow-Creature*, and that God's *Goodness*, not thy Merit, has made the Difference betwixt Thee and Him.

198. Let not thy Children *Domineer* over thy Servants: Nor suffer them to *slight* thy Children.

199. Suppress Tales in the General: But where a Matter requires Notice, encourage the Complaint, and right the Aggrieved.

200. If a Child, he ought to *entreat*, and not to command; and if a Servant, to *comply* where he does not obey.

201. Though there should be but one Master and Mistress in a Family, yet Servants should know that Children have the *Reversion*.

202. **Servant.** Indulge not *unseemly Things* in thy Master's Children, nor refuse them what is fitting: For one is the *highest Unfaithfulness*, and the other, *Indiscretion* as well as *Disrespect*.

203. Do thine own Work honestly and cheerfully: And when that is done, help thy Fellow; that so another Time he may help thee.

204. If thou wilt be a good Servant, thou must be *True*; and thou can'st not be True if thou *Defraud'st* thy Master.

205. A Master may be defrauded many Ways by a Servant: As in *Time, Care, Pains, Money, Trust*.

206. But, a *True* Servant is the *Contrary*: He's *Diligent, Careful, Trusty*. He tells no *Tales*, reveals no *Secrets*, refuses no *Pains*: Not to be tempted by *Gain*, nor aw'd, by *Fear*, to *Unfaithfulness*.

207. Such a Servant, serves God in serving his Master; and has double Wages for his Work,* to wit, *Here and Hereafter*.

208. **Jealous.** Be not *fancifully Jealous*: For that is *Foolish*; as, to be *reasonably so*, is *Wise*.

209. He that *superfines* upon other Men's Actions, cozens himself, as well as injures them.

210. To be very subtle and scrupulous in Business, is as hurtful, as being over-confident and secure.

211. In difficult Cases, such a Temper, is Timorous; and in Dispatch Irresolute.

212. *Experience* is a safe Guide: And a *Practical Head* is a great Happiness in Business.

213. **Posterity.** We are too careless of Posterity, not considering that as they are, so the next Generation will be.

214. If we would amend the World, we should mend *Our Selves*; and teach our Children to be, not what we are, but what they should be.

215. We are too apt to awaken and tune up their Passions by the Example of our own; and to teach them to be pleased, not with what is best, but with what pleases best.

216. It is our Duty, and ought to be our Care, to ward against that Passion in them, which is more especially our own *Weakness* and *Affliction*: For we are in great Measure accountable for them, as well as for our selves.

217. We are in this also true *Turners of the World upside down* For Money is first, and Virtue last, and least in our Care.

218. It is not How we leave our Children, but What we leave them.

219. To be sure *Virtue* is but a Supplement, and not a *Principal* in their Portion and Character: and therefore we see so little *Wisdom* or *Goodness* among the Rich, in Proportion to their Wealth.

220. *A Country Life.* The *Country Life* is to be prefer'd; for there we see the Works of God; but in Cities little else but the *Works of Men*: And the one makes a better Subject for our Contemplation than the other.

221. As Puppets are to Men, and Babies to Children, so is Man's Workmanship to God's: We are the Picture, he the Reality.

222. God's Works declare his *Power*, *Wisdom* and *Goodness*; but Man's Works, for the most Part, his *Pride*, *Folly* and *Excess*. The one is for Use, the other, chiefly, for *Ornament* and *Lust*.

223. The Country is both the Philosopher's *Garden* and *Library*, in which he Reads and Contemplates the Power, Wisdom and Goodness of God.

224. It is his Food as well as Study; and gives him Life, as well as Learning.

225. A Sweet and Natural Retreat from Noise and Talk; and allows Opportunity for Reflection, and gives the best Subjects for it.

226. In short, 'tis an Original, and the Knowledge and Improvement of it, Man's oldest Business and Trade, and the best he can be of.

227. *Art and Project.* *Art*, is Good, where it is beneficial. *Socrates* wisely bounded his Knowledge and Instruction by Practice.

228. Have a Care therefore of *Projects*: And yet despise nothing rashly, or in the *Lump*.

229. *Ingenuity*, as well as Religion, sometimes suffers between two *Thieves*; *Pretenders* and *Despisers*.

230. Though injudicious and dishonest Projectors often discredit Art, yet the most useful and extraordinary Inventions have not, at first, escap'd the Scorn of Ignorance; as their Authors, rarely, have cracking of their Heads, or breaking of their Backs.

231. Undertake no Experiment, in Speculation, that appears not *true in Art*; nor then, at thine own Cost, if costly or hazardous in making.

232. As many Hands make light Work, so several Pursets make cheap Experiments.

233. *Industry.* *Industry*, is certainly very commendable, and supplies the Want of Parts.

234. Patience and Diligence, like Faith, *remove Mountains*.

235. Never give out while there is Hope; but hope not beyond Reason, for that shews more Desire than Judgment.

236. It is a profitable Wisdom to know when we have done enough: Much Time and Pains are spared, in not flattering our selves against Probabilities.

237. *Temporal happiness.* Do Good with what thou hast, or it will do thee *no good*.

238. Seek not to be Rich, but Happy. The one lies in Bags, the other in Content; which Wealth can never give.

239. We are apt to call Things by wrong Names. We will have Prosperity to be Happiness, and Adversity to be Misery; though That is the *School of Wisdom*, and oftentimes the Way to *Eternal Happiness*.

240. If thou wouldst be happy, bring thy Mind to thy Condition, and have an Indifferency for more than what is sufficient.

241. Have but *little to do*, and *do it thyself*: And do to others as thou wouldst have them *do to thee*; So, thou canst not fail of Temporal Felicity.

242. The Generality are the worse for their Plenty. The Voluptuous consumes it, the Miser hides it: 'Tis the good Man that uses it, and to good Purposes. But such are hardly found among the Prosperous.

243. Be rather Bountiful, than Expensive.

244. Neither

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244. Neither make nor go to Feasts, but let the laborious Poor bless thee at Home in their solitary Cottages.

245. Never voluntarily want what thou hast in Possession; nor so spend it as to involve thy self in Want unavoidable.

246. Be not tempted to presume by Success: For many that have got largely, have lost all, by coveting to get more.

247. To hazard much to get much, has more of Avarice than Wisdom.

248. It is great Prudence both to Bound and Use Prosperity.

249. Too few know when they have enough; and fewer know how to employ it.

250. It is equally adviseable not to part lightly with what is hardly gotten, and not to shut up closely what flows in freely.

251. Aft not the *Shark* upon thy Neighbour; nor take Advantage of the *Ignorance*, *Prodigality* or *Necessity* of any one: For that is next Door to Fraud, and, at best, makes but an unblest'd Gain.

252. It is oftentimes the Judgment of God upon greedy Rich Men, that he suffers them to push on their Desires of Wealth to the Excess of over-reaching, grinding or Oppression, which poysons all they have gotten: So that it commonly runs away as fast, and by as bad Ways, as it was heap'd up together.

253. *Respect*. Never esteem any Man, or thy self, the more for Money; nor think the meaner of thy self or another, for want of it: *Virtue* being the just Reason of Respecting, and the Want of it, of slighting any one.

254. A Man, like a Watch, is to be valued for his Goings.

255. He that prefers him upon other Accounts, bows to an Idol.

256. Unless *Virtue* guide us, our Choice must be wrong.

257. An able bad Man, is an ill Instrument, and to be shun'd as the Plague.

258. Be not deceived with the first Appearances of Things, but give thy self Time to be in the right.

259. Show, is not Substance: *Realities* Govern Wise Men.

260. Have a care therefore where there is more Sail than Ballast.

261. *Hazard*. In all Business, it is best to put nothing to hazard: But where it is unavoidable, be not rash, but firm and resign'd.

262. We should not be troubled for what we cannot help: But if it was our Fault, let it be so no more. Amendment is Repentance, if not Reparation.

263. As a desperate Game needs an able Gamester, so Consideration often would Prevent, what the best Skill in the World cannot Recover.

264. Where the Probability of Advantage exceeds not that of Loss, Wisdom never Adventures.

265. To shoot well flying is well; but to chuse it, has more of Vanity than Judgment.

266. To be dextrous in Danger is a Virtue; but to court Danger to show it, is Weakness.

267. *Detraction*. Have a care of that base Evil Detraction. It is the Fruit of Envy, as that is of Pride; the immediate Off-spring of the Devil: Who, of an *Angel*, a *Lucifer*, a Son of the Morning, made himself a *Serpent*, a *Devil*, a *Beelzebub*, and all that is obnoxious to the Eternal Goodness.

268. Virtue is not secure against Envy. Men will lessen what they won't imitate.

269. Dislike what deserves it; but never *bate*: For that is of the Nature of Malice; which is almost ever to Persons, not Things, and is one of the blackest Qualities Sin begets in the Soul.

270. *Moderation*. It were an happy Day, if Men could bound and qualify their Resentments with Charity to the Offender: For then our Anger would be without Sin, and better convict and edify the Guilty; which alone can make it lawful.

271. Not to be provok'd is best: But if mov'd, never correct till the *Fume is spent*: For every Stroke our Fury strikes, is sure to hit our selves at last.

272. If

272. If we did but observe the Allowances our Reason makes upon Reflection, when our Passion is over, we could not want a Rule how to behave our selves again on the like Occasions.

273. We are more prone to Complain than Redress, and to Censure than Excuse.

274. It is next to unpardonable, that we can so often Blame what we will not *once mend*. It shews, we know, *but will not do our Master's Will*.

275. They that censure, should practise: Or else let them have the first Stone, and the last too.

276. *Trick*. Nothing needs a Trick but a *Trick*; Sincerity loaths one.

277. We must take care to do Right Things *Rightly*: For a just Sentence may be unjustly executed.

278. Circumstances give great Light to true Judgment, if well weigh'd.

279. *Passion*. *Passion*, is a Sort of Fever in the Mind, which ever leaves us weaker than it found us.

280. But being intermitting, to be sure, 'tis curable with Care:

281. It more than any Thing deprives us of the Use of our Judgment; for it raises a Dust very hard to see through.

282. Like Wine, whose Lees fly up being jogg'd, it is too muddy to Drink.

283. It may not unfitly be termed the Mob of the Man, that commits a Riot upon his Reason.

284. I have oftentimes thought, that a Passionate Man is like a weak Spring that cannot stand long lock'd.

285. And 'tis as true, that those Things are unfit for Use, that cannot bear small Knocks, without Breaking.

286. He that won't hear can't Judge, and he that can't bear Contradiction, may, with all his Wit, miss the Mark.

287. Objection and Debate sift out Truth, which needs Temper as well as Judgment.

288. But above all, observe it in Resentments; for there Passion is most Extravagant.

289. Never chide for Anger, but *Instruction*.

290. He that corrects out of Passion raises Revenge sooner than Repentance.

291. It has more of Wantonness than Wisdom, and resembles those that Eat to please their Palate, rather than their Appetite.

292. It is the Difference between a wife and a weak Man; this Judges by the Lump, That by Parts and their Connexion.

293. The *Greeks* use to say, all Cases are governed by their Circumstances. The same Thing may be well and ill as they change or vary the Matter.

294. A Man's Strength is shewn by his Bearing. *Bonum Agere, & Male Pati, Regis est.*

295. *personal Cautions*. Reflect without Malice but never without Need.

296. Despise no Body, nor no Condition; lest it come to be thine own.

297. Never Rail, nor Taunt. The one is Rude, the other scornful; and both *Evil*.

298. Be not provoked by Injuries, to commit them.

299. Upbraid only Ingratitude.

300. Hast makes Work, which Caution prevents.

301. Tempt no Man; lest thou fall for it.

302. Have a care of presuming upon After-Games: For if that miss, all is gone.

303. Opportunities should never be lost, because they can hardly be regain'd.

304. It is well to cure, but better to prevent a Distemper. The first shews more Skill, but the last more Wisdom.

305. Never make a Trial of Skill in difficult or hazardous Cases.

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Part I.

306. Refuse not to be inform'd: For that shews Pride or Stupidity.
307. Humility and Knowledge in poor Cloaths, excel Pride and Ignorance in costly Attire.
308. Neither despise, nor oppose, what thou dost not understand.
309. **Balance.** We must not be concern'd above the Value of the Thing that engages us; nor rais'd above Reason, in maintaining what we think reasonable.
310. It is too common an Error, to invert the Order of Things; by making an End of that which is a Means, and a Means of that which is an End.
311. Religion and Government escape not this Mischief: The first is too often made a Means instead of an End; the other an End instead of a Means.
312. Thus Men seek Wealth rather than Subsistence; and the End of Cloaths is the least Reason of their Use. Nor is the satisfying of our Appetite our End in Eating, so much as the pleasing of our Palate. The like may also be said of Building, Furniture, &c. where the Man rules not the Beast, and Appetite submits not to Reason.
313. It is great Wisdom to proportion our Esteem to the Nature of the Thing: For as that way Things will not be undervalued, so neither will they engage us above their intrinsic Worth.
314. If we suffer little Things to have great Hold upon us, we shall be as much transported for them, as if they deserved it.
315. It is an old Proverb, *Maxima Bella ex levissimis Causis*: The greatest Feuds have had the smallest Beginnings.
316. No Matter what the Subject of the Dispute be, but what Place we give it in our Minds: For that governs our Concern and Resentment.
317. It is one of the fatalest Errors of our Lives, when we spoil a good Cause by an ill Management: And it is not impossible but we may mean well in an ill Business; but that will not defend it.
318. If we are but sure the End is Right, we are too apt to gallop over all Bounds to compass it; not considering that lawful Ends may be very unlawfully attained.
319. Let us be careful to take just Ways to compass just Things; that they may last in their Benefits to us.
320. There is a troublesome Humor some Men have, that if they may not lead, *they will not follow*; but had rather a Thing were never done, than not done their own Way, tho' otherwise very desirable.
321. This comes of an over-fulness of our selves, and shews we are more concern'd for Praise, than the Success of what we think a good Thing.
322. **Popularity.** Affect not to be seen, and Men will less see thy Weakness.
323. They that shew more than they are, raise an Expectation they cannot answer; and so lose their Credit, as soon as they are found out.
324. Avoid Popularity. It has many Snares, and no real Benefit to thy self; and Uncertainty to others.
325. **Privacy.** Remember the Proverb, *Benè qui latuit, benè vixit*, They are happy that live Retiredly.
326. If this be true, Princes and their Grandees, of all Men, are the unhappiest: For they live least alone: And they that must be enjoy'd by every Body, can never enjoy themselves as they should.
327. It is the Advantage little Men have upon them; they can be private, and have leisure for Family Comforts, which are the greatest worldly Contentments Men can enjoy.
328. But they that place Pleasure in Greatness, seek it there: And we see Rule is as much the Ambition of some Natures, as Privacy is the Choice of others.
329. **Government.** Government has many Shapes: But 'tis Sovereignty, tho' not Freedom, in all of them.
330. *Rex & Tyrannus* are very differing Characters: One rules his People

ple by Laws, to which they consent; the other by his absolute Will and Power. That is call'd Freedom, This Tyranny.

331. The first is endanger'd by the Ambition of the Populace, which shakes the Constitution: The other by an ill Administration, which hazards the Tyrant and his Family.

332. It is great Wisdom in Princes of both Sorts, not to strain Points too high with their People: For whether the People have a Right to oppose them or not, they are ever sure to attempt it, when Things are carried too far; though the Remedy often-times proves worse than the Disease.

333. Happy that King who is great by Justice, and that People who are free by Obedience.

334. Where the Ruler is Just, he may be strict; else it is two to one it turns upon him: And tho' he should prevail, he can be no gainer, *where his People are the Losers.*

335. Princes must not have Passions in Government, nor Resent beyond Interest and Religion.

336. Where Example keeps Pace with Authority, Power hardly fails to be obey'd, and Magistrates to be honour'd.

337. Let the People think they Govern, and they will be Govern'd.

338. This cannot fail, if Those, They Trust, are Trusted.

339. That Prince that is Just to them in great Things, and Humours them oftentimes in small ones, is sure to have and keep them from all the World.

340. For the People is the Politick Wife of the Prince. that may be better managed by Wisdom, than ruled by Force.

341. But where the Magistrate is partial and serves ill turns, he loses his Authority with the People; and gives the Populace Opportunity to gratify their Ambition: And so lays a *Stumbling-block* for his People to fall.

342. It is true, that where a Subject is more Popular than the Prince, the Prince is in Danger: But it is as true, that it is his own Fault: For no Body has the like Means, Interest or Reason, to be popular as He.

343. It is an unaccountable Thing, that some Princes incline rather to be fear'd than lov'd; when they see, that Fear does not often secure a Prince against the Dissatisfaction of his People, than Love makes a Subject too many for such a Prince.

344. Certainly Service upon Inclination is like to go farther than Obedience upon Compulsion.

345. The *Romans* had a just Sense of this, when they plac'd *Optimus* before *Maximus*, to their most illustrious Captains and *Cesars*.

346. Besides, Experience tells us, That Goodness raises a nobler Passion in the Soul, and gives a better Sense of Duty than Severity.

347. What did *Pharaoh* get by increasing the *Israelites* Task? Ruin to himself in the End.

348. Kings, chiefly in this, should imitate God: *Their Mercy should be above all their Works.*

349. The Difference between the Prince and the Peasant, is in this World: But a Temper ought to be observ'd by him that has the Advantage here, because of the Judgment of the next.

350. The End of every Thing should direct the Means: Now that of Government being the *Good of the whole*, nothing less should be the Aim of the Prince.

351. As often as Rulers endeavour to attain just Ends by just Mediums, they are sure of a quiet and easy Government; and as sure of Convulsions, where the Nature of Things are violated, and their Order over-ruled.

352. It is certain, Princes ought to have great Allowances made them for Faults in Government; since they see by other People's Eyes, and hear by their Ears. But *Ministers of State*, their immediate Confidants and Instruments, have much to answer for, if to gratify private Passions, they misguide the Prince to do publick Injury.

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Part I.

353. Ministers of State should undertake their Posts at *their Peril*. If Princes over-rule them, let them shew the *Law*, and humbly *resign* : If *Fear*, *Gain* or *Flattery* prevail, let them answer it to the *Law*.

354. The Prince cannot be preserv'd, but where the Minister is punishable : For People, as well as Princes, will not endure *Imperium in Imperio*.

355. If Ministers are weak or ill Men, and so spoil their Places, it is the Prince's Fault that chose them : But if their Places spoil them, it is *their own Fault* to be made worse by them.

356. It is but just that those that reign by their Princes, should suffer for their Princes : For it is a *safe* and necessary Maxim, not to shift Heads in Government, while the *Hands* are in Being that should answer for them.

357. And yet it were intolerable to be a Minister of State, if every Body may be Accuser and Judge.

358. Let therefore the *false Accuser* no more escape an exemplary Punishment, than the Guilty Minister.

359. For it *profanes* Government to have the *Credit* of the leading Men in it subject to *vulgar* Censure ; which is often ill-grounded.

360. The Safety of a Prince, therefore, consists in a well chosen Council : And that only can be said to be so where the Persons that compose it are qualify'd for the Business that comes before them.

361. Who would send to a Taylor to make a Lock, or to a Smith to make a Suit of Cloaths.

362. Let there be *Merchants* for Trade, *Seamen* for the Admiralty, *Travellers* for Foreign Affairs, some of the *Leading Men* of the Country for Home-Business, and Common and Civil Lawyers to advise of Legality and Right : Who should always keep to the strict Rules of Law.

363. Three Things contribute much to ruin Government : *Looseness*, *Oppression* and *Envy*.

364. Where the Reins of Government are too slack, there the Manners of the People are corrupted : And that destroys Industry, begets Effeminacy, and provokes Heaven against it.

365. Oppression makes a poor Country, and a desperate People, who always wait an Opportunity to change.

366. *He that ruleth over Men, must be Just, ruling in the Fear of God*, said an old and wise King.

367. *Envy* disturbs and distracts Government, clogs the Wheels, and perplexes the Administration : And nothing contributes more to this Disorder, than a partial Distribution of Rewards and Punishments in the Sovereign.

368. As it is not reasonable that Men should be compelled to serve ; so those that have Employments should not be endured to leave them humbly.

369. Where the State intends a Man no Affront, he should not affront the State.

370. *A Private Life*. A Private Life is to be preferred ; the Honour and Gain of Publick Posts bearing no Proportion with the Comfort of it. The one is free and quiet, the other servile and noisy.

371. It was a great Answer of the *Shunamite Woman*, *I dwell among my own People*.

372. They that live of their own, neither need, nor often list to wear the Livery of the Publick.

373. Their Subsistence is not *during Pleasure*, nor have they Patrons to please or present.

374. If they are not advanced, neither can they be disgraced. And as they know not the Smiles of Majesty, so they feel not the Frowns of Greatness, or the Effects of Envy.

375. If they want the Pleasures of a Court, they also escape the Temptations of it.

376. Private Men, in fine, are so much their own, that paying Common Dues, they are Sovereigns of all the rest.

377. **A Publick Life.** Yet the Publick must and will be serv'd; and they that do it well, deserve publick Marks of Honour and Profit.

378. To do so, Men must have publick Minds as well as Salaries; or they will serve Private Ends at the Publick Cost.

379. Governments can never be well administr'd, but where those entrusted make Conscience of well discharging their Places.

380. **Qualifications.** Five things are requisite to a good Officer; *Ability, Clean Hands, Dispatch, Patience, and Impartiality.*

381. **Capacity.** He that understands not his Employment, whatever else he knows, must be unfit for it; and the Publick suffers by his Inexpertness.

382. They that are able, should be just too; or the Government may be the worse for their Capacity.

383. **Clean Hands.** *Covetousness* in such Men prompts them to prostitute the Publick for Gain.

384. The taking of a Bribe or Gratuiry, should be punished with as severe Penalties, as the Defrauding of the State.

385. Let Men have sufficient Salaries, and exceed them at their Peril.

386. It is a Dishonour to Government, that it's Officers should live of Benevolence; as it ought to be infamous for Officers to dishonour the Publick, by being twice paid for the same Business.

387. But to be paid, and not to do Business, is rank Oppression.

388. **Dispatch** *Dispatch* is a great and good Quality in an Officer; where Duty, not Gain, excites it. But of this, too many make their private Market and Overplus to their Wages. Thus the Salary is for doing, and the Bribe for dispatching the Business: As if Business could be done before it were dispatched: Or they were to be paid a Part, one by the Government, 't'other by the Party.

389. *Dispatch* is as much the Duty of an Officer, as doing; and very much the Honour of the Government he serves.

390. *Delays* have been more injurious than direct Injustice.

391. They too often starve those they dare not deny.

392. The very Winner is made a Loser, because he pays twice for his own; like those that purchase Estates mortgaged before to the full Value.

393. Our Law says well, to delay Justice is Injustice.

394. Not to have a Right, and not to come at it, differs little.

395. Refusal or Dispatch is the Duty and Wisdom of a good Officer.

396. **Patience.** *Patience* is a Virtue every where; but it *shines* with greatest Lustre in the Men of Government.

397. Some are so proud or testy, they won't hear what they should redress.

398. Others so weak, they sink or burst under the Weight of their Office, though they can lightly *run away* with the Salary of it.

399. Business can never be well done, that is not well understood: which cannot be without Patience.

400. It is Cruelty indeed not to give the Unhappy an *Hearing*, whom we ought to help: But it is the Top of Oppression to browbeat the humble and modest Miserable, when they seek Relief.

401. Some, it is true, are unreasonable in their Desires and Hopes: But then we should inform, not rail at and reject them.

402. It is therefore as great an Instance of Wisdom, as a Man in Business can give, to be *patient under the Impertinencies and Contradictions that attend it.*

403. *Method* goes far to prevent Trouble in Business: For it makes the Task easy, hinders Confusion, saves abundance of Time, and instructs those that have Business depending, what to do and what to hope.

404. **Impartiality.** *Impartiality*, though it be the last, is not the least Part of the Character of a good Magistrate.

405. It is noted as a Fault, in *Holy Writ*, even to regard the *Poor*: How much more the Rich in Judgment.

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Part I.

406. If our *Compassions* must not sway us; less should our Fears, Profits, or Prejudices.

407. Justice is justly represented Blind, because she sees no Difference in the Parties concerned.

408. She has but one *Scale and Weight*, for Rich and Poor, Great and Small.

409. Her Sentence is not guided by the Person, but the *Cause*.

410. The *Impartial Judge*, in Judgment, knows nothing but the Law: The Prince *no more* than the Peasant, his Kindred than a Stranger. Nay, his Enemy is sure to be upon equal Terms with his Friend, when he is upon the Bench.

411. Impartiality is the Life of Justice, as that is of Government.

412. Nor is it only a Benefit to the State, for private Families cannot subsist comfortably without it.

413. Parents that are partial, are ill obeyed by their Children; and partial Masters not better served by their Servants.

414. Partiality is always indirect, if not dishonest: For it shews a By-*ass* where Reason would have none; if not an Injury, which Justice every where forbids.

415. As it makes Favourites without Reason, so it uses no Reason in judging of Actions: Confirming the Proverb, *The Crow thinks her own Bird the fairest*.

416. What some see to be no Fault in one, they will have Criminal in another.

417. Nay, how ugly do our Failings look to us in the Persons of others; which yet we see not in our selves.

418. And but too common it is, for some People, not to know their own *Maxims and Principles* in the *Mouths* of other Men, when they give Occasion to use them.

419. *Partiality* corrupts our Judgment of Persons and Things, of our selves and others.

420. It contributes more than any Thing to Factions in Government, and Feuds in Families.

421. It is a prodigal Passion, that seldom returns till it is *Hunger-bit*, and Disappointments bring it within Bounds.

422. And yet we may be indifferent, to a Fault.

423. *Indifferency*. *Indifference* is good in Judgment, but bad in Relation, and stark naught in *Religion*.

424. And even in Judgment, our Indifferency must be to the Persons, not Causes, for one, to be sure, is right.

425. *Neutrality*. *Neutrality* is some Thing else than Indifferency; and yet of Kin to it too.

426. A Judge ought to be indifferent, and yet he cannot be said to be Neutral.

427. The one being to be *even* in Judgment, and the other *not to meddle* at all.

428. And where it is Lawful, to be sure, it is best to be *Neutral*.

429. He that espouses Parties, can hardly divorce himself from their Fate; and more *fall* with their Party, than rise with it.

430. A wife Neuter joyns with neither; but uses both, as his honest Interest leads him.

431. A Neuter only has Room to be a *Peace-Maker*: For being of neither Side, he has the Means of mediating a *Reconciliation* of both:

432. *A Party*. And yet where *Right* or *Religion* gives a *Call*, a Neuter must be a *Coward* or an *Hypocrite*.

433. In such Cases, we should never be backward; nor yet mistaken.

434. When our *Right* or *Religion* is in Question, then is the fittest Time to assert it.

435. Nor must we always be neutral, where our Neighbour is concerned: For tho' *Medling* is a Fault, *Helping* is a *Duty*.

436. We have a *Call* to do good, as often as we have the *Power* and *Occasion*.
 437. If *Heavens* could say, *we are not born for our selves*; surely *Christians* should practise it.

438. They are taught so by his *Example*, as well as *Doctrine*, from whom they have borrowed their *Name*.

439. *Discontentation*. Do what Good thou canst unknown; and be not vain of what ought rather to be felt than seen,

440. The *Humble*, in the Parable of the Day of Judgment, forgot their good Works, *Lord, when did we so and so?*

441. He that does Good, for Good's Sake, seeks neither *Praise* nor *Reward*; tho' sure of both at last.

442. *Compleat Virtue*. Content not thy self, that thou art virtuous in the general: For *one Link* being wanting, the Chain is defective.

443. Perhaps thou art rather *Innocent* than *Virtuous*, and owest more to thy Constitution, than thy *Religion*.

444. *Innocent*, is not to be Guilty: But *Virtuous* is to overcome our evil Inclinations.

445. If thou hast not conquered thy self in that which is thy *own Particular Weakness*, thou hast no Title to *Virtue*, tho' thou art free of other Men's.

446. For a covetous Man to inveigh against *Prodigality*, an *Atheist* against *Idolatry*, a *Tyrant* against *Rebellion*, or a *Liar* against *Forgery*, and a *Drunkard* against *Intemperance*, is for the Pot to call the Kettle *Black*.

447. Such *Reproof* would have but little Success; because it would carry but little *Authority* with it.

448. If thou wouldst conquer thy Weakness, thou must never gratify it:

449. No Man is compelled to *Evil*; his *Consent only* makes it his.

450. 'Tis no Sin to be tempted, but to be overcome.

451. What Man, in his right Mind, would conspire his own *Hurt*? Men are beside themselves, when they transgress their *Convictions*.

452. If thou wouldst not sin, *don't desire*, and if thou wouldst not lust, *don't embrace* the Temptation: No, not look at it, nor think of it.

453. Thou wouldst take much Pains to save thy Body: Take some, prithee, to save thy Soul.

454. *Religion*. Religion is the *Fear of God*, and it's Demonstration good Works; and Faith is the Root of both: For without Faith we cannot please God, nor can we fear what we do not believe:

455. The Devils also believe and know abundance: But in this is the Difference, their Faith works not by Love, nor their Knowledge by Obedience; and therefore they are never the better for them: And if ours be such, we shall be of their Church, not of Christ's: For as the Head is, so must the Body be.

456. He was *Holy*, *Humble*, *Harmless*, *Meek*, *Merciful*, &c, when among us; to teach us what we should be, when he was gone: And yet he is among us still, and in us too, a living and perpetual Preacher of the same Grace, by his Spirit in our Consciences.

457. A Minister of the Gospel ought to be one of *Christ's making*, if he would pass for one of Christ's Ministers.

458. And if he be one of his making, he knows and does as well as Believes.

459. That Minister, whose Life is not the Model of his Doctrine, Is a Babler rather than a Preacher, a Quack rather than a Physician of Value:

460. Of old Time they were made Ministers by the *Holy Ghost*: And the more that is an Ingredient now, the fitter they are for that Work:

461. Running Streams are not so apt to corrupt; nor Itinerant, as settled Preachers: But they are not to run before they are sent.

462. As they freely receive from Christ, so they give.

463. They will not make that a Trade, which they know ought not, in Conscience, to be one.

464. Yet

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464. Yet there is no Fear of their Living, that design not to live by it.
465. The humble and true Teacher meets with more than he expects.
466. He accounts Content with Godliness great Gain, and therefore seeks not to make a Gain of Godliness.
467. As the Ministers of Christ are made by him, and are like him, so they beget People into the same Likeness.
468. To belike Christ then, is to be a Christian. And Regeneration is the only Way to the Kingdom of God, which we pray for.
469. Let us to Day, therefore bear his Voice, and not harden our Hearts; who speaks to us many Ways. In the Scriptures, in our Hearings, by his Servants and Providences: And the Sum of all is Holiness and Charity.
470. St. James gives a short Draught of the Matter, but very full and reaching, *Pure Religion and Undesiled before God and the Father, is this, to visit the Fatherless and the Widows in their Affliction, and to keep our selves unspotted from the World.* Which is comprized in these two Words, *Charity and Piety.*
471. They that truly make these their Aim, will find them their Attainment; and with them, the Peace that follows so excellent a Condition.
472. Amuse nor thy self therefore, with the numerous Opinions of the World, nor value thy self upon verbal Orthodoxy, Philosophy, or thy Skill in Tongues, or Knowledge of the Fathers; (too much the Business and Vanity of the World) But in this rejoyce, *That thou knowest God, that is the Lord, who exerciseth loving Kindness, and Judgment, and Righteousness in the Earth.*
473. Publick Worship is very commendable, if well performed. We owe it to God and good Example. But we must know, that God is not tyed to Time or Place, who is every where at the same Time: And this we shall know, as far as we are capable, if where-ever we are, our Desires are to be with him.
474. Serving God, People generally confine to the Acts of Publick and Private Worship: And those, the more zealous do often repeat, in Hopes of Acceptance.
475. But if we consider that God is an Infinite Spirit, and, as such, every-where; and that our Saviour has taught us, *that he will be worshipped in Spirit and in Truth*; we shall see the Shortness of such a Notion.
476. For serving God concerns the Frame of our Spirits, in the whole Course of our Lives; in every Occasion we have, in which we may shew our Love to his Law.
477. For as Men in Battle are continually in the Way of Shot, so we, in this World, are ever within the Reach of Temptation: And herein do we serve God, if we avoid what we are forbid, as well as do what he commands.
478. God is better served in resisting a Temptation to Evil, than in many formal Prayers.
479. This is but twice or thrice a Day: But that every Hour and Moment of the Day. So much more is our continual Watch, than our Evening and Morning Devotion.
480. Would'st thou then serve God? *Do not that alone, which thou would'st not that another should see thee do.*
481. Don't take God's Name in vain, or disobey thy Parents, or wrong thy Neighbour, or commit Adultery, even in thine Heart.
482. Neither be Vain, Lascivious, Proud, Drunken, Revengesful or Angry: Nor Lye, Detraict, Backbite, Overreach, Oppress, Deceive, or Betray: But watch vigorously against all Temptations to these Things; as knowing that God is Present, the Overseer of all thy Ways and most inward Thoughts, and the Avenger of his own Law upon the Disobedient, and thou wilt acceptably serve God.
483. Is it not Reason, if we expect the Acknowledgments of those to whom we are bountiful, that we should reverently pay ours to God, our most magnificent and constant Benefactor?

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Part I.

484. The World represents a rare and sumptuous Palace, Mankind the great Family in it, and God the mighty Lord and Master of it.

485. We are all sensible what a stately Seat it is; The Heavens adorned with so many glorious Luminaries; and the Earth with Groves, Plains, Valleys, Hills, Fountains, Ponds, Lakes and Rivers; and Variety of Fruits, and Creatures for Food, Pleasure and Profit. In short, how noble an House he keeps, and the Plenty and Variety and Excellency of his Table; His Orders, Seasons, and Suitableness of every Time and Thing. But we must be as sensible, or at least ought to be, what careless and idle Servants we are, and how short and disproportionable our Behaviour is to his Bounty and Goodness: How long he bears, and often he reprieves and forgives us: Who, notwithstanding our Breach of Promises, and repeated Neglects, has not yet been provok'd to break up House, and send us to shift for our selves. Should not this great Goodness raise a due Sense in us of our Undutifulness, and a Resolution to alter our Course and mend our Manners; that we may be for the future more worthy Communicants at our Master's good and great Table? Especially since it is not more certain that we deserve his Displeasure, than that we shall feel it, if we continue to be unprofitable Servants.

486. But tho' God has replenish'd this World with abundance of good Things for Man's Life and Comfort, yet they are all but imperfect Goods. He only is the perfect Good to whom they point. But, alas! Men cannot see him for them; tho' they should always see him in them.

487. I have often wondred at the Unaccountableness of Man in this, among other Things; that though he loves changes so well, he should care so little to hear or think of his *last, great, and best Change too, if he pleases*.

488. Being, as to our Bodies, compos'd of *Changeable Elements*, we, with the World, are made up of and subsist by *Revolution*: But our Souls being of another and Nobler Nature, we should seek our Rest in a more induring Habitation.

489. The Truest End of Life, is, to know the Life that never Ends.

490. He that makes this his Care will find it his Crown at last.

491. Life else, were a Misery rather than a Pleasure, a Judgment, not a Blessing.

492. For to *Know, Regret, and Resent*; to *Desire, Hope and Fear* more than a Beast, and not live beyond him, is to make a Man *less than a Beast*.

493. It is the Amends of a short and troublesome Life, that *Doing well, and Suffering ill*, intitles Man to one *Longer and Better*.

494. This ever raises the good Man's Hope, and gives him Tastes beyond the other World.

495. As 'tis his *Aim*, so none else can hit the Mark.

496. Many make it their Speculation, but 'tis the good Man's Practice.

497. His Work keeps Pace with his Life, and so leaves nothing to be done when he dies.

498. And he that lives to live ever, never fears dying.

499. Nor can the Means be terrible to him that heartily believes the End.

500. For though Death be a dark Passage, it leads to immortality, and that's Recompence enough for suffering of it.

501. And yet Faith lights us, even through the Grave, being the Evidence of Things not seen.

502. And this is the Comfort of the Good, that the Grave cannot hold them, and that they live as soon as they die.

503. For Death is no more than a Turning of us over from Time to Eternity.

504. Nor can there be a Revolution without it; for it supposes the Dissolution of one Form, in order to the Succession of another.

505. Death then, being the Way and Condition of Life, we cannot love to live, if we cannot bear to die.

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506. Let us then not cozen our selves with the Shells and Husks of Things; nor prefer Form to Power, nor Shadows to Substance; Pictures of Bread will not satisfy Hunger, nor those of Devotion please God.

507. This World is a Form; our Bodies are Forms; and no visible Acts of Devotion can be without Forms. But yet the less Form in Religion the better, since God is a Spirit: For the more *mental* our Worship, the more *adequate* to the *Nature of God*; the more silent, the more suitable to the Language of a Spirit.

508. Words are for others, not for our selves: Nor for God, who hears not as Bodies do; but as Spirits should.

509. If we would know this Dialect, we must learn of the divine Principle in us. As we hear the Dictates of that, so *God bears us*.

510. There we may see him too in all his Attributes; Tho' but in little, yet as much as we can apprehend or bear: For as he is in himself, he is incomprehensible, and *duelleth in that Light which no Eye can approach*. But in his Image we may behold his Glory; enough to exalt our Apprehensions of God, and to instruct us in that Worship which pleaseth him.

511. Men may tire themselves in a Labyrinth of Search, and talk of God: But if we would know him indeed, it must be from the Impressions we receive of him; and the softer our Hearts are, the deeper and livelier those will be upon us.

512. If he has made us sensible of his Justice, by his Reproof; of his Patience, by his Forbearance; of his Mercy, by his Forgiveness; of his Holiness, by the Sanctification of our Hearts through his Spirit; we have a grounded Knowledge of God. This is Experience, that Speculation; This Enjoyment, that Report. In short, this is undeniable Evidence, with the Realities of Religion, and will stand all Winds and Weathers.

513. As our Faith, so our Devotion should be lively. Cold Meat won't serve at those Repasts.

514. It is a Coal from God's Altar must kindle our Fire: And without Fire, true Fire, no acceptable Sacrifice.

515. *Open thou my Lips, and then, said the Royal Prophet, My Mouth shall praise God.* But not 'till then.

516. The Preparation of the Heart, as well as Answer of the Tongue, is of the Lord: And to have it, our Prayers must be powerful, and our Worship grateful.

517. Let us chuse, therefore, to commune where there is the warmest Sense of Religion; where Devotion exceeds Formality, and Praise most corresponds with Profession; and where there is at least as much Charity as Zeal: For where this Society is to be found, there shall we find the Church of God.

518. As good, so ill Men are all of a Church; and every Body knows who must be Head of it.

519. The *Humble, Meek, Merciful, Just, Pious* and *Devout* Souls, are every where of one Religion; and when Death has taken off the Mask, they will know one another, though the diverse Liveries they wear here, make them Strangers.

520. *Great Allowances* are to be made for Education and Personal Weaknesses: But 'tis a Rule with me, that Man is truly Religious, that loves the Persuasion he is of, for the Piety rather than Ceremony of it.

521. They that have one End, can hardly disagree when they meet. At least their Concern in the Greater, moderates their Value and Difference about the Lesser Things.

522. It is a sad Reflection, that many Men hardly have *any Religion at all*; and most Men have none of their own: For that which is the Religion of their Education, and not of their Judgment, is the Religion of Another, and not Theirs.

523. To have Religion upon Authority, and not upon Conviction, is like a *Finger Watch*, to be set forwards or backwards, as he pleases that has it in keeping.

524. It

524. It is a preposterous Thing, that Men can venture their Souls where they will not venture their Money ; for they will take their Religion upon Trust, but not trust a *Synod* about the *Goodness* of Half a Crown.

525. They will follow their own Judgment when their Money is concerned, whatever they do for their Souls.

526. But to be sure, that Religion cannot be right, that a Man is the worse for having.

527. No Religion, is better than an *Unnatural One*.

528. Grace perfects, but never *sours* or *spoils* Nature.

529. To be *Unnatural* in Defence of *Grace*, is a Contradiction.

530. Hardly any Thing looks worse, than to defend Religion by Ways that shew it has no *Credit* with us.

531. A Devout Man is one Thing, a *Stickler* is quite another.

532. When our Minds exceed their just Bounds, we must needs discredit what we would recommend.

533. To be Furious in Religion, is to be Irreligiously Religious.

534. If he that is without Bowels, is not a Man ; How then can he be a Christian ?

535. It were better to be of no Church, than to be bitter for any.

536. Bitterness comes very near to Enmity, and that is *Beelzebub* ; because the Perfection of Wickedness.

537. A good End cannot sanctify Evil Means ; nor must we ever do Evil, that Good may come of it.

538. Some Folk think they may *Scold*, *Rail*, *Hate*, *Reb* and *Kill* too ; so it be but for *God's Sake*.

539. But nothing in us, unlike him, can please him.

540. It is as great Presumption to send our Passions upon God's Errands, as it is to palliate them with God's Name.

541. Zeal dropt in Charity, is good ; without it, good for nothing : For it devours all it comes near.

542. They must first judge themselves, that presume to censure others : And such will not be apt to over-shoot the Mark.

543. We are too ready to retaliate, rather than forgive, or gain by Love and Information.

544. And yet we could hurt no Man that we believe loves us.

545. Let us then try what Love will do : For if Men do once see we love them, we should soon find they would not harm us.

546. Force may subdue, but Love gains : And he that forgives first, wins the *Laurel*.

547. If I am even with my Enemy, the Debt is paid ; But if I forgive it, I oblige him for ever.

548. Love is the hardest Lesson in Christianity ; but, for that Reason, it should be most our Care to learn it. *Difficilia quæ Pulchra*.

549. It is a severe Rebuke upon us, that God makes us so many Allowances, and we make so few to our Neighbour : As if *Charity* had nothing to do with Religion ; Or Love with Faith, that ought to work by it.

550. I find all Sorts of People agree, whatsoever were their Animosities, when humbled by the Approaches of Death : Then they forgive, then they pray for, and love one another : Which shews us, that it is not our Reason, but our Passion, that makes and holds up the Feuds that reign among Men in their Health and Fulness. They, therefore, that live nearest to that which they should die, must certainly live best.

551. Did we believe a Final Reckoning and Judgment, or did we think enough of what we do believe, we would allow more Love in Religion than we do ; since Religion it self is nothing else but *Love to God and Man*.

552. He that lives in Love lives in God, says the Beloved Disciple : And to be sure a Man can live *no where better*.

553. It is most reasonable Men should value that Benefit, which is most durable. Now Tongues shall cease, and Prophecy fail, and Faith shall be consummated in Sight, and Hope in Enjoyment ; but *Love remains*.

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554. Love is indeed Heaven upon Earth; since Heaven above would not be Heaven without it: For where there is not Love, there is Fear: But *perfect Love casts out Fear*. And yet we naturally fear most to offend what we *most Love*.

555. What we love, we'll hear; what we love, we'll trust; and what we love, we'll serve, ay, and suffer for too. *If you love me*, (says our Blessed Redeemer) *keep my Commandments*. Why? Why then he'll love us; then we shall be his Friends; then he'll send us the Comforter; then whatever we ask, we shall receive; and then where he is, *we shall be also, and that for ever*. Behold the Fruits of *Love*; the *Power, Virtue, Benefit and Beauty of Love*!

556. Love is above all; and when it prevails in us all, we shall all be *Lovely*, and in *Love with God and one with another*.

Amen.

Part. II.

More Fruits of SOLITUDE,

BEING THE

S E C O N D P A R T

O F

Reflections and Maxims. relating
to the Conduct of Human Life.

The INTRODUCTION to the READER.

THE Title of this Treatise shows, there was a former of the same Nature; and the Author hopes, he runs no Hazard in Recommending Both to his Reader's Perusal. He is well aware of the Low Reckoning, the Labours of Indifferent Authors are under, at a Time, when hardly any thing passes for Current, that is not Calculated to Flatter the Sharpness of Contending Parties. He is also sensible, that Books grow a very Drug, where they cannot Raise and Support their Credit, by their own Usefulness; and how far this will be able to do it, he knows not; yet he thinks himself tolerably safe, in making it Publick, in three Respects.

First, That the Purchase is small, and the Time but little, that is requisite to read It.

Next, Though some Men should not find it relished High Enough for their finer Wits, or warmer Palates, it may not perhaps be Useless to those of lower Flights, and who are less engaged in publick Heats.

Lastly, The Author honestly aims at as General a Benefit as the Thing will bear; to Youth especially, whether he hits the Mark or not: And that without the least Ostentation, or any Private Regards.

Let not Envy mis-interpret his Intention, and he will be accountable for all other Faults.

Vale.

Reflections and Maxims, &c.

1 **The Right Moralist.** A Right Moralist is a Great and Good Man, but for that Reason he is rarely to be found.

2 There are a Sort of People, that are fond of the Character, who, in my Opinion, have but little Title to it.

3 They think it enough, not to defraud a Man of his Pay, or betray his Friend; but never consider, That the Law forbids the one at his Peril, and that Virtue is seldom the Reason of the other.

4 But certainly he that Covets, can no more be a Moral Man, than he that Steals; since he does so in his Mind. Nor can he be one that Robs his Neighbour of his Credit, or that craftily undermines him of his Trade or Office.

5 If a Man pays his Taylor, but Debauches his Wife, Is he a currant Moralist?

6 But what shall we say of the Man that rebels against his Father, is an ill Husband, or an Abusive Neighbour; one that's Lavish of his Time, of his Health, and of his Estate, in which his Family is so nearly concern'd? Must he go for a Right Moralist, because he pays his Rent well?

7 I would ask some of those Men of Morals, Whether he that Robs God and himself too, though he should not defraud his Neighbour, be the Moral Man?

8 Do I owe my self Nothing? And do I not owe All to God? And if paying what we owe, makes the Moral Man, Is it not fit we should begin to render our Dues, where we owe our very Beginning; ay, our All?

9 The Compleat Moralist begins with God; he gives him his Due, his Heart, his Love, his Service; the Bountiful Giver of his Well-Being, as well as Being.

10 He that lives without a Sense of this Dependency and Obligation, cannot be a Moral Man, because he does not know his Returns, of Love and Obedience: as becomes an honest and a sensible Creature: Which very Term implies he is not his own; and it cannot be very honest to misemploy another's Goods.

11 But how can there be no Debt, but to a fellow Creature? Or, will our exactness in paying those dribbling ones, while we neglect our weightier Obligations, cancel the Bonds we lye under, and render us right and thorow Moralists?

12 As *Judgments* are paid before *Bonds*, and *Bonds* before *Bills* or *Book-Debts*, so the Moralist considers his Obligations according to their several *Dignities*.

In the first Place, *Him* to whom he owes himself. Next *himself* in his Health and Livelihood. Lastly, his other Obligations, whether *Rational* or *Pecuniary*; doing to others, to the extent of his Ability, as he would have them do unto him.

13 In short, the *moral Man* is he that *Loves God above All, and his Neighbour as himself*, which fulfils both Tables at once.

14 **The World's able Man.** It is by some thought, the Character of an able Man, to be *Dark and not understood*. But I am sure that is not fair Play.

15. If he be so by *Silence*, 'tis better; but if by *Disguises*, 'tis *insincere* and *hateful*.

16. Secrecy is one Thing, False Lights are another.

17. The honest Man, that is rather free, than open, is ever to be preferred; especially when *Sense* is at Helm.

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18 The Glorifying of the other Humour is in a Vice: For it is not Humane to be *Cold, Dark, and Unconversable*. I was a going to say, they are like *Pick-Pockets* in a Crowd, where a Man must ever have his Hand on his Purse; or as *Spies* in a Garrison, that if not prevented betray it.

19 They are the *Reverse* of humane Nature, and yet this is the present World's *Wise Man* and Politician: Excellent Qualities for *Lapland*, where, they say, *Witches*, tho' not many *Conjurors*, dwell.

20 Like *Highb-Way Men*, that rarely Rob without *Vizards*, or in the same Wigs and Cloaths, but have a Dress for every Enterprize.

21 At best, he may be a *Cunning Man*, which is a Sort of *Lurcher* in the Politicks.

22 He is never too hard for the *Wise Man* upon the Square, for that is out of his Element, and puts him quite by his Skill. Nor are wise Men ever catch'd by him, but when they trust him.

23 But as *Cold and Close* as he seems, he can and will please all, if he gets by it, tho' it should neither please God nor himself at bottom.

24 He is for every Cause that brings him Gain, but implacable if disappointed of Success.

25 And what he cannot hinder, he will be sure to spoil, by over-doing it.

26 None so zealous then as he, for that which he cannot abide.

27 What is it he will not, or cannot do, to hide his true Sentiments:

28 For his Interest, he refuses no Side or Party; and will take the Wrong by the Hand, when t'other wont do, with as good a Grace as the Right.

29 Nay, he commonly chuses the worst, because that brings the best Bribe: His Cause being ever Money.

30 He sails with all Winds, and is never out of his Way, where any Thing is to be had.

31 A *Privateer* indeed, and every where a Bird of Prey.

32 True to nothing but himself, and false to all Persons and Parties, to serve his own Turn.

33 Talk with him as often as you please, he will never pay you in good Coin; for 'tis either false or clipt.

34 But to give a false Reason for any thing, let my Reader never learn of him, no more than to give a Brass half Crown for a good one: Not only because it is not true, but because it deceives the Person to whom it is given; which I take to be an *Immorality*.

35 *Silence* is much more preferable, for it saves the Secret, as well as the Person's Honour.

36 Such as give themselves the Latitude of saying what they do not mean, come to be *errant Jockeys* at more Things than one; but in Religion and Politicks, 'tis pernicious.

37 To hear two Men talk the Reverse of their own Sentiments, with all the good Breeding and Appearance of Friendship, imaginable, on Purpose to *cozen or pump* each other, is to a Man of *Virtue and Honour*, one of the Melancholiest, as well as most nauseous Things in the World.

38 But that it should be the Character of an able Man, is to *disinherit Wisdom*, and paint out our Degeneracy to the Life, by setting up Fraud, an errant Impostor, in her Room.

39 The Tryal of Skill between these two is, who shall believe least of what t'other says; and he that has the Weakness, or good Nature, to give out first, (*viz.* to believe any Thing t'other says) is look'd upon to be *trick'd*.

40 I cannot see the *Policy*, any more than the Necessity, of a Man's Mind always giving the Lye to his Mouth; or his Mouth ever giving false Alarms of his Mind: For no Man can be long believed, that teaches all Men to distrust him; and since the ablest have sometimes need of Credit, where lyes the Advantage of their Politick *Cant* or *Banter* upon Mankind?

41 I remember a Passage of one of Queen Elizabeth's great Men; as Advice to his Friend; *The Advantage*, says he, *I had upon others at Court, was, that I always spoke as I thought, which being not believed by them, I both preserved a good Conscience, and suffered no Damage from that Freedom:*

dom: Which, as it shows the Vice to be older than our Times, so that Gallant Man's Integrity, to be the best Way of avoiding it.

42 To be sure it is wise, as well as honest, neither to flatter other Men's Sentiments, nor dissemble and less contradict our own.

43 To hold one's Tongue, or speak Truth, or talk only of indifferent Things, is the fairest Conversation.

44 *Women* that rarely go abroad without *Vizard-Masks*, have none of the best Reputation. But when we consider, what all this *Art* and *Disguise* are for, it equally heightens the wife Man's *Wonder* and *Aversion*: Perhaps it is to betray a Father, a Brother, a Master, a Friend, a Neighbour, or one's own Party.

45 A fine Conquest! what Noble *Grecians* and *Romans* abhor'd: As if Government could not subsist without Knavery, and that Knaves were the *Usefullest* Props to it; tho' the basest, as well as greatest, Perversions of the Ends of it.

46 But that it should become a *Maxim*, shows but too grossly the Corruption of the Times.

47 I confess I have heard the Stile of an *Useful Knave*, but ever took it to be a silly or a Knavish Saying; at least an Excuse for Knavery.

48 It is as reasonable to think a *Whore* makes the *best Wife*, as a *Knave* the best *Officer*.

49 Besides, employing Knaves, encourages Knavery instead of punishing it; and alienates the Reward of Virtue. Or, at least, must make the World believe, the Country yields not honest Men enough, able to serve her.

50 Art thou a Magistrate? Prefer such as have clean Characters, where they live, and of Estates, to secure a just Discharge of their Trusts; that are under no Temptation to strain Points, for a Fortune: for sometimes such may be found, sooner than they are employed.

51 Art thou a private Man? Contract thy Acquaintance in a narrow Compass, and chuse those for the Subjects of it, that are Men of Principles; such as will make full Stops, where Honour will not lead them on; and that had rather bear the Disgrace of not being thorow Paced Men, than forfeit their Peace and Reputation by a base Compliance.

52 *The Wise Man*. The *Wise Man*, governs himself by the Reason of his Case, and because what he does is best: Best, in a moral and prudent, not a sinister Sense.

53 He proposes just Ends, and employs the fairest and probablest Means and Methods to attain them.

54 Tho' you cannot always penetrate his Design, or his Reasons for it; yet you shall ever see his Actions of a Piece, and his Performances like a Workman: They will bear the Touch of Wisdom and Honour, as often as they are try'd.

55 He scorns to serve himself by *Indirect Means*, or be an Interloper in Government, since Just Enterprizes never want any Just Ways to succeed them.

56 To do Evil, that Good may come of it, is for *Bunglers* in Politicks as well as Morals.

57 Like those Surgeons, that will cut off an Arm they can't cure, to hide their Ignorance and save their Credit.

58 The *Wise Man* is Cautious, but not Cunning; Judicious, but not Crafty; making Virtue the Measure of using his Excellent Understanding in the Conduct of his Life.

59 The *Wise Man* is equal, ready, but not officious; has in every Thing an Eye to *Sure-Footing*: He offends no Body, nor easily is offended, and always willing to Compound for *Wrongs*, if not forgive them.

60 He is never Captious, nor Critical; hates *Banter* and *Jests*: He may be pleasant; but not Light; he never deals but in substantial Ware. and leaves the rest for the Toy Pates (or Shops) of the World; which are so far from being his Business, that they are not so much as his Diversion.

61 He

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61 He is always for some solid Good, *Civil* or *Moral*; as, to make his Country more virtuous, Preserve her Peace and Liberty, Employ her Poor, Improve Land, Advance Trade, Suppress Vice, Encourage Industry, and all Mechanick Knowledge; and that they should be the Care of the Government, and the Blessing and Praise of the People.

62 To conclude, he is just, and fears God, hates Covetousness, and eschews Evil, and loves his Neighbour as himself.

63 **Of the Government of Thoughts.** Man being made a Reasonable and so a Thinking Creature; there is nothing more worthy of his Being, than the right Direction and Employment of his Thoughts; since upon This, depends both his Usefulness to the Publick, and his own present and future Benefit in all Respects.

64 The Consideration of this, has often obliged me to lament the Unhappiness of Mankind, that through too great a Mixture and Confusion of Thoughts, have been hardly able to make a right or mature Judgment of Things.

65 To this is owing the various Uncertainty and Confusion we see in the World, and the intemperate Zeal that occasions them.

66 To this also is to be attributed, the imperfect Knowledge we have of Things, and the slow Progress we make in attaining to a better; like the Children of *Israel* that were forty Years upon their Journey, from *Egypt* to *Canaan*, which might have been performed in less than one.

67 In fine, 'tis to this that we ought to ascribe, if not all, at least most of the Infelicities we labour under.

68 Clear therefore thy Head, and Rally, and Manage thy Thoughts rightly, and thou wilt save Time, and see and do thy Business well; for thy Judgment will be distinct, thy Mind free, and thy Faculties strong and regular.

69 Always remember to bound thy Thoughts to the present Occasion.

70 If it be thy Religious Duty, suffer nothing else to share in them. And if any Civil or temporal Affair, observe the same Caution, and thou wilt be a whole Man to every Thing, and do twice the Business in the same time.

71 If any Point over-labours thy Mind, divert and relieve it, by some other Subject, of a more sensible, or manual Nature, rather than what may affect the Understanding; for this were to write one Thing upon another, which blots out our former Impressions, or renders them illegible.

72 They that are least divided in their Care, always give the best Account of their Business.

73 As therefore thou art always to pursue the present Subject, till thou hast mastered it, so if it fall out, that thou hast more Affairs than one upon thy Hand, be sure to prefer that which is of most Moment, and will least wait thy Leisure.

74 He that Judges not well of the Importance of his Affairs, though he may be always busy, he must make but a small Progress.

75. But make not more Business necessary than is so; and rather lessen than augment Work for thy self.

76. Nor yet be over-eager in pursuit of any Thing; for the Mercurial too often happen to leave Judgment behind them, and sometimes make Work for Repentance.

77 He that over-runs his Business, leaves it for him that follows more leisurely to take it up; which has often proved a profitable Harvest to them that never Sow'd.

78 'Tis the Advantage that slower Tempers have upon the Men of lively Parts, that tho' they don't lead, they will Follow well, and Glean Clean.

79 Upon the whole Matter, employ thy Thoughts as thy Business requires, and let that have Place according to Merit and Urgency; giving every Thing a Review and due Digestion, and thou wilt prevent many Errors and Vexations, as well as save much Time to thy self in the Course of thy Life.

80 **Of Envy.** It is the Mark of an ill Nature, to lessen good Actions, and aggravate ill Ones.

81 Some Men do as much begrudge others a good Name, as they want one themselves; and perhaps that is the Reason of it.

82 But certainly they are in the Wrong, that can think they are lessened, because others have their Due.

83 Such People generally have less Merit than Ambition, that Covet the Reward of other Men's; and to be sure a very ill Nature, that will rather Rob others of their Due, than allow them their Praise.

84 It is more an Error of our Will, than our Judgment: For we know it to be an Effect of our Passion, not our Reason; and therefore we are the more culpable in our Partial Estimates.

85 It is as envious as unjust, to under-rate another's Actions, where their intrinsic Worth recommends them to disengaged Minds.

86 Nothing shews more the Folly, as well as Fraud of Man, than clipping of Merit and Reputation.

87 And as some Men think it an Allay to themselves, that others have their Right; so they know no End of Pilfering to raise their own Credit.

88 This Envy is the Child of Pride, and Misgives, rather than Mistakes.

89 It will have Charity, to be Ostentation; Sobriety, Covetousness; Humility, Craft; Bounty, Popularity. In short, Virtue must be Design, and Religion, only Interest. Nay, the best of Qualities must not pass without a *But* to allay their Merit and abate their Praise. Basest of Tempers! and they that have it, the worst of Men!

90 But Just and Noble Minds Rejoyce in other Men's Success, and help to augment their Praise.

91 And indeed they are not without a Love to Virtue, that take a Satisfaction in seeing her Rewarded, and such deserve to share her Character that do abhor to lessen it.

92 *Of Man's Life.* Why is Man less durable than the Works of his Hands, but because *This is not* the Place of his Rest?

93 And it is a Great and Just Reproach upon him, that he should fix his Mind where he cannot stay himself.

94 Were it not more his Wisdom to be concerned about those Works that will go with him, and erect a Mansion for him where Time has Power neither over him nor it?

95 'Tis a sad Thing for Man so often to miss his Way to his Best, as well as most Lasting Home.

96 *Of Ambition.* They that soar too high, often fall hard; which makes a low and level Dwelling preferable.

97 The tallest Trees are most in the Power of the Winds, and Ambitious Men of the Blasts of Fortune.

98 They are most seen and observed, and most envied: Least Quiet, but most Talk'd of, and not often to their Advantage.

99 Those Builders had need of a good Foundation, that lie so much exposed to Weather.

100 Good Works are a Rock, that will support their Credit; but Ill Ones a Sandy Foundation that Yields to Calamities.

101 And truly they ought to expect no Pity in their Fall, that when, in Power, had no Bowels for the Unhappy.

102 The worst of Distempers; always Craving and Thirsty, Restless and Hated: A perfect Delirium in the Mind: Insufferable in Success, and in Disappointments most Revengeful.

103. *Of Praise or applause.* We are too apt to love Praise, but not to Deserve it.

104 But if we would Deserve it, we must love Virtue more than That.

105. As there is no Passion in us sooner moved, or more deceivable, so for that reason there is none over which we ought to be more Watchful, whether we give or receive it: For if we give it, we must be sure to mean it, and measure it too.

106 If we are Penurious, it shows Emulation; if we exceed, Flattery.

107 Good Measure belongs to Good Actions; more looks Nauseous, as

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well as Insincere, besides, 'tis a Persecuting of the Meritorious, who are out of Countenance to hear, what they deserve.

108 It is much easier for him to merit Applause, than hear of it: And he never doubts himself more, or the Person that gives it, than when he *bears so much* of it.

109. But to say true, there needs not many Cautions on this Hand, since the World is rarely just enough to the Deserving.

110 However, we cannot be too Circumspect how we receive Praise: For if we contemplate our selves in a false-Glass, we are sure to be mistaken about our Dues; and because we are too apt to believe what is Pleasing, rather than what is True, we may be too easily swell'd, beyond our Just Proportion, by the Windy Complements of Men.

111 Make ever therefore Allowances for what is said on such Occasions, or thou exposest, as well as Deceivest thy self.

112 For an over-value of our selves, gives us but a dangerous Security in many Respects.

113 We expect more than belongs to us; take all that's given us though never meant us; and fall out with those that are not as *full of us* as we are of our selves.

114 In short, 'tis a Passion that abuses our Judgment, and makes us both Unsafe and Ridiculous.

115 Be not fond therefore of Praise, but seek Virtue that leads to it.

116 And yet no more lessen or dissemble thy Merit, than over-rate it: For tho' Humility be a Virtue, an affected one is none.

117 *Of Conduct in Speech.* Enquire often, but Judge rarely, and thou wilt not often be mistaken.

118 It is safer to Learn, than teach; and who conceals his Opinion, has nothing to answer for.

119 Vanity or Resentment often engage us, and 'tis two to one but we come off Losers; for one shews a Want of Judgment and Humility, as the other does of Temper and Discretion.

120 Not that I admire the Reserved; for they are next to Unnatural that are not Communicable. But if Reservedness be at any Time a Virtue, 'tis in Throngs or ill Company.

121 Beware also of *Affectation in Speech*; it often wrongs Matter, and ever shows a blind Side.

122 Speak properly, and in as few Words as you can, but always plainly; for the End of Speech is not Ostentation but to be understood.

123 They that affect Words more than Matter, will dry up that little they have.

124 Sense never fails to give them that have it, Words enough to make them understood.

125 But it too often happens in some Conversations, as in *Apothecaries-Shops*, that those Pots that are Empty, or have Things of small Value in them, are as gaudily Dress'd and Flourish'd, as those that are full of precious Drugs.

126 This Labouring of slight Matter with flourish'd Turns of Expression, is fulsome, and worse than the Modern Imitation of Tapestry, and *East-India* Goods, in Stuffs and Linens. In short, 'tis but Taudry Talk, and next to very Trash.

127 *Union of Friends.* They that love beyond the World, cannot be separated by it.

128 Death cannot kill what never dies.

129 Nor can Spirits ever be divided that love and live in the same Divine Principle; the Root and Record of their Friendship.

130 If Absence be not Death, neither is theirs.

131 Death is but Crossing the World, as Friends do the Seas; They live in one another still.

132 For they must needs be present that love and live in that which is Omnipresent.

133 In this Divine Glass, they see Face to Face; and their Converse is Free, as well as Pure.

134 This is the Comfort of Friends, that tho' they may be said to die, yet their Friendship and Society are, in the best Sense, ever present, because Immortal.

135 *Of being Easy in Living.* 'Tis an Happiness to be delivered from a Curious Mind, as well as from a Dainty Palate.

136 For it is not only a Troublesome but Slavish Thing to be Nice.

137 They narrow their own Freedom and Comforts, that make so much requisite to enjoy them.

138 To be Easy in Living, is much of the Pleasure of Life: But difficult Tempers will always want it.

239 A *Careless* and *Homely* Breeding is therefore preferable to one nice and delicate.

140 And he that is taught to live upon little, owes more to his Father's Wisdom, than he that has a great deal left him, does to his Father's Care.

141 Children can't well be too hardly bred: For besides that it fits them to bear the roughest Providences, it is more Masculine, Active and Healthy.

142 Nay, 'tis certain, that the Liberty of the Mind is mightily preferred by it: For so it is served, instead of being a Servant, indeed a Slave, to sensual Delicacies.

143. As Nature is soon answered, so are such satisfied.

144 The Memory of the Ancients is hardly in any Thing more to be celebrated, than in a *Strict and Useful Institution of Youth*.

145 By *Labour* they prevented Luxury in their young People, till Wisdom and Philosophy had taught them to Resist and Despise it.

146 It must be therefore a gross Fault, to strive so hard for the Pleasure of our Bodies. and be so insensible and careless of the Freedom of our Souls.

147 *Of Man's Inconsiderateness and Partiality.* 'Tis very observable, if our civil Rights are invaded or incroached upon, we are mightily touch'd, and fill every Place with our Resentment and Complaint; while we suffer our selves, our better and Nobler Selves, to be the Property and Vassals of Sin, the worst of Invaders.

148 *In vain* do we expect to be delivered from such Troubles, till we are delivered from the Cause of them, our Disobedience to God.

149 When he has his Dues from us, it will be time enough for him to give us ours out of one another.

150 'Tis our great Happiness, if we could understand it, that we meet with such Checks in the Career of our worldly Enjoyments, lest we should forget the Giver, adore the Gift, and terminate our Felicity here, which is not Man's ultimate Bliss.

151 Our Losses are often made *Judgments* by our Guilt, and *Mercies* by our Repentance.

152 Besides, it argues great Folly in Men, to let their Satisfaction exceed the *true Value* of any Temporal Matter: For Disappointments are not always to be measur'd by the Loss of the Thing, but the *over-value* we put upon it.

153 And thus Men improve their own Miseries, for Want of an Equal and Just Estimate of what they Enjoy or Lose.

154 There lies a *Proviso* upon every Thing in this World, and we must observe it at our own Peril, *viz. To love God above all*, and Act for *Judgment*, the *Last* I mean.

155 *Of the Rule of Judging.* In all Things *Reason* should prevail: 'Tis quite another Thing to be *stiff* than steady in an Opinion.

156 This may be reasonable, but that is ever *Willful*.

157 In such Cases it always happens, that the clearer the Argument, the greater the Obstinacy, where the Design is not to be convinced.

158 This is to value Humour more than Truth, and prefer a *sullen Pride* to a reasonable Submission.

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159 'Tis the Glory of a Man to *vail* to Truth ; as it is the Mark of a good Nature to be *easily* entreated.

160 Beasts Act by Sense, Man should by *Reason* ; else he is a greater Beast than ever God made : And the Proverb is verified, The Corruption of the best Things is the worst and most offensive.

161 A reasonable Opinion must ever be in Danger, where Reason is not Judge.

162 Tho' there is a Regard due to Education, and the Tradition of our Fathers, Truth will ever deserve as well as claim the Preference.

163 If like *Theophilus* and *Timothy*, we have been brought up in the Knowledge of the best Things, 'tis our Advantage : But neither they nor we lose by trying the Truth ; for so we learn their, as well as it's *intrinsic* Worth.

164 Truth never lost Ground by Enquiry, because she is *most* of all Reasonable.

165 Nor can that need another Authority, that is *Self-evident*.

166 If my own Reason be on the Side of a Principle ; with what can I dispute or withstand it ?

167 And if Men would once consider one another reasonably, they would either reconcile their Differences. or *more Amicably* maintain them.

168 Let That theretore be the Standard, that has *most* to say for it self ; Tho' of that let *every Man* be Judge for himself.

169 Reason, like the *Sun*, is *Common* to All ; And 'tis for Want of examining all by the same Light and Measure, that we are not all of the same Mind : For all have it to that End, tho' all do not use it so.

170 *Of Formality*. Form is good, but not Formality.

171 In the Use of the best of Forms, there is too much of that I fear.

172 'Tis absolutely necessary, that this Distinction should go along with People in their Devotion ; for too many are apt to rest upon what they do, than how they do their Duty.

173 If it were considered, that it is the Frame of the Mind that gives our Performances Acceptance, we would lay more Stress on our Inward Preparation than our Outward Action.

174 *Of the mean notion we have of God*. Nothing more shews the low Condition Man is fallen into, than the unsuitable Notion we must have of God, by the Ways we take to please him.

175 As if it availed any thing to him that we performed so many Ceremonies and external Forms of Devotion, who never meant more by them, than to try our Obedience, and, through them, to shew us something *more Excellent* and *Durable* beyond them.

176 Doing, while we are *Undoing*, is good for nothing.

177 Of what Benefit is it to say our *Prayers* regularly, go to *Church*, receive the *Sacraments*, and may be go to *Confessions* too ; ay, *Feast* the Priest, and give *Alms* to the Poor, and yet *Lye*, *Swear*, *Curse*, be *Drunk*, *Covetous*, *Unclean*, *Proud*, *Revengeful*, *Vain* and *Idle* at the same Time ?

178 Can one excuse or ballance the other ? Or will God think himself well serv'd, where his Law is *Violated* ? Or well used, where there is so much more *Shew* than Substance ?

179 'Tis a most dangerous Error for a Man to think to excuse himself in the Breach of a Moral Duty, by a *Formal* Performance of *Positive Worship* ; and less when of Human Invention.

180 Our Blessed Saviour most rightly and clearly distinguished and determined this Case, when he told the Jews, that they were his *Mother*, his *Brethren* and *Sisters*, who did the *Will* of his Father.

181 *Of the Benefit of Justice*. Justice is a great Support of Society, because an Insurance to all Men of their Property : This violated, there's no Security, which throws all into *Confusion* to recover it.

182 An Honest Man is a fast *Pledge* in Dealing. A Man is sure to have it if it be to be *bad*.

183 Many are so, meerly of *Necessity* : Others not so only for the same Reason : But such an honest Man is not to be thank'd, and such a dishonest Man is to be *pity'd*.

184 But he that is dishonest for Gain, is next to a Robber, and to be punished for Example.

185 And indeed there are few Dealers, but what are Faulty, which makes Trade *Difficult*, and a great *Temptation* to Men of *Virtue*.

186 'Tis not what they should, but what they can get : Faults or Decays must be concealed : Big Words given, where they are not deserved, and the Ignorance or Necessity of the Buyer imposed upon for unjust Profit.

187 These are the Men that keep their Words for their own Ends, and are only just for Fear of the Magistrate.

188 A *Politick* rather than a Moral Honesty ; a *constrained*, not a chosen Justice : According to the Proverb, *Patience per Force*, and *thank you for nothing*.

189 But of all Injustice, that is the greatest, that passes under the Name of Law. A Cut-Purse in *Westminster-Hall* exceeds ; for that advances Injustice to Oppression, where Law is alledged for that which it should punish.

190 *Of Jealousy*. The Jealous are Troublesome to others, but a Torment to themselves.

191 Jealousy is a Kind of *Civil War* in the Soul, where *Judgment* and *Imagination* are at perpetual *Fars*.

192 This Civil Dissension in the Mind, like that of the Body Politick, commits great Disorders, and lays all waste.

193 Nothing stands safe in it's *Way* : *Nature*, *Interest*, *Religion*, must yield to it's Fury.

194 It Violates *Contrasts*, Dissolves *Society*, Breaks *Wedlock*, Betrays *Friends* and *Neighbours*. No Body is Good, and every one is either doing or designing them a *Mischief*.

195 It has a *Venom* that more or less rankles where-ever it bites : And as it reports Fancies for Facts, so it disturbs it's own House as often as other Folks.

196 It's Rise is *Guilt* or *Ill-Nature*, and by Reflection it thinks it's own Faults to be other Men's ; as he that's over-run with the Jaundice takes others to be Yellow.

197 A Jealous Man only sees his own *Spectrum*, when he looks upon other Men, and gives his Character in theirs.

198 *Of State*. I love Service, but not State ; One is useful, the other superfluous.

199 The Trouble of this, as well as Charge, is real ; but the Advantage only Imaginary.

200 Besides, it helps to set us up *above our selves*, and augments our Temptation to Disorder.

201 The least Thing out of Joint, or omitted, makes us uneasy ; and we are ready to think our selves ill served, about that which is of no real Service at all : Or so much better than other Men, as we have the Means of greater State.

202 But this is all for Want of Wisdom, which carries the truest and most forceable State along with it.

203 He that makes not himself Cheap by indiscreet Conversation, puts Value enough upon himself every where.

204 The other is rather Pageantry than State.

205 *Of a Good Servant*. A True, and a Good Servant, are the same Thing.

206 But no Servant is True to his Master, that defrauds him.

207 Now there are many Ways of defrauding a Master, as, of *Time*, *Care*, *Pains*, *Respect* and *Reputation*, as well as *Money*.

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208 He that neglects his Work, Robs his Master, since he is Fed and Paid as if he did his Best; and he that is not as diligent in the Absence, as in the Presence of his Master, cannot be a true Servant.

209 Nor is he a true Servant, that buys dear to share in the Profit with the Seller.

210 Nor yet he that tells Tales without Doors; or deals basely in his Master's Name with other People; or connives at other's Loyerings, Waltings, or dishonourable Reflections.

211 So that a true Servant is diligent, secret, and respectful: More tender of his Master's Honour and Interest, than of his own Profit.

212 Such a Servant deserves well, and is Modest under his Merit, should liberally feel it at his Master's Hand.

213 *Of an immoderate Pursuit of the World.* It shews a Deprav'd State of Mind, to Cark and Care for that which one does not need.

214 Some are as eager to be Rich, as ever they were to Live: For Superfluity, as for Subsistence.

215 But that Plenty should augment Covetousness, is a Perversion of Providence; and yet the Generality are the worse for their Riches.

216 But it is strange, that Old Men should excel: For generally Money lies nearest them that are nearest their Graves: As if they would augment their Love in Proportion to the little Time they have left to enjoy it: And yet their Pleasure is without Enjoyment, since none enjoy what they do not use.

217 So that instead of learning to leave their great Wealth easily, they hold the Fatter, because they must leave it: So sordid is the Temper of some Men.

218 Where Charity keeps Pace with Gain, Industry is blessed: But to slave to get, and keep it Sordidly, is a Sin against Providence, a Vice in Government, and an Injury to their Neighbours.

219 Such are they as spend not one Fifth of their Income, and, it may be, give not one Tenth of what they spend to the Needy.

220 This is the worst Sort of Idolatry, because there can be no Religion in it, nor Ignorance pleaded in Excuse of it; and that it wrongs other Folks that ought to have a Share therein.

221 *Of the Interest of the Publick in our Estates.* Hardly any Thing is given us for our selves, but the Publick may claim a Share with us. But of all we call ours, we are most accountable to God and the Publick for our Estates: In this we are but Stewards, and to hoard up all to our selves is great Injustice as well as Ingratitude.

222 If all Men were so far Tenants to the Publick, that the Superfluities of Gain and Expence were applied to the Exigencies thereof, it would put an End to Taxes, leave never a Beggar, and make the greatest Bank for National Trade in Europe.

223 It is a Judgment upon us, as well as Weakness, tho' we wont see it, to begin at the wrong End.

224 If the Taxes we give are not to maintain Pride, I am sure there would be less, if Pride were made a Tax to the Government.

225 I confess I have wondered that so many Lawful and Useful Things are Excised by Laws, and Pride left to Reign Free over them and the Publick.

226 But since People are more afraid of the Laws of Man than of God, because their Punishment seems to be nearest: I know not how Magistrates can be excused in their Suffering such Excess with Impunity.

227 Our Noble *English Patriarchs* as well as *Patriots*, were so sensible of this Evil, that they made several excellent Laws, commonly called *Sumptuary*, to *Forbid*, at least *Limit* the *Pride* of the People; which because the Execution of them would be our Interest and Honour, their Neglect must be our just Reproach and Loss.

228 'Tis but reasonable that the Punishment of *Pride* and Excess should help to support the Government, since it must otherwise inevitably be ruined by them.

229 But

229 But some say, *It ruins Trade*, and will make the *Poor Burdensome* to the Publick : But if such Trade in Consequence ruins the Kingdom, is it not Time to ruin that Trade ? Is Moderation no Part of our Duty, and Temperance an Enemy to Government ?

230 He is a *Judas* that will get Money by any Thing.

231 To wink at a Trade that effeminates the People, and invades the Ancient Discipline of the Kingdom, is a Crime Capital, and to be severely punished instead of being excused by the *Magistrate*.

232 Is there no better Employment for the Poor than *Luxury* ? *Miserable Nation !*

233 What did they before they fell into these forbidden Methods ? Is there not Land enough in *England*, to cultivate, and more and better Manufactures to be made ?

234 Have we no Room for them in our *Plantations*, about Things that may augment *Trade*, without *Luxury* ?

235 In short, let *Pride* pay, and *Excess* be well excised : And if that will not cure the People, it will help to keep the Kingdom.

236 *The Vain Man*. But a *Vain Man* is a *Nauseous* Creature : He is so full of himself, that he has no Room for any Thing else, be it never so good or deserving.

237 'Tis I at every Turn that does this, or can do that. And as he abounds in his *Comparisons*, so he is sure to give himself the better of every Body else ; according to the Proverb, *All his Geese are Swans*.

238 They are certainly to be pitied, that can be so much mistaken at Home.

239 And yet I have sometimes thought, that such People are in a Sort happy, that nothing can put out of Countenance with themselves, though they neither have nor merit other People's.

240. But at the same Time, one would wonder they should not feel the Blows they give themselves, or get from others, for this intolerable and ridiculous *Temper* ; nor shew any Concern at that, which makes others blush for, as well as at them (*viz.*) their unreasonable Assurance.

241 To be a Man's own Fool is bad enough, but the vain Man is *Every Body's*.

242 This silly Disposition comes of a Mixture of *Ignorance*, *Confidence* and *Pride* ; and as there is more or less of the last, so it is more or less offensive or Entertaining.

243 And yet Perhaps the worst Part of this Vanity is it's *Unteachableness*. Tell it any Thing, and it has known it long ago ; and out-runs Information and Instruction, or else proudly puffs at it.

244 Whereas the greatest Understandings doubt most, are readiest to learn, and least pleas'd with themselves ; this, with *no Body else*.

245 For tho' they stand on higher Ground, and so see farther than their Neighbours, they are yet humbled by their Prospect, since it shews them something, *so much higher* and above their Reach.

246. And truly then it is, that Sense shines with the greatest Beauty when it is set in *Humility*.

247 An *Humble Able Man* is a *Jewel* worth a Kingdom : It is often saved by him, as *Solomon's Poor Wise Man* did the City.

248 May we have more of them, or less Need of them.

249 *The Conformist*. It is reasonable to concur where Conscience does not forbid a Compliance ; for Conformity is at least a civil Virtue.

250 But we should only press it in Necessaries, the rest may prove a Snare or Temptation to break Society.

251 But above all, it is a Weakness in Religion and Government, where it is carried to Things of an indifferent Nature, since besides that it makes Way for Scruples, Liberty is always the Price of it.

252 Such Conformists have little to boast of, and therefore the less Reason to reproach others, that have more Latitude.

253 And yet the *Latitudinarian* that I love, is one that is only so in Charity

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urity, For the Freedom I recommend is no *Scepticism* in Judgment, and much less so in Practice.

254 *The Obligations of Great Men to almighty God.* It seems but reasonable that those whom God has distinguished from others, by his Goodness, should distinguish themselves to him by their Gratitude.

255 For tho' he has made of one Blood, all Nations, he has not ranged or dignified them upon the *Level*, but in a Sort of Subordination and Dependancy.

256 If we look upwards, we find it in the Heavens, where the *Planets* have their several Degrees of Glory, and so the other *Stars* of Magnitude and Lustre.

257 If we look upon the Earth, we see it among the Trees of the Wood, from the *Cedar* to the *Bramble*; among the *Fishes*, from the *Leviathan* to the *Sprat*; in the *Air* among the *Birds*, from the *Eagle* to the *Sparrow*; among the *Beasts*, from the *Lion* to the *Cat*; and among *Mankind*, from the *King* to the *Scavenger*.

258 Our Great Men, doubtless, were designed by the *Wise Framer* of the World, for our *Religious*, *Moral*, and *Politick* Planets, for *Lights* and *Directions* to the lower Ranks of the numerous Company of their own Kind, both in Precepts and Examples; and they are well paid for their Pains too, who have the Honour and Service of their Fellow-Creatures, and the *Marrow* and *Fat* of the Earth, for their Share.

259 But is it not a most unaccountable Folly, that Men should be *Proud*, of the Providences that should *Humble* them? Or think the better of themselves, instead of Him that raised them so much above the *Level*; or of being so in their Lives, in Return of his extraordinary Favours.

260 But it is but too near a-Kin to us, to think no farther than our selves, either in the Acquisition; or Use of our Wealth and Greatness; when, alas! they are the Preferments of Heaven, to try our Wisdom, Bounty and Gratitude.

261 'Tis a dangerous Perversion of the End of Providence, to consume the *Time*, *Power*, and *Wealth*, he has given us above other Men, to gratifie our *Sordid Passions*, instead of playing the good Stewards, to the Honour of our great Benefactor, and the Good of our Fellow-Creatures.

262 But it is an Injustice too; since those higher Ranks of Men, are but the *Trustees* of Heaven, for the Benefit of lesser Mortals, who, as *Minors*, are entrusted to all their Care and Provision:

263 For tho' God has dignified some Men above their Brethren, it never was to serve their Pleasures, but that they might take Pleasure to serve the Publick.

264 For this Cause, doubtless, it was that they were raised above Necessity, or any Trouble to live, that they might have more Time and Ability to care for others: And 'tis certain, where that Use is not made of the Bounties of Providence, they are *Imbezzell'd* and wasted.

265 It has often struck me with a serious Reflection, when I have observed the great Inequality of the World; that one Man should have such Numbers of his Fellow-Creatures, to wait upon him, who have Souls to be saved as well as he; and this not for Business, but *State*. Certainly a poor Employment of his Money, and a worse of their Time.

266 But that any one Man, should make Work for so many; or rather keep them from Work, to make up a *Train*, has a *Levity* or *Luxury* in it very reprobable, both in Religion and Government.

267 But even in allowable Services, it has an humbling Consideration, and what should raise the Thankfulness of the Great Men to him, that has so much bettered their Circumstances, and *moderated* the Use of their Dominion over those of their own Kind.

268 When the poor *Indians* hear us call any of our Family, by the Name of *Servants*, they cry out, *What, call Brethren Servants!* We call our *Dogs* Servants, but never *Men*. The *Moral* certainly can do us no Harm, but may instruct us, to abate our Height, and narrow our State and Attendance.

269 And

269 And what has been said of their Excess, may in some Measure be apply'd to other Branches of Luxury. that set ill *Examples* to the lesser World, and rob the Needy of their Pensions.

270 God Almighty touch the Hearts of our *Grandeess* with a Sense of his distinguished Goodness, and the true End of it; that they may better distinguish themselves in their Conduct, to the Glory of him that has thus liberally prefer'd them, and to the Benefit of their Fellow-Creatures:

271 *Of refining upon other Men's Actions or Interests* This seems to be the Matter-Piece of our Politicians: But no Body shoots more at Random, than those Refiners.

272 A perfect *Lottery*, and meer *Hap-Hazard*. Since the true Spring of the Actions of Men is as *invisible* as their Hearts; and so are their Thoughts too of their several Interests.

273 He that judges of other Men by himself, does not always hit the Mark, because all Men have not the same Capacity, nor *Passions* in Interest.

274 If an able Man refines upon the Proceedings of an ordinary Capacity, according to his own, he must ever miss it: But much more the Ordinary Man when he shall pretend to speculate the Motives to the Able Man's Actions: For the Able Man deceives himself, by making t'other Wiser than he is in the Reason of his Conduct; and the Ordinary Man makes himself so, in presuming to judge of the Reasons of the Abler Man's Actions.

275 'Tis in short, a Wood, a Maze, and of nothing are we more uncertain, nor in any Thing do we oftner bes fool our selves.

276 The Mischiefs are many that follow this Humour, and dangerous: For Men misguide themselves, act upon false Measures, and meet frequently with mischievous Disappointments.

277 It excludes all Confidence in Commerce; allows of no such Thing as a Principle in Practice; supposes every Man to act upon other Reasons than what appear, and that there is no such Thing as Uprightness or Sincerity among Mankind: A Trick instead of Truth.

278 Neither allowing Nature or Religion; but some Worldly Ferch or Advantage: The true, the hidden Motive to all Men to act or do.

279 'Tis hard to express it's Uncharitableness, as well as Uncertainty; and has more of Vanity than Benefit in it.

280 This Foolish Quality gives a large Field, but let what I have said, serve for this Time.

281. *Of Charity*. Charity has various Senses, but is Excellent in all of them.

282 It imports, first, the Commiseration of the Poor, and Unhappy of Mankind, and extends an Helping-Hand to mend their Condition.

283 They that feel nothing of this, are at best not above Half of Kin to Human Race; since they must have no Bowels, which makes such an Essential Part thereof, who have no more Nature.

284 A Man, and yet not have the Feeling of the Wants or Needs of his own Flesh and Blood! A *Monster* rather! And may he never be suffer'd to propagate such an unnatural Stock in the World.

285 Such an Uncharitableness spoils the best Gains, and two to one but it entails a Curse upon the Possessors.

286 Nor can we expect to be heard of God in our Prayers, that turn the Deaf Ear to the Petitions of the Distressed amongst our Fellow-Creatures.

287 God sends the Poor to try us, as well as he tries them by being such: And he that refuses them a Little out of the Great Deal that God has given him, Lays up Poverty in Store for his own Posterity.

288 I will not say these Works are *Meritorious*, but dare say they are *Acceptable*; and go not without their Reward: Tho' to humble us in our Fulness and Liberality too, we only Give but what is given us to Give as well as use; for if we are not our own, less is that so which God has intrusted us with.

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289 Next, *Charity* makes the best Construction of Things and Persons, and is so far from being an evil Spy, a Backbiter, or a Detractor, that it excuses Weakness, extenuates Miscarriages, makes the Best of every Thing, forgives every Body, serves All, and hopes to the End.

290 It moderates Extreames, is always for Expedients, labours to accommodate Differences, and had rather Suffer than Revenge: And is so far from exacting the utmost Farthing, that it had rather lose, than seek her own violently.

291 As it acts Freely, so Zealously too; but 'tis always to Do Good, for it hurts No Body.

292 An Universal Remedy against Discord, and an Holy Cement for Mankind.

293 And Lastly, 'Tis Love to God and the Brethren, which raises the Soul above all Worldly Considerations; and, as it gives a Taste of Heaven upon Earth, so 'tis Heaven in the Fulness of it, to the truly Charitable here.

294 This is the Noblest Sense Charity has, after which all should press, as that more excellent Way.

295 Nay, most excellent; for as Faith, Hope and Charity were the more excellent Way that Great Apostle discovered to the Christians (too apt to stick in Outward Gifts and Church Performances) so of that better Way he prefer'd Charity as the best Part, because it would out-last the rest, and abide for ever.

296 Wherefore a Man can never be a True and Good Christian without Charity, even in the lowest Sense of it; and yet he may have that Part thereof, and still be none of the *Apostle's True Christian*, since he tells us, *That tho' we should give all our Goods to the Poor, and want Charity (in her other and higher Senses) it would profit us nothing.*

297 Nay, *Tho' we had All Tongues, All Knowledge, and even Gifts of Prophecy, and were Preachers to others, ay, and had Zeal enough to give our Bodies to be burned, yet if we wanted Charity, it would not avail us for Salvation.*

298 It seems it was his (and indeed ought to be our) *Unum Necessarium*, or the One Thing Needful, which our Saviour attributed to *Mary*, in Preference to her Sister *Martha*, that seems not to have wanted the lesser Parts of Charity.

299 Would God this Divine Virtue were more implanted and diffused among Mankind, the Pretenders to *Christianity* especially, and we should certainly mind *Piety more than Controversy, and Exercise Love and Compassion instead of Censuring and Persecuting one another in any Manner whatsoever.*

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A Brief ACCOUNT of the Rise and Progress of the People, call'd QUAKERS.

I N

Which their Fundamental Principle, Doctrines, Worship, Ministry and Discipline are Plainly Declared, &c.

By W. PENN.

AN EPISTLE to the Reader.

READER, this Following Account of the People called Quakers, &c. was writ in the Fear and Love of God: First as a standing Testimony to that ever Blessed Truth, in the Inward Parts, with which God, in my Youth

full

ful Time, visited my Soul, and for the Sense and Love of which I was made willing, in no ordinary Way, to relinquish the Honours and Interests of the World. Secondly, as a Testimony for that despised People, that God has in his Great Mercy gathered and united by his own blessed Spirit in the Holy Profession of it; whose Fellowship I value above all Worldly Greatness. Thirdly, in Love and Honour to the Memory of that Worthy Servant of God, G. Fox, the first Instrument thereof, and therefore styled by me the Great and Blessed Apostle of our Day. As this gave Birth to what is here presented to thy View, in the first Edition of it, by way of Preface to G. F's excellent Journal; so the Consideration of the present usefulness of the following Account of the People called Quakers, (by reason of the unjust Reflections of some Adversaries that once walked under the Profession of Friends) and the Exhortations that conclude it, prevailed with me to consent that it should be republished in a smaller Volume, knowing also full well that Great Books, especially in these Days, grow Burthenfome, both to the Pockets and Minds of too many; and that there are not a few that desire (so it be at an easie rate) to be inform'd about this People, that have been so much every where spoken against: But, blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, it is upon no worse Grounds than it was said of old Time, of the Primitive Christians; as I hope will appear to every Sober and Considerate Reader. Our Business after all the ill usage we have met with, being the Realities of Religion, an effectual Change before our last and great change: That all may come to an inward, Sensible and Experimental Knowledge of God, through the Convictions and Operations of the Light and Spirit of Christ in themselves; the sufficient and blessed Means given to all, that thereby all may come savingly to know the only true God and Jesus Christ whom he hath sent to Enlighten and Redeem the World. Which Knowledge is indeed Eternal Life. And that thou, Reader, may'st obtain it, is the earnest Desire of him that is ever

Thine in so good a Work, W. P.

A

Brief ACCOUNT, &c.

CHAP. I.

Containing a brief Account of divers Dispensations of God in the World, to the Time he was pleased to raise this Despised People, call'd Quakers.

DIVERS have been the Dispensations of God since the Creation of the World unto the Sons of Men; But the Great End of all of them has been the Renown of his own Excellent Name in the Creation and Restoration of Man: Man, the Emblem of himself, as a God on Earth, and the Glory of all his Works. The World began with Innocency: All was then good that the good God had made: And as he blessed the Works of his Hands, so their Natures and Harmony magnified Him their Creator. Then the Morning Stars Sang together for Joy, and all Parts of his Works said *Amen* to his Law. Not a Jarr in the whole Frame; but Man in Paradise, the Beasts in the Field, the Fowl in the Air, the Fish in the Sea, the Lights in the Heavens, the Fruits of the Earth; yea, the Air, the Earth, the Water and Fire Worshipped, praised and exalted his Power, Wisdom and Goodness. O Holy Sabbath, O Holy Day to the Lord!

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But this Happy State lasted not long: For Man, the Crown and Glory of the whole; being tempted to aspire above his Place, unhappily yielded against Command and Duty, as well as Interest and Felicity, and so fell below it; lost the Divine Image, the Wisdom, Power and Purity he was made in. By which, being no longer fit for Paradise, he was expelled that Garden of God, his proper Dwelling and Residence, and was driven out, as a poor Vagabond, from the Presence of the Lord, to wander in the Earth, the Habitation of Beasts.

Yet God that made him had Pity on him; for he seeing Man was deceived, and that it was not of Malice, or an *Original Presumption* in him, but through the Subtily of the Serpent (who had first fallen from his own State, and by the Mediation of the Woman, Man's own Nature and Companion, whom the Serpent had first deluded) in his Infinite Goodness and Wisdom found out a Way to repair the Breach, Recover the Loss, and Restore fallen Man again by a *Nobler and more Excellent Adam*, promised to be born of a Woman; that as by Means of a Woman the Evil One had prevailed upon Man, by a Woman also He should come into the World, who would prevail against him and *bruise his Head*, and deliver Man from his Power: And which, in a signal Manner, by the Dispensation of the Son of God in the Flesh, in the Fulness of Time, was Personally and Fully accomplished by him, and in him, as Man's Saviour and Redeemer.

But his Power was not limited, in the Manifestation of it, to that Time; for both before and since his blessed Manifestation in the Flesh, he has been the *Light and Life*, the *Rock and Strength*, of all that ever feared God: Was present with them in their Temptations, followed them in their Travels and Afflictions, and supported and carried them through and over the Difficulties that have attended them in their Earthly Pilgrimage. By this *Abel's* Heart excelled *Cain's*, and *Seth* obtained the Preheminence, and *Enoch* walked with God. It was this that strove with the Old World, and which they rebelled against, and which sanctified and instructed *Noah* to Salvation.

But the outward Dispensation that followed the benighted State of Man, after his Fall, especially among the *Patriarchs*, was generally that of *Angels*; as the Scriptures of the Old Testament do in many Places express, as to *Abraham, Jacob, &c.* The next was that of the Law by *Moses*, which was also delivered by *Angels*, as the Apostle tells us. This Dispensation was much outward, and suited to a low and servile State; called therefore by the Apostle *Paul*, that of a *School-Master*, which was to point out and prepare that People to look and long for the *Messiah*, who would deliver them from the Servitude of a Ceremonious and imperfect Dispensation, by knowing the Realities of those Mysterious Representations in themselves. In this Time the Law was written on Stone, the Temple built with Hands, attended with an outward *Priesthood* and *External Rites* and Ceremonies, that were *Shadows of the Good Things that were to come*, and were only to serve till the Seed came, or the more excellent and general Manifestation of Christ, to whom was the Promise, and to all Men only in him, in whom it was *yea and Amen*, even Life from Death, *Immortality and Eternal Life*.

This the *Prophets* foresaw; and comforted the believing *Jews* in the certainty of it; which was the Top of the *Mosaic Dispensation*, and which ended in *John's* Ministry, the Fore-runner of the *Messiah*, as *John's* was finished in him, the Fulness of all. And then God, that at sundry Times, and in divers Manners had spoken to the Fathers by his Servants the Prophets, Spoke to Men by his Son *Christ Jesus, Who is Heir of all Things*; being the Gospel-Day, which is the Dispensation of Sonship; bringing in thereby a nearer Testament and a better Hope; even the Beginning of the Glory of the latter Days, and of the Restitution of all Things; yea, the *Restoration of the Kingdom unto Israel*.

Now the Spirit that was more sparingly communicated in former Dispensations, began to be *Poured forth upon all Flesh*, according to the Prophet *Joel*, and the *Light that shined in Darknes*, or but dimly before, the most gracious God caused to *Shine out of Darknes*, and the Day-star began to

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arise in the Hearts of Believers, giving unto them the Knowledge of God in the Face (or Appearance) of his Son Christ Jesus.

Now the *Poor in Spirit*, the *Meek*, the true *Mourners*, the *Hungry and Thirsty after Righteousness*, the *Peace-makers*, the *Pure in Heart*, the *Merciful and Persecuted*, came more especially in Remembrance before the Lord, and were sought out and blessed by *Israel's True Shepherd*. *Old Jerusalem* with her Children grew out of Date, and the *New Jerusalem* into Request, the Mother of the Sons of the Gospel-Day. Wherefore no more at *Old Jerusalem*, nor at the *Mountain of Samaria*, will God be Worshipped above other Places; for, behold, he is, by his own Son, declared and preached a Spirit, and that he will be known as such, and worshipped in the Spirit and in the Truth! He will now come nearer than of old Time, and he will write his Law in the Heart, and put his Fear and Spirit in the inward Parts, according to his promise. Then *Signs, Types and Shadows* flew away, the Day having discovered their Insufficiency in not reaching to the inside of the Cup, to the cleansing of the Conscience; and all Elementary Services were expired in and by him that is the Substance of all.

And to this Great and Blessed End of the Dispensation of the Son of God, did the Apostles Testifie, whom he had chosen and anointed by his Spirit, to turn the *Jews* from their Prejudice and Superstition, and the *Gentiles* from their Vanity and Idolatry, to Christ's *Light and Spirit* that shined in them; that they might be quickened from the Sins and Trespasses in which they were dead, to serve the Living God, in the *Newness* of the Spirit of Life, and walk as Children of the *Light*, and of the Day, even the Day of Holiness: For such put on Christ, the Light of the World, and make no more Provision for the Flesh, to fulfil the Lusts thereof. So that the *Light, Spirit, and Grace*, that come by Christ, and appear in Man, were that *Divine Principle*, the Apostles ministred from, and turned People's Minds unto, and in which they gathered and built up the Churches of Christ in their Day. For which cause they advise them not to quench the Spirit, but to wait for the Spirit, and Speak by the Spirit, and Pray by the Spirit, and Walk in the Spirit too, as that which approved them, the truly begotten Children of God; *Born not of Flesh and Blood, or of the Will of Man, but of the Will of God*; by doing His Will, and denying their own; by drinking of Christ's Cup, and being baptized with His Baptism of Self-denial; the Way and Path that all the Heirs of Life have ever trod to Blessedness. But alas! even in the Apostles Days, those bright Stars of the first Magnitude of the Gospel Light, some Clouds, foretelling an Eclipse of this Primitive Glory, began to appear, and several of them gave early Caution of it to the Christians of their Time, that even then there was, and yet would be more and more, a falling away from the Power of Godliness, and the Purity of that Spiritual Dispensation, by such as sought to make a fair shew in the Flesh, but with whom the Offence of the Cross ceased. Yet with this comfortable Conclusion, that they saw beyond it a more glorious Time than ever to the true Church. Their sight was true, and what they foretold to the Churches, gathered by them in the Name and Power of Jesus, came to pass: For Christians degenerated apace into outsidings, as *Days and Meats*, and divers other Ceremonies. And which was worse, they fell into *Strife and Contention* about them; *Separating* one from another, then *Envy*ing, and, as they had Power, *Persecuting* one another to the shame and scandal of their common Christianity, and grievous stumbling and Offence of the *Heathen*; among whom the Lord had so long and so marvellously preserved them. And having got at last the *Worldly Power* into their Hands, by Kings and Emperors embracing the Christian Profession, they changed, what they could, the Kingdom of Christ, which is not of this World, into a *Worldly Kingdom*; or at least stiled the *Worldly Kingdom* that was in their Hands the *Kingdom of Christ*, and so they became *Worldly*, and not true Christians. Then *Humane Inventions and Novelties*, both in Doctrine and Worship, crouded fast into the Church; a Door opened thereunto, by the Grossness and Carnality that appeared then among the

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Generality of Christians, who had long since left the Guidance of God's meek and heavenly Spirit, *and given themselves up to Superstition, Worship, and Voluntary Humility.* And as Superstition is Blind, so it is Heady and Furious, for all must stoop to it's blind and boundless Zeal or Perish by it: *In the Name of the Spirit,* persecuting the very Appearance of the Spirit of God in others, and opposing that in others, which they resisted in themselves, *viz. the Light, Grace and Spirit of the Lord Jesus Christ;* but always under the *Notion of Innovation, Herefie, Schism, or some such plausible Name.* Though Christianity allows of no Name, or Pretence whatever, for persecuting of any Man for Matters of meer Religion, being in it's very Nature, *Meek, Gentle, and Forbearing;* and consists of *Faith, Hope and Charity, which no Persecutor can have, whilst he remains a Persecutor;* in that a Man cannot believe well, or hope well, or have a Charitable or Tender Regard to another, whilst he would violate his Mind, or persecute his Body for Matters of Faith or Worship towards his God.

Thus the *False Church* sprang up, and mounted the Chair: But though she lost her Nature, she would needs keep her Good Name of the *Lamb's-Bride, the True Church, and Mother of the Faithful:* Constraining all to receive her Mark, either in their Forehead, or Right Hand; that is, publicly, or privately. But indeed and in Truth she was *Mystery Babylon, the Mother of Harlots, Mother of those that, with all their Show and Outside of Religion, were adulterated and gone from the Spirit, Nature and Life of Christ, and grown Vain, Worldly, Ambitious, Covetous, Cruel, &c.* which are the Fruits of the Flesh, and not of the Spirit.

Now it was, *That the True Church fled into the Wilderiness,* that is, from *Superstition and Violence, to a Retired, Solitary, and Lonely State;* hidden, and as it were, out of Sight of Men, though not out of the World. Which shows that her wanted Visibilty was not Essential to the Being of a True Church in the Judgment of the Holy Ghost; *She being as True a Church in the Wilderiness, tho' not as Visible and Lustrious, as when she was in her former Splendor of Profession.* In this State many Attempts she made to return, but the Waters were yet too high, and her Way blocked up, and many of her excellent Children, in several Nations and Centuries, fell by the Cruelty of Superstition, *because they would not fall from their Faithfulness to the Truth.*

The last Age did set some Steps towards it, both as to Doctrine, Worship and Practice. But Practice quickly failed; for Wickedness flow'd in a little Time, as well among the *Professors of the Reformation,* as those they Reformed from; so that by the Fruits of Conversation they were not to be distinguished. And the Children of the Reformers, if not the Reformers themselves, betook themselves, very early, to *Earthly Policy and Power,* to uphold and carry on their Reformation that had been begun with *Spiritual Weapons;* which I have often thought, has been one of the greatest Reasons the Reformation made no better Progress, *as to the Life and Soul of Religion.* For whilst the Reformers were Lowly and Spiritually Minded, and trusted in God, and lookt to him, and lived in his Fear, and consulted not with Flesh and Blood, nor sought Deliverance in their own Way, there were daily added to the Church, such as one might reasonable say should be saved: For they were not so careful to be safe from Persecution, as to be faithful and inoffensive under it: Being more concerned to spread the Truth by their Faith and Patience in *Tribulation,* than to get the Worldly Power out of their Hands that inflicted those Sufferings upon them: And it will be well if the Lord suffer them not to fall, by the very same Way they took to stand.

In Doctrine they were in some Things short; in other Things, to avoid one Exream, they ran into another: And for Worship, there was for the Generality, more of Man in it than of God. They owned the Spirit, Inspiration and Revelation indeed, and grounded their Separation and Reformation upon the Sense and Understanding they received from it, in the Reading of the Scriptures of Truth. And this was their Plea, *The Scripture is*
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the Text, the Spirit the Interpreter, and that to every one for himself. But yet there was too much of Humane Invention, Tradition and Art, that remained both in Praying and Preaching; and of Worldly Authority, and Worldly Greatness in their Ministers; especially in this Kingdom, *Sweden, Denmark, and some Parts of Germany.* God was therefore pleased in *England* to shift us from Vessel to Vessel: And the next Remove *humbled* the Ministry, so that they were more Strict in Preaching, Devout in Praying, and Zealous for keeping the Lord's Day, and Catechizing of Children and Servants, and Repeating at Home in their Families, what they had heard in Publick. But even as these grew into Power, they were not only for *Whipping* some out, but others into the Temple: And they appeared *Rigid in their Spirits*, rather than Severe in their Lives, and more for a Party than for Piety: Which brought forth another People, that were yet more retired and select.

They would not Communicate at large, or in common with others; but formed Churches among themselves of such as could give some Account of their Conversion, at least, of very promising Experiences of the Work of God's Grace upon their Hearts; and under mutual Agreements and Covenants of Fellowship, they kept together. These People were somewhat of a softer Temper, and seemed to recommend Religion by the Charms of it's Love, Mercy and Goodness, rather than by the Terrors of it's Judgments and Punishments; by which the former Party would have awed People into Religion.

They also allowed *Greater Liberty* to Prophecy than those before them; for they admitted any Member to Speak or Pray, as well as their Pastor, whom they always chose, and not the Civil Magistrate. *If such found any Thing pressing upon them to either Duty, even without the Distinction of Clergy or Laity, Persons of any Trade had their Liberty, be it never so Low and Mechanical.* But alas! Even these People suffered great Loss: For tasting of *Worldly Empire*, and the *Favour of Princes*, and the *Gain* that ensued, they degenerated but too much. For though they had cried down National Churches and Ministry, and Maintenance too, some of them, when it was their own Turn to be tried, fell under the Weight of Worldly Honour and Advantage, got into profitable Parsonages too much, and outlived and contradicted their own Principles: And, which was yet worse, turned, some of them, *Absolute Persecutors of other Men for God's Sake*, that but so lately came themselves out of the Furnace; which drove many a Step farther, and that was into the Water: *Another Baptism*, as believing they were not *Scripturally Baptized*; and hoping to find that Presence and Power of God in submitting to this Watery Ordinance, which they desired and wanted.

These People also made Profession of Neglecting, if not Renouncing and Censuring, not only the Necessity, but Use of all Human Learning, as to the Ministry; and all other Qualifications to it, besides the *Helps and Gifts of the Spirit of God*, and those Natural and common to Men. And for a Time they seemed like *John of Old, A Burning and a Shining Light to other Societies.*

They were very Diligent, Plain and Serious; Strong in Scripture, and bold in Profession; bearing much Reproach and Contradiction. But that which others fell by, proved their Snare. For Worldly Power spoiled them too; who had enough of it to try them what they would do if they had more: And they relied also too much upon their Watery Dispensation, instead of passing on more fully to that of the *Fire and Holy Ghost, which was His Baptism, who came with a Fan in his Hand, that he might thoroughly (and not in Part only) Purge his Floor, and take away the Dross and the Tin of his People, and make a Man Finer than Gold.* Withal, they grew High, Rough, and Self-Righteous; opposing farther Attainment: Too much forgetting the Day of their Infancy and Littleness, which gave them something of a real Beauty; insomuch that many left them, and all Visible Churches and Societies, and *Wandred up and down, as Sheep without a Shepherd, and as*

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Doves without their Mates ; seeking their Beloved but could not find Him (as their Souls desired to know Him) whom their Souls loved above their Chiefest Joy.

These People were called *Seekers* by some, and the *Family of Love* by others ; because, as they came to the Knowledge of one another, they sometimes met together, not formally to Pray or Preach at appointed Times or Places, in their own Wills, as in Times past they were accustomed to do ; but waited together in *Silence*, and as any Thing rose in any one of their Minds that they thought Savoured of a Divine Spring, they sometimes Spoke. But so it was, that some of them not keeping in Humility, and in the *Fear of God*, after the Abundance of Revelation, were exalted *Above Measure* ; and for want of staying their Minds in an humble Dependence upon Him that opened their Understandings, *To see Great Things in his Law*, they ran out in their own Imaginations, and mixing them with those Divine Openings, brought forth a Monstrous Birth, to the Scandal of those that feared God, and waited Daily in the Temple, not made with Hands, for the Consolation of *Israel* ; the *Jew* inward, and Circumcision in Spirit.

This People obtained the Name of *Ranters*, from their extravagant Discourses and Practices. For they interpreted Christ's fulfilling of the Law for us, to be a discharging of us from any Obligation and Duty the Law required of us, instead of the Condemnation of the Law for Sins past, upon Faith and Repentance : And that now it was no Sin to do that which before it was a Sin to commit ; the Slavish Fear of the Law being taken off by Christ, and all Things Good that Man did, if he did but do them with the Mind and Persuasion that it was so. Inasmuch that divers fell into Gross and Enormous Practices ; pretending in Excuse thereof, that they could, *without Evil*, commit the same Act which was *Sin* in another to do ; thereby distinguishing between the *Action* and the *Evil* of it, by the Direction of the Mind, and Intention in the doing of it. Which was to make Sin superabound by the *Aboundings of Grace*, and to turn from the Grace of God into Wantonness ; a securer Way of Sinning than before : As if Christ came not to save us from our Sins, but in our Sins ; not to take away Sin, but that we might Sin more freely at his Cost, and with less Danger to our selves. I say, this ensnared diverse, and brought them to an utter and lamentable Loss as to their Eternal State ; and they grew very troublesome to the *Better Sort of People*, and furnished the Loofer with an Occasion to Prophane.

CHAP. II.

Of the Rise of this PEOPLE, their Fundamental Principle, and Doctrine, and Practice, in Twelve Points resulting from it : Their Progress and Sufferings : An Expostulation with England thereupon.

IT was about that very Time, as you may see in G. F.'s Annals, that the Eternal, Wise, and Good God, was pleased, in his Infinite Love to Honour and Visit this *Benighted and Bewildred Nation*, with *His Glorious Day-spring from on High* ; yea, with a most Sure and certain Sound of the Word of Light and Life, through the Testimony of a Chosen Vessel, to an Effectual and Blessed Purpose, can many Thousands say, *Glory be to the Name of the Lord for ever.*

For as it reached the Conscience, and broke the Heart, and brought many to a Sense and Search, so that which People had been vainly seeking Without, with much Pains and Cost, they by this Ministry, found Within, where it was they wanted what they sought for, viz. *The Right Way to Peace with God.* For they were directed to the Light of Jesus Christ Within them, as the Seed and Leaven of the Kingdom of God ; Near All, because in All, and God's Talent to All : A Faithful and True Witness, and Just Monitor

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in every Bosom. The Gift and Grace of God, to Life and Salvation, that appears to all, though few regard it. This the Traditional Christian, conceited of himself, and strong in his own Will and Righteousness, overcome with *blind Zeal and Passion*, either despised as a *low and common Thing*, or opposed as a *Novelty*, under many hard Names, and opprobrious Terms, denying, in his ignorant and angry Mind, any fresh Manifestations of God's Power and Spirit in Man, in these Days, though never more needed to make true Christians. Not unlike those *Jews* of old, that rejected the Son of God, at the very same Time that they blindly professed to wait for the *Messiah* to come; because, alas! he appeared not among them according to their Carnal Mind and Expectation.

This brought forth many abusive Books, which filled the greater Sort with *Envy*, and lesser with *Rage*; and made the Way and Progress of this Blessed Testimony *Straight and Narrow* indeed to those that received it. However, God owned his own Work, and this Testimony did *effectually* Reach, Gather, Comfort and Establish the *Weary and Heavy Laden*, the *Hungry and Thirsty*, the *Poor and Needy*, the *Mournful and Sick*, of many *Maladies*, that had spent all upon Physicians of no Value, and waited for Relief from *Heaven*; Help only from above: Seeing, upon a serious Trial of all Things, nothing else would do but *Christ Himself*; the *Light of his Countenance*, a *Touch of his Garment*, and *Help from his Hand*; who cured the poor Woman's Issue, raised the *Centurion's* Servant, the Widow's Son, the Ruler's Daughter, and *Peter's* Mother: And like her, they no sooner felt his Power and Efficacy upon their Souls, but they gave up to obey him in a *Testimony* to his Power; and that with *resigned Wills and faithful Hearts*, through all *Mockings, Contradictions, Confiscations, Beatings, Prisoners*, and many other *Jeopardies* that attended them for his Blessed Name's Sake.

And truly they were very many, and very great; so that in all Human Probability they must have been swallowed up *Quick* of the Proud and Boisterous Waves that swelled and beat against them, but that the God of all their tender Mercies was with them in his glorious Authority; so that the Hills often Fled, and the Mountains melted before the Power that fill'd them; working mightily for them, as well as in them, one ever following the other. By which they saw plainly, to their exceeding great Confirmation and Comfort, that *all Things* were possible with him with whom they had to do. And that the more that which God required seemed to cross Man's Wisdom, and expose them to Man's Wrath, the more God appeared to help and carry them through all to his Glory.

Insomuch that if ever any People could say in Truth, *Thou art our Sun and our Shield, our Rock and Sanctuary; and by thee we have leaped over a Wall, and by thee we have run through a Troop, and by thee we have put the Armies of the Aliens to Flight*, these People had Right to say it. And as God had deliver'd their Souls of the wearisome Burdens of Sin and Vanity, and enrich'd their Poverty of Spirit, and satisfied their great Hunger and Thirst after Eternal Righteousness, and filled them with the good Things of his own House, and made them *Stewards* of his Manifold Gifts; so they went forth to all Quarters of these Nations, to declare to the Inhabitants thereof, *what God had done for them*; what they had found, and where and how they had found it, *viz. The Way to Peace with God*: Inviting all to come, and see, and taste, for themselves, the Truth of what they declared unto them.

And as their Testimony was to the *Principle of God in Man*, the *Precious Pearl and Leaven of the Kingdom*, as the only blessed Means appointed of God, to Quicken, Convince and Sanctify Man; so they open'd to them what it was in it self, and what it was given to them for: How they might know it from their own Spirit, and that of the Subtle Appearance of the Evil One: And what it would do for all those whose Minds should be turned off from the Vanity of the World, and its *Lifeless Ways and Teachers*, and adhere to his Blessed Light in themselves, which discovers and

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condemns Sin in all it's Appearances, and shews how to overcome it, if minded and obeyed in it's Holy Manifestations and Convictions: Giving Power to such to avoid and resist those Things that do not please God, and to grow strong in Love, Faith, and Good Works. That so Man, whom Sin hath made as a *Wilderness*, over-run with Briars and Thorns, might become as the *Garden* of God, cultivated by his Divine Power, and replenish'd with the most Virtuous and Beautiful Plants of God's own Right Hand Planting, to his Eternal Praise.

But these Experimental Preachers of Glad Tydings of God's Truth and Kingdom, could not run when they List, or Pray or Preach when they Pleas'd, *But as Christ their Redeemer prepared and moved them by his own Blessed Spirit*, for which they waited in their Services and Meetings, and Spoke as that gave them Utterance; and which was as those having Authority, and not like the Dreaming, Dry and Formal Pharisees. And so it plainly appeared to the Serious-minded, whose Spiritual Eye the Lord Jesus had in any Measure opened: So that to one was given the Word of *Exhortation*, to another the Word of *Reproof*, to another the Word of *Consolation*, and all by the same Spirit, and in the good Order thereof, to the Convincing and Edifying of many.

And truly they waxed Strong and Bold through Faithfulness; and by the Power and Spirit of the Lord Jesus became very Fruitful; Thousands, in a short Time, being turned to the Truth in the Inward Parts, through their Testimony, in Ministry and Sufferings: Inasmuch as in most Counties, and many of the considerable Towns of England, Meetings were settled, and daily there were added such as should be saved. For they were Diligent to Plant and to Water, and the Lord blessed their Labours with an *Exceeding great Increase*; notwithstanding all the Opposition made to their Blessed Progress, by false Rumours, Calumnies and bitter Persecutions; not only from the Powers of the Earth, but from every one that lifted to injure and abuse them: So that they seem'd indeed to be as *poor Sheep appointed to the Slaughter*, and as a People killed all the Day long.

It were fitter for a Volume than a Preface, but so much as to repeat the Contents of their cruel Sufferings from Professors as well as from Profane, and from Magistrates as well as the Rabble: That it may be said of this Abused and Despised People, they went forth Weeping and sowed in Tears, bearing Testimony to the Precious Seed, even the Seed of the Kingdom, which stands not in Words; the Finest, the Highest that Man's Wit can use, but in Power: The Power of Christ Jesus, to whom God the Father hath given all Power in Heaven and in Earth, that he might rule Angels above, and Men below. Who impow'rd them, as their Work witnesseth, by the many that were turned, through their Ministry, from Darkness to the Light, and out of the Broad into the Narrow Way of Life and Peace; bringing People to a Weighty, Serious and God-like Conversation; the Practice of that Doctrine which they taught.

And as without this Secret Divine Power there is no Quickening and Regenerating of dead Souls, so the Want of this Generating and Begetting Power and Life, is the Cause of the little Fruit that the many Ministries that have been and are in the World, bring forth. O that both Ministers and People were sensible of this! My Soul is often troubled for them, and Sorrow and Mourning compass me about for their Sakes. O that they were wise! O that they would consider, and lay to Heart the Things that truly and substantially make for their lasting Peace!

Two Things are to be considered, the Doctrine they taught, and the Example they led among all People. I have already touch'd upon their Fundamental Principle, which is as the Corner Stone of their Fabrick: And indeed, to speak eminently and properly, their Characteristick, or main distinguishing Point or Principle, viz. the Light of Christ within, as God's Gift for Man's Salvation. This, I say, is as the Root of the goodly Tree of Doctrines that grew and branched out from it, which I shall now mention in their Natural and Experimental Order.

First

First, *Repentance from Dead Works to serve the Living God.* Which comprehends three Operations. First, A *Sight* of Sin. Secondly, A *Sense* and *Godly Sorrow* for Sin. Thirdly, An *Amendment* for the Time to come. This was the Repentance they preached and pressed, and a Natural Result from the Principle they turned all People unto. For of Light came *Sight*; and of Sight came *Sense* and *Sorrow*; and of Sense and Sorrow, came *Amendment of Life*. Which Doctrine of Repentance leads to *Justification*; that is, *Forgiveness of the Sins that are past, through Christ the alone Propitiation, and the Sanctification or Purgation of the Soul*, from the defiling Nature and Habits of Sin *Present*, by the Spirit of Christ in the Soul; Which is Justification in the *complete* Sense of that Word: Comprehending both Justification from the *Guilt* of the Sins that are past, as if they had never been committed, through the Love and Mercy of God in Christ Jesus; and the Creatures being made inwardly just through the *Cleansing* and *Sanctifying* Power and Spirit of Christ revealed in the Soul; which is commonly called *Sanctification*. But that none can come to know Christ to be their Sacrifice that reject him as their Sanctifier. The End of his Coming being to save his People from the *Nature* and *Defilement*, as well as *Guilt* of Sin; and that therefore those that resist his Light and Spirit, make his Coming and Offering of none Effect to them.

From hence sprang a *Second* Doctrine they were led to declare, as the *Mark of the Price of the High Calling* to all true Christians, viz. *Perfection from Sin*, according to the Scriptures of Truth; which testify it to be the End of Christ's Coming, and the *Nature* of his Kingdom, and for which his Spirit was and is given, viz. to be *Perfect as our Heavenly Father is Perfect, and Holy because God is Holy*. And this the Apostles laboured for, *That the Christians should be Sanctified Throughout in Body, Soul and Spirit*. But they never held a Perfection in *Wisdom* and *Glory* in this Life, or from *Natural Infirmities*, or *Death*, as some have, with a weak or ill Mind, imagined and insinuated against them.

This they called a Redeemed State, Re-generation, or the New-Birth: Teaching every where according to their *Foundation*, that without this Work were known, there was no inheriting the Kingdom of God.

Thirdly, This leads to an Acknowledgment of *Eternal Rewards and Punishments*, as they have good Reason; for else, of all People, certainly they must be the most *Miserable*; Who, for above *Forty Years*, have been exceeding great Sufferers for their Profession; and, in some Cases, treated worse than the worst of Men; yea, as the *Refuse* and *Off-scouring* of all Things.

This was the *Purport* of their Doctrine and Ministry; which, for the most Part, is what other Professors of Christianity pretend to hold in Words and Forms, but not in the Power of Godliness; which, generally speaking, has been long lost by Men's departing from that *Principle and Seed of Life* that is in Man, and which Man has not regarded, but lost the Sense of; and in and by which he can only be quick'ned in his Mind to serve the Living God in *Newness of Life*. For as the Life of Religion was lost, and the Generality liv'd and worshipp'd God after their own Wills, and not after the Will of God, nor the Mind of Christ, which stood in the Works and Fruits of the *Holy Spirit*; so that which they prest, was not *Notion*, but *Experience*; no *Formality*, but *Godliness*; as being sensible in themselves, through the Work of God's Righteous Judgments, that *without Holiness, no Man shall ever see the Lord*, with Comfort.

Besides these General Doctrines, as the larger Branches, there sprang forth several particular Doctrines, that did *exemplify* and *farther explain* the Truth and Efficacy of the General Doctrine before observ'd, in their Lives and Examples. As,

1. *Communion and loving one another.* This is a noted Mark in the Mouth of all Sorts of People concerning them. *They will meet, They will help and stick one to another,* Whence it is common to hear some say, *Look how the Quakers,*

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Quakers love and take Care of one another. Others, less moderate, will say, *The Quakers love none but themselves* : And if loving one another, and having an Intimate Communion in Religion, and constant Care to meet to worship God, and help one another, be any Mark of Primitive Christianity, they had it, blessed be the Lord, in an ample Manner.

II. *To love Enemies.* This they both Taught and Practised. For they did not only refuse to be revenged for Injuries done them, and condemned it as of an Unchristian Spirit, but they did *freely forgive* ; yea, *help and Relieve* those that had been *Cruel* to them, when it was in their Power to have been even with them : Of which many and singular Instances might be given : Endeavouring, through Faith and Patience, to overcome all Injustice and Oppression, and preaching this Doctrine as *Christian*, for others to follow.

III. Another was, *The Sufficiency of Truth-speaking*, according to Christ's own Form of sound Words, of *Yea, Yea, and Nay, Nay*, among Christians, *without Swearing* ; both from Christ's express Prohibition, *to Swear at all*, Mat. 5. and for that they being under the Tie and Bond of Truth in themselves, there was no Necessity for an Oath ; and it would be a Reproach to their Christian Veracity to assure their Truth by such an extraordinary Way of Speaking ; simple and uncompounded Answers, as *Yea and Nay*, (without Asseverations, Attestations, or Supernatural Vouchers) being most suitable to Evangelical Righteousness. But offering at the same Time to be punished to the full, for False-speaking, as others for Perjury, if ever Guilty of it : And hereby they exclude with all True, all False and Profane Swearing ; for which the Land did and doth Mourn, and the Great God was, and is not a little offended with it.

IV. *Not Fighting, but Suffering*, is another Testimony peculiar to this People : They affirm that Christianity teacheth People *To beat their Swords into Plough-Shares, and their Spears into Pruning-Hooks, and to learn War no more, that so the Wolf may lie down with the Lamb, and the Lyon with the Calf, and nothing that destroys be entertained in the Hearts of People* : Exhorting them to employ their Zeal against Sin, and turn their Anger against Satan, and no longer war one against another ; because *all Wars and Fightings come of Men's own Hearts Lusts*, according to the Apostle James, and not of the Meek Spirit of Christ Jesus, who is Captain of *another Warfare*, and which is carried on with *other Weapons*. Thus, as *Truth-speaking* succeeded *Swearing*, so *Faith and Patience* succeeded *Fighting*, in the Doctrine and Practice of this People. Nor ought they for this to be obnoxious to Civil Government, since if they cannot Fight for it, *neither can they fight against it* ; which is no mean Security to any State. Nor is it reasonable that People should be blam'd for not doing more for others than they can do for themselves. And, Christianity set aside, if the Costs and Fruits of War were well consider'd, Peace, with all it's Inconveniencies, is generally preferable. But though they were not for Fighting, they were for *submitting to Government* ; and that, *not only for Fear, but for Conscience-sake* ; where Government doth not interfere with Conscience ; Believing it to be an Ordinance of God, and where it is justly administered, a great Benefit to Mankind. Tho' it has been their Lot, through blind Zeal in some, and Interest in others, to have felt the *Strokes* of it with greater Weight and Rigour than any other Persuasion in this Age ; whilst they of all others, Religion set aside, have given the Civil Magistrate the least Occasion of Trouble in the Discharge of his Office.

V. Another Part of the Character of this People was, and is, *They refuse to pay Tithes or Maintenance to a National Ministry* ; and that for two Reasons : The one is, They believe all *compelled Maintenance*, even to Gospel-Ministers, to be Unlawful, because expressly contrary to Christ's Command, who said, *Freely you have received, freely give* : At least, that the Maintenance of Gospel-Ministers should be free, and not forced. The other Reason of their Refusal is, Because those Ministers are not *Gospel Ones*, in that the Holy Ghost is not their Foundation, but *Human Arts and Parts*.

So

So that it is not Matter of Humour or Sullenness, hut *Pure Conscience* towards God, that they cannot help to support National Ministries where they dwell, which are but too much and too visibly become Ways of Worldly Advantage and Preferment.

VI. *Not to respect Persons*, was, and is another of their Doctrines and Practices, for which they were often *Buffeted* and *Abused*. They affirmed it to be sinful to give flattering Titles, or to use Vain Gestures and Complementments of Respect. Tho' to Virtue and Authority *they ever made a Dissference*; but after their Plain and Homely Manner, yet sincere and substantial Way: Well remembering the Examples of *Mordecai* and *Elihu*; but more especially the Command of their Lord and Master Jesus Christ, who forbade his Followers to call Men *Rabbi*, which implies Lord or Master; also the *fashionable Greetings* and *Salutations* of those Times; that so *Self-Love* and *Honour*, to which the proud Mind of Man is incident, in his fallen Estate, might not be indulged but rebuked. And tho' this rendred their Conversation disagreeable, yet they that will remember what Christ said to the *Jews*, *how can you believe in me*, who receive Honour one of another, will abate of their Resentment, if his Doctrine has any Credit with them.

VII. They also used the plain Language of *Thee* and *Thou*, to a single Person, what ever was his Degree among Men. And indeed the Wisdom of God, was much seen in bringing forth this People, in so plain an Appearance. For it was a *Close* and *Distinguishing Test* upon the Spirits of those they came among; shewing their Insides, and what predominated, notwithstanding their high and great Profession of Religion. This among the rest sounded so harsh to many of them, and they took it so ill, that they would say, *Thou me, thou my Dog! If thou thou'st me, I'll thou thy Teeth down thy Throat*; forgetting the Language *they use to God* in their own Prayers, and the common Stile of the Scriptures, and that it is an absolute and essential Propriety of Speech. And what good, alas! had their Religion done them, who were so sensibly toucht with Indignation for the Use of this *Plain, Honest and True Speech*?

VIII. They recommended *Silence* by their Example, having very few Words upon all Occasions. They were at a *Word* in Dealing: Nor could their Customers, with many Words tempt them from it, having more Regard to *Truth* than *Custom*, to *Example* than *Gain*. They sought *Solitude*; but when in Company, they would neither use, nor willingly hear *Unnecessary*, as well as *Unlawful Discourses*: Whereby they preserved their Minds, *pure and undisturbed* from unprofitable Thoughts, and Diversions. Nor could they humour the Custom of *Good Night, Good Morrow, Good Speed*; for they knew the Night was Good, and the Day was Good, without wishing of either; and that in the other Expression, the Holy Name of God was too lightly and unthankfully used, and therefore taken in vain. Besides, they were Words and Wishes of Course, and ate usually as little meant, as are Love and Service in the Custom of Cap and Knee; and Superfluity in those, as well as in other Things, was burdensome to them; and therefore they did not only decline to use them, but found themselves often press'd to reprove the Practice.

IX. For the same Reason they *forbore drinking to People or pledging of them*, as the Manner of the World is: A Practice that is not only unnecessary, but they thought Evil in the *Tendencies of it*, being a *Provocation* to drink more than did People good, as well as that it was in it self *Vain and Heathenish*.

X. Their Way of *Marriage* is peculiar to them; and shews a distinguishing Care, above other Societies, professing Christianity. They say that *Marriage is an Ordinance of God, and that God only can rightly joyn Man and Woman in Marriage*. Therefore they use neither *Priest* or *Magistrate*; but the Man or Woman concern'd, take each other as Husband and Wife, in the Presence of divers credible Witnesses, *promising to each other, with God's Assistance, to be loving and faithful in that Relation, till Death shall separate*

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separate them. But antecedent to this, they first present themselves, to the Monthly Meeting, for the Affairs of the Church where they reside; there declaring their Intentions, to take one another as Husband and Wife, if the said Meeting have nothing material to object against it. They are constantly asked the necessary Questions, as in Case of Parents or Guardians, if they have acquainted them with their Intention, and have their Consent, &c. The Method of the Meeting is, to take a Minute thereof, and to appoint proper Persons to enquire of their Conversation and Clearness from all others, and whether they have discharged their Duty to their Parents or Guardians; and to make Report thereof to the next Monthly Meeting, where the same Parties are desired to give their Attendance. In Case it appears they have proceeded orderly, the Meeting passes their Proposal, and so records it in their Meeting-Book. And in Case the Woman be a Widow, and hath Children, due Care is there taken, that Provision also be made by her for the Orphans, before the Meeting pass the Proposals of Marriage: Advising the Parties concerned, to appoint a convenient Time and Place, and to give fitting Notice to their Relations, and such Friends and Neighbours, as they desire should be the Witnesses of their Marriage: Where they take one another by the Hand, and by Name, promise Reciprocally, Love and Fidelity, after the Manner before expressed. Of all which Proceedings, a Narrative, in Way of Certificate is made, to which the said Parties first set their Hands, thereby making it their Act and Deed; and then divers Relations, Spectators, and Auditors set their Names as Witnesses, of what they Said and Signed. And this Certificate is afterward Registered in the Record belonging to the Meeting where the Marriage is solemnized. Which regular Method has been, as it deserves, adjudged in Courts of Law a *good Marriage*; where it has been by cross and ill People disputed, and contested, for want of the accustomed Formalities of Priest and Ring, &c. Ceremonies they have refused: not out of Humour, but Conscience reasonably grounded; inasmuch as no Scripture-Example tells us, that the Priest had any other Part of old Time, than that of a Witness among the rest, before whom the *Jews* used to take one another: And therefore this People look upon it, as an Imposition to advance the Power and Profits of the Clergy: And for the Use of the Ring, it is enough to say, that it was an Heathenish and Vain Custom, and never in Practice among the People of God, *Jews, or Primitive Christians*: The Words of the usual Form, as *with my Body I thee worship*, &c. are hardly defensible. In short, they are more careful, exact and regular, than any Form now used; and it is free of the Inconveniences, with which other Methods are attended: Their Care and Checks being so many, and such, as that no Clandestine Marriages can be performed among them.

X. It may not be unfit to say something here of their *Births* and *Burials*, which make up so much of the Pomp and Solemnity of too many called Christians. For Births, the Parents Name their own Children; which is usually some Days after they are born, in the Presence of the Midwife, if she can be there, and those that were at the Birth, who afterwards sign a Certificate for that Purpose prepared, of the Birth and Name of the Child or Children; which is recorded in a proper Book, in the Monthly Meeting to which the Parents belong; avoiding the accustomed Ceremonies and Festivals.

XI. Their Burials are performed with the same Simplicity. If the *Body* of the Deceased be near any publick Meeting Place, it is usually carried thither, for the more convenient Reception of those that accompany it, to the Burying-Ground. And it so falls out sometimes, that while the Meeting is gathering for the Burial, some or other has a Word of Exhortation, for the Sake of the People there met together. After which the Body is born away by Young Men, or else those that are of their Neighbourhood, or those that were most of the Intimacy of the deceased Party: The Corps being in a *Plain Coffin*, without any *Covering* or *Furniture* upon it. At the Ground, they pause some Time before they put the Body into it's Grave, that if any there should have any Thing upon them to exhort the People,

People, they may not be disappointed, and that the Relations may the more Retiredly and Solemnly take their last Leave of the Body of their departed Kindred, and the Spectators have a Sense of Mortality, by the Occasion then given them, to reflect upon their own Latter End. Otherwise, they have no set Rites or Ceremonies on those Occasions. Neither do the Kindred of the Deceased ever wear Mourning; they looking upon it as a Worldly Ceremony and Piece of Pomp; and that what Mourning is fit for a Christian to have, at the Departure of a Beloved Relation or Friend, should be worn in the Mind, which is only sensible of the Loss: and the Love they had to them, and Remembrance of them, to be outwardly express'd by a Respect to their Advice, and Care of those they have left behind them, and their Love of that they Loved. Which Conduct of theirs, tho' unmodish or unfashionable, leaves nothing of the Sublance of Things neglected or undone: And as they aim at no more, so that Simplicity of Life is what they observe with great Satisfaction; tho' it sometimes happens not to be without the Mockeries of the vain World they live in.

These Things to be sure gave them a Rough and Disagreeable Appearance with the Generality; who thought them *Turners of the World upside down*, as indeed, in some Sense they were: But in no other than that wherein Paul was so charged, viz. *To bring Things back into their Primitive and right Order again*. For these and such like Practices of theirs were not the Result of Humour, or for *Civil Distinction*, as some have fancied, but a Fruit of *Inward Sense*, which God, through his Holy Fear, had begotten in them. They did not consider how to contradict the World, or distinguish themselves as a Party from others; it being none of their Business, as it was not their Interest: No, it was not the Result of Consultation, or a Framed Design, by which to declare or recommend Schism or Novelty. But God having given them a Sight of themselves, they saw the whole World in the *same Glass of Truth*, and sensibly discerned the Affections and Passions of Men, and the Rise and Tendency of Things: What it was that gratified the *Lust of the Flesh, the Lust of the Eye and the Pride of Life, which are not of the Father but of the World*. And from thence sprang in the Night of Darknes and Apostacy, which hath been over People through their Degeneration from the Light and Spirit of God, these and many other vain Customs, which are seen by the Heavenly Day of *Christ, that dawns in the Soul*, to be, either wrong in their Original; or, by Time and Abuse, hurtful in their Practice. And tho' these Things seemed Trivial to some, and rendred these People Stingy and conceited in such Persons Opinion; there was and is more in them, than they were, or are aware of.

It was not very easie to our *Primitive Friends* to make themselves *Sights and Spectacles*, and the Scorn and Derision of the World; which they easily foresaw must be the Consequence of so *Unfashionable* a Conversation in it: But here was the Wisdom of God seen in the Foolishness of these Things; First, That they discovered the *Satisfaction and Concern* that People had in and for the Fashions of this World, notwithstanding their High Pretences to another; in that any Disappointment about them came so very near them, as that the greatest Honesty, Virtue, Wisdom and Ability, were *unwelcome* without them. Secondly, It *seasonably and profitably divided Conversation*; For this making their Society uneasy to their Relations and Acquaintance, it gave them the Opportunity of *more Retirement and Solitude*; wherein they met with better Company, even the *Lord God their Redeemer*; and grew strong in his Love, Power and Wisdom, and were thereby better qualified for his Service. And the Success abundantly shew'd it: *Blessed be the Name of the Lord*.

And though they were not Great and Learned in the Esteem of this World (for then they had not wanted Followers upon their own Credit and Authority) yet they were generally of the *most Sober* of the several Perswasions they were in, and of the *most Repute* for Religion; and many of them of *good Capacity, Sublance and Account* among Men.

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And also some among them wanted not for *Parts, Learning or Estate*; though then as of *Old, not many Wise, or Noble, &c.* were called; or at least received the *Heavenly Call*, because of the Cross that attended the Profession of it in Sincerity: But neither do *Parts or Learning* make Men the better Christians, though the better Orators and Disputants; and it is the Ignorance of People about the Divine Gift that causes that vulgar and mischievous mistake. *Theory and Practice, Speculation and Enjoyment, Words and Life*, are two Things. O 'tis the Penitent, the Reformed, the Lowly, the Watchful, the Self-denying and Holy Soul, that is the *Christian*! And that Frame is the Fruit and Work of the *Spirit*, which is the Life of Jesus: whose Life, tho' hid in the Fulness of it in God the Father, is shed abroad in the Hearts of them that truly Believe, according to their Capacity. O that People did but know this to Cleanse them, to Circumcise them, to Quicken them, and to make them *New Creatures* indeed! *Re-created, or Regenerated* after Christ Jesus unto good Works; that they might live to God, and not to themselves; and offer up living Prayers and living Praises, to the Living God, through his own living Spirit, in which he is only to be Worshipped in this Gospel Day.

O that they that read me could but feel me! For my Heart is affected with this *Merciful Visitation* of the Father of Lights and Spirits to this poor Nation, and the whole World, through the same Testimony. Why should the Inhabitants thereof reject it? Why should they lose the Blessed Benefit of it? Why should they not turn to the Lord with all their Hearts, and say from the Heart, *Speak Lord, for now thy poor Servants hear? O that thy Will may be done; thy Great, thy Good and Holy Will, in Earth as it is in Heaven!* Do it in us, do it upon us, do what thou wilt with us; for we are thine, and desire to glorifie thee our Creator, both for that, and because thou art our Redeemer; for thou art redeeming us from the Earth; from the Vanities and Pollutions of it, to be a Peculiar People unto thee. O this were a brave Day for England, if so she could say in Truth! But alas, the Case is otherwise; for which some of thine Inhabitants, O Land of my Nativity! have mourned over thee with bitter Wailing and Lamentation. Their Heads have been indeed as Waters, and their Eyes as Fountains of Tears, because of thy Transgression and Stiffneckedness; because thou wilt not Hear, and Fear, and Return to the Rock, even thy Rock, O England! From whence thou art Hewn. But be thou warned, O Land of Great Profession, to receive him into thy Heart. Behold, at that Door it is he hath stood so long knocking! but thou wilt yet have none of him. O be thou awakened, lest *Jerusalem's Judgments* do swiftly overtake thee, because of *Jerusalem's Sins* that abound in thee. For she abounded in Formality, but made void the Weighty Things of God's Law, as thou daily dost.

She withstood the Son of God in the Flesh, and thou resistest the Son of God in the Spirit. He would have gathered her as an Hen gathereth her Chickens under her Wings, and she would not; so would he have gathered thee out of thy Life-less Profession, and have brought thee to inherit Substance; to have known his Power and Kingdom: For which he often knockt within, by his Grace and Spirit; and without, by his Servants and Witnesses: But on the Contrary, as *Jerusalem* of old Persecuted the Manifestation of the Son of God in the Flesh, and Crucified him, and Whipt and Imprisoned his Servants; so hast thou, O Land! Crucified to thy self afresh the Lord of Life and Glory, and done despite to his Spirit of Grace; slighting the Fatherly Visitation, and Persecuting the blessed Dispensers of it by thy Laws and Magistrates: Tho' they have Early and Late pleaded with thee in the Power and Spirit of the Lord; in Love and Meekness, that thou mightest know the Lord, and serve him, and become the Glory of all Lands.

But thou hast Evilly entreated and requited them, Thou hast set at nought all their Counsel, and wouldst have none of their Reproof, as thou shouldst have had. Their Appearance was too Straight, and their Qualifications were too Mean for thee to receive them; like the Jews of Old, that cried, Is not this the Carpenter's Son, and are not his Brethren among us; which of the Scribes,

Scribes, of the Learned (the Orthodox) believe in him? Propheſying their Fall in a Year or two, and making and executing of ſevere Laws to bring it to paſs: Endeavouring to terrifie them out of their *Holy Way* or deſtroy them for abiding Faithful to it. But thou haſt ſeen how many Governments that roſe againſt them, and determined their Downfall, have been overturned and extinguished, and that they are ſtill preſerved, and become a great and a conſiderable People, among the middle Sort of thy numerous Inhabitants. And notwithstanding the many Difficulties Without and Within, which they have Laboured under, ſince the Lord God Eternal firſt gathered them, they are an Encreaſing People; the Lord ſtill adding unto them, in divers Parts, ſuch as ſhall be ſaved, if they perſevere to the End. And to Thee, O *England*! Were they, and are they liſted up as a Standard, and as a City ſet upon a Hill, and to the Nations round about thee, that in *their Light thou may'ſt come to ſee Light*, even in *Chriſt Jeſus*, the *Light of the World*, and therefore *thy Light*, and *Life too*, if thou wouldſt but turn from thy many evil Ways, and receive and obey it. For in the *Light of the Lamb*, muſt the Nations of them that are ſaved walk, as the Scripture Teſtifies.

Remember, O Nation of great Profeſſion! How the Lord has waited upon thee ſince the Dawning of Reformation, and the many Mercies and Judgments by which he has pleaded with Thee; and Awake and Ariſe out of thy deep Sleep, and yet hear his Word in *thy Heart*; that thou may'ſt Live.

Let not this thy Day of Viſitation paſs over thy Head, nor neglect thou ſo great Salvation as is This which is come to thy Houſe, O *England*! For why ſhouldeſt thou die? O Land that God deſires to bleſs! Be aſſured it is He that has been in the midſt of *This People*, in the Midſt of Thee, and not a Deluſion, as thy miſtaken Teachers have made Thee believe. And this thou ſhalt find by their Marks and Fruits, if thou wilt conſider them in the Spirit of Moderation.

C H A P. III.

Of the Qualifications of their Miniſtry. Eleven Marks that it is Chriſtian.

I. **T**hey were changed Men *themselves* before they went about to change others. Their *Hearts were rent* as well as their Garments; and they knew the Power and Work of God upon them. And this was ſeen by the great Alteration it made, and their ſtricter Courſe of Life, and more Godly Converſation that immediately followed upon it.

II. They went not forth, or preached in their own Time or Will, but in the *Will of God*; and ſpoke not their own ſtudied Matter, but as they were opened and moved of his Spirit, with which they were well acquainted in their own Converſion: Which cannot be expreſſed to Carnal Men, ſo as to give them any intelligible Account; for to ſuch it is, as Chriſt ſaid, like the blowing of the Wind, which no Man knows whence it cometh, or whither it goeth. Yet this Proof and Seal went along with their Miniſtry, that many were turned from their Life-leſs Profeſſions, and the Evil of their Ways, to an inward and Experimental Knowledge of God, and an Holy Life, as Thouſands can witneſs. And as they Freely received what they had to ſay from the Lord, ſo they Freely adminiſtered it to others:

III. The Bent and Streſs of their Miniſtry was Converſion to God; *Regeneration* and *Holineſs*. Not Schemes of Doctrines and Verbal Creeds, or new Forms of Worſhip; but a leaving off in Religion the Superſtitious, and reducing the Ceremonious and formal Part, and preſſing earneſtly the *Subſtantial*, the *Necessary* and *Profitable* Part to the Soul; as all, upon a ſerious Reflection, muſt and do acknowledge.

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IV. They directed People to a *Principle* in themselves, tho' not of themselves, by which all that they asserted, Preached and Exhorted others to, might be wrought in them, and known to them, through Experience, to be true: Which is an high and distinguishing Mark of the Truth of their Ministry, both that they knew what they said, and were not afraid of coming to the Test. For as they were bold from Certainty, so they required Conformity upon no Humane Authority, but upon Conviction, and the Conviction of *This Principle*; which they asserted was in them that they preached unto, and unto that they directed them, that they might examine and prove the Reality of those Things which they had affirmed of it, as to it's Manifestation and Work in Man. And this is more than the many Ministers in the World pretended to. They declare of Religion, say many Things true, in Words, of *God, Christ, and the Spirit; of Holiness and Heaven; that all Men should Repent and amend their Lives, or they will go to Hell, &c.* But which of them all pretend to speak of *their own Knowledge and Experience*? Or ever directed to a Divine Principle, or Agent, placed of God in Man, to help him; and how to know it, and wait to feel it's Power to work that good and acceptable Will of God in them.

Some of them indeed have spoke of the *Spirit*, and the Operations of it to Sanctification, and Performance of Worship to God; but *Where*, and *How* to find it, and wait in it, to perform our Duty to God, was yet as a Myltery to be declared by this farther Degree of Reformation. So that this People did not only in Words, more than equally press Repentance, Conversion and Holiness, but did it knowingly and experimentally; and directed those, to whom they preached, to a sufficient Principle; and told them where it was, and by what Tokens they might know it, and which way they might experience the Power and Efficacy of it to their Souls Happiness. Which is more than *Theory and Speculation*, upon which most other Ministers depend: For here is certainty; a Bottom upon which Man may boldly appear before God in the Great Day of Account.

V. They reached to the Inward State and Condition of People, which is an Evidence of the Virtue of their Principle, and of their Ministering from it, and not from their own Imaginations, Glosses or Comments upon Scripture. For nothing reaches the Heart, but what is *from the Heart*, or pierces the Conscience, but what comes from a living Conscience. Inasmuch as it hath often happened, where People have under Secrecy revealed their State or Condition to some choice Friends, for Advice or Ease, they have been so particularly directed in the Ministry of this People, that they have challenged their Friends with discovering their Secrets, and telling their Preachers their Cases, to whom a Word had not been spoken. Yea, the very Thoughts and Purposes of the Hearts of many have been so plainly detected, that they have, like *Nathaniel*, cried out, of this Inward Appearance of Christ, *Thou art the Son of God, thou art the King of Israel*. And those that have embraced this Divine Principle, have found this Mark of it's Truth and Divinity (that the Woman of *Samaria* did of Christ when in the Flesh, to be the Messiah) viz. *It had told them all that ever they had done*; shown them their Insides, the most inward Secrets of their Hearts, and laid Judgment to the Line, and Righteousness to the Plummets; of which Thousands can at this Day, give in their Witness. So that nothing has been affirmed by this People, of the Power and Virtue of this Heavenly Principle, that such as have turned to it have not found true, and more; and that one half had not been told to them of what they have seen of the Power, Purity, Wisdom and Goodness of God therein.

VI. The Accomplishments with which this Principle fitted, even some of the Meaneft of this People, for their Work and Service: Furnishing some of them with an Extraordinary Understanding in Divine Things, and an admirable Fluency and Taking Way of Expression, which gave Occasion to some to wonder, saying of them, as of their Master, *Is not this such a Mechanick's Son, How came He by this Learning?* As from thence others took Occasion to suspect and insinuate they were *Jesuits* in Disguise, who had
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the Reputation of Learned Men for an Age past, tho' there was not the least Ground of Truth for any such Reflection. In that their Ministers are known, the Places of their Abode, their Kindred and Education.

VII. That they came forth *Low, and Despised, and Hated*, as the Primitive Christians did, and not by the Help of Worldly Wisdom or Power, as former Reformations, in Part, have done : But in all Things it may be said, *This People were brought forth in the Cross ; in a Contradiction to the Ways, Worships, Fashions and Customs of this World ; yea, against Wind and Tide, that so no Flesh might Glory before God.*

VIII. They could have *No Design to themselves in this Work*, thus to expose themselves to *Scorn and Abuse* ; to spend, and be spent : Leaving *Wife and Children, House and Land*, and all that can be accounted dear to Men, with their Lives in their Hands, being daily in Jeopardy, to declare this *Primitive Message*, revived in their Spirits, by the Good Spirit and Power of God, viz.

That God is Light, and in Him is no Darknes at all ; and that he has sent his Son a Light into the World, to Enlighten all Men in order to Salvation ; and that they that say they have Fellowship with God, and are His Children and People, and yet walk in Darknes, viz. in Disobedience to the Light in their Consciences, and after the Vanity of this World, They Lie, and do not the Truth. But that all such as love the Light, and bring their Deeds to it, and walk in the Light, as God is Light, the Blood of Jesus Christ His Son, should cleanse them from all Sin. Thus John 1. 4, 19. ch. 3. 20, 21. 1 John 1. 5, 6, 7.

IX. Their known great Constancy and Patience in suffering for their Testimony, in all the Branches of it ; and that sometimes unto Death, by *Beatings, Bruisings, Long and Crowded Imprisonments, and Noisom Dungeons* : *Four of them in New-England dying by the Hands of the Executioner, purely for Preaching amongst that People : Besides Banishments, and Excessive Plunders and Sequestrations of their Goods and Estates, almost in all Parts, not easily to be expressed, and less to have been endured but by those that have the Support of a Good and Glorious Cause ; refusing Deliverance by any indirect Ways or Means, as often as it was offered unto them.*

X. That they did, not only, not show any Disposition to *Revenge*, when it was at any Time in their Power, but forgave their Cruel Enemies ; *Shewing Mercy to those that had none for them.*

XI. Their Plainness with those in Authority, like the Ancient Prophets ; not fearing to tell them to their Faces, of their Private and Publick Sins ; and their Prophecies to them of their Afflictions and Downfall, when in the Top of their Glory. Also of some National Judgments, as of the *Plague, and Fire of London*, in express Terms ; and likewise particular Ones to divers Persecutors, which accordingly overtook them ; and were very remarkable in the Places where they dwelt, which in Time may be made Publick for the Glory of God.

Thus, Reader, thou seest this People in their Rise, Principles, Ministry and Progress, both their General and Particular Testimony ; by which thou may'st be informed, how, and upon what Foot they sprang, and became so considerable a People. It remains next, that I shew also their Care, Conduct, and Discipline, as a Christian and Reformed Society, that they might be found Living up to their own Principles and Profession. And this, the rather, because they have hardly suffered more in their Character from the Unjust Charge of Error, than by the false Imputation of Disorder : Which Calumny indeed has not failed to follow all the True Steps that were ever made to Reformation, and under which Reproach none suffered more than the Primitive Christians themselves, that were the Honour of Christianity, and the Great Lights and Examples of their own and succeeding Ages.

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C H A P. IV.

Of the Discipline and Practice of this PEOPLE, as a Religious Society. The Church Power they own and exercise, and that which they Reject and Condemn: With the Method of their Proceedings against Erring and Disorderly Persons.

THIS People increasing daily both in Town and Country, an *Holy Care* fell upon some of the *Elders* among them, for the Benefit and Service of the Church. And the first Business in their View, after the Example of the Primitive Saints, was the *Exercise of Charity*; to supply the Necessities of the Poor, and answer the like Occasions. Wherefore *Collections* were early and liberally made for that and divers other Services in the Church, and intrusted with Faithful Men, Fearing God, and of Good Report, who were not weary in Well-doing; adding often of *Their Own*, in large Proportions, which they never brought to Account, or desired should be known, much less restored to them, that none might want, nor any Service be retarded or disappointed.

They were also very Careful, that every one that belonged to them, answered their Profession in their Behaviour among Men, upon all Occasions; that they Lived Peaceably, and were in all Things Good Examples. They found themselves engaged to Record their Sufferings and Services: And in Case of Marriage, which they could not perform in the usual Methods of the Nation, but among themselves, they took Care that all Things were *Clear* between the Parties and all others: And it was then rare, that any One entertain'd an Inclination to a Person on that Account, till He or She had communicated it secretly to some very Weighty and Eminent Friends among them, that they might have a Sense of the Matter; looking to the Council and Unity of their Brethren as of great Moment to them. But because the Charge of the Poor, the Number of Orphans, Marriages, Sufferings, and other Matters *multiplied*; and that it was Good that the Churches were in some Way and Method of proceeding in such Affairs among them, to the End they might the better correspond upon Occasion, where a Member of one Meeting might have to do with one of another; it pleased the Lord in His Wisdom and Goodness, to open the Understanding of the *First Instrument of this Dispensation of Life*, about a Good and Orderly Way of Proceeding; who felt an *Holy Concern* to visit the Churches in Person throughout this Nation, to begin and establish it among them: And by *His Epistles*, the like was done in other Nations and Provinces abroad; which he also afterwards Visited, and helped in that Service, as shall be observed when I come to speak of him:

Now the *Care, Conduct and Discipline*, I have been speaking of, and which are now practiced among this People, is as followeth.

This Godly Elder, in every County where he travelled, exhorted them, that *Some*, out of every Meeting of Worship, should meet together once in the Month, to confer about the Wants and Occasions of the Church. And as the Case required, so those *Monthly Meetings* were fewer or more in Number in every respective County: Four or Six Meetings of Worship, usually making *One Monthly Meeting of Business*. And accordingly the Brethren met him from Place to Place, and began the said Meetings, *viz. For the Poor, Orphans, Orderly Walking, Integrity to their Profession, Births, Marriages, Burials, Sufferings, &c.* And that these *Monthly Meetings* should, in each County, make up *One Quarterly Meeting*, where the Most Zealous and Eminent Friends of the County should *Assemble to Communicate, Advise and Help one another*, especially when any Business seemed difficult, or a *Monthly Meeting* was tender of determining a Matter.

Also that these several *Quarterly Meetings* should digest the Reports of their *Monthly Meetings*, and prepare One for each respective County, against the

the *Yearly Meeting*, in which all *Quarterly Meetings* resolve; which is held in *London*: Where the Churches in this Nation, and other Nations and Provinces, Meet by *Chosen Members* of their respective Counties, both *Mutually* to Communicate their *Church-Affairs*, and to advise, and be advised in any depending Case to Edification. Also to provide a *Requisite Stock* for the Discharge of General Expences for General Services in the Church, not needful to be here particularized.

At these Meetings *Any* of the Members of the Churches may come, if they please, and speak their Minds freely, in the Fear of God, to any Matter; but the Mind of each *Quarterly Meeting*, therein represented, is chiefly understood, as to particular Cases, in the Sense delivered by the Persons deputed, or chosen for that Service by the said Meeting.

During their *Yearly Meeting*, to which their other Meetings refer in their Order, and naturally Resolve themselves, Care is taken by a *Selected Number* for that Service, chosen by the General Assembly, to draw up the *Minutes* of the said Meeting, upon the several Matters that have been under Consideration therein, to the End that the respective *Quarterly and Monthly Meetings* may be informed of all Proceedings; together with a General Exhortation to Holiness, Unity and Charity. Of all which Proceedings in *Yearly, Monthly, and Quarterly Meetings*, *Due Record* is kept by some One appointed for that Service, or that hath voluntarily undertaken it. These Meetings are opened, and usually concluded in their Solemn Waiting upon God, who is sometimes graciously pleased to answer them with *as Signal* Evidences of his Love and Presence, as in any of their Meetings of Worship.

It is further to be Noted, that in these *Solemn Assemblies*, for the Churches Service, there is no One Presides among them after the Manner of the Assemblies of other People; CHRIST only being their President, as He is pleased to appear in Life and Wisdom in any One or more of them, to whom, whatever be their Capacity or Degree, the rest adhere with a Firm Unity, not of Authority, but Conviction, which is the Divine Authority and Way of Christ's Power and Spirit in His People: Making Good His Blessed Promise, *That He would be in the Midst of His, where, and whenever they were met together in His Name, even to the End of the World.* So be it.

Now it may be expected, I should here set down what Sort of Authority is exercised by this People, upon such Members of their Society as correspond in their Lives with their Profession, and that are Refractory to this Good and Wholesom Order settled among them; and the rather, because they have not wanted their Reproach and Sufferings from some Tongues and Pens, upon this Occasion, in a plentiful Manner.

The Power they exercise, is such as Christ has given to His own People, to the End of the World, in the Persons of His Disciples, *viz. To Oversee, Exhort, Reprove, and after long Suffering and Waiting upon the Disobedient and Refractory, to Disown them, as any more of their Communion, or that they will any longer stand Charged in the Sight and Judgment of God or Men, with their Conversation or Behaviour as any of them, until they Repent.* The Subject Matter about which this Authority, in any of the foregoing Branches of it, is Exercised, is First, *In Relation to Common and General Practice*, and, Secondly, about those Things that more strictly refer to their own Character and Profession, and which distinguish them from all other Professors of Christianity; avoiding Two Extreams upon which many split, *viz. Persecution and Libertinism*, That is, a Coercive Power, to *Whip People in to the Temple*; that such as will not Conform, tho' against Faith and Conscience, shall be punished in their Persons or Estates: Or leaving all loose and at large, as to Practice; and so unaccountable to all but God and the Magistrate. To which hurtful Extream, nothing has more contributed than the Abuse of Church Power, by such as suffer their Passion and Private Interests to prevail with them to carry it to Outward Force and Corporal Punishment. A Practice they have been taught to dislike, by their extream Sufferings, as well as their known Principle for an *Universal Liberty of Conscience*.

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On the other Hand, they equally dislike an *Independency* in Society. An *Unaccountableness* in *Practice* and *Conversation* to the *Rules* and *Terms* of their own *Communion*, and to those that are the *Members* of it. They distinguish between *Imposing* any *Practice* that immediately regards *Faith* or *Worship* (which is never to be done or suffered, or submitted unto) and requiring *Christian Compliance* with those *Methods* that only respect *Church-Business* in it's more *Civil Part* and *Concern*; and that regard the *Discreet* and *Orderly Maintenance* of the *Character* of the *Society* as a *Sober* and *Religious Community*. In short, what is for the *Promotion* of *Holiness* and *Charity*, that *Men* may *Practice* what they profess, *live up to their own Principles*, and not be at *Liberty* to give the *Lye* to their own *Profession* without *Rebuke*, is their *Use* and *Limit* of *Church Power*: They compel none to them, but oblige those that are of them to walk *Suitable*, or they are *denied* by them: That is all the *Mark* they set upon them, and the *Power* they *Exercise*, or *Judge* a *Christian Society* can *Exercise*, upon those that are the *Members* of it.

The *Way* of their *Proceeding* against such as have *Lapsed* or *Transgressed*, is this. He is visited by some of them, and the *Matter* of *Fact* laid *Home* to him, be it any *Evil Practice* against known and general *Virtue*, or any *Branch* of their particular *Testimony*, which he, in common, professeth with them. They labour with him in much *Love* and *Zeal*, for the *good* of his *Soul*, the *Honour* of *God*, and *Reputation* of their *Profession*, to own his *Fault* and condemn it, in as ample a *Manner* as the *Evil* or *Scandal* was given by him; which for the most *Part*, is perform'd by some *Written Testimony* under the *Parties Hand*: And if it so happen, that the *Party* prove *Refractory*, and is not willing to clear the *Truth*, they profess, from the *Reproach* of his or her *Evil Doing* or *Unfaithfulness*, they, after repeated *Entreaties* and due waiting for a *Token* of *Repentance*, give forth a *Paper* to disown such a *Fact*, and the *Party* offending: *Recording* the same as a *Testimony* of their *Care* for the *Honour* of the *Truth* they profess.

And if he or she shall clear their *Profession* and themselves, by sincere *Acknowledgment* of their *Fault*, and *Godly Sorrow* for so doing, they are *received* and looked upon again as *Members* of their *Communion*. For as *God*, so his true *People* *Upbraid* no *Man* after *Repentance*.

This is the *Account* I had to give of the *People* of *God* call'd *Quakers*, as to their *Rise*, *Appearance*, *Principles* and *Practices* in this *Age* of the *World*, both with *Respect* to their *Faith* and *Worship*, *Discipline* and *Conversation*. And I judge it very proper in this *Place*, because it is to *Preface* the *Journal* of the *First Blessed* and *Glorious Instrument* of this *Work*, and for a *Testimony* to *Him*, in his singular *Qualifications* and *Services*, in which he abundantly excelled in this *Day*, and are worthy to be set forth as an *Example* to all succeeding *Times*, to the *Glory* of the *Most High God*, and for a just *Memorial* to that *Worthy* and *Excellent Man*, his *Faithful Servant* and *Apostle* to this *Generation* of the *World*.

CHAP. V.

Of the *First Instrument* or *Person* by whom *God* was pleas'd to gather this *People* into the *Way* they profess. His *Name* *G. Fox*: His many *Excellent Qualifications*; shewing a *Divine*, and not an *Human Power* to have been their *Original* in *Him*. His *Troubles* and *Sufferings* both from without and within. His *End* and *Triumph*.

I Am now come to the *Third Head* or *Branch* of my *Preface*, viz. The *Instrumental Author*. For it is *Natural* for some to say, Well, here is the *People* and *Work*, but where and who was the *Man*, the *Instrument*? He

He that in this Age was sent to begin this Work and People? I shall, as God shall enable me, declare who and what he was; not only by Report of others, but from my own long and most inward Converse, and intimate Knowledge of him; for which my Soul *blesseth* God, as it hath often done: And I doubt not, but by that Time I have discharged my self of this Part of my *Preface*, my *serious* Readers will believe I had good Cause so to do.

The blessed Instrument of, and in this Day of God, and of whom I am now about to write, was *George Fox*, distinguished from another of that Name, by that Others Addition of *Younger* to his Name, in all his Writings; not that he was so in Years, but that he was so in the Truth: But he was also a worthy Man, Witness and Servant of God in his Time.

But this *George Fox* was Born in *Leicestershire*, about the Year 1624. He descended of Honest and Sufficient Parents, who endeavour'd to bring him up, as they did the rest of their Children, in the Way and Worship of the Nation: Especially his Mother, who was a Woman accomplish'd above most of her Degree in the Place where she liv'd. But from a Child he appear'd of another *Frame* of Mind than the rest of his Brethren; being more Religious, Inward, Still, Solid, and Observing beyond his Years, as the Answers he would give, and the Questions he would put, upon Occasion, manifested, to the Astonishment of those that heard him, especially in *Divine Things*.

His Mother taking Notice of his *Singular Temper*, and the *Gravity, Wisdom* and *Piety*, that very early shined through him, refusing *Childish* and *Vain Sports* and *Company*, when very Young, She was Tender and Indulgent over him, so that from her he met with little Difficulty. As to his *Employment*, he was brought up in Country Business, and as he took most Delight in *Sheep*, so he was very Skilful in them; an Employment that very well suited his Mind in several Respects, both for it's *Innocency* and *Solitude*; and was a *just Emblem* of his after Ministry and Service.

I shall not break in upon his own Account, which is by much the best that can be given, and therefore desire, what I can, to avoid saying any Thing of what is said already, as to the particular Passages of his coming forth: But, in general, when he was somewhat above Twenty, he left his Friends, and visited the most *Retired* and *Religious* People in those Parts: And some there were, short of few, if any, in this Nation, who waited for the *Consolation of Israel Night and Day*; as *Zacharias*, *Anna*, and good *Old Simeon* did of *Old Time*. To these he was sent, and these he sought out in the Neighbouring Counties, and among them he sojourn'd 'till his more ample Ministry came upon him. At this Time he taught, and was an Example of *Silence*, endeavouring to bring them from Self-performances: Testifying of, and turning them to, the *Light of Christ within them*, and encouraging them to wait in Patience, and to feel the Power of it to stir in their Hearts, that their Knowledge and Worship of God might stand in the Power of an *Endless* Life, which was to be found in the Light, as it was obey'd in the Manifestation of it in Man. For in the Word was Life, and that Life is the Light of Men. Life in the Word, Light in Men; and Life in Men too, as the Light is obey'd: The Children of the Light living by the Life of the Word, by which the Word begets them again to God, which is the *Regeneration* and *New Birth*, without which there is no coming into the Kingdom of God: And to which, whoever comes, is greater than *John*; that is, than *John's* Dispensation, which was not that of the Kingdom, but the Consummation of the Legal, and Fore-running of the *Gospel-Times*, the Time of the Kingdom. Accordingly several Meetings were gather'd in those Parts; and thus his Time was employ'd for some Years.

In 1652, he being in his usual Retirement, his Mind exercised towards the Lord, upon a very High Mountain, in some of the higher Parts of *Torkshire*, as I take it, he had a Visitation of the great Work of God in the Earth, and of the Way that he was to go forth in a Publick Ministry, to begin it. He saw People as thick as *Notes in the Sun*, that should in Time

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be brought Home to the Lord, that there might be but one Shepherd and one Sheepfold in all the Earth. There his Eye was directed Northward, beholding a great People that should receive him and his Message in those Parts. Upon this Mountain he was mov'd of the Lord to found out his *Great and Notable Day*, as if he had been in a great Auditory; and from thence went North, as the Lord had shewn him. And in every Place where he came, if not before he came to it, he had his particular Exercise and Service shewn to him, so that the Lord was his *Leader* indeed. For it was not in vain that he Travelled; God in most Places *sealing* his Commission with the *Convincement* of some of all Sorts, as well Publicans as sober Professors of Religion. Some of the first and most Eminent of those that came forth in a publick Ministry, and which are now at Rest, were *Richard Farnsworth, James Nayler, William Dewsberry, Thomas Aldom, Francis Howgil, Edward Burroughs, John Cumm, John Audland, Richard Hubbertorn, T. Taylor, T. Holmes, Alexander Parker, William Simson, William Caton, John Stubbs, Robert Wisbiers, Tho. Low, Josiah Coale, John Burnyeat, Robert Lodge, Thomas Saltbouse*, and many more Worthies, that cannot be well here nam'd; together with divers yet living of the first and Great Convincement; who after the Knowledge of God's purging Judgment in themselves, and some time of waiting in Silence upon him, to *feel and receive Power from on High*, to speak in his Name, (which none else rightly can, though they may use the same Words) They felt it's Divine Motions, and were frequently drawn forth, especially to visit the *Publick Assemblies*, to reprove, inform, and exhort them: Sometimes in *Markets, Fairs, Streets*, and by the *Highway-side*; calling People to Repentance, and to turn to the Lord with their Hearts as well as their Mouths; directing them to the Light of Christ within them, to see, examine, and consider their Ways by, and to *eschew the Evil*, and *do the Good and Acceptable Will of God*. And they suffered great Hardships for this their Love and Good-will; being *often Stockt, Stoned, Beaten, Whipt and Imprison'd*; though Honest Men, and of Good Report where they liv'd; that had left Wives, Children, and Houses and Lands to visit them with a *Living Call* to Repentance. And though the *Priests* generally set themselves to oppose them, and write against them, and insinuated most false and scandalous Stories to defame them; stirring up the Magistrates to suppress them, especially in those *Northern Parts*; yet God was pleased so to fill them with his living Power, and give them such an open Door of Utterance in his Service, that there was a mighty Convincement over those Parts.

And through the tender and singular Indulgence of Judge *Bradshaw* and Judge *Fell*, and Coll. *West*, in the Infancy of Things, the *Priests* were never able to gain the Point they labour'd for, which was to have proceeded to Blood; and, if possible, *Herod-like*, by a Cruel Exercise of the Civil Power, to have cut them off, and rooted them out of the Country. But especially Judge *Fell*, who was not only a Check to their Rage in the Course of Legal Proceedings, but otherwise, upon Occasion; and finally countenanced this People. For his Wife receiving the Truth with the first, it had that Influence upon his Spirit, being a *Just and Wise Man*, and seeing in his own Wife and Family a full Confutation of all the popular Clamours against the Way of Truth, that he covered them what he could, and freely opened his Doors, and gave up his House to his Wife and her Friends; not valuing the Reproach of Ignorant or of Evil-Minded-People; which I here mention, to his or her Honour, and which will be, I believe, an *Honour* and a *Blessing* to such of their Name and Family as shall be found in that *Tenderness, Humility, Love* and *Zeal* for the Truth and People of the Lord.

That House was for some Years, at first especially, 'till the Truth had opened it's Way into the *Southern Parts* of this Island, an eminent Receptacle of this People. Others, of good Note and Substance in those *Northern Countries*, had also opened their Houses, together with their Hearts, to the many *Publishers*, that, in a short Time, the Lord had raised to de-

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clare his Salvation to the People; and where Meetings of the Lord's *Messengers* were frequently held, to communicate their *Services* and *Exercises*, and comfort and edify one another in their *Blessed Ministry*.

But lest this may be thought a *Digression*, having touch'd upon this before, I return to this *Excellent Man*: And for his Personal Qualities, both *Natural, Moral* and *Divine*, as they appeared in his Converse with Brethren, and in the Church of God, take as follows:

I. He was a Man that God endued with a *Clear and Wonderful Depth*: A *Discerner* of other's Spirits, and very much a *Master* of his own. And tho' that Side of his Understanding which lay next to the World, and especially the Expression of it, might sound *Uncouth* and *Unfashionable* to nice Ears, his Matter was nevertheless very profound; and would not only bear to be often consider'd, but the more it was so, the more Weighty and *Instructing* it appear'd. And as *Abruptly* and *Brokenly* as sometimes his Sentences would seem to fall from him, about Divine Things, it is well known they were often as *Texts* to many fairer Declarations. And indeed, it shewed, beyond all Contradiction, that God *sent him*; in that *no Art or Parts* had any Share in the Matter or Manner of his Ministry; and that so many *Great Excellent*, and *Necessary* Truths, as he came forth to Preach to Mankind, had therefore nothing of Man's Wit or Wisdom to recommend them. So that as to Man he was an *Original*, being *no Man's Copy*. And his Ministry and Writings shew they are from one that was not Taught of Man, nor had Learned what he said by Study. Nor were they Notional or Speculative, but *sensible* and *practical* Truths, tending to *Conversion* and *Re-generation*, and the setting up of the Kingdom of God in the Hearts of Men: and the Way of it was his Work. So that I have many Times been overcome in my self, and been made to say, with my Lord and Master, upon the like Occasion, *I thank thee, O Father, Lord of Heaven and Earth, that thou hast hid these Things from the Wise and Prudent of this World, and revealed them to Babes*: For many Times hath my Soul bowed in an *Humble Thankfulness* to the Lord, that he did not choose any of the Wise and Learned, of this World to be the *first Messenger* in our Age, of his *blessed Truth* to Men; but that he took one that was not of *High Degree*, or *Elegant Speech*, or Learned after the Way of this World, that his Message and Work, he sent him to do, might come with *less Suspicion*, or Jealousy of Human Wisdom and Interest, and with *more Force and Clearness* upon the Consciences of those that sincerely sought the Way of Truth in the Love of it. I say, beholding with the Eye of my Mind, which the God of Heaven had opened in me, the *Marks* of God's Finger and Hand *visibly*, in this Testimony, from the *Clearness* of the Principle, the Power and Efficacy of it, in the *Exemplary* Sobriety, Plainness, Zeal, Steadiness, Humility, Gravity, Punctuality, Charity, and *circumspect* Care in the Government of Church-Affairs, which shined in his and their Life and Testimony that God employ'd in this Work, it greatly confirmed me that it was of God, and engaged my Soul in a *deep Love, Fear, Reverence* and *Thankfulness* for his Love and Mercy therein to Mankind: In which Mind I remain, and shall, I hope, through the Lord's Strength, to the End of my Days.

II. In his *Testimony* or *Ministry*, he much laboured to open Truth to the People's Understandings, and to Bottom them upon the *Principle* and *Principal*, *Christ Jesus, the Light of the World*; that by bringing them to something that was from God in themselves, they might the better know and judge of him and themselves.

III. He had an extraordinary Gift in opening the Scriptures. He would go to the *Marrow* of Things, and shew the *Mind, Harmony* and *fulfilling* of them with much Plainness, and to great Comfort and Edification.

IV. The Mystery of the *first* and *Second Adam*, of the *Full and Restoration*, of the *Law* and *Gospel*, of *Shadows* and *Substance*, of the *Servant's* and *Son's State*, and the fulfilling of the Scriptures in *Christ* and by *Christ*, the *True Light*, in all that are his, through the Obedience of *Faith*, were much

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much of the *Substance and Drift* of his Testimonies. In all which he was witnessed to be of God; being sensibly felt to speak that which he had received of Christ, and was his own Experience, in that which never Errs nor fails.

V. But above all, he excelled in *Prayer*. The *Inwardness and Weight* of his Spirit, the *Reverence and Solemnity* of his Address and Behaviour, and the *Fewness and Fulness* of his Words, have often struck even *Strangers* with *Admiration*, as they used to reach others with *Consolation*. The most *Awful, Living, Reverent Frame* I ever Felt or Beheld, I must say, was His in Prayer. And truly it was a Testimony he knew and lived nearer to the Lord than other Men; for they that know him most, will see most Reason to approach Him with Reverence and Fear.

VI. He was of an *Innocent Life*, no *Busy-body*, nor *Self-seeker*; neither *Touchy* nor *Critical*: What fell from him was very *Inoffensive*, if not very Edifying. So *Meek, Contented, Modest, Easy, Steady, Tender*; it was a Pleasure to be in his Company. He exercised no Authority but over Evil, and that every where, and in all; but with *Love, Compassion, and Long-suffering*. A most Merciful Man, as ready to Forgive, as unapt to take or give an Offence. Thousands can truly say he was of an *Excellent Spirit* and *Savour* among them, and because thereof, the most Excellent Spirits loved him with an *Unfeigned and Unfading Love*.

VII. He was an *Incessant Labourer*: For in his Younger Time, before his many, great and deep Sufferings and Travails had enfeebled his Body for Itinerant Services, he laboured much in the Word and Doctrine, and Discipline, in England, Scotland and Ireland; turning many to God, and confirming those that were convinced of the Truth, and settling Good Order, as to Church Affairs, among them. And towards the Conclusion of his Travelling Services, between the Years Seventy One and Seventy Seven, he visited the Churches of Christ in the Plantations in America, and in the United Provinces, and Germany, as his Journal Relates; to the Convincement and Consolation of many. After that Time he chiefly resided in and about the City of London: and besides his Labour in the Ministry, which was Frequent and Serviceable, He writ much, both to them that are within, and those that are without the Communion. But the care he took of the Affairs of the Church in General was very great.

VIII. He was often where the Records of the Business of the Church are kept, and where the Letters from the many Meetings of God's People over all the World use to come: Which Letters he had read to him, and communicated them to the Meeting, that is Weekly held, for such Services; and he would be sure to stir them up to answer them, especially in suffering Cases: Showing great Sympathy, and Compassion upon all such Occasions; carefully looking into the Respective Cases, and endeavouring Speedy Relief, according to the Nature of them. So that the Churches, or any of the suffering Members thereof, were sure not to be forgotten or delayed in their Desires, if he were there.

IX. As he was unwearied, so he was undaunted in his Services for God and his People; He was no more to be moved to fear than to Wrath. His Behaviour at Derby, Litchfield, Appleby, before Oliver Cromwell, at Launceston, Scarborough, Worcester, and Westminster-Hall, with many other Places and Exercises, did abundantly evidence it, to his Enemies as well as his Friends.

But as, in the Primitive Times, some rose up against the blessed Apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ, even from among those that they had turned to the Hope of the Gospel, and they became their greatest Trouble; so this Man of God had his Share of Suffering from some that were convinced by him, who, thro' Prejudice or Mistake, ran against him, as one that sought Dominion over Conscience, because he prest, by his Presence or Epistles, a ready and zealous Compliance with such good and wholesome Things as tended to an Orderly Conversation about the Affairs of the Church, and in their walking before Men. That which contributed much to this ill work,

work, was, in some, a begrudging of this Meek Man the love and esteem he had and deserved in the Hearts of the People, and weakness in others, that were taken with their groundless Suggestions of *Imposition and blind Obedience*.

They would have had every Man Independent, that as he had the Principle in himself, he should only stand and fall to that, and no Body else: Not considering that the Principle is One in all; and though the Measure of Light or Grace might differ, yet the Nature of it was the same; and being so, they struck at the *Spiritual Unity*, which a People, guided by the same Principle, are naturally led into: So that what is an Evil to One, is so to All, and what is Virtuous, Honest, and of good Repute to One, is so to All, from the Sense and Savour of the *One Universal Principle* which is common to all, and which the Dissaffected also profess to be the Root of all True Christian Fellowship, and that Spirit into which the People of God *drink*, and come to be Spiritually-minded, and of *one Heart and one Soul*.

Some weakly mistook *good Order* in the Government of Church Affairs, for *Discipline in Worship*, and that it was so press'd or recommended by Him and other Brethren. And thereupon they were ready to reflect the same Things that Dissenters had very reasonably objected upon the National Churches, that have coercively press'd Conformity to their respective Creeds and Worthips. Whereas these Things related *wholly to Conversation*, and the *Outward* (and as I may say) *Civil Part of the Church*; that Men should walk up to the Principles of their Belief, and not be wanting in Care and Charity. But though some have stumbled and fallen through Mistakes, and an unreasonable Obstinacy, even to a Prejudice; yet blessed be God, the Generality have returned to their First Love, and seen the Work of the Enemy, that loses no Opportunity or Advantage by which he may check or hinder the Work of God, and disquiet the Peace of his Church, and chill the Love of his People to the Truth, and one to another; and there is hope of divers of the few that yet are at a Distance.

In all these Occasions, though there was no Person the Discontented struck so sharply at, as this Good Man, he bore all their Weakness and Prejudice, and returned not Reflection for Reflection; but forgave them their weak and bitter Speeches, praying for them that they might have a Sense of their hurt, and see the Subtlety of the Enemy to Rend and Divide, and return into their First Love that thought no ill.

And truly I must say that though God had visibly clothed him with a *Divine Preference and Authority*, and indeed his very Presence express'd a Religious Majesty; yet he never abused it; but held his Place in the Church of God with *great Meekness, and a most engaging Humility and Moderation*. For upon all Occasions, like his blessed Master, he was a *Servant to all*; holding and exercising his Eldership in the Invisible Power that had gathered them, with Reverence to the Head and Care over the Body: And was received, only in that Spirit and Power of Christ, as the First and Chief Elder in this Age: Who, as he was therefore worthy of double Honour, so for the same Reason it was given by the Faithful of this Day; because his Authority was inward and not outward, and that he got it and kept it by the Love of God, and Power of an Endless Life. I write my Knowledge, and not Report, and *my Witness is True*; having been with him for Weeks and Months together on divers Occasions, and those of the nearest and most exercising Nature; and that by Night and by Day, by Sea and by Land; in this and in Foreign Countries: And I can say, I never saw him out of his Place, or not a Match for every Service or Occasion.

For in all Things he acquitted himself like a Man, yea, a strong Man, a *New and Heavenly-Minded Man*, a *Divine* and a *Naturalist*, and all of God Almighty's making. I have been surpris'd at his Questions and Answers in Natural Things: That whilst he was Ignorant of useles and Sophistical Science, he had in him the Grounds of Useful and Commendable Knowledge, and cherish'd it every where. *Civil, beyond all Forms of Breeding*, in

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his Behaviour: Very Temperate, Eating little, and Sleeping Less, though a Bulky Person.

Thus he lived and Sojourned among us: And as he lived so he died; feeling the same Eternal Power, that had raised and preserved him, in his last Moments. So full of *Assurance* was he, that he Triumpht over Death; and so even in his Spirit to the last, as if Death were hardly worth Notice, or a mention: Recommending to some of us with him the Dispatch and Dispersion of an Epistle just before given forth by him to the Churches of Christ throughout the World, and his own Books: But above all, Friends; and of all Friends, those in *Ireland and America*, twice over, Saying, *Mind poor Friends in Ireland and America*.

And to some that came in and enquired how he found himself, he answered, *Never heed, the Lord's Power is over all Weakness and Death; the Seed Reigns, Blessed be the Lord*: Which was about Four or Five Hours before his Departure out of this World. He was at the great Meetings near *Lombard-street*, on the First Day of the Week, and it was the Third following about Ten at Night when he left us; being at the House of *H. Goldney* in the same Court. In a good old Age he went, after having lived to see his *Childrens Children in the Truth to many Generations*. He had the Comfort of a short Illness, and the Blessing of a clear Sense to the last: And we may truly say, with a Man of God of Old, *that being Dead, he yet speaketh*; And though now absent in Body, *he is present in Spirit*: Neither Time nor Place being able to interrupt the Communion of Saints, or dissolve the Fellowships of the Spirits of the Just. His Works praise him, because they are to the Praise of Him that wrought by him; for which his Memorial is and shall be Blessed. I have done, as to this Part of my Preface, when I have left this short Epitaph to his Name, *Many Sons have done Virtuoussly in this Day; but, Dear George, Thou excellest them All*.

CHAP. VI.

Containing Five several Exhortations, First, General, reminding this People of their Primitive Integrity and Simplicity. Secondly, in Particular, to the Ministry. Thirdly, to the Young Convinced. Fourthly, to the Children of Friends. Fifthly, to those that are yet Strangers to this People and Way, to whom this Book, (and that it was Preface to in it's former Edition) may come. All the several Exhortations accommodated to their several States and Conditions; that all may answer the End of God's Glory and their own Salvation.

AND now, Friends, you that profess to walk in the Way that this Blessed Man was sent of God to turn us into, suffer, I beseech you, the Word of Exhortation, as well *Fathers as Children*, and *Elders as Young Men*, The Glory of this Day, and Foundation of the Hope that has not made us ashamed since we were a People, you know; is that blessed Principle of Light and Life of Christ which we profess, and Direct all People to, as the great and *Divine Instrument and Agent* of Man's Conversion to God. It was by this that we were first Touched, and effectually enlightened, as to our Inward State; which put us upon the Consideration of our Latter End, causing us to set the Lord before our Eyes, and to Number our Days that we might apply our Hearts to Wisdom. In that Day we judged not after the *Sight of the Eye*, or after the *Hearing of the Ear*, but according to the *Light and Sense* this *Blessed Principle* gave us, so we judged and acted in Reference to Things and Persons, our selves and others; yea, towards God our Maker. For being quick'ned by it in our *Inward Man*, we could easily discern the Difference of Things, and feel what was Right, and what was Wrong, and what was Fit, and what not, both in reference to *Religious and Civil Concerns*. That being the Ground of the Fellowship
of

of all Saints, it was in that our Fellowship stood. In this we desired to have a *Sense* of one another, acted towards one another, and all Men; in *Love, Faithfulness* and *Fear*.

In feeling of the *Stirrings* and *Motions* of this Principle in our Hearts, we drew near to the Lord, and waited to be prepared by it, that we might feel *Drawings* and *Movings* before we approached the Lord in Prayer, or open'd our Mouths in Ministry. And in our Beginning and Ending with *This* stood our *Comfort, Service* and *Edification*. And as we ran faster or fell short, we made Burthens for our selves to bear; our Services finding in our selves a Rebuke instead of an Acceptance; and in lieu of Well done, *who has required this at your Hands?* In that Day we were an Exercised People, our very Countenances and Deportment declared it.

Care for others was then much upon us, as well as for our selves; especially of the *Young Convinced*. Often had we the Burthen of the Word of the Lord to our *Neighbours, Relations* and *Acquaintance*; and sometimes *Strangers* also. We were in Travel likewise for one anothers Preservation; Not seeking, but shunning Occasions of any Coldness or Misunderstanding: treating one another as those that believed and felt God present. Which kept our Conversation *Innocent, Serious* and *Weighty*; guarding our selves against the Cares and Friendships of the World. We held the Truth in the Spirit of it, and not in our own Spirits, or after our own Will and Affections.

They were bowed and brought into Subjection, in so much that it was visible to them that knew us. We did not think our selves at our own *Disposal*, to go where we List, or say or do what we List, or when we List. Our Liberty stood in the Liberty of the Spirit of Truth; and no Pleasure, no Profit, no Fear, no Favour could draw us from this retired, strict and watchful Frame. We were so far from seeking Occasion of Company, that we avoided them what we could; pursuing our own Business, with Moderation, instead of meddling with other People's Unnecessarily.

Our Words were Few and Savoury, our Looks Composed and Weighty, and our whole Deportment very Observable. True it is, that this Retired and strict Sort of Life from the Liberty of the Conversation of the World, exposed us to the Censures of many, as *Humourists, Conceited* and *Self-righteous* Persons, &c. But it was our Preservation from many Snares, to which others were continually exposed, by the Prevalency of the Lust of the Eye, the Lust of the Flesh, and the Pride of Life, that wanted no Occasions or Temptations to excite them abroad in the converse of the World.

I cannot forget the *Humility* and *Chaste Zeal* of that Day. O, how constant at Meetings, how Retired in them, how Firm to Truth's Life, as well as *Truth's Principles*! And how Entire and United in our Communion, as indeed became those that profess one Head, even Christ Jesus the Lord.

This being the Testimony and Example the Man of God, before-mentioned, was sent to declare and Leave amongst us, and we having embraced the same as the *Merciful Visitation* of God to us, the Word of Exhortation at this Time is, *That we continue to be found in the Way of this Testimony, with all Zeal and Integrity, and so much the more, by how much the Day draweth near.*

And first, as to you my Beloved and much honoured Brethren in Christ, that are in the Exercise of the Ministry: O, feel *Life* in your Ministry! Let *Life* be your Commission, your Well-Spring and Treasury in all such Occasions; else, you well know, there can be no begetting to God, since nothing can quicken or make People alive to God, but the *Life* of God: And it must be a Ministry in and from *Life*, that enlivens any People to God. We have seen the Fruit of all other Ministers, by the few that are turned from the Evil of their Ways. It is not our *Parts*, or *Memory*, the Repetition of former Openings, in our own Will and Time, that will do God's Work. A dry Doctrinal Ministry, however found in Words, can reach but the *Ear*, and is but a *Dream* at the Best: There is another Soundness, that

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that is soundest of all, viz. *Christ the Power of God*. This is the *Key of David*, that opens and none shuts, and shuts, and none can open: As the Oil to the Lamp, and the Soul to the Body, so is that to the best of Words. Which made Christ to say, *My Words, they are Spirit, and they are Life*; that is, they are from Life, and therefore they make you alive, that receive them. If the Disciples, that had lived with Jesus, were to stay at *Jerusalem*, till they received it; much more must we wait to receive before we minister, if we will turn People from Darkness to Light, and from Satan's Power to God.

I fervently bow my Knees to the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, that you may always be like minded, that you may ever wait reverently, for the Coming and Opening of the Word of Life, and attend upon it in your Ministry and Service, that you may serve God in his Spirit. And be it little, or be it much, it is well; for much is not too much, and the least is enough, if from the Motion of God's Spirit; and without it, verily, never so little is too much, because to no Profit.

For it is the Spirit of the Lord immediately or through the Ministry of his Servants, that teacheth his People to profit; and to be sure, so far as we take him along with us in our Services; so far we are profitable and no farther. For if it be the Lord that must work all Things in us, for our Salvation, much more is it the Lord that must work in us for the Conversion of others. If therefore it was once a Cross to us to speak, though the Lord required it at our Hands, let us never be so to be silent, when he does not.

It is one of the most dreadful Sayings in the Book of God, *That he that adds to the Words of the Prophecy of this Book, God will add to him the Plagues written in this Book*. To keep back the Counsel of God, is as terrible; for he that takes away from the Words of the Book of this Prophecy, God shall take away his Part out of the Book of Life. And truly, it has great Caution in it, to those that use the Name of the Lord, to be well assured the Lord speaks, that they may not be found of the Number of those that add to the Words of the Testimony of Prophecy, which the Lord giveth them to bear; nor yet to mince or diminish the same, both being so very offensive to God.

Wherefore, Brethren, let us be careful neither to out-go our Guide, nor yet loiter behind him; since he that makes Haste, may miss his Way, and he that stays behind, lose his Guide. For even those that have received the Word of the Lord, had need wait for Wisdom, that they may see how to divide the Word aright: Which plainly implieth that it is possible for one, that hath received the Word of the Lord, to miss in the dividing and Application of it, which must come from an Impatience of Spirit, and a Self-working, which makes an unsound and dangerous Mixture; and will hardly beget a right-minded living People to God.

I am earnest in this above all Considerations, as to publick Brethren; well knowing how much it concerns the present and future State, and Preservation of the Church of Christ Jesus, that has been gathered and built up by a Living and Powerful Ministry, that the Ministry beheld, preserved, and continued in the Manifestations Motions and Supplies of the same Life and Power, from Time to Time.

And where-ever it is observed, that any do minister more from Gifts and Parts, than Life and Power, tho' they have an Inlightned and Doctrinal Understanding, let them in Time be advised and admonished for their Preservation, because insensibly such will come to depend upon a Self-Sufficiency; to forsake Christ the Living Fountain, and hew out unto themselves Cisterns that will hold no Living Waters: And by Degrees such will come to draw others from waiting upon the Gift of God in themselves, and to feel it in others, in Order to their Strength and Refreshment, to wait upon them, and to turn from God to Man again, and so make Shipwreck of the Faith, once delivered to the Saints, and of a good Conscience towards God; which are only kept by that Divine Gift of Life, that beget the one, and awaken'd and sanctified the other in the Beginning.

Nor

Not is it enough, that we have known the Divine Gift, and in it have reached to the *Spirits in Prison*, and been the Instruments of the Convincing of others, of the Way of God, if we keep not as low and poor in our selves, and as depending upon the Lord, as ever: Since no *Memory*, no *Repetitions of former Openings*, Revelations or Enjoyments, will bring a Soul to God, or afford *Bread* to the Hungry, or *Water* to the Thirsty, unless Life go with what we say, and that must be waited for.

O that we may have *no other Fountain, Treasure or Dependence!* That none may presume at any Rate to act of themselves for God, because they have long acted from God; that we may not supply Want of waiting with our own Wisdom, or think that we may take less Care, and more Liberty in speaking than formerly; and that where we do not feel the Lord by *his Power*, to open us and enlarge us, whatever be the Expectation of the People, or has been our customary Supply and Character, we may not exceed or fill up the Time with our own.

I hope we shall ever remember, who it was that said, *Of your selves you can do nothing*: Our Sufficiency is in him. And if we are not to speak our own Words, or take thought what we should say to Men in our Defence, when exposed for our Testimony, surely we ought to speak none of our own Words, or take thought what we shall say in our Testimony and Ministry, in the Name of our Lord, to the Souls of the People; for then of all Times, and of all other Occasions, should it be fulfilled in us, *for it is not you that speak, but the Spirit of my Father that speaketh in you.*

And indeed, the Ministry of the Spirit, must and does keep its Analogy and Agreement, with the *Birth of the Spirit*, that as no Man can inherit the Kingdom of God, *unless he be born of the Spirit*, so no Ministry can beget a Soul to God, but that which is *from the Spirit*. For this, as I said before, the Disciples waited before they went forth; and in this, our *Elder Brethren*, and *Messengers of God* in our Day, waited, visited and reached us, and having begun in the *Spirit*, let none ever hope or seek to be made *perfect in the Flesh*: For what is the *Flesh* to the *Spirit*, or the *Chaff* to the *Wheat*? And if we keep in the Spirit, we shall keep in the *Unity* of it, which is the Ground of the *Fellowship*. For by *Drinking* into that *one Spirit*, we are made one People to God, and by it we are continued in the *Unity* of the Faith, and the Bond of Peace. No *envying*, no *Bitterness*, no *Strife*, can have Place with us. We shall watch always for Good, and not for Evil, one over another, and rejoice exceedingly, and not begrudge at *one another's Increase* in the Riches of the Grace with which God replenisheth his faithful Servants.

And Brethren, as to you is committed the Dispensation of the Oracles of God, which give you frequent Opportunities, and great Place with the People among whom you travail, I beseech you that you would not think it sufficient, to declare the Word of Life, in their Assemblies; however edifying and comfortable such Opportunities may be to you and them: But, as was the Practice of the Man of God, before mentioned, in great Measure, when among us, inquire the State of the several Churches you visit; who among them are *afflicted or sick*, who are *Tempted*, and if any are *unfaithful or obstinate*; and endeavour to issue those Things in the *Wisdom and Power of God*, which will be a glorious *Crown* upon your *Ministry*. As that prepares your Way in the Hearts of the People, to receive you as Men of God, so it gives you Credit with them to do them Good by your Advice in other Respects, the Afflicted will be comforted by you, the Tempted strengthened, the Sick refreshed, the Unfaithful convicted and restored, and such as are obstinate, softened and fitted for Reconciliation, which is clinching the Nail, and applying and fastning the general Testimony, by this particular Care of the several Branches of it, in Reference to them more immediately concerned in it.

For though *Good and Wise Men*, and *Elders too*, may reside in such Places, who are of worth and Importance in the general, and in other Places; yet it does not always follow, that they may have the Room they deserve

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in the Hearts of the People they live among; or some particular Occasion may make it unfit for him or them to use that Authority. But you that travail as God's Messengers, if they receive you in the greater, shall they refuse you in the less? And if they own the general Testimony, can they withstand the particular Application of it, in their own Cases? Thus, ye will shew your selves Workmen indeed, and carry your Business before you, to the Praise of his Name, that hath called you from Darkness to Light, that you might turn others from Satan's Power unto God and his Kingdom, which is within. And O that there were more of such faithful Labourers in the Vineyard of the Lord! Never more Need since the Day of God.

Wherefore I cannot but cry and call aloud to you, that have been long Professors of the Truth, and know the Truth in the convincing Power of it, and have had a sober Conversation among Men, yet content your selves only to know Truth for your selves, to go to Meetings, and exercise an ordinary Charity in the Church, and an honest Behaviour in the World, and limit your selves within those Bounds; feeling little or no Concern upon your Spirits, for the Glory of the Lord in the Prosperity of his Truth in the Earth, more than to be glad that others succeed in such Service. *Arise ye in the Name and Power of the Lord Jesus!* Behold how white the Fields are unto Harvest, in this and other Nations, and how few Able and Faithful Labourers there are to work therein! Your Country Folks, Neighbours and Kindred, want to know the Lord and his Truth, and to walk in it. Does nothing lie at your Door upon their Account? Search and see, and lose no Time, I beseech you, for the Lord is at Hand.

I do not judge you, there is one that judgeth all Men, and his Judgment is true. You have mightily increased in your outward Substance: May you equally increase in your inward Riches, and do good with both, while you have a Day to do Good. Your Enemies would once have taken what you had from you, *For his Name Sake*, in whom you have believed; wherefore he has given you much of the World, in the Face of your Enemies. But O, let it be your Servant, and not your Master! Your Diversion rather than your Business! Let the Lord be chiefly in your Eye, and ponder your Ways, and see if God has nothing more for you to do: And if you find your selves short in your Account with him, then wait for his Preparation, and be ready to receive the *Word of Command*, and be not weary of well-doing, when you have put your Hand to the Plough, and assuredly you shall reap, if you faint not, the Fruit of your Heavenly Labour in God's Everlasting Kingdom.

And You Young Convinced Ones, be you intreated and exhorted to a diligent and chaste Waiting upon God, in the Way of his blessed Manifestation and Appearance of himself to you. Look not out, but within: Let not another's Liberty be your Snare: Neither act by Imitation, but Sense and Feeling of God's Power in your selves: Crush not the tender Buddings of it in your Souls, nor overrun, in your Desires and Warmness of Affections, the holy and gentle Motions of it. Remember it is a *still Voice*, that speaks to us in this Day, and that it is not to be heard in the Noises and Hurries of the Mind; but it is distinctly understood, in a retired Frame. Jesus loved and chose Solitudes; often going to Mountains, Gardens and Sea-Sides, to avoid Crowds and Hurries, to shew his Disciples it was good to be Solitary, and sit loose to the World. Two Enemies lie near your States, Imagination and Liberty; but the plain, practical, living, holy Truth, that has convinced you, will preserve you, if you mind it in your selves, and bring all Thoughts, Inclinations and Affections, to the Test of it, to see if they are wrought in God, or of the Enemy, or your own selves: So will a true Taste, Discerning and Judgment, be preserved to you, of what you should do and leave undone. And in your Diligence and Faithfulness in this Way you will come to inherit Substance; and Christ the eternal Wisdom, will fill your Treasury. And when you are converted, as well as convinced, then confirm your Brethren; and be ready to every good Word and Work, that the Lord shall call you to; that you may be to his Praise, who has

has chosen you to be Partakers, with the Saints in Light, of a Kingdom that cannot be shaken, an Inheritance incorruptible in Eternal Habitations.

And now, as for you, that are the *Children of God's People*, a great Concern is upon my Spirit, for your Good: And often are my Knees bowed to the God of your Fathers, for you, that you may come to be Partakers of the same divine Life and Power, that have been the Glory of this Day; that a Generation you may be to God, an *holy Nation*, and a *Peculiar People, Zealous of good Works*, when all our Heads are laid in the Dust. O you Young Men and Women! Let it not suffice you, that you are the Children of the People of the Lord; you must also be *born again*, if you will inherit the Kingdom of God. Your Fathers are but such after the Flesh, and could but beget you into the Likeness of the *first Adam*; but you must be begotten into the Likeness of the *Second Adam*, by a spiritual Generation, or you will not, you cannot, be of his Children or Off-spring. And therefore look carefully about you, O ye Children of the Children of God! Consider your Standing, and see what you are in Relation to this divine Kindred, Family and Birth! Have you obeyed the *Light*, and received and walked in the Spirit, which is the incorruptible Seed of the Word and Kingdom of God, of which you must be born again. God is no Respecter of Persons. The Father cannot save or answer for the Child, or the Child for the Father, but in the Sin thou sinnest thou shalt die; and in the Righteousness thou dost, through Christ Jesus, thou shalt live; for it is the *Willing and Obedient* that shall eat the Good of the Land. *Be not deceived, God is not mocked, such as all Nations and People sow, such they shall reap at the Hand of the Just God.* And then your many and great Privileges, above the Children of other People, will add Weight in the Scale against you, if you chuse not the Way of the Lord. For you have had *Line upon Line, and Precept upon Precept*, and not only good Doctrine, but good Example; and which is more, you have been turned to, and acquainted with, a Principle in your selves, which others have been ignorant of: And you know you may be as good as you please, without the Fear of Frowns and Blows, or being turned out of Doors, and forsaken of Father and Mother, for God's Sake, and his holy Religion, as has been the Case of some of your Fathers, in the Day they first entred into this Holy Path. And if you, after hearing and seeing the Wonders that God has wrought in the Deliverance and Preservation of them, through a Sea of Troubles, and the manifold temporal, as well as spiritual Blessings, that he has filled them with, in the Sight of their Enemies, should neglect and turn your Backs upon so great and near Salvation, you would not only be most ungrateful Children to God and them, but must expect that God will call the Children of those that knew him not, to take the Crown out of your Hands, and that your Lot will be a dreadful Judgment at the Hand of the Lord: But O that it may never be so with any of you. The Lord forbid, saith my Soul.

Wherefore, O ye Young Men and Women, look to the Rock of your Fathers: There is no other God but him, no other Light but his, no other Grace but his, nor Spirit but his, to convince you, quicken and comfort you; to lead, guide and preserve you to God's everlasting Kingdom. So will you be Possessors as well as Professors of the Truth, embracing it, not only by Education, but Judgment and Conviction; From a Sense begotten in your Souls, through the Operation of the Eternal Spirit and Power of God; by which you may come to be the Seed of Abraham, through Faith, and the Circumcision not made with Hands; and so Heirs of the Promise made to the Fathers, of an incorruptible Crown. That, as I said before, a Generation you may be to God, holding up the Profession of the blessed Truth in the Life and Power of it. For Formality in Religion is *nauseous to God and good Men*; and the more so, where any Form and Appearance has been new and peculiar, and begun and practiced, upon a Principle, with an uncommon Zeal and Strictness. Therefore I say, for you to fall flat and formal, and continue the Profession, without that Salt and Savour, by which it is come to obtain a good Report among Men, is not to answer God's Love, or

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or your Parents Care, or the Mind of Truth in your selves, or in those that are without: Who, tho' they will not obey the Truth, have Sight and Sense enough to see if they do that make a Profession of it. For where the Divine Virtue of it is not felt in the Soul, and waited for, and lived in, Imperfections will quickly break out, and shew themselves, and detect the Unfaithfulness of such Persons; and that their *Infides* are not seasoned with the Nature of that Holy Principle which they profess.

Wherefore, Dear Children, let me intreat you to *shut your Eyes* at the Temptations and Allurements of this low and perishing World, and not suffer your Affections to be captivated by those Lusts and Vanities that your Fathers, *for the Truth's Sake*, long since turned their Backs upon: But as you believe it to be the Truth, receive it into your *Hearts*, that you may become the Children of God: So that it may never be said of you, as the *Evangelist* writes of the Jews in his Time, that Christ, the true Light, *came to his own, but his own received him not; but to as many as received him, to them he gave Power to become the Children of God; which were born, not of Blood, nor of the Will of the Flesh, nor of the Will of Man, but of God.* A most close and comprehensive Passage to this Occasion. You *exactly* and *peculiarly* answer to those professing *Jews*, in that you bear the Name of God's People, by being the Children, and wearing of the Form of God's People: And He, by *his Light in you*, may be very well said to come to his own, and if you obey it not, but turn your Back upon it, and walk after the *Vanities* of your Minds, you will be of those that received him not, which I pray God may never be your Case and Judgment. But that you may be *thoroughly sensible* of the many and great Obligations you lie under to the Lord for his Love, and to your Parents for their Care: And with *all your Heart, and all your Soul, and all your Strength, turn to the Lord, to his Gift and Spirit in you, and bear his Voice and obey it, that you may Seal to the Testimony of your Fathers, by the Truth and Evidence of your own Experience*; that your Children's Children may *bless you*, and the Lord *for you*, as those that deliver'd a *faithful Example*, as well as Record of the Truth of God unto them. So will the *Grey Hairs* of your Dear Parents, yet alive, *go down to the Grave with Joy*, to see you the Posterity of Truth, as well as theirs, and that not only their Nature but Spirit shall live in you when they are gone.

I shall conclude this Account with a few Words to those that are not of our Communion, into whose Hands this may come; especially those of our own Nation.

Friends, As you are the Sons and Daughters of *Adam*, and my Brethren after the Flesh, *often* and *earnest* have been my Desires and Prayers to God on your Behalf, that you may come to know your *Creator* to be your *Redeemer* and *Restorer* to the *Holy Image*, that through Sin you have lost, by the Power and Spirit of his Son *Jesus Christ*, whom he hath given for the *Light* and *Life* of the World. And O that you, who are called *Christians*, would receive him into your *Hearts*! For *there* it is you want him, and at *that Door* he stands knocking that you might let him in, but you do not open to him: You are full of other Guests, so that a *Manger* is his Lot among you now, as well as of Old. Yet you are full of Profession, as were the *Jews* when he came among them, who knew him not, but *rejected* and *evilly intreated* him. So that if you come not to the Possession and Experience of what you profess, all your Formality in Religion will stand you in *no Stead* in the Day of God's Judgment.

I beseech you *pander* with your selves your Eternal Condition, and see what *Title*, what Ground and Foundation you have for your Christianity: If more than a Profession, and an Historical Belief of the Gospel? Have you known the *Baptism of Fire*, and the *Holy Ghost*, and the *Fan* of Christ that winnows away the *Chaff* in your Minds, and *Carnal Lusts* and *Affections*? That *Divine Leaven* of the Kingdom, that, being receiv'd, *Leavens the whole Lump* of Man, sanctifying him *throughout* in Body, Soul and



and Spirit? If this be not the Ground of your Confidence, you are in a miserable Estate.

You will say, perhaps, that though you are Sinners, and live in daily Communion of Sin, and are not Sanctified, as I have been speaking, yet you have Faith in Christ, who has born the Curse for you, and in him you are Compleat by Faith, his Righteousness being imputed to you.

But, my Friends, let me intreat you not to deceive your selves, in so important a Point, as is that of your Immortal Souls. If you have *true Faith* in Christ, your Faith will make you *Clean*; it will Sanctify you: For the Saints Faith was their Victory of Old: By this they overcame *Sin within*, and *Sinful Men without*. And if thou art in Christ, thou walkest not after the Flesh, but after the Spirit, whose Fruits are Manifest. Yea, thou art a *New Creature*: New made, New Fashioned; after God's Will and Mould. Old Things are done away, and behold, all Things are become New: *New Love, Desires, Will, Affections and Practices*. It is not any longer Thou that livest; Thou Disobedient, Carnal, Worldly One; but it is *Christ that liveth in thee*; and to live is Christ, and to die is thy Eternal Gain: Because thou art assured, That thy Corruptible shall put on Incorruption, and thy Mortal, Immortality, and that thou hast a Glorious House Eternal in the Heavens that will never wax Old or pass away. All this follows being in Christ, as *Heat* follows Fire, and *Light* the Sun.

Therefore have a Care how you presume to rely upon such a Notion, as that you are in Christ, whilst in your old fallen Nature. For what Communion hath Light with Darkness, or Christ with *Behal*? Hear what the beloved Disciple tells you: *If we say we have Fellowship with God, and walk in Darkness, we lie, and do not the Truth*. This is, if we go on in a Sinful Way, are Captivated by our Carnal Affections, and are not Converted to God, we walk in Darkness, and cannot possibly in that State have any Fellowship with God. Christ clothes them, with his Righteousness, that receive his Grace in their Hearts, and deny themselves, and take up his Cross daily, and follow him. Christ's Righteousness makes Men inwardly Holy; of Holy Minds, Wills and Practices. It is nevertheless Christ's, because we have it; for it is ours, not by Nature, but by Faith and Adoption: It is the Gift of God. But still, though not ours, as of or from our selves, for in that Sense it is Christ's, for it is of and from him; yet it is ours, and must be ours in Possession, Efficacy and Enjoyment, to do us any Good; or Christ's Righteousness will profit us nothing. It was after this Manner that he was made to the Primitive Christians, *Righteousness, Sanctification, Justification and Redemption*; and if ever you will have the Comfort, Kernel and Marrow of the Christian Religion, thus you must come to learn and obtain it.

Now, my Friends, by what you have read, and will read in what follows, you may perceive that God has visited a *Poor People* among you with this saving Knowledge and Testimony: Whom he has upheld and increased to this Day, notwithstanding the fierce Opposition they have met withal. Despise not the Meanness of this Appearance: It was, and yet is (we know) a Day of small Things, and of small Account with too many; and many hard and ill Names are given to it: But it is of God, it came from him because it leads to him. This we know, but we cannot make another to know it, unless he will take the same Way to know it that we took. The World talks of God, but what do they do? They pray for Power, but reject the Principle in which it is. If you would know God, and worship and serve God as you should do, you must come to the Means he has ordained and given for that Purpose. Some seek it in Books, some in Learned Men, but what they look for, is in themselves, though not of themselves, but they overlook it. The Voice is too still, the Seed too small, and the Light shineth in Darkness; They are Abroad, and so cannot divide the Spoil: But the Woman that lost her Silver, found it at Home, alter she had lighted her Candle and swept her House. Do you so too, and you

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shall find what *Pilate* wanted to know, viz. Truth. Truth in the Inward Parts, so valuable in the Sight of God.

The Light of Christ within, who is the Light of the World, (and so a Light to you, that tells you the Truth of your Condition) leads all, that take Heed unto it, out of *Darkness unto God's marvellous Light*. For Light grows upon the Obedient: *It is sown for the Righteous, and their Way is a shining Light, that shines forth more and more to the perfect Day.*

Wherefore, O Friends, Turn in, Turn in, I beseech you: *Where is the Poison, There is the Antidote. There you want Christ, and There you must find him; and, blessed be God, There you may find him. Seek and you shall find, I testify for God.* But then you must seek aright, with your whole Heart, as Men that seek for their Lives, yea, for their Eternal Lives: Diligently, Humbly, Patiently, as those that can taste no Pleasure, Comfort, or Satisfaction in any Thing else, unless you find him whom your Souls desire to know and love above all. O it is a Travail, a Spiritual Travail! Let the Carnal, Profane World, think and say as it will. And through *This Path* you must walk to the City of God, that has Eternal Foundations, if ever you will come there.

Well! And what does this Blessed Light do for you? Why, 1. It sets all your Sins in order before you: It detects the Spirit of this World in all it's Baits and Allurements, and shews how Man came to fall from God, and the fallen Estate he is in. 2. It begets a *Sense* and *Sorrow*, in such as believe in it, for this fearful Lapse. You will then see him distinctly whom you have pierced, and all the *Blows* and *Wounds* you have given him by your *Disobedience*, and how you have made him to serve with your Sins; and you will Weep and Mourn for it, and your Sorrow will be a *Godly Sorrow*. 3. After this it will bring you to the Holy Watch, to take Care that you do so no more, and that the Enemy surprize you not again. Then *Thoughts*, as well as Words and Works, will come to *Judgment*, which is the Way of Holiness, in which the Redeemed of the Lord do walk. Here you will come to love God above all, and your Neighbours as your selves. Nothing hurts, nothing harms, nothing makes afraid on this Holy Mountain. Now you come to be Christ's indeed: for you are his *Nature* and *Spirit*, and not your own. And when you are thus Christ's, then Christ is yours, and not before. And here Communion with the Father, and with the Son you will know, and the *Efficacy* of the Blood of Cleansing, even the Blood of *Jesus Christ*, that *Immaculate Lamb*, which speaks better Things than the Blood of *Abel*; and which cleanseth from all Sin the Consciences of those that through the *living Faith* come to be sprinkled with it from dead Works to serve the living God.

To conclude, Behold the *Testimony* and *Doctrine* of the People call'd Quakers! Behold their *Practice* and *Discipline*! And behold the blessed Man and Men (at least many of them) that were sent of God in this Excellent Work and Service! All which is more particularly expressed in the *Annals* of that Man of God: Which I do heartily recommend to my Readers most serious Perusal; and beseech Almighty God, that his Blessing may go along with both, to the Convincement of many, as yet Strangers to this Holy Dispensation, and also to the Edification of God's Church in General. Who for his manifold and repeated Mercies and Blessings to his People in this Day of his great Love, is worthy ever to have the Glory, Honour, Thanksgiving and Renown; and be it rendred and ascribed, with Fear and Reverence, through him in whom he is well pleased, his beloved Son and Lamb, our Light and Life, that sits with him upon the Throne, World without End. Amen.

Says one that God has long since mercifully favoured with his Fatherly Visitation, and who was not disobedient to the Heavenly Vision and Call; to whom the Way of Truth is more Lovely and Precious than ever, and that knowing the Beauty and Benefit of it above all Worldly Treasures, has chosen it for his Chiefest Joy; and therefore recommends it to thy Love and Choice, because he is with great Sincerity and Affection,

Thy Soul's Friend, W. PENN.



THE
A D V I C E
O F
William Penn *to his CHILDREN,*
Relating to their
CIVIL and RELIGIOUS CONDUCT.

C H A P. I.

Chap. I.

My DEAR CHILDREN,

§. 1. **N**OT knowing how long it may please God to continue me amongst you, I am willing to embrace this Opportunity of leaving you my *Advice and Counsel*, with Respect to your Christian and Civil Capacity and Duty in this World: And I both beseech you and charge you, by the Relation you have to me, and the Affection I have always shewn to you, and indeed receiv'd from you, that you lay up the same in your Hearts, as well as your Heads, with a wise and religious Care.

§. 2. I will begin with that which is the Beginning of all true Wisdom and Happiness, the Holy Fear of God.

Children, Fear God; That is to say, have an holy Awe upon your Minds to avoid that which is Evil, and a strict Care to embrace and do that which is Good. The Measure and Standard of which Knowledge and Duty, is the Light of Christ in your Consciences, by which, as in *John* 3. 20, 21. you may clearly see if your Deeds, ay and your Words and Thoughts too, are wrought in God or not: (for they are the Deeds of the Mind, and for which you must be judged) I say, with this Divine Light of Christ in your Consciences, you may bring your Thoughts, Words, and Works to Judgment in your selves, and have a right true Sound and unerring Sense of your Duty towards God and Man. And as you come to obey this blessed Light in it's holy Convictions, it will lead you out of the World's dark and degenerate Ways and Works, and bring you unto Christ's Way and Life, and to be of the Number of his true self-denying Followers, to take up your Cross for his Sake, that bore his for yours; and to become the Children of the Light, putting it on, as your holy Armour; by which you may see and resist the fiery Darts of Satan's Temptations, and overcome him in all his Assaults.

§. 3. I would a little explain this Principle to you. It is call'd Light, *John* 1. 9, c. 3. 19, 20, 21, and c. 8. 12, *Eph.* 5. 8, 13, 14. 1 *Thes.* 5. 5. 1 *Ep. of John* 1. 5, 6, 7. *Rev.* 21. 23. because it gives Man a Sight of his Sin. And 'tis also called the quickening Spirit; for so he is called; and the Lord from Heaven, as 1 *Cor.* 15. 45, 57, who is call'd and calls himself the Light of the World, *John* 8. 12, and why is he called the Spirit? Because he gives Man Spiritual Life. And *John* 16. 8. Christ promised to
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send his Spirit to convince the World of their Sins: Wherefore that which convinces you and all People of their Sins, is the Spirit of Christ: This is highly prized, *Rom. 8.* as you may read in that great and sweet Chapter, for the Children of God are led by it. This Reveals the Things of God, that appertain to Man's Salvation and Happiness, as *1 Cor. 2. 10, 11, 12.* It is the Earnest God gives his People, *2 Cor. 5. 5.* It is the great End and Benefit and Blessing of the Coming of Christ, *viz.* The shining forth of this Light and Pouring forth of this Spirit: Yea, Christ is not Received by them, that resist his Light and Spirit in their Hearts; nor can they have the Benefit of His Birth, Life, Death, Resurrection, Intercession, &c. who Rebel against the Light. God sent his Son to bless us, in turning of us from the Evil of our Ways: Therefore have a care of Evil, for that turns you away from God; and wherein you have done Evil, do so no more: But be ye turned, my Dear Children, from that Evil, in thought as well as in Word or Deed, or that will turn you from God, your Creator, and Christ whom he has given you for your Redeemer; who redeems and saves his People from their Sins. *Tit. 2. 14.* not in their Sins, read *Acts 2.* and *Heb. 8.* and the Christian Dispensation will appear to be that of the Spirit, which Sin quencheth, hardens the Heart against, and bolts the Door upon. This Holy Divine Principle is called *Grace* too, *1 Tim. 2. 11, 12,* there you will see the Nature and Office of it, and it's blessed Effects upon those that were taught of it in the Primitive Days. And why *Grace*? Because it is God's Love and not our Desert, his Good-will, his Kindness. *He so loved the World, that he gave his only begotten Son into the World, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have Everlasting Life, John 3. 16,* and it is this Holy Son, that in *John 1. 14, 16,* is declared to be full of *Grace* and Truth, and that of his *Grace* we receive *Grace* for *Grace*, that is, we receive of him, the Fulness, what Measure of *Grace* we need. And the Lord told *Paul* in his great Trials, when ready to stagger about the Sufficiency of the *Grace*, he had receiv'd, to deliver him, *my Grace is sufficient for thee, 2 Cor. 12. 9.* O Children, love the *Grace*, hearken to this *Grace*, it will teach you, it will sanctifie you, it will lead you to the Rest and Kingdom of God; as it taught the Saints of old, first, what to deny, *viz. To deny Ungodliness and worldly Lusts;* and then what to do, *viz. to live Soberly, Righteously and Godly in this present World, Tit. 2. 11, 12.* And he that is full of *Grace*, is full of Light, and he that is full of Light is the quickening Spirit, that gives a Manifestation of his Spirit to every one to profit with, *1 Cor. 12. 7.* And he that is the quickning Spirit is the Truth. I am the Way the Truth and the Life, said he, to his poor Followers, *John 14. 6.* And if the Truth make you free; said he, to the *Jews*, then are you free indeed *John 8. 32, 36.* And this Truth sheds abroad it self in Man and begets Truth in the inward Parts, and makes false, rebellious hypocritical Man, a true Man to God again. Truth in the inward Parts is of great Price with the Lord. And why called TRUTH? Because it tells Man the Truth of his Spiritual State; it shews him his State, deals plainly with him, and sets his Sins in order before him. So that, my dear Children, the *Light, Spirit, Grace,* and *Truth* are not divers Principles, but divers Words or Denominations given to One Eternal Power and Heavenly Principle in you, tho' not of you, but of God, according to the Manifestation or Operation thereof in the Servants of God of old Time: Light, to discover and give discerning: Spirit, to quicken and enliven: *Grace*, to wit, the Love of God: Truth, because it tells Man the Truth of his Condition, and redeems him from the Errors of his Ways; that as Darkness, Death, Sin, and Error are the same, so *Light, Spirit, Grace* and *Truth*, are the same.

§. 4. This is that which is come by Christ, and a Measure of this Light, Spirit, *Grace*, and Truth, is given to every Man and Woman to see their Way to go by. This is that, which distinguishes Friends from all other Societies, as they are found walking in the same, which leads out of vain Honours, Complements, Lusts and Pleasures of the World.

O my Dear Children, this is the Pearl of Price, part with all for it, but never part with it for all the World. This is the Gospel Leaven, to leaven you, that is, sanctifie and season you in Body, Soul, and Spirit, to God, your Heavenly Father's Use and Service, and your own lasting Comfort. Yea, this is the Divine and Incorruptible Seed of the Kingdom; of which all truly regenerate Men and Women, Chrillians of Christ's making, are born. Receive it into your Hearts, give it room there, let it take deep root in you, and you will be fruitful unto God in every good Word and Work. As you take Heed to it and the Holy Enlightenings and Motions of it, you will have a perfect Discerning of the Spirit of this World in all it's Appearances in your selves and others; the Motions, Temptations and Workings of it, as to Pride, Vanity, Covetousness, Revenge, Uncleaness, Hypocrisy and every evil Way; you will see the World in all it's Shapes and Features, and you will be able to Judge the World by it, and the Spirit of the World in all it's Appearances: You will see as I have done that there is much to deny, much to suffer and much to do: And you will see that there is no Power or Virtue, but in the Light, Spirit, Grace and Truth of Christ, to carry you through the World to God's Glory and your Everlasting Peace. Yea, you will see what Religion is from Above, and what is from below; what is of God's working, and of Man's making and forcing; also what Ministry is of his Spirit and giving, and what of Man's Studying, Framing, and Imposing. You will, I say, discern the Rise, Nature, Tokens and Fruits of the True from the False Ministry, and what Worship is Spiritual, and what Carnal; and what Honour is of God, and what that Honour is, which is from below, of Men, yea, fallen Men, that the *Jews* and the World so generally love, and which, is spoken against in *John* 5. 44. you will see the vain and evil Communication, that *corrupts good Manners*; the Snares of much Company and Business, and especially the Danger of the Friendship of this present evil World. And you will also see, that the Testimony, the Eternal God hath brought our poor Friends unto, as to *Religion, Worship, Truth-speaking, Ministry, Plainness, Simplicity, and Moderation in Apparel, Furniture, Food, Salutation*, as you may read in their Writings, from the very Beginning, is a True and Heavenly Testimony of his Mind, Will, Work and Dispensation in this last Age of the World to Mankind, being the Revival of true Primitive Christianity: Where your most tender Father prays that you may be kept, and charges you to watch that you may be preserved in the Faith and Practise of that Blessed Testimony; and count it no small Mercy from God, nor Honour to you, that you come of Parents that counted nothing too dear or near to part with, nor too great to do or suffer, that they might approve themselves to God, and testify their Love to his most precious *Truth* in the inward Parts, in their Generation. And I do also charge you, my dear Children, to retain in your Remembrance those worthy Ancients in the Work of Christ, which remained alive to your Day and Memory, and yet remain to your Knowledge; more especially that Man of God and Prince in *Israel*, the first born and begotten of our Day and Age of Truth, and the first and the great Early Instrument of God amongst us, *George Fox*. And what you have heard, seen and observed, of those Heavenly Worthies, their *Holy Wisdom, Zeal, Love, Labours and Sufferings*, and particular Tenderneſs to you, Treasure up for your Children after you, and tell them what you have heard, seen and known, of the Servants and Work of God, and Progress thereof, as an Holy, Exemplary, and Edifying Tradition unto them. And be sure, that you forsake not the assembling your selves with God's People, as the Manner of some was *Heb.* 10. 25. and is at this Day, especially among young People, the Children of some Friends, whom the Love of this present Evil World hath hurt and cooled in their Love to God and his Truth. But do you keep close to Meetings, both of Worship and Business of the Church, when of an Age and Capacity proper for it; and that not out of Novelty, Formality, or to be seen of Men, but in pure Fear, Love and Conscience to God your Creator, as the Publick, Just and avowed Testimony

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stimony of your Duty and Homage to him. In which be Exemplary both by Timely Coming, and a Reverent and Serious Deportment during the Assembly; in which be not weary or think the Time long till It be over, as some did of the *Sabbaths* of old Time; but let your Eye be to him you come to wait upon and serve, and do what you do as to him, and he will be your Refreshment and Reward; for you shall return with the Seals and Pledges of his Love, Mercy and Blessings.

§. 5. Above all Things, my dear Children, as to your Communion and Fellowship with Friends, be careful to keep the Unity of the Faith in the Bond of Peace. Have a Care of Reflectors, Detractors, Backbiters, that undervalue and undermine Brethren behind their Backs, or slight the good and wholesome Order of Truth, for the preserving Things quiet, sweet and honourable in the Church. Have a Care of Novelties, and airy changeable People, the Conceited, Censorious and Pufft up; who at last have always shewn themselves to be Clouds without Rain, and Wells without Water, that will rather disturb and break the Peace and Fellowship of the Church, where they dwell, than not have their Wills and Ways take Place, I charge you in the Fear of the Living God, that you carefully beware of all such: mark them as the Apostle says, *Rom. 16. 17*, and have no Fellowship with them; but to advise, exhort, Intreat, and finally reprove them, *Eph. 5. 11*. For God is and will be with his People in this Holy Dispensation we are now under, and which is now amongst us, unto the End of Days: It shall grow and increase in Gifts, Graces, Power and Lustre, for it is the last and unchangeable One: And blessed are your Eyes, if they see it, and your Ears if they hear it, and your Hearts if they understand it; which I pray that you may to God's Glory and your Eternal Comfort.

§. 6. Having thus expressed my self to you, my dear Children, as to the Things of God, his Truth and Kingdom, I refer you to his Light, Grace, Spirit and Truth within you, and the Holy Scriptures of Truth without you, which from my Youth I loved to read, and were ever blessed to me; and which I charge you to read daily; the *Old Testament* for History chiefly, the *Psalms* for Meditation and Devotion, the *Prophets* for Comfort and Hope, but especially the *New Testament* for Doctrine, Faith and Worship: For they were given forth by Holy Men of God in divers Ages, as they were moved of the Holy Spirit; and are the declared and revealed Mind and Will of the Holy God to Mankind under divers Dispensations, and they are certainly able to make the Man of God perfect, through Faith unto Salvation; being such a true and clear Testimony to the Salvation that is of God, through Christ the second *Adam*, the Light of the World, the quickning Spirit, who is full of Grace and Truth, whose *Light*, *Grace*, *Spirit* and *Truth* bear witness to them in every Sensible Soul, as they frequently, plainly and solemnly bear Testimony to the *Light*, *Spirit*, *Grace*, and *Truth*, both in himself and in and to his People, to their Sanctification, Justification, Redemption and Consolation, and in all Men to their Visitation, Reproof and Conviction in their Evil Ways. I say having thus expressed my self in general, I refer you, my dear Children, to the *Light* and *Spirit* of Jesus, that is within you, and to the Scriptures of Truth without you, and such other Testimonies to the one same Eternal Truth as have been born in our Day; and shall now descend to Particulars that you may more directly apply what I have said in General both as to your Religious and Civil Direction in your Pilgrimage upon Earth.

Chap. II.

C H A P. II.

§. 2. **I** will begin here also, with the Beginning of Time, the Morning; so soon as you wake, retire your Mind into a pure Silence, from all Thoughts and Ideas of Worldly Things, and in that Frame, wait upon God, to feel his *good Presence*, to lift up your Hearts to him, and commit your whole self,

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self, into his blessed Care and Protection. Then rise, if well, immediately; being dress'd, read a Chapter or more in the Scriptures, and afterwards dispose your selves for the Business of the Day; ever remembering that God is present, the Overseer of all your Thoughts, Words, and Actions; and demean your selves, my dear Children, accordingly; and do not you dare to do that in his holy all-Seeing Presence, which you would be ashamed, a Man, yea a Child, should see you do. And as you have Intervals, from your lawful Occasions, delight to step Home, within your selves, I mean, and commune with your own Hearts, and be still; and (as *Nebuchadnezzar* said on another Occasion) *One like the Son of God, you shall find and enjoy with you and in you; a Treasure the World knows not of, but is the Aim, End and Diadem of the Children of God.* This will bear you up against all Temptations, and carry you sweetly and evenly through your Day's Business, supporting you under Disappointments, and moderating your Satisfaction in Success and Prosperity. The Evening come, read again the holy Scripture, and have your Times of Retirement, before you close your Eyes, as in the Morning; that so the Lord may be the *Alpha* and *Omega* of every Day of your Lives. And if God bless you with Families, remember *good Jeshua's* Resolution, *Jesh. 24. 15. But as for me and my House, we will serve the Lord.*

§. 2. Fear God, shew it in Desire, Refraining and Doing: keep the inward Watch, keep a clear Soul and a light Heart. Mind an inward Sense, upon doing any Thing; when you read the Scripture, remark the notablest Places, as your Spirits are most toucht and affected, in a common-place Book, with that Sense or Opening which you receive; for they come not by Study or in the Will of Man, no more than the Scripture did; and they may be lost by Carelessness, and over-growing Thoughts and Businesses of this Life; so in pursuing any other *good* or profitable *Book*; yet rather meditate than read much. For the Spirit of a Man knows the Things of a Man, and with that Spirit, by Observation of the Tempers and Actions of Men you see in the World, and looking into your own Spirit, and meditating thereupon, you will have a deep and strong Judgment of Men and Things. For from what may be, what should be, and what is most probable or likely to be, you can hardly miss in your Judgment of humane Affairs; and you have a better Spirit than your own, in Reserve for a Time of Need, to pass the final Judgment in important Matters.

§. 3. In Conversation, mark well what others say or do, and hide your own Mind, at least till last; and then open it as sparingly as the Matter will let you. A just Observance and Reflection upon Men, and Things, give Wisdom, those are the great *Books of Learning*, seldom read. The laborious Bee, draws Honey from every Flower. Be always on your Watch, but chiefly in Company, then be sure to have your Wits about you, and your Armour on; speak last and little, but to the Point. Interrupt none, anticipate none, read *Prov. 10. 8. 13. Be quick to hear, slow to speak. Prov. 17. 27. It gives Time to understand, and ripens an Answer.* Affect not Words, but Matter, and chiefly to be pertinent and plain: Truest Eloquence is plainest, and brief Speaking, I mean, Brevity and Clearness, to make your selves easily understood by every Body, and in as few Words as the Matter will admit of, is the best.

§. 4. Prefer the Aged, the Virtuous and the Knowing; and chuse those that excell for your Company and Friendship, but despise not others.

§. 5. Return no Answer to Anger, unless with much Meekness, which often turns it away: But rarely make Replies, less Rejoinders; for that adds Fuel to the Fire. It is a wrong Time to vindicate your selves, the true Ear being then never open to hear it. Men are not themselves, and know not well what Spirits they are of: Silence to Passion, Prejudice and Mockery, is the best Answer, and often conquers what Resistance inflames.

§. 6. Learn and teach your Children fair Writing, and the most useful Parts of Mathematicks, and some Business when Young, what ever else they are taught.

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§. 7. Cast up your Income and live on half, if you can one Third, reserving the rest for Casualties, Charities, Portions.

§. 8. Be plain in Cloths, Furniture and Food, but clean, and then the Courser the better, the rest is Folly and a Snare. Therefore next to Sin, avoid Daintiness and Choiceness about your Person and Houses. For if it be not an Evil in it self, it is a Temptation to it: and may be accounted a Nest for Sin to brood in.

§. 9. Avoid Differences; what are not avoidable refer, and keep awards strictly, and without Grudgings, read *Prov.* 18. 17. 18. *C.* 25. 8. *Mat.* 5. 38, to 41. *1 Cor.* 1. 10 to 13. It is good Counsel.

§. 10. Be sure draw your Affairs into as narrow a Compass, as you can, and in Method and Proportion, Time and other Requisites proper for them.

§. 11. Have very few Acquaintance, and fewer Intimates, but of the best in their Kind.

§. 12. Keep your own Secrets, and do not covet others, but if trusted, never reveal them, unless mischievous to some Body; nor then, before Warning to the Party, to desist and repent. *Prov.* 11. 13. *C.* 2. 23. *C.* 25. 9, 10.

§. 13. Trust no Man with the main Chance, and avoid to be trusted.

§. 14. Make few Resolutions, but keep them strictly.

§. 15. Prefer Elders and Strangers on all Occasions, be rather last than first in Conveniency and Respect; but first in all Virtues.

§. 16. Have a Care of trusting to after Games, for then there is but one Throw for all; and precipices are ill Places to build upon. Wisdom gains Time, is before Hand, and teaches to chuse seasonably and pertinently; therefore ever strike while the Iron is hot. But if you lose an Opportunity, it differs, in this, from a Relapse: less Caution and more resolution and Industry must recover it.

§. 17. Above all, remember your Creator: remember your selves and your Families, when you have them, in the Youthful Time, and fore Part of your Life; for good Methods and Habits obtain'd then, will make you easie and happy the rest of your Days. Every Estate has it's Snare: Youth and Middle-Age, *Pleasure* and *Ambition*; Old Age, *Avarice*; Remember, I tell you, that Man is a Slave where either prevails. Beware of the pernicious Lusts of the Eye, and the Flesh, and the Pride of Life, *1 John* 2. 15, 16, 17. which are not of the Father, but of the World. Get higher and nobler Objects, for your immortal Part, O my Dear Children, and be not tyed to Things without you; for then you can never have the true and free Enjoyment of your selves, to better Things; no more than a Slave in *Algiers*, has of his House or Family in *London*. Be free, live at Home, in your selves I mean, where lye greater Treasures hid, than in the *Indies*. The Pomp, Honour, and Luxury of the World, are the Cheats, and the unthinking and inconsiderate are taken by them. But the retir'd Man, is upon higher Ground, he sees and is aware of the Trick, contemns the Folly, and bemoans the Deluded. This very Consideration, doubtless, produced those two Passions, in the two greatest *Gentiles* of their Time, *Democritus* and *Heracitus*, the one laughing, the other weeping, for the Madness of the World, to see so excellent and reasonable a Creature, as Man, so meanly trifling and slavishly employed.

§. 18. Chuse God's Trades before Men's, *Adam* was a *Gardener*, *Cain* a *Plowman*, and *Abel* a *Grasier* or *Shepherd*: These began with the World, and have least of Snare, and most of Use. When *Cain* became *Murderer*, as a * witty Man said, he turned a Builder of *Cities*, and quitted his *Husbandry*: *Mechanicks*, as *Handicrafts*, are also commendable, but they are but a second Brood, and younger Brothers. If *Grace* employ you not, let *Nature* and *useful Arts*, but avoid Curiosity there also, for it devours much Time to no Profit. I have seen a Cieling of a Room, that cost half as much as the House; a Folly and Sin too.

§. 19. Have but few Books, but let them be well chosen and well read, whether of Religious or Civil Subjects. Shun fantastick Opinions: Measure both Religion and Learning by Practice; reduce all to that, for that brings

*Cowley in his Works, on Agriculture.

brings a real Benefit to you, the rest is a Thief and a Snare. And indeed reading many Books is but a taking off the Mind too much from Meditation. Reading your selves and Nature, in the Dealings and Conduct of Men, is the truest human Wildom. The Spirit of a Man knows the Things of Man, and more true Knowledge comes by Meditation and just Reflection than by Reading; for much Reading is an Oppression of the Mind, and extinguishes the natural Candle; which is the Reason of so many senseless Scholars in the World.

§. 20. Do not that which you blame in another. Do not that to another, which you would not another should do to you. But above all, Do not that in God's Sight, you would not Man should see you do.

§. 21. And that you may order all Things profitably, divide your Day, such a Share of Time for your Retirement, and Worship of God: Such a Proportion for your Business; in which remember to ply that first which is first to be done; so much Time for your selves, be it for Study, Walking, Visit, &c. In this be first, and let your Friends know it, and you will cut off many Impertinencies and Interruptions, and save a Treasure of Time to your selves, which People most unaccountably lavish away. And to be more exact, (for much lies in this) keep a short Journal of your Time, tho' a Day require but a Line; many Advantages flow from it.

§. 22. Keep close to the Meetings of God's People, wait diligently at them, to feel the Heavenly Life in your Hearts. Look for that more than Words in Ministry, and you will profit most. Above all look to the Lord, but despise not Instruments, Man or Woman, Young or Old, Rich or Poor, Learned or Unlearned.

§. 23. Avoid Discontented Persons, unless to Inform or Reprove them. Abhor Detraction, the Sin of Fallen Angels, and the worst of Fallen Men.

§. 24. Excuse Faults in others, own them in your selves, and forgive them against your selves, as you would have your Heavenly Father and Judge forgive you: Read *Prov.* 17. 9. and *Matt.* 6. 14, 15. Christ returns and dwells upon that Passage of his Prayer, above all the rest, Forgiveness, the hardest Lesson to Man, that of all other Creatures most needs it.

§. 25. Be natural; Love one another; and remember, that to be void of Natural Affection, is a Mark of Apostacy set by the Apostle, *2 Tim.* 3. 3. Let not Time, I charge you, wear out Nature; It may Kindred according to Custom, but it is an ill one, therefore follow it not. It is a great Fault in Families at this Day: Have a Care of it, and shun that unnatural Carelessness. Live as near as you can, Visit often, correspond oftner, and communicate with kind Hearts to one another, in Proportion to what the Lord gives you; and don't be close, nor hoard up from one another as if you had no Right or Claim in one another, and did not descend of one most tender Father and Mother.

§. 26. What I write is to yours, as well as you, if God gives you Children. And in Case a Prodigal should ever appear among them, make not his Folly an Excuse to be strange or close, and so to expose such an one to more Evil; But shew Bowels, as † *John* did to the Young Man that fell into ill Company whom with Love he reclaimed, after his Example that sends his Sun and Rain upon all.

† Euseb. Ecc.
Hist. Lib. 3.
cap. xxiii.

§. 27. Love Silence, even in the Mind; for Thoughts are to that, as Words to the Body, troublesome; much Speaking, as much Thinking, spends, and in many Thoughts, as well as Words, there is Sin. True Silence is the rest of the Mind, and is to the Spirit, what Sleep is to the Body, Nourishment and Refreshment. It is a great Virtue; it covers Folly, keeps Secrets, avoids Disputes, and prevents Sin. See *Job* 13. 5. *Prov.* 10. 19. *C.* 12. 13. *C.* 13. 3. *C.* 18. 6, 7. *C.* 17. 28.

§. 28. The Wisdom of Nations lies in their Proverbs, which are brief and pithy; collect and learn them, they are notable Measures and Directions for human Life; You have Much in Little; they save Time and Speaking; and, upon Occasion, may be the fullest and safest Answers.

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§. 29. Never meddle with other Folks Business, and less with the Publick, unless called to the one by the Parties concern'd, (In which move Cautionly and Uprightly) and requir'd to the other by the Lord in a Testimony for his Name and Truth; Remembring that old, but most true and excellent Proverb, *Bene qui latuit, bene vixit*, He lives happily that lives hiddenly or privately, for he lives quietly. It is a Treasure to them that have it: Study it, get it, keep it; too many miss it that might have it: The World knows not the Value of it. It doubles Man's Life by giving him twice the Time to himself, that a large Acquaintance or much Business will allow him.

§. 30. Have a Care of Resentment or taking Things amiss, a natural, ready and most dangerous Passion; but be apter to remit than resent, it is more Christian and Wise. For as Softness often conquers, where rough Opposition fortifies, so Resentment, seldom knowing any Bounds, makes many Times greater Faults than it finds; for some People have out-resented their Wrong so far, that they made themselves faultier by it, by which they cancel the Debt through a boundless Passion, overthrow their Interest and Advantage, and become Debtor to the Offender.

§. 31. Rejoyce not at the Calamity of any, though they be your Enemies, *Prov. 17. 5. c. 24. 17.*

§. 32. Envy none; it is God that maketh Rich and Poor, Great and Small, High and Low. *Psal. 37. 1. Prov. 3. 31. c. 23. 17. c. 24. 1. 1 Chron. 22. 11, 12. Ps. 107. 40. 41.*

§. 33. Be Intreatable. Never Aggravate. Never revile or give ill Names: It is unmannerly as well as unchristian. Remember *Matt. 5. 22.* who it was said, He that calls his Brother Fool, is in Danger of Hell Fire.

§. 34. Be not Morose or Conceited; One is Rude, the other Troublesome and Nauseous.

§. 35. Avoid Questions and Strife; it shews a busy and contentious Disposition.

§. 36. Add no Credit to a Report upon Conjecture, nor report to the Hurt of any. See *Exod. 23. 1. Psal. 15. 3:*

§. 37. Beware of Jealousy, except it be Godly, for it devours Love and Friendship; it breaks Fellowship, and destroys the Peace of the Mind. It is a Groundless and Evil Surmise.

§. 38. Be not too Credulous; Read *Prov. 14. 15.* Caution is a Medium, I recommend it.

§. 39. Speak not of Religion, neither use the Name of God, in a familiar Manner.

§. 40. Meddle not with Government; never speak of it; let others say or do as they please. But read such Books of Law as relate to the Office of a Justice, a Coroner, Sheriff and Constable; also the Doctor and Student; Some Book of Clerkship, and a Treatise of Wills, to enable you about your own Private Business only, or a Poor Neighbour's. For it is a Charge I leave with you and yours, meddle not with the Publick, neither Business nor Money; but understand how to avoid it, and defend your selves, upon Occasion, against it. For much Knowledge brings Sorrow, and much Doings more. Therefore know God, know your selves; Love Home, know your own Business and mind it, and you have more Time and Peace than your Neighbours.

§. 41. If you incline to Marry, then marry your Inclination rather than your Interest: I mean what you Love, rather than what is Rich. But Love for Virtue, Temper, Education, and Person, before Wealth or Quality, and be sure you are below'd again. In all which be not hasty, but serious; lay it before the Lord, proceed in his Fear, and be you well advised. And when Married, according to the Way of God's People, used amongst Friends, out of whom only chuse, strictly keep Covenant; Avoid Occasion of Mis-understanding, allow for Weaknesses, and Variety of Constitution and Disposition, and take Care of shewing the least Disgust or Mis-understanding to others, especially your Children. Never lye down with any Displeasure in your Minds, but avoid Occasion of Dispute and Offence;

Offence; Overlook and cover Failings. Seek the Lord for one another; wait upon him together, Morning and Evening, in his Holy Fear, which will renew and confirm your Love and Covenant: Give Way to nothing that would in the least violate it: Use all Means of true Endearment, that you may recommend and please one another; remembering your Relation and Union is the Figure of Christ's to his Church; Therefore let the Authority of Love only bear sway your whole Life.

§. 42. If God give you Children, Love them with Wisdom, Correct them with Affection: Never strike in Passion, and suit the Correction to their Age as well as Fault. Convince them of their Error before you chastise them, and try them, if they shew Remorse before Severity, never use that but in Case of Obstinacy or Impenitency. Punish them more by their Understandings than the Rod, and shew them the Folly, Shame and Undutifulness of their Faults rather with a grieved than an angry Countenance, and you will sooner affect their Natures, and with a Nobler Sense, than a servile and rude Chastisement can produce. I know the Methods of some are severe Corrections for Faults, and artificial Praises when they do well, and sometimes Rewards: But this Course awakens Passions worse than their Faults; for one begets base Fear, if not Hatred; the other Pride and vain Glory, both which should be avoided in a Religious Education of Youth; for they equally vary from it and deprave Nature. There should be the greatest Care imaginable, what Impressions are given to Children: That Method which earliest awakens their Understandings to Love, Duty, Sobriety, Just and Honourable Things, is to be preferred. Education is the Stamp Parents give their Children; they pass for that they breed them, or less value perhaps, all their Days. The World is in nothing more wanting and reprobable, both in Precept and Example; they do with their Children as with their Souls, put them out at Livery for so much a Year. They will trust their Estates or Shops with none but themselves, but for their Souls and Posterity they have less Solitude. But do you breed your Children your selves, I mean as to their Morals, and be their Bishops and Teachers in the Principles of Conversation: as they are instructed so they are likely to be qualified, and your Posterity by their Precepts and Examples which they receive from yours. And were Mankind herein more cautious they would better discharge their Duty to God and Posterity; and their Children would owe them more for their Education than for their Inheritances. Be not unequal in your Love to your Children, at least in the Appearances of it: It is both unjust and indiscreet: It lessens Love to Parents, and provokes Envy amongst Children. Let them wear the same Clothes, eat of the same Dish, have the same Allowance as to Time and Expence. Breed them to some Employment, and give all Equal but the Eldest: and to the Eldest a double Portion is very well. Teach them also Frugality, and they will not want Substance for their Posterity. A little Beginning with Industry and Thrift will make an Estate; but there is great Difference between Saving and Sordid. Be not scanty any more than superfluous; but rather make bold with your selves, than be straight to others; therefore let your Charity temper your Frugality and theirs,

What I have writ to you, I have writ to your Children, and theirs.

§. 43. Servants you will have, but remember, the fewer the better, and those rather Aged than Young; you must make them such, or dispose of them often. Change is not good, therefore chuse well, and the rather because of your Children; for Children, thinking they can take more Liberty with Servants than with their Parents, often chuse the Servants Company, and if they are idle, wanton, ill Examples, Children are in great danger of being perverted. Let them therefore be Friends, and such as are well recommended: let them know their Business as well as their Wages; and as they do the one, pay them honestly the other. Tho' Servants yet remember they are Brethren in Christ, and that you also are but Stewards and must account to God. Wherefore let your Moderation appear unto them,

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them, and that will provoke them to Diligence for Love rather than Fear, which is the truest and best Motive to Service. In short, as you find them, so keep, use and reward them, or dismiss them.

§. 44. Distrust is of the Nature of Jealousie, and must be warily entertain'd upon good Grounds, or it is injurious to others, and instead of safe, troublesome to you. If you trust little, you will have but little Cause to distrust. Yet I have often been whisper'd in my self of Persons and Things at first Sight and Motion, that hardly ever failed to be true; though by neglecting the Sense, or suffering my self to be argued or importuned from it, I have more than once failed of my Expectation. Have therefore a most tender and nice Regard to those first sudden and unpremeditated Sensations.

§. 45. For your Conduct in your Business and in the whole Course of your Life, tho' what I have said to you, and recommended you to, might be sufficient; yet I will be more particular as to those good and gracious Qualifications, I pray God Almighty to season and accomplish you with, to his Glory and your Temporal and Eternal Felicity.

C H A P. III.

§. 1. **B**E Humble. It becomes a Creature, a depending and borrowed Being, that lives not of it self, but breaths in another's Air, with another's Breath, and is accountable for every Moment of Time, and can call nothing it's own, but is absolutely a Tenant at Will of the great Lord of Heaven and Earth. And of this excellent Quality you cannot be wanting, if you dwell in the Holy Fear of the Omnipresent and Allseeing God; For that will shew you your Vileness and his Excellency, your Meanness and his Majesty, and withal, the Sense of his Love to such poor Worms, in the Testimonies he gives of his daily Care, Mercy and Goodness; that you cannot but be abased, laid low and Humble. I say, the Fear and Love of God begets Humility, and Humility fits you for God and Men. You cannot step well amiss if this Virtue dwell but richly in you; for then God will teach you. The Humble he teacheth his Ways, and they are all pleasant and peaceable to his Children: Yea, he *giveth Grace to the Humble but resisteth the Proud* Jam. 4. 6. 1 Pet. 5. 5. *He regardeth the Proud afar off.* Psal. 138. 6. They shall not come near him, nor will he hear them in the Day of their Distress, Read Prov. 11. 2, c. 15. 33. c. 16. 18, 19. Humility seeks not the last Word, nor first Place; She offends none, but prefers others, and thinks lowly of her self; is not rough or self-conceited, high loud, or domineering; Blessed are they that enjoy her. Learn of me, said Christ, for I am meek and lowly in Heart. He wash'd his Disciples Feet, *John* 13. indeed himself was the greatest Pattern of it. Humility goes before Honour, *Prov.* 18. 12. There is nothing shines more clearly through Christianity than Humility; of this the Holy Author of it is the greatest Instance. He was humble in his Incarnation; for he that thought it no robbery to be equal with God, humbled himself to become a Man; and many Ways made himself of no Reputation. As first in his Birth or Descent, it was not of the Princes of Judah but a Virgin of low Degree, the espoused of a Carpenter; and so she acknowledges in her heavenly Anthem, or Ejaculation, *Luke* 1, 47, 48, 52. speaking of the great Honour God had done her: *And my Spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour, for he hath regarded the low Estate of his Hand-maiden; he has put down the mighty from their Seats, and exalted them of low Degree.* Secondly, he was humble in his Life: He kept no Court but in Deserts and Mountains and in Solitary Places; neither was he serv'd in State, his Attendants being of the Mechanick Size. By the Miracles he wrought we may understand the Food he eat, *viz.* Barley-Bread and Fish; and it is not to be thought there was any Curiosity in dressing them. And we have Reason to believe his Apparel was

was as moderate as his Table. Thirdly, he was humble in his Sufferings and Death: He took all Affronts patiently, and in our Nature triumphed over Revenge: He was despised, spit upon, buffeted, whipt, and finally crucified between Thieves, as the greatest Malefactor; yet he never reviled them, but answered all in Silence and Submission, pitying, loving and dying for those by whom he was ignominiously put to Death. O Mirror of Humility! Let your Eyes be continually upon it, that you may see your selves by it. Indeed his whole Life was one continued great Act of Self-denial: And because he needed it not for himself, he must needs do it for us; thereby leaving us an Example that we should follow his Steps, *1 Pet. 2. 21.* And as he was we should be in this World according to the beloved Disciple *1 John 2. 6.* So what he did for us was not to excuse but excite our Humility. For as he is like God, we must be like him, and that the froward, the contentious, the revengful, the Iticker, the Dueller, &c. cannot be said to be of that Number, is very evident. And the more to illustrate this Virtue, I would have you consider the Folly and Danger of *Pride* it's opposit: For this it was that threw the Angels out of Heaven, Man out of Paradise, destroyed Cities and Nations, was one of the Sins of *Sodom*, *Ezek. 16. 49.* the Destruction of *Assyria* and *Israel*, *Isa. 3. 16.* and the Reason given by God for his great Vengeance upon *Mob* and *Ammon*, *Zeph. 2. 9, 10.* Besides, *Pride* is the vainest Passion that can rule in Man, because he has nothing of his own to be proud of, and to be proud of another's, shews want of Wit and Honesty too. He did not only not make himself, but is born the nakedest and most helpless of almost all Creatures. Nor can he add to his Days or Stature, or so much as make one Hair of his Head white or black. He is so absolutely in the Power of another, that as I have often said, he is at best but a Tenant at Will of the great Lord of all, holding Life, Health, Substance, and every Thing at his Sovereign Disposal; and the more Man enjoys the less Reason he has to be Proud, because he is the more indebted and engaged to Thankfulness and Humility.

Wherefore avoid *Pride* as you would avoid the Devil; remembering you must die, and consequently those Things must die with you, that could be any Temptation to *Pride*; and that there is a Judgment follows, at which you must give an Account both for what you have enjoy'd and done.

§. 2 From Humility springs Meekness. Of all the rare Qualities, of Wisdom, Learning, Valour, &c. with which *Moses* was endued, he was denominated by his Meekness: This gave the rest a Lustre they must otherwise have wanted. The difference is not great between these excellent Graces; yet the Scripture observes some. God will teach the Humble his Way, and guide the Meek in Judgment. It seems to be Humility perfectly digested, and from a Virtue become a Nature. A meek Man is one that is not easily provoked, yet easily grieved; not peevish or testy, but soft, gentle, and inoffensive. O blessed will you be, my dear Children, if this Grace adorn you! There are divers great and precious Promises to the Meek in Scripture. That God will clothe the Meek with Salvation; and blessed are they for they shall inherit the Earth, *Psal. 37. 11. Mat. 5. 5.* Christ presses it in his own Example, *Learn of me for I am Meek*, &c. *Mat. 11. 29.* And requires his to become as little Children in order to Salvation, *Mat. 18. 3.* and a meek and quiet Spirit is of great Price with the Lord *1 Pet. 3. 4.* It is a Fruit of the Spirit, *Gal. 5. 22, 23.* exhorted to *Eph. 4. 2. Col. 3. 12. Tit. 2. 2.* and many Places more to the same Effect.

§. 3. *Patience* is an Effect of a Meek Spirit and flows from it: It is a bearing and suffering Disposition; not cholerick or soon mov'd to Wrath, or Vindictive; but ready to hear and endure too, rather than be swift and hasty in Judgment or Action. *Job* is as much famed for this, as was *Moses* for the other Virtue: without it there is no running the Christian Race, or obtaining the heavenly Crown; without it there can be no Experience of the Work of God, *Rom. 5. 3, 4, 5.* For *Patience* worketh, saith the Apostle, *Experience*; nor Hope of an Eternal Recompense, for *Experience* worketh that

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that Hope. Therefore, says *James*, Let Patience have it's Perfeſt Work, *Jam.* 1. 4. It is made the Saints Excellency; here is the Patience of the Saints, *Rev.* 13. 10. It is joyned with the Kingdom of Chriſt, *Rev.* 1. 9. read *Luke* 21. 19. In Patience poſſeſs your Souls. *Rom.* 12. 12. ch. 15. 4. 2 *Cor.* 6. 4. 1 *Theſ.* 5. 14. Be patient towards all Men, *Tir.* 2. 2. *Heb.* 6. 12. ch. 10. 36. which ſhews the Excellency and Neceſſity of Patience, as that does the true Dignity of a Man. It is wiſe and will give you great Advantage over thoſe you converſe with on all Accounts. For Paſſion blinds Men's Eyes, and betrays Men's Weakneſs; Patience ſees the Advantage and improves it. Patience enquires, deliberates and brings to a mature Judgment; through your Civil as well as Chriſtian Courſe you cannot act wiſely and ſafely without it; therefore I recommend this bleſſed Virtue to you.

§. 4. *Shew Mercy*, whenever it is in your Power, that is forgive, pity and help, for ſo it ſignifies. *Mercy* is one of the Attributes of God, *Gen.* 19. 19. *Exod.* 20. 6. *Pſal.* 86. 15. *Jer.* 3. 12. It is exalted in Scripture above all his Works, and is a noble Part of his Image in Man. God hath recommended it *Hof.* 12. 6. *Keep Mercy and Judgment and wait on the Lord.* God hath ſhewn it to Man, and made it his Duty, *Mic.* 6. 8. *He hath ſhewed thee O Man what is good, and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do juſtly, and to love Mercy and to walk humbly, or to humble thy ſelf to walk with thy God:* a ſhort but ample Expreſſion of God's Love, and Man's Duty; happy are you if you mind it. In which you ſee *Mercy* is one of the nobleſt Virtues. Chriſt has a Bleſſing for them that have it, *bleſſed are the Merciful*, (*Mat.* 5.) *for they ſhall find Mercy;* a ſtrong Motive indeed. In *Luke* 6. 35, 36. he commands it. *Be you merciful as your Father is merciful.* He bid the *Jews*, that were ſo over-righteous, but ſo very unmerciful, learn what this meaneth: *I will have Mercy and not Sacrifice*, *Mat.* 9: 13: He hit them in the Eye. And in his Parable of the Lord and his Servants, he ſhews what will be the End of the unmerciful Steward, *Mat.* 18. 34, 35, that having been forgiven much by his Maſter, would not forgive a little to his Fellow-Servant. *Mercy* is a great Part of God's Law, *Exod.* 23. 4, 5. It is a material Part of God's true Faſt, *Iſa.* 58. 6, 7. It is a main Part of God's Covenant, *Jer.* 31. 34. *Heb.* 8. 12. And the Reaſon and Rule of the laſt Judgment, *Matth.* 25. 31, to the End: Pray read it. It is a Part of the undefiled Religion, *Jam.* 1. 27: c. 3. 17. Read *Prov.* 14. 21, 22. But the merciful Man's *Mercy* reaches farther, even to his Beaſt; then ſurely to Man, his Fellow-Creature, he ſhall not want it. Wherefore, I charge you, oppreſs no Body, Man nor Beaſt. Take no Advantage upon the Unhappy, pity the Afflicted, make their Caſe your own, and that of their Wives and poor innocent Children the Condition of yours, and you cannot want Sympathy, Bowels, Forgiveness, nor a Diſpoſition to help and Succour them to your Ability. Remember, It is the Way for you to be forgiven, and help'd in Time of Tryal. Read the Lord's Prayer, *Luke* 11. Remember the Nature and Goodneſs of *Joſeph* to his Brethren; follow the Example of the Good *Samaritan*, and let *Edom's* Unkindneſs to *Jacob's* Stock, *Obad.* 10.—16. And the Heathen's to *Iſrael*, *Zach.* 1. 21. c. 2. 8, 9, be a Warning to you. Read alſo, *Prov.* 25. 21, 22. *Rom.* 12. 19, 20.

§. 5. *Charity* is a near Neighbour to *Mercy*: It is generally taken to conſiſt in this, not to be Cenſorious, and to relieve the Poor. For the firſt, Remember you muſt be judged, *Matth.* 7. 1. And for the laſt, Remember you are but Stewards. Judge not, therefore, leſt you be judged. Be clear your ſelves before you ſing the Stone. Get the Beam out of your own Eye; it is humbling Doctrines; but ſafe. Judge, therefore, at your own Peril: See it be righteous Judgment, as you will answer it to the Great Judge. This Part of *Charity* alſo excludes Whiſperings, Backbiting, Talebearing, Evil-ſurmiſing, moſt pernicious Follies and Evils, of which beware. Read 1 *Cor.* 13. For the other Part of *Charity*, relieving the Poor, it is a Debt you owe to God: You have all you have or may enjoy, with the Rent-charge

charge upon it. The Saying is, that *he who gives to the Poor, lends to the Lord*: But it may be said, not improperly, the Lord lends to us to give to the Poor: They are at least Partners by Providence with you, and have a Right you must not defraud them of. You have this Privilege, indeed, when, what, and to whom; and yet, if you heed your Guide, and observe the Object, you will have a Rule for that too.

I recommend little Children, Widows, infirm and aged Persons, chiefly to you: Spare something out of your own Belly rather than let theirs go pinch'd. Avoid that great Sin of needless Expence on your Persons and on your Houses, while the Poor are hungry and naked. My Bowels have often been moved, to see very aged and infirm People, but especially poor helpless Children, lie all Night in bitter Weather, at the Thresholds of Doors, in the open Streets, for Want of better Lodging. I have made this Reflection, If you were so expos'd, how hard would it be to endure? The Difference between our Condition and theirs, has drawn from me humble Thanks to God, and great Compassion and some Supply to those poor Creatures. Once more be good to the Poor: What do I say? be just to them, and you will be good to your selves: Think it your Duty, and do it religiously. Let the moving Passage, *Matth. 25. 35.* to the End, live in your Minds: *I was an Hungry, and Thirsty, and Naked, Sick, and in Prison, and you administred unto Me, and the Blessing that follow'd: Also what he said to another Sort, I was an Hungry, and Thirsty, and Naked, and Sick, and in Prison, and you administred not unto me; for a dreadful Sentence follows to the Hard-hearted World. Wo be to them that take the Poor's Pledge, Ezek. 18. 12, 13. or eat up the Poor's Right. O devour not their Part! Lest lay it out in Vanity, or lay it up in Bags, for it will curse the Rest. Hear what the Psalmist says, Psal. 41. Blessed is he that considereth the Poor, the Lord will deliver him in Time of Trouble: The Lord will preserve and keep him alive, and he shall be blessed upon the Earth: And thou wilt not deliver him into the Will of his Enemies. The Lord will strengthen him upon the Bed of Languishing: Thou wilt make all his Bed in his Sickness.* This is the Reward of being faithful Stewards and Treasurers for the Poor of the Earth. Have a Care of Excuses, they are, I know, ready at Hand: But read *Prov. 3. 27, 28. With-hold not Good from them, to whom it is due, when it is in the Power of thine Hand to do it. Say not unto thy Neighbour Go, and come again, and to Morrow I will give, when thou hast it by thee.* Also bear in Mind Christ's Doctrine, *Matth. 5. 42. Give to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow of thee, turn not thou away.* But above all, remember the Poor Woman, that gave her Mite; which Christ preferred above all, because she gave all, but it was to God's Treasury, *Mark 12. 42, 43, 44.*

§. 6. *Liberality* or Bounty is a noble Quality in Man, entertained of few, yet praised of all, but the Covetous dislike it, because it reproaches their Sordidness. In this she differs from *Charity*, that she has sometimes other Objects, and exceeds in Proportion. For she will cast her Eye on those, that do not absolutely want, as well as those that do; and always outdoes Necessities and Services. She finds out Virtue in a low Degree, and exalts it. She eases their Burden that labour hard to live: Many kind and generous Spells such find at her Hand, that don't quite Want, whom she thinks worthy. The Decay'd are sure to hear of her: She takes one Child, and puts out another, to lighten the Loads of over-charg'd Parents, more to the Fatherless. She shews the Value of Services in her Rewards, and is never Debtor to Kindnesses; but will be Creditor on all Accounts. Where another gives Six-pence, the Liberal Man gives his Shilling; and returns double the Tokens he receives. But *Liberality* keeps Temper too; she is not extravagant any more than she is sordid; for she hates Niggard's Feasts as much as Niggard's Fasts; and as she is free, and not starch'd, so she is plentiful, but not superfluous and extravagant. You will hear of her in all Histories, especially in Scripture, the wisest as well as best of Books: Her Excellency and her Reward are there. She is commanded and com-

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mended, *Deut.* 15. 3, 4, 7, 8, and *Psal.* 37. 21. 26. *The Righteous sheweth Mercy and giveth, and the good Man is merciful and ever lendeth. He sheweth Favour and lendeth, and disperseth Abroad.* *Psal.* 112. 5. 9. *There is that scattereth, and yet increaseth; and there is that withholdeth more than is meet, but it tendeth to Poverty; The liberal Soul shall be fat,* *Prov.* 11. 24, 25. *The bountiful Eye shall be blessed,* *Prov.* 22. 9. The Churl and Liberal Man are described, and a Promise to the Latter, that his Liberality shall uphold him, *Isa.* 32. 78. Christ makes it a Part of his Religion and the Way to be the Children of the Highest (Read *Luke* 6. 34, 35.) to lend and not receive again, and this to Enemies as well as Friends; yea to the Unthankful and to the Evil; no Exception made, no Excuse admitted. The Apostle *Paul*, *2 Cor.* 9. 5. -10, enjoins it, threatens the Strait-handed, and promises the Open-hearted a liberal Reward.

Wheresoever therefore, my dear Children, Liberality is required of you; God enabling of you, sow not Sparingly nor Grudgingly, but with a cheerful Mind, and you shall not go without your Reward; tho' that ought not to be your Motive. But avoid Ostentation, for that is using Virtue to Vanity, which will run you to Profuseness, and that to Want; which begets Greediness, and that Avarice, the contrary Extream. As Men may go Westward 'till they come East, and travel 'till they and those they left behind them, stand Antipodes, up and down.

§. 7. *Justice or Righteousness*, is another Attribute of God, *Deut.* 32. 4. *Psal.* 9. 7. 8. 5. 8. *Dan.* 9. 7. Of large Extent in the Life and Duty of Man. Be just therefore in all Things, to all; To God as your Creator; render to him that which is his, your Hearts, for that Acknowledgment he has reserved to himself, by which only, you are entituled to the Comforts of this and a better Life. And if he has your Hearts, you have him for your Treasure, and with him all Things requisite to your Felicity. Render also to *Cæsar* that which is his, lawful Subjection; not for Fear only, but Conscience Sake. To Parents, a filial Love and Obedience. To one another, Natural Affection. To all People in doing as you would be done by. Hurt no Man's Name or Person. Covet no Man's Property in any Sort. Consider well of *David's* Tenderness to *Saul*, when he fought his Life, to excite your Duty; and *Ahab's* unjust Covetousness and Murder of *Naboth*, to provoke your Abhorrence of Injustice. *David*, tho' anointed King, took no Advantages, he believ'd, and therefore did not make Haste, but left it to God, to conclude *Saul's* Reign, for he would not hasten it. A right Method and a good End, my dear Children, God has shewn it you, and requires it of you.

Remember the Tenth Commandment, 'twas God gave it, and that will judge you by it. It comprehends Restitution as well as Acquisition, and especially the poor Man's Wages, *Lev.* 19. 13. *Deut.* 24. 14, 15. *Jer.* 22. 13. *Amos* 5. 11. *Mal.* 3. 5. *Samuel* is a great and good Example of Righteousness, *1 Sam.* 12. 3. He challenged the whole House of *Israel*, whom he had Oppressed or Defrauded? The like did the Apostle to the *Corinthians*, *2 Cor.* 7. 2. He exhorted the Christians to be careful that they did not defraud, *1 Thes.* 4. 6, for this Reason, that God was the Avenger of the Injured. But as bad as it was, there must be no going to Law amongst Christians, *1 Cor.* 6. 7. To your utmost Power, therefore, owe no one any Thing but Love, and that in Prudence as well as Righteousness; For Justice gives you Reputation, and adds a Blessing to your Substance; It is the best Security you can have for it.

I will close this Head, with a few Scriptures to each Branch. To your Superiors: *Submit to every Ordinance of Man, for the Lord's Sake! Pet.* 2. 13. *Obey those that have Rule over you.* *Heb.* 13. 17. *Speak not evil of Dignities.* *Jude* 8. *2 Pet.* 2. 10. *My Son fear thou the Lord and the King, and meddle not with them, that are given to change.* *Pio.* 24. 21. To your Parents; *Honour your Father and your Mother, that the Days may be long in the Land, which the Lord your God shall give you.* *Exod.* 20. 12. Children obey

obey your Parents, it is the *First Command with Promise*. Ephes. 6. 1, 2. *Great Judgments follow those, that disobey this Law, and defraud their Parents of their Due.* Who so robbeth his Father or his Mother, and saith, it is no Transgression, the same is the Companion of a Pestiferous, Prov. 28. 24: Or such would destroy their Parents if they could. It is charged by the Prophet Ezekiel upon Jerusalem, as a Mark of her wicked State: *In thee have thy Princes set lightly by Father or Mother, oppressed Strangers, and vexed Fatherless and Widows.* Ezek. 22. 6, 7. To thy Neighbour, hear what God's Servants taught. *To do Justice and Judgment, is more acceptable to the Lord, than Sacrifice.* Prov. 21. 3. *Divers Weights and Measures are alike Abomination unto the Lord.* Levit. 19. 36. Deut. 25. 13. to 16. inclusive. Prov. 11. 1. c. 20. 10, 23. Read Prov. 22. 16, 22, 23. c. 23. 10, 11. *Peruse the 6th of Micah; also Zech. 8. 16, 17.* And especially the 15. *Psal.* As a short but full Measure of Life, to give Acceptance with God.

I have said but little to you of distributing Justice, or being just in Power or Government; for I should desire you may never be concerned therein, unless it were upon your own Principles, and then the less the better, unless God require it from you. But if it ever be your Lot; know no Man after the Flesh; know neither Rich nor Poor, Great nor Small, nor Kindred, nor Stranger, but the Cause according to your Understanding and Conscience, and that upon deliberate Enquiry and Information. Read *Exod.* 23. from 1. to 10. *Deut.* 1. 16, 17. c. 16. 19, 20. c. 24. 17. 2 *Sam.* 23. 3. *Jer.* 22. 3, 4. *Prov.* 24, 23. *Lam.* 3. 35, 36. *Hos.* 12. 6. *Amos* 8. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8. *Zeph.* 2. 3. c. 3. 1. 3. *Zech.* 7. 9, 10. *Jer.* 5. 4, 5, 6. c. 8. 6, 7. Which shew both God's Commands and Complaints, and Man's Duty in Authority; which as I said before, wave industriously at all Times, for Privacy is freed from the Clamour, Danger, Incumbrance and Temptation, that attend Stations in Government: Never meddle with it, but for God's Sake.

§. 8. *Integrity*, is a great and commendable Virtue. A Man of *Integrity*, is a true Man, a bold Man and a steady Man; he is to be trusted and relied upon. No Bribes can corrupt him, no Fear daunt him, his *Word is slow in coming but sure.* He shines brightest in the Fire, and his Friend hears of him most, when he most needs him. His *Courage* grows with *Danger*, and conquers *Opposition by Constancy.* As he cannot be flatter'd or frighted into that he dislikes, so he hates *Flattery* and *Temporizing* in others. He runs with Truth, and not with the Times; with Right and not with Might. His Rule is straight; *soon seen but seldom follow'd:* It has done great Things. It was *Integrity* prefer'd *Abel's* Offering, translated *Enoch*, saved *Noah*, raised *Abraham* to be God's Friend, and Father of a great Nation, rescued *Lot* out of *Sodom*, blessed and encreased *Jacob*, kept and exalted *Joseph*, upheld and restor'd *Job*, honour'd *Samuel* before *Israel*, crowned *David* over all Difficulties, and gave *Solomon* Peace and Glory, while he kept it; It was this preserv'd *Mordecai* and his People, and signally defended *Daniel* among the *Lyons*, and the Children in the Flames, that it drew from the greatest King upon Earth, and an *Heathen too*, a most *Pathetical Confession*, to the Power and Wisdom of the God that saved them, and which they served. Thus is the Scripture fulfilled, *The Integrity of the Upright shall guide them.* Prov. 11. 3. O my dear Children! fear love and obey this great holy and unchangeable God, and you shall be happily guided, and preserved through your Pilgrimage to *Eternal Glory.*

§. 9. *Gratitude or Thankfulness*, is another Virtue of great Lustre, and so esteem'd with God and all good Men: It is an owning of Benefits receiv'd, to their Honour and Service that confer them. It is indeed a noble Sort of Justice, and might in a Sense be refer'd as a Branch to that Head; with this Difference, tho', that since Benefits exceed Justice, the Tye is greater to be grateful, than to be just; and consequently there is something baser, and more reproachful in *Ingratitude* than *Injustice.* So that tho' you are not oblig'd by legal Bonds or Judgments, to Restitution with due Interest, your Virtue, Honour and Humanity, are naturally Pledges for your Thank-

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fulness: And by how much the less you are under external Tyes, esteem your Inward Tyes so much the stronger. Those that can break them, would know no Bounds: for make it a Rule to you, the Ungrateful would be *Unjust too*, but for Fear of the Law. Always own therefore the Benefits you receive, and then to chuse, when they may most honour or serve those that conferred them. Some have lived to need the Favours, they have done, and should they be put to ask, where they ought to be invited? No Matter if they have nothing to shew for it, they shew enough when they shew themselves, to those they have obliged: And such see enough to induce their Gratitude, when they see their *Benefactors* in Adversity; the less Law, the more Grace and the stronger Tye. It is an *Evangelical Virtue*, and works as Faith does, only by *Love*: In this it exactly resembles a Christian State, we are not under the Law, but under Grace, and it's by Grace, and not by Merit that we are saved. But are our Obligations the less to God, that he heaps his Favours so undeservedly upon us? Surely no. It is the like here; that which we receive is not owed or compelled, but freely given, so no Tye; but Choice, a *Voluntary Goodness* without *Bargain* or *Condition*, but has this therefore no Security? Yes certainly, the greatest; a Judgment Writ, and acknowledged in the Mind; He is his to the *Altar* with a *good Conscience*: But how long? as long as he lives. The Characters of Gratitude, like those of Friendship, are only defaced by Death, else indelible. A *Friend loveth at all Times*, says *Solomon* Prov. 17. 17. C. 27. 10. And *thine own Friend* and *thy Father's Friend* for *sake not*. It is Injustice, which makes *Gratitude* a *Precept*. There are three Sorts of Men that can hardly be grateful, The fearful Man, for in Danger he loses his Heart, with which he should help his Friend: The Proud Man, for he takes that Virtue for a Reproach: He that unwillingly remembers he owes any Thing to God, will not readily remember he is beholden to Man. *History* lays it to the Charge of some, of this Sort of great Men, that uneasy to see the Authors of their Greatness, have not been quiet, till they have accomplished the Ruin of those that raised them. Lastly, the Covetous Man, is as ill at it, as the other two; His Gold has spoiled his Memory, and won't let him dare be grateful, tho' perhaps he owes the best Part, at least the Beginning of it, to another's Favour. As there is nothing more unworthy in a Man, so nothing in Man, so frequently reproached in Scripture. How often does God put the *Jews* in Mind, for their Forgetfulness and Unthankfulness, for the Mercies and Favours they received from him, Read *Deut.* 32. 15. *Jesurun* waxed fat, and kick'd against God, grew unmindful, *forgot* and *forgot* his Rock, that had done mighty Things for him. Thus *Moses*, *Deut.* 31. 16, 17. *Also* *Judg.* 10. 11, 12, 13. *and* *1 Sam.* 8. 8. *David* likewise in his 78. 105, 106. *Psalms*, gives an History of God's Love to *Israel*, and their *Ingratitude*. So *Isa.* 17. 1 to 11. Likewise *Jer.* 2. 31. 32. C. 5. 7. to 20. C. 15. 6. C. 16. 10, 11, 12, 20, 21. C. 18. 15. *Hes.* 8. 9. It is a Mark of Apostacy, from Christianity, by the Apostle. 2 *Tim.* 3. 2.

§. 10. *Diligence* is another Virtue useful and laudable among Men: It is a discreet and understanding Application of one's self to Business; and avoids the Extreams of Idleness and Drudgery. It gives great Advantages to Men: It loses no Time, it conquers Difficulties, recovers Disappointments, gives Dispatch, supplies want of Parts; and is that to them, which a Pond is to a Spring; tho' it has no Water of it self, it will keep what it gets, and is never dry. Tho' that has the Heels, this has the Wind; and often wins the Prize. Nor does it only concern Handycrafts and bodily Affairs, the Mind is also engaged, and grows foul, rusty and distemper'd without it. It belongs to you, throughout your whole Man; be no more santering in your Minds than in your Bodies. And if you would have the full Benefit of this Virtue, don't baulk it by a confused Mind. Shun Diversions; think only of the present Business, till that be done. Be busie to Purpose; for a busie Man, and a Man of Business, are two different Things. Lay your Matters right, and Diligence succeeds them, else Pains

is lost. How laborious are some to no Purpose? Consider your End well, suit your Means to it, and then diligently employ them, and you arrive where you would be, with God's Blessing. *Solomon* praises Diligence very highly. First, it is the Way to Wealth: *The diligent Hand makes Rich*, Prov. 10. 4. *The Soul of the Diligent shall be made fat*, c. 13. 4. There is a Promise to it, and one of another Sort to the Sluggard, c. 23. 21. Secondly, It prefers Men, ver. 29. *Seest thou a Man diligent in his Business he shall stand before Kings*. Thirdly, It preserves an Estate: *Be thou diligent to know the State of thy Flocks, and look well to thy Herd; for Riches are not for ever*, ch. 27. 23. 24. There is no living upon the Principal, you must be diligent to preserve what you have, whether it be Acquisition or Inheritance; else it will consume. In short the wise Man advises, *Whatsoever thy Hand finds to do, [do it with thy Might]*. Eccl. 9. 10. As it mends a Temporal State, no spiritual One can be got or kept without it. *Moses* earnestly presses it upon the *Israelites*, Deut. 4. 9. and 6. 7. The Apostle *Paul* commends it in the *Corinthians*, and *Titus* to them for that Reason 2 Cor. 8. 7. 22. So he does *Timothy* to the *Philippians* on the same Account, and urges them to Work out their Salvation, Phil. 2. 12. 20, 21. *Peter* also exhorts the Churches to that Purpose: *Wherefore the rather Brethren*, says he, *give Diligence to make your Calling and Election sure: for if you do these Things you shall never fail*, 2 Pet. 1. 10. and in ch. 3. 13. 14. Wherefore beloved, seeing that you look for such Things; (the End of the World and last Judgment) be diligent that you may be found of him in Peace, without Spot and Blameless. Thus Diligence is an approved Virtue: But remember that is a reasonable Pursuit or Execution of honest Purposes, and not an overcharging or oppressive Prosecution, to Mind or Body, of most lawful Enterprizes. Abuse it not therefore to Ambition or Avarice. Let Necessity, Charity, and Conveniency govern it, and it will be well employ'd, and you may expect prosperous Returns.

§. 11. *Frugality* is a Virtue too, and not of little use in Life, the better Way to be Rich, for it has less Toil and Temptation. It is Proverbial, *A Penny sav'd is a Penny got*; It has a significant Moral; for this Way of getting is more in your own Power and less subject to Hazard, as well as Snares, free of Envy, void of Suits, and is before-hand with Calamities. For many get that cannot keep, and for Want of Frugality spend what they get, and so come to want what they have spent. But have a Care of the Extream: want not with Abundance, for that is Avarice, even to Sordidness; It is fit you consider Children, Age and Casualties, but never pretend those Things to palliate and gratify Covetousness. As I would have you Liberal but not Prodigal; and diligent but not drudging; so I would have you frugal but not froward. If you can, lay up one half of your Income for those Uses, in which let Charity have at least the second Consideration; but not *Judas's*, for that was in the wrong Place.

§. 12. *Temperance* I must earnestly recommend to you, throughout the whole Course of your Life: It is numbred amongst the *Fruits of the Spirit*, Gal. 22, 23, and is a great and requisite Virtue. Properly and strictly speaking, it refers to Diet; but in general may be consider'd as having Relation to all the Affections and Practices of Men. I will therefore begin with it in Regard to Food, the Sense in which it is customarily taken. Eat to Live, and not Live to Eat, for that's below a Beast. Avoid Curiosities and Provocations; let your chiefest Sauce be a good Stomach, which Temperance will help to get you. You cannot be too plain in your Diet, so you are clean; nor too sparing, so you have enough for Nature. For that which keeps the Body low, makes the Spirit clear, as Silence makes it strong. It conduces to good Digestion, that to good Rest, and that to a firm Constitution. Much less Feast any, except the Poor; As Christ taught, Luke 14. 12, 13. For Entertainments are rarely without Sin; but receive Strangers readily. As in Diet so in Apparel, observe I charge you an exemplary Plainness.

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Chuse your Clothes for their Usefulness not the Fashion, and for Covering and not Finery, or to please a vain Mind in your selves or others: They ate fallen Souls that think Clothes can give Beauty to Man. *The Life is more than Raiment*, Marth. 6. 25. Man cannot mend God's Work, who can give neither Life nor Parts. They shew little Esteem for the Wisdom and Power of their Creator, that under-rate his Workmanship (I was a going to say his Image) to a Taylor's Invention: Gross Folly and Profanity! But do you, my dear Children, call to Mind who they were of old, that *Jesus* said, took so much Care about what they should Eat, Drink, and put on. Were they not Gentiles, Heathens, a People without God in the World? Read *Matth. 6.*, and when you have done that, peruse those excellent Passages of the Apostle *Paul* and *Peter*, 1 *Tim. 2. 9. 10.*, and 1 *Pet. 3. 3. 5.*, where, if you find the Exhortation to Women only, conclude it was Effeminate, and a Shame then for Men to use such Arts and Cost upon their Person. Follow you the Example of those Primitive Christians, and not Voluptuous Gentiles, that prevented the very Order of Things: For they set Lust above Nature, and the Means above the End, and preferred Vanity to Convenience: A wanton Excess that has no Sense of God's Mercies, and therefore cannot make a right Use of them, and less yield the Returns they deserve. In short, these Intemperances are great Enemies to Health and to Posterity; for they disease the Body, rob Children, and disappoint Charity, and are of Evil Example; very catching, as well as pernicious Evils. Nor do they end there: They are succeeded by other Vices, which made the Apostle put them together in his Epistle to the *Galatians*, Ch. 5. 20. 21. The Evil Fruits of this Part of Intemperance, are so many and great, that upon a serious Reflection, I believe there is not a Country, Town, or Family, almost, that does not labour under the Mischief of it. I recommend to your Perusal the First Part of, *No Cross no Crown*, and of the *Address to Protestants*, in which I am more particular in my Censure of it: As are the Authorities I bring in Favour of Moderation. But the Virtue of Temperance does not only regard Eating, Drinking, and Apparel: But Furniture, Attendance, Expence, Gain, Parsimony, Business, Diversion, Company, Speech, Sleeping, Watchings, and every Passion of the Mind, Love, Anger, Pleasure, Joy, Sorrow, Resentment, are all concern'd in it: Therefore bound your Desires, learn your Wills Subjection, take Christ for your Example, as well as Guide. It was he that led and taught a Life of Faith in Providence, and told his Disciples the Danger of the Cares and Pleasures of this World; they choked the Seed of the Kingdom, stifled and extinguished Virtue in the Soul, and rendred Man barren of good Fruit. His Sermon upon the Mount is one continued Divine Authority in Favour of an Universal Temperance. The Apostle, well aware of the Necessity of this Virtue, gave the *Corinthians* a seasonable Caution. *Know ye not*, says he, *that they which run in a Race, run all, but one receiveth the Prize? So run that ye may obtain.* And every Man that striveth for Mastery, (or seeketh Victory) *is temperate in all things*: (he acts discreetly and with a right Judgment) *Now, they do it to obtain a Corruptible Crown; but we an Incorruptible.* I therefore *so run as not uncertainly; so fight I, not as one that beateth the Air: But I keep under my Body, and bring it into Subjection; lest that by any Means, when I have preached to others, I my self should become a Castaway*, 1 *Cor. 9. 25. 27.* In another Chapter he presses the Temperance almost to Indifference: *But this I say, Brethren, the Time is short: It remaineth then, that both they that have Wives, be as tho' they had none; and those that weep as tho' they wept not; and they that rejoyce, as tho' they rejoyced not; and they that use this World as not abusing it.* And all this is not without Reason: He gives a very good one for it. *For, saith he, the Fashion of the World passeth away: but I would have you without Carefulness*, 1 *Cor. 7. 29.—32.* It was for this Cause he press'd it so hard upon *Titus* to warn the Elders of that Time to be Sober, Grave, Temperate, *Tir. 2. 2.* not eager, violent, obstinate, tenacious, or inordinate in any Sort. He makes it an indispensable Duty in Pastors of Churches, that they be not

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Self-willed, soon Angry, given to Wine or Filthy Lucie, but Lovers of Hospitality, of Good Men, Sober, Just, Holy, Temperate, Tit. 1. 7. 8. And why so? Because against these excellent Virtues there is no Law, Gal. 5. 22.

I will shut up this Head (being touch'd upon in divers Places of this Advice) with this one most comprehensive Passage of the Apostolic, *Philip. 4. 5. Let your Moderation be known unto all Men, for the Lord is at Hand. As if he had said, Take Heed! Look to your Ways! Have a Care what ye do! For the Lord is near you, even at the Door; he sees you, he marks your Steps, tells your Wanderings, and he will judge you.* Let this Excellent, this Home and Close Sentence live in your Minds: Let it ever dwell upon your Spirits, my Beloved Children, and influence all your Actions, ay, your Affections and Thoughts. It is a noble Measure, sufficient to regulate the whole; they that have it are easy as well as safe. No Extream prevails; the World is kept at Arm's-End; and such have Power over their own Spirits, which gives them the truest Enjoyment of themselves and what they have: A Dominion greater than that of Empires. O may this Virtue be yours! You have Grace from God for that End, and it is sufficient: Employ it, and you cannot miss of Temperance, nor therein of the truest Happiness in all your Conduct.

§. 13. I have chosen to speak in the Language of the Scripture; which is that of the Holy Ghost, the Spirit of Truth and Wisdom, that wanted no Art or Direction of Man to speak by, and express it self fitly to Man's Understanding. But yet that blessed Principle, the Eternal Word I begun with to you, and which is that Light, Spirit, Grace and Truth, I have exhorted you to in all it's Holy Appearances or Manifestations in your selves, by which all Things were at first made, and Man enlightened to Salvation, is *Pythagoras's* great Light and Salt of Ages, *Anaxagoras's* Divine Mind, *Socrates's* good Spirit, *Timæus's* unbegotten Principle, and Author of all Light, *Hieron's* God in Man, *Plato's* Eternal, Ineffable and Perfect Principle of Truth, *Zeno's* Maker and Father of ail, and *Plotin's* Root of the Soul: Who as they thus stiled the Eternal Word, so the Appearance of it in Man, wanted not very significant Words. A domestick God, or God within, says *Hieron*, *Pythagoras*, *Epiſtetus* and *Seneca*; Genius Angel or Guide says *Socrates* and *Timæus*; the Light and Spirit of God says *Plato*; the Divine Principle in Man says *Plotin*; the Divine Power and Reason, the Infalible Immortal Law in the Mind's of Men, says *Philo*; and the Law and Living Rule of the Mind, the interior Guide of the Soul, and everlasting Foundation of Virtue, says *Plutarch*. Of which you may read more in the first Part of the *Christian Quaker*, and in the Confutation of *Atheism*, by Dr. *Cudworth*. These were some of those virtuous *Geniſes* commended by the Apostle, *Rom. 2. 13, 14, 15.* that tho' they had not the Law given to them, as the *Jews* had, with those Instrumental Helps and Advantages, yet, doing by Nature the Things contained in the Law, they became a Law unto themselves.

WILLIAM PENN.

The End of the First Volume.



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Ellen Anne Owings
1986

